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and Development of
the University

University of Aberdeen.

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William Spenser Bishop of Aberdeen

FROM THE CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY

Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen

A QUATERCENTENARY
TRIBUTE PAID BY
CERTAIN OF HER
PROFESSORS & OF
HER DEVOTED SONS

Edited by

P. J. Anderson, M.A., LL.B.
Librarian to the University

ABERDEEN

MCMVI

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PREFATORY NOTE.

WHEN it was decided to celebrate in 1906 the four hundredth anniversary of Elphinstone's foundation, the Committee entrusted with the necessary preparations resolved to publish one or more books, to signalise the occasion and to illustrate the history and work of the University. The volume now issued—one of a set of four—is an outcome of that resolution.

The papers contributed attempt, at different lengths and by varied methods, to give some glimpses of ends aimed at and of results attained in the University's five faculties of Arts, Science, Divinity, Law and Medicine. The contributors consist of eight members of the present *Senatus Academicus*, and of four outsiders who in recent years have concerned themselves with the past of their *Alma Mater*.

A collection of essays need not profess to traverse a whole field. Readers must not imagine that Aberdeen theology ceased with the Aberdeen Doctors, that literary studies are unknown in the University, or that mathematics and physics are forgotten in the Colleges where Maclaurin and Clerk Maxwell taught. That these and other branches of the University's activity are not discussed here is due partly to the limits imposed by treatment in a single volume, and partly to the varying amounts of leisure and of inclination possessed by those most competent to speak.

The frontispiece reproduces, for the first time, the contemporary portrait of the Founder, by an unknown artist. Portraits of Elphinstone appear in Pinkerton's *Iconographia*, in Cosmo Innes' *Fasti Aberdonenses*, and in other books ; but hitherto the reproductions have been made from the modern copy by Alexander, which does scant justice to the bishop's noble face. The portrait of the Earl Marischal is from the copy by Alexander of an original by Jameson, which cannot now be traced. Both pictures are in a bad state of preservation, but they have been photographed with wonderful success by Mr. W. F. Webster, Old Aberdeen, to whom the volume is also indebted for the photograph of King's College Chapel. The old view of King's College buildings is from the Dutch engraving of 1661, of which the only known copy is in the University Library. The very full index has been prepared by Miss Jean E. Kennedy.

P. J. A.

ABERDEEN,
1st September, 1906.

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Initium sapientiae timor Domini

ABERDEEN QUATERCENTENARY STUDIES.

BISHOP WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE.

THIS Quatercentenary Commemoration Volume naturally commences with an account of the Founder of the University, who, in a period of ecclesiastical degeneracy, gave to Scotland a bright example of unblemished life, earnest piety, academic culture, and devoted service to Church and State.

Bishop Elphinstone belonged to an old Saxon family which was of some standing in the thirteenth century; ¹ it owned the property in East Lothian, of which Elphinstone Tower, in the parish of Tranent, is the seat.² During the Wars of Scottish Independence the Elphinstones, although constrained to swear fealty to Edward I. of England, were loyal, as far as practicable, to Robert Bruce, and retained their estate after the expulsion of the English. In the fourteenth century the representative of the family was raised to knighthood; ³ the ennoblement of the Elphinstones took place in 1567.⁴ In the fifteenth century, however, the estate, after litigation, had passed by marriage into the possession of the Johnstones of Annandale; ⁵ but the main stem of the family had previously acquired other lands; for the Bishop's grandfather was known from 1397 to 1424 as William Elphinstone of Pittendreich, in Stirlingshire.⁶ One of his sons,

¹ John de Elphinstone is mentioned as a witness in two charters belonging to the middle of the thirteenth century (Fraser, *Lords of Elphinstone*, i., p. 9). The name Elfing, *i.e.*, son of an elf, perpetuates a tradition of the mythical origin of the family (Moir, *Bocce's Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*, p. 171).

² The castle, founded probably in the thirteenth century, was completed some time before 1435 (Fraser, i., pp. x, xi). ³ *Ibid.*, i., p. 9. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i., p. 39.

⁵ The estate was eventually recovered, through purchase, by a branch of the Elphinstones in 1813 (*Ibid.*, i., pp. xiv, xvi).

⁶ *Ibid.*, i., p. 12. In 1508 began the connection of the Elphinstones with Kildrummy, the lands of which were granted in that year to the first Lord Elphinstone (*Ibid.*, i., pp. 42, 82). The fifth Lord Elphinstone, a Lord of Session in the seventeenth century, adopted the title of Lord Kildrummy, his father being then still alive (*Ibid.*, i., p. 183).

William, entered the priesthood, and is mentioned as a Canon of Glasgow in 1451. He was also Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and afterwards Archdeacon of Teviotdale.¹ There can be no reasonable doubt that the future Bishop was the son of this Canon and was born at Glasgow in 1431² out of lawful wedlock.³ At that period, if a cleric was faithful to one woman, the scandal was somewhat lessened; because compulsory celibacy was already denounced by many as unscriptural and demoralising.⁴

Of Elphinstone's boyhood some interesting reminiscences are preserved by his friend and biographer, Hector Boece. At the age of four he was found one day prostrate before the image of the Virgin in Glasgow Cathedral; and, some years later, he had a remarkable vision in which he dreamed that when he prayed to the Virgin for aid in resisting sin, she replied: "Apply thyself with thy whole heart to virtue; and when thou shalt have obtained the episcopate wherewith I shall endow thee, do thou promote the cause of Christ by repairing my temples".⁵ His amiable disposition and application to study so endeared him to the Bishop of Glasgow, that the latter was in the habit of sending for him in the afternoon, and hearing him recite some verses or exercises.⁶

¹ *Munim. Univ. Glasg.*, ii., pp. 56, 91, 179. He was also possibly the Rector of Kirk-michael (probably in Dumfriesshire or in Ayrshire) who was Dean of Arts in 1472 (*Ibid.*, ii., p. 215).

² Moir, *Boece*, p. 102, where Elphinstone is represented as over eighty-three; he died in 1514. Comp. Garden's rhymed translation of Boece, line 2,657; and Chalmers, *De Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrinâ, et Pietate* (1631), p. 157: "Efflavit animam anno Christi, 1514, anno sui Pontificatûs 30, ætatis vero 84".

³ See grant by James III., 25th June, 1477, giving to Elphinstone, the power to "dis-pone," "non obstante bastardiâ suâ"; and a letter of Pope Alexander VI. (of date 1494), in which certain dispensations are accorded to the Bishop, "non obstante defectu natalium" (Laing, *Poetical Works of Alexander Garden*, Pref., pp. xiv, xv; Theiner, *Vet. Monum.*, p. 50).

⁴ In the 15th century even a Cardinal, Zabarella of Florence, advocated the permission of clerical marriage, and Nicolas de Clemangis speaks of parishes where (with a view to the safety of wives) a priest was not tolerated unless he had a recognised concubine (J. C. Robertson, *Hist. of Ch.*, iv., 350; Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, p. 349). ⁵ Moir, *Boece*, p. 58.

⁶ *Ibid.* The bishop was either Cameron, who occupied the see from 1426-46, or Turnbull, the Founder of the University, who held office from 1448-54. More probably Cameron is intended: for a lad of seventeen or upwards would hardly be summoned every day to recite verses. This bishop, indeed, bore no good reputation; Buchanan (xi., fol. 123) describes his oppression of vassals, but Dr. Moir is not justified in supposing that such a man "could hardly have taken delight in the innocent prattle of young Elphinstone" (Moir, *Boece*, p. 149). A much-hated man might crave for the society of a boy too young to know his character.

In 1451 Bishop Turnbull founded Glasgow University; and Elphinstone, then in his twentieth year, became one of the earliest alumni,¹ "devoting himself mainly to logic and physics, in which he soon surpassed all his compeers". In his twenty-fifth year, *i.e.*, in 1456—so Boece testifies—he received the degree of Master of Arts and was at the same time ordained to the priesthood.² He does not appear, however, to have at first entered on any parochial charge; and after having remained some time at home (apparently for the sake of his health), occupied with the management of his father's estate,³ he resumed attendance at the University, studied Canon Law, and commenced practice in the Law Courts. He gained the reputation of being the "advocate of the poor and miserable," whose cause he pleaded not for fees but for the sake of equity and justice.⁴

About 1459-60,⁵ in order to obtain "more freedom for his studies," Elphinstone retired from Glasgow to undertake the charge of the parish of Kirkmichael, where he remained for four years. "In this retreat he was never idle, never sluggish: no hour passed in which he was not writing, dictating or making extracts."⁶ But he was "born to greater things". His uncle, Laurence Elphinstone,⁷ reproached him for his lassitude and

¹ Among the *nomina incorporatorum* for 1451, the eleventh name is Wilhelmus Elphinstone; and this accords with Boece's statement that the future bishop *graduated* in his twenty-fifth year. The "Magister Wilhelmus Elphinstone" referred to in 1451-52 is, apparently, the bishop's father.

² The entry in the *Munimenta* of Glasgow, for 1462, stating that "William Elphinstone" took the degree of Master, appears to refer to another of the name; although Cosmo Innes (*Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 263) thinks it may refer to the bishop, whose graduation (notwithstanding Boece's statement) may, for reasons unknown, have been postponed. There remains the possibility that Elphinstone was not born till 1437; in which case his graduation at twenty-five would correspond with the date 1462; but it is not likely that Boece would make a mistake of six years in the age of an intimate friend; and the supposition is inconsistent also with Boece's statement that twelve years intervened between Elphinstone's departure from Glasgow and his return to that city in 1471-2 (see below, *n.* 5).

³ Moir, *Boece*, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵ This approximate date is determined, so far, by Boece's statement that Elphinstone was about four years in Kirkmichael and eight years in France; and by the fact that on his return to Scotland he was appointed "Official" of Glasgow diocese, the date of which appointment was in 1471-72. In the grant of 1477 (see p. 2, *n.* 3) he is called Rector of K.; but he may have been previously his father's *locum tenens* (p. 2, *n.* 1). ⁶ Moir, *Boece*, p. 61.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62. This uncle was probably Laurence Elphinstone of Selmys, in Midlothian, a burghess of Edinburgh, who appears as a witness to a charter in 1466, and whose grandson, Alexander, was a Canon of Aberdeen (Fraser, *i.*, p. 2).

encouraged him to prosecute his studies, as well as to increase his knowledge of affairs, by residence abroad, generously undertaking to defray the necessary expenses.¹

About 1463-64, accordingly, Elphinstone repaired to Paris, devoted himself anew to Canon Law, and soon gained so great a reputation that he was appointed "first reader" in that subject, and attracted to his classroom very large audiences of students.² He continued in this influential position for six years; took his degree in Canon Law; and then removed to the University of Orleans, where his reputation as an ecclesiastical lawyer so much increased that the Parliament of Paris more than once sought his advice in connection with important decisions.³

After a residence of eight years in France, Elphinstone returned to Glasgow, of which Andrew Muirhead, the successor of Turnbull (1455-73), was then bishop. He was without delay (1471-72) appointed "Official" or Episcopal Judge of the diocese "on account of his profound erudition, clear intellect, and great eloquence". "He discharged this office with admirable address; observed strict impartiality; restrained litigants from calumnious charges, and never spared either the despoiler of property or the perverter of law." In 1474, while still "Official" of the diocese, he was elected Rector of the University of Glasgow.⁴

Elphinstone's reputation as "Official" in Glasgow was the occasion of his promotion to the yet more important office of Episcopal Judge of Lothian, within the diocese of St. Andrews. He took up his abode in Edinburgh, accordingly, and thus came under the immediate notice of King James III. who discerned his high qualifications for embassies to foreign courts. About 1479 he was sent on a mission of some delicacy to Louis XI. of France. A marriage had been arranged by anticipation between the King's eldest son, the future James IV. (then a boy of seven), and the daughter of Edward IV. of England.⁵ The Scottish King was afraid that the proposal of this marriage might endanger the ancient alliance of Scotland with France. Elphinstone, who had probably been pre-

¹ Possibly, as Dr. Moir, suggests, *one* reason for his uncle sending him abroad was in order that "fame obtained in foreign lands might efface the stain on his birth" (Moir, *Boece*, p. 150).

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴ *Munim. Univ. Glasg.*, ii., p. 81.

⁵ The marriage was never consummated; but eventually James IV. married another English princess (see p. 7).

sented at the French Court during his tenure of the lectureship on Canon Law, was regarded as the man best fitted to allay suspicion. Partly by his amicable demeanour, partly through an oration in which the mutual service of the French and the Scots is recalled, and renewed Scottish support against the enemies of France is promised, he convinced the French King of James's unimpaired friendship. On his return he received the warm thanks of his royal master.¹

Elphinstone's success as an ambassador in France led to his appointment to a similar office in repeated negotiations with England. It was not easy for Scotland to remain on cordial terms with both countries; and the embassy to the French Court had excited English jealousy. James's brother, the Duke of Albany, a fugitive charged with treason, had entered into a compact with England in 1482—a compact by which Edward undertook to establish him as King of Scotland on the understanding that Albany recognised English suzerainty.² An English force took possession of Berwick; a Scottish army was raised for the invasion of England, and was only prevented by internal dissension from crossing the Tweed. Elphinstone, we may presume, on this as on other occasions, counselled peace; but the position was critical, and diplomacy was difficult. He succeeded, however, both in reconciling Albany to the King and in concluding peace with England for three years in 1483. In 1484, after the accession of Richard III., Elphinstone, along with Earl Crawford, obtained confirmation of the treaty, and a marriage between Prince James and the English King's niece was proposed.³ This negotiation, indeed, was terminated by Richard's death in 1485; but a fresh treaty was secured by the Scottish ambassador after the accession of Henry VII.⁴

As the reward of his earlier successful mission to France, Elphinstone had been appointed to the See of Ross in 1482.⁵ Although legally bishop of that see for two years,⁶ however, he does not appear to have been consecrated to it or ever to have taken up residence. Remembering his boyish dream, "Ross," he said, "is not to be my see, but where the Mother of

¹ Moir, *Boece*, pp. 64-74.

² Tytler, *History of Scotland*, iv., p. 229.

³ *Ibid.*, iv., pp. 246-61.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv., p. 297.

⁵ Moir, *Boece*, p. 74; Grub, *Eccles. History of Scotland*, i., p. 405.

⁶ *Reg. Epis. Aberd.*, Pref., p. xliv. Elphinstone is called Bishop of Ross so late as 17th May, 1484.

God is the patron or tutelary saint".¹ His aspiration was fulfilled when, in March, 1483-84, he was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, whose Cathedral Church was dedicated to the Virgin. "A few years later" he received the Chancellorship of the kingdom²—an office which he must have demitted in 1488. The tragic death of King James III.³ in that year became the occasion of Bishop Elphinstone giving up for a time the life of a statesman and devoting himself entirely to the work of his diocese. The young King, James IV., however, ere long perceived that the nobles under whose misguidance he had been implicated in rebellion against his father were not wise counsellors; and these began, moreover, to contend against each other. In his difficulty the King recalled to Court the ecclesiastic whom his father had honoured. Through Elphinstone's good counsel the factions were in some measure quelled, the administration of justice reformed, the "Commons protected from the oppression of the nobles," and disturbances among the Highlanders and Islanders subdued.⁴ Some years later, in 1497, by his conciliatory attitude as ambassador, the Bishop was able to prevent a war with the English, in which the Scottish King's ill-considered support of the impostor, Perkin Warbeck, had almost embroiled the nation.⁵ He was less successful in an embassy to the Emperor Maximilian for the purpose of arranging a marriage between the King and the Emperor's daughter, Margaret, who, it appeared, had already been betrothed to the Prince of Spain; but his tactful diplomacy in negotiations with England paved the

¹ Boece (p. 74) describes Elphinstone as having been offered, but as having declined, the See of Ross. The King, apparently, assumed his acceptance and completed the civil process of appointment; the ecclesiastical procedure had been arrested by Elphinstone's declinature, which may be respected even by Protestants opposed to Hyperdulia of the Virgin.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³ Boece states that in the civil strife which issued in James's assassination Elphinstone "adhered to the King's cause," and "left nothing untried to terminate" the unnatural war between the King and his eldest son; but that "he failed to bring about peace". The bishop's feelings (as Dr. Moir suggests) may be reflected in the minute adopted by a public meeting at Aberdeen, convened in 1489 by the Provost and magistrates, wherein complaint is made that "no punishment was imposed on the treasonable vile persons who put their hands violently on the King's most noble person". See *Burgh Records* for 1489, and Moir, *Boece's Lives*, p. 154.

⁴ *Boece*, p. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81. James advanced £1,200 to Warbeck and foolishly allied himself with the pretender by encouraging his marriage with Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, and granddaughter of James I.

way for the marriage of James to Henry VII.'s daughter, Margaret, in 1503.

Meanwhile, the bishop, notwithstanding these occasional interruptions, had entered with energy on his diocesan duties at Aberdeen. In the external sphere, the two chief churches of his diocese—the Cathedral and the Church of St. Nicholas—benefited greatly by his zeal. The great tower of the former building, begun by Bishop Leighton about half a century before, was completed under Elphinstone, and equipped with three bells of 12,000 pounds weight.¹ He also commenced the re-erection of the Choir on a larger scale and with greater ornament.² A new Choir³ for St. Nicholas Church was completed and solemnly dedicated by him in 1498. A few years later, in 1503, the Choir was furnished with thirty-four stalls, of which fragments remain to indicate that they may almost have rivalled those of King's College.⁴

In the work of *internal* reformation Elphinstone was equally zealous. He had entered on his episcopal duties ten years after the death of Bishop Kennedy, from whom Bishop Lesley, the Roman Catholic historian, dates the "fall of the Scottish clergy from all devotion and godliness to works of wickedness".⁵ We need not be surprised, accordingly, to learn that the Aberdeen priesthood required the discipline of a kindly but firm prelate; and that a man whose maxim as a judge had been "Whoso spares the bad, harms the good"⁶ inaugurated his episcopate with a reformation of the clergy.⁷ Laxity of clerical life had been accompanied by remissness in the conduct of divine service. "For several years, owing to evil times, worship had been somewhat neglected,"⁸ and, as it appears, occasionally desecrated, by the priesthood. Elphinstone set himself to restore the service of the sanctuary to pristine regularity and propriety. Fines were

¹ *Boece*, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 97. The tower fell and the Choir became a ruin in 1688.

³ This Choir became, after the Reformation, the "East Church". It was demolished in 1837; but the lower Church, or Chapel of St. Mary, was allowed to remain, and has been recently restored and adorned, mainly through the efforts of Professor Cooper, of Glasgow, while he was minister of the East Parish.

⁴ Cooper, *Cart. Eccl. S. Nic.*, ii., pp. xxx, xxxi.

⁵ Lesley, *Hist. of Sc.* (vernac.), p. 40.

⁶ *Boece*, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁸ *Ibid.*

imposed on the clergy for culpable absence from duty and for unbecoming conversation during worship; such failures and faults being recorded and reported by a writer specially sworn for the purpose.¹ Aberdeen has been remarkable, at various periods of its history, for special attention given by the Church to the Service of Praise;² and the new bishop enhanced the musical effectiveness of the worship by the appointment of John Malison as "Master of Ceremonies"—a man "profoundly skilled in music, to whose efforts is ascribed whatever proficiency in chanting the Church of the North has possessed".³ In the pre-Reformation period, the friars, to whom the Church of a former age had been indebted alike for Home Mission devotion and for Scholastic Theology, had sadly degenerated. But there were honourable exceptions; and no narrow prejudice, such as caused many of the parochial clergy to look askance on the friars as rivals, prevented Elphinstone from supplementing the inadequate ministry of the parish priests by the encouragement of Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite, and other "fratres" whom he knew to be devoted to the service of religion.⁴ Nor was the bishop neglectful of the material well-being of his city. From the Register of the Town Council of Aberdeen it appears that in 1448 a scheme for erecting a bridge over the Dee had been originated, but, from want of adequate resources, apparently, had fallen into abeyance. Elphinstone's personal liberality and public spirit revived the enterprise. Towards the close of his life, he "collected a large quantity of stones, timber and cement," and "secured the services of choice craftsmen".⁵ He does not seem to have lived to see the work more than begun: but his zealous example stimulated his successor, Bishop Dunbar, to complete the undertaking, and to erect the bridge which, after repeated restoration, remains to the present day.

The most memorable work of Bishop Elphinstone, however, was the

¹ Cooper, *Cart. Eccl. S. Nic.*, ii., pp. 226, 227 (referring to the year 1491).

² The Aberdeen "Sang Schule" (one of the earliest in Scotland) was founded in 1370. Originally for the Cathedral Choir, its benefits were afterwards extended to others; it lingered until 1758. A Musical Society in Aberdeen, founded in 1745, led the van in the improvement of Scottish Psalmody. In the latter part of the last century a great impulse to church music in the N.E. of Scotland was given by Mr. William Carnie. See Orem, *Old Aberdeen*, p. 110 (ed. 1791). Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen*, ii., pp. 135, 136, George Walker, *Aberdeen Antiquary*, pp. 227, 228, and article in *Aberdeen Journal* of 15th May, 1906.

³ *Boece*, p. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

foundation of the University, and the establishment of what he originally called St. Mary's, but which afterwards, by his own desire became known, also, as King's College.¹ The eminence of Aberdeen as an educational centre dates from an early period. A "Master Thomas of Bennum" was "Rector Scholarum de Abirden" in 1262; and there is no indication that the office was then of recent institution.² The burgh records refer repeatedly in the fifteenth century to the "Magister Scholarum," and in one place describe him as a graduate in Arts "magnæ literaturæ et scientiæ".³ In addition to this Grammar School there was a "College of Canons," the foundation of which is ascribed to Bishop Edward in the twelfth century.⁴ Boece found this "College" in existence on his arrival in Aberdeen; and candidates for Holy Orders who had not the opportunity of studying at one of the recognised Universities, received presumably at this institution their theological and practical training. Elphinstone's experience in Glasgow and Paris enabled him to measure the imperfections of this Training School, and incited him to provide for the North of Scotland a University which should vie with those at least of St. Andrews and of Glasgow. His aspirations met with royal sympathy. James IV. despatched a letter to Pope Alexander VI., craving papal authority for the foundation, under ecclesiastical auspices, of the proposed University. No copy of this letter has been preserved; inquiries are at present being made regarding it, and some day the original may be exhumed from the papal archives; but the Bull sent in reply on the 10th February, 1494-95, indicates the nature of the royal communication, whose real author, doubtless, was Elphinstone himself. The chief ground on which sanction was sought sounds somewhat strange to modern ears. The new University was to be specially for the benefit of a "remote portion of Scotland cut off from the rest of the kingdom by arms of the sea and very lofty moun-

¹ See *Fundatio in Fasti Aberd.*, p. 54; Boece, p. 117, who states that Elphinstone "modestiae causâ" wished his College to be called "Regale"; suggesting that it had begun to be designated (popularly) by the bishop's own name. The title King's College (*Collegium Regale*) occurs first in a deed of 1542, where the name is combined with that of St. Mary's: "Regalis Collegii sub titulo de Nativitate beate Marie Virginis". In 1544 the term "Regale Collegium" is used without any addition (*Fasti Aberd.*, pp. 115, 119). In 1553 the title "College of St. Mary" is found for the last time as an official designation in a papal bull (Rait, *Univ. of Aberd.*, p. 33; Geddes, *Restor. of King's Coll. Chapel*, in *Trans. Abd. Ecclesiol. Soc.*, 1892, p. 72).

² *Reg. de Aberbrothoc*, i., p. 193.

³ *Burgh Records of Aberdeen*, i., pp. 5, 37.

⁴ Boece, p. 9; Orem, p. 45, calls it *Studium Generale in Collegio Canonicorum*.

tains, and inhabited by unlettered, ignorant and almost barbarous people,¹ who have scarcely among them men capable of preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments". Through a University situated "in the renowned ancient city of Aberdeen, the ignorant would acquire knowledge and the rude erudition".

The Universities of Paris and of Bologna had evidently been mentioned in the King's communication as models of what was desired for the new institution in Aberdeen; and the Papal Bull sanctions the institution of the Faculties of Theology, Canon and Civil Law, Medicine, Arts, and "any other Faculty," as in these older Universities. The office of Chancellor is bestowed on "our venerable brother, William, Bishop of Aberdeen," and on his successors. Provision is made for the appointment of a Rector, Regents, Masters, and Doctors, who are empowered to promote meritorious students, after examination, to degrees of bachelor, licentiate, doctor, master, and all other honourable distinctions in the various faculties.² This Bull (preserved in the Treasury of King's College) came from one of the worst Popes who disgraced the Papal Chair; fortunately academic charters do not depend for their efficacy, any more than sacramental grace, on the character of the human instrument!

Elphinstone's liberality equalled his educational zeal: and episcopal revenues, which some other contemporary prelates spent on luxurious pomp and self-indulgence, were devoted by him to the erection of university buildings. There can be no reasonable doubt that the original College of St. Mary, of which he is expressly stated to be the founder,³ was built by him largely out of savings from his episcopal income.⁴

In that age it was not the custom to erect edifices burdened with debt; and for financial or other reasons it was not till the spring of 1500 that the building of the College was begun. Elphinstone characteristically erected first of all a place of academic worship. An inscription near the west door of the chapel records the fact that on the 5th of April, 1500, "the

¹ *Homines rudes et litterarum ignari et fere indomiti.*

² Bulla of Alexander VI. in *Fasti Aberd.*, pp. 3-6. Originally, as at Orleans (Rashdall, *Univ. of Eur.*, ii., 310), representatives of the students had some share in the government of the University (*Fasti*, pp. 5, 6)—a power still exercised indirectly through the Rector.

³ See Charter of 22nd May, 1497, in *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 11.

⁴ Boece after describing the chapel and its furniture, etc., adds "*Hæc omnia Wilhelmi donaria,*" p. 95. The revenue of the See of Aberdeen is given by Lyon (*History of St. Andrews*, vol. i., p. 97) as £1,610, on the authority of the Register of St. Andrews Priory; and this income was supplemented by rents of land and in kind.



The Chapel & Crown - Tower of Kings College, 1905-6

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

masons began to build" in the reign of the King who, with unconscious and pathetic irony, is designated "rex invictissimus".¹ More than five years later a Charter, dated 17th September, 1505, and confirmed by the reigning Pope, Julius II., records the completion of the original buildings, including chapel, tower and crown, residence, and class-rooms.² The tower remains substantially as it was at the time of its erection, except that originally it had thirteen bells "pleasing to the ear with sweet and holy melody". The chapel has been partly transformed both externally and internally. The entire original building was of freestone, and on the south side a sacristy (including library and jewel-house) was added by Bishop Stewart (1531-45). This building, restored and enlarged in 1725, was burnt about half a century later, and the south wall was then faced with granite.³ In the inside of the chapel the exquisitely carved stalls bear witness to the pristine magnificence. There were also marble altars, images of saints, hangings of tapestry, a crucifix, candelabra, and a casket of cypress wood, set with pearls and jewels, and containing relics of saints.⁴

By the 20th of August, 1500, the first Principal, Hector Boece, had arrived from Paris.⁵ Teaching began, we may assume, soon after that date, in some buildings at the bishop's disposal; but the earliest regular teaching within the walls may probably be assigned to the Session 1505-6. Hence the appropriateness of the quatercentenary celebration being held during this year. The staff, in addition to the Chancellor and Rector, consisted of the Principal, who was likewise *ex officio* the Theologian; the Sub-Principal, William Hay; Alexander Vaus, Humanist, who died in 1501, and was succeeded (not immediately, perhaps) by the more celebrated John Vaus⁶; James Ogilvie, Civilist; and James Comyne, Mediciner.⁷ Eight priests were responsible for the daily divine service.⁸

¹ *Per serenissimum illustrissimum ac invictissimum ꝑ. 4 R. quarto nonas aprilis anno millesimo et quingentesimo hoc insigne Collegium latomi inceperunt edificare.*

² *Fasti Aberd.*, pp. 53 ff.

³ Em.-Professor N. Macpherson, *Notes on the Chapel, Crown, etc.*, pp. 23-25. The indication of a door leading from the sacristy into the church still exists within the building.

⁴ *Boece*, p. 86.

⁵ A document is in existence, signed on that date, *Coram Magistro Hectore Boyiss.*

⁶ *Reg. Epis. Aberd.*, i., 348; Ruddiman refers to John Vaus as the first who held the *professorship* of Humanity, founded in 1505 (*Chalmers' Life of Rudd.*, p. 383).

⁷ As no Canonist seems to have been appointed till after Elphinstone's death, the bishop himself probably occupied the position originally.

⁸ *Boece*, p. 95.

If Elphinstone was liberal with his own resources, he was conscientiously careful not to procure the alienation of any portion of the income of his see, even for the sake of the University. The expenditure necessary for its maintenance was diminished by the bestowal of benefices, through his patronage or influence, on several members of the teaching staff.¹ The main academic revenue came from external sources or private benefactions. Thus the greater portion of the revenue of an hospital in the diocese of St. Andrews, which for long had ceased to fulfil the purpose of its founder, was, by a Papal Bull, assigned to the new University.² Certain feu-duties in Banffshire, in the gift of the King, were devoted to the support of the Mediciner.³ Andrew Elphinstone of Selmys, out of "gratitude to the bishop for many kindnesses," conferred three separate gifts of lands and feu-duties for the maintenance of Regents and students of theology.⁴ The revenues of the Churches of Aberluthnot (the ancient name of Marykirk), of Glenmuick, and of Abergairny (Glengairn) were incorporated with the University, on condition, of course, that the clerical duties of those parishes were adequately fulfilled.⁵

Part of Bishop Elphinstone's leisure, after the foundation and organisation of his University, was devoted to the composition of the Aberdeen Breviary. This work is a revised and Scottish edition of the famous Breviary of Salisbury or Sarum, which had come into general use in Scotland after the Scottish Church became an integral portion of Roman Christendom. The distinctive feature of the new Breviary was the introduction of short lives of Scottish saints, of hymns in their honour, and of prayers to or concerning them, forming part of the ritual for the respective saints' days. The work, accordingly, embodies a Scottish Hagiology, compiled partly from ancient documents, of which some are no longer extant, and partly from oral traditions laboriously collected by the bishop himself. The inclusion of not a few incredible legends and historical anachronisms does not prevent the work, when used with discrimination, from being a valuable authority for the early history of the Scottish Church. In the

¹ Thus, the first Principal was Rector of Tyrie; the Reader in Canon Law was appointed Rector, the "Snow Church" of St. Mary, close to the College; and the patronage of the Church of Slains was vested in two chaplains of the College Church (see *Fasti Aberd.*, xx., p. 26; P. J. Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of King's College*).

² *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 41, 46.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

royal edict (1507) conferring the privilege of printing on the firm which first practised that art in Scotland (Chepman & Myllar, Edinburgh), the production and circulation of Elphinstone's work is referred to as the chief immediate occasion of the enactment; and the Breviary was the first publication of importance which issued from the Scottish Press. The edict ordains that the Service-book "after our ain Scottish use, with legends of Scottish saints as now gathered and eked by our Reverend Father in God and trusty counsellor, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, be imprinted and provided; and that na manner of sich books of Salisbury use be brought to be sauld within our realm in all time coming".¹ This patriotic order, however, does not appear to have been fully carried out. In those days when books were costly—the Breviary of Elphinstone occupies two bulky quartos—it would not be easy to supersede quickly old volumes with new in parish churches; and before the Scottish Service-book had time to permeate the Church, the Reformation had swept all Roman Breviaries out of public use.

In his old age Elphinstone was constrained once more to enter the arena of politics. When the "Holy League" was formed in 1512 between Spain, England, and the Pope, against France, the French King sent an embassy to James IV. to solicit a renewal of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. A Council was summoned by the Scottish King, and Elphinstone, then over eighty years of age, went up to the capital to take part in the deliberations. A strong section of the nobles, supported by Forman, Bishop of Moray, favoured the despatch of an ultimatum to Henry VIII., demanding the withdrawal of England from the coalition against France, and, in the event of a refusal, threatening war. Elphinstone resisted what he regarded as a foolhardy policy, and advocated a friendly embassy which should counsel pacific negotiations between two countries with both of which Scotland was now intimately connected. The bishop, however, and his party were found to be in a minority; he was taunted with giving the counsel of a dotard and a coward against the national interest and honour.² James was instigated against England, partly by the fear that if France were crushed, Scotland's turn would come next, and partly by private grievances against his royal brother-in-law, and false ideas

¹ Innes, *Sketches*, p. 273.

² *Boece*, pp. 103-5.

of chivalry.¹ In the end of June, 1513, Henry, disregarding Scottish remonstrances, invaded France; six weeks later King James was over the border with an army.² The issue was the fatal defeat at Flodden, which so affected Elphinstone that he is said never to have smiled again, and to have contracted a malady which ended in his death.³

Among those who fell at Flodden was the young Archbishop of St. Andrews, the natural son of King James. At the instance both of the Canons and of influential nobles, Elphinstone was designated for the primacy; but he declined the dignity.⁴ In the following year dissensions broke out among the nobility in connection with the regency. The bishop, ever anxious to promote peace, and undeterred either by illness or by the dissuasion of friends, set out, for the last time, on a journey to Edinburgh. By the time he reached Dunfermline he was in a high fever, and was obliged to rest some days. Forecasting the issue, he made his will, bequeathing the bulk of his personal means (about £10,000) for the completion of academic equipments and for the promotion of the Bridge across the Dee. A few days after his arrival in Edinburgh the fever returned, and medical authorities pronounced his condition to be hopeless; yet, on the day before his death, he conducted divine service in the chapel at Holyrood, discoursed with piety and learning on Christianity, partook of the Holy Eucharist, and afterwards received some of the nobility in his bedchamber at supper. During the night the fever increased; and in the morning his friends gathered round what proved to be his deathbed. When some of these spoke of his recovery, "The health I hope for," he replied, "is eternal; as to this hour I have lived a Christian, so a Christian I shall die". When he was asked where he wished to be buried, "My soul," he answered, "I have long since given to God: bury my body where you will". He then prayed for the welfare of his friends, adding, "I myself am going to a happier world". With his last breath he called upon the name of Jesus, and upon the Blessed Virgin, whose guardianship over him he had through life recognised. His body was

¹ The Queen of France sent to the King a valuable turquoise ring, called him her knight, her love, and besought him, for her sake, to advance three feet and to strike one blow on English soil. See Pitscottie, i., p. 256 (*Æ. Mackay's* edition); Hume Brown, *Hist. of Scot.*, i., p. 332. What is believed to be the ring is preserved in the College of Heralds in London.

² Tytler, v., pp. 76-80; Andrew Lang, i., pp. 374-77.

³ *Boece*, p. 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

embalmed, carried to Aberdeen, and buried in the College Chapel. Boece relates that, at his funeral, through some accident, the bishop's pastoral staff was broken. Part of it fell into his grave, whereupon a mysterious voice (*whose* it was never known) exclaimed, "Thy mitre also, O William, ought to be buried with thee". The citizenship mourned for him as for a father, and the saying was general, "The glory of Aberdeen is gone".¹

Four features of character stand out conspicuously in Bishop Elphinstone's portrait as presented by his life and work, and have rendered his personality influential in Scottish history.

1. His opposition to the policy which issued in "fatal Flodden," and his inconsolable grief over that national disaster, illustrate the combined wisdom and warmth of that enlightened patriotism which he exhibited at once in the political, in the ecclesiastical, and in the academic sphere. His gift of statesmanship was devoted patriotically to the welfare and honour of his country; but he never allowed himself to be moved by any blind or bellicose sentiment of national vainglory. He was among the earliest in that age to recognise what his younger contemporary, John Major, afterwards emphasised—the vital importance of a close alliance between Scotland and England; and we owe, in great part, as we have seen, to his prudent diplomacy that marriage of James IV. to the daughter of Henry VII., which prepared the way for the later union of the Scottish and English crowns and kingdoms. In his *magnum opus*—the Aberdeen Breviary—his aim as a Scottish Churchman was to rescue from comparative oblivion the early builders of the Scottish Church, and to familiarise the minds of the people with the lives and works of native saints; yet he is not backward in acknowledging how much Scotland owed to early missionaries, like Palladius and Columba, who came from other lands. In the organisation of the University it is notable that Elphinstone, who must have become acquainted in France with many foreign scholars and theologians, selected Scotsmen only for his teaching staff;² on the other hand, he put at the head of the newly founded University, as Principal and Vice-Principal, two Scots—Boece and Hay—who had made their reputation abroad. His enlightened patriotic aim was to establish in Scotland an indigenous academic school, and at the same time to broaden Scottish learning with an accession of Con-

¹ Boece, pp. 107, 108.

² P. J. Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of King's College*, pp. 23-50.

tinental culture; to secure for his University teachers who understood Scottish needs and character, but who would also raise the lower standard of national scholarship to the higher level of the leading European Universities. To this broad patriotism of Elphinstone may be traced the signal fact that the University of Aberdeen, although situated in the corner of a small kingdom, has never been a mere provincial institution, nor yet a mere outpost or replica of some larger University, but has had academic products and developments at once original and free from local limitations. In the sixteenth century Hector Boece, in spite of grave defects, gave the chief early impulse to the study of Scottish History in the literary world; while his colleague, John Vaus, founded in Aberdeen a Scottish School of Grammarians, which produced, two centuries later, the celebrated Ruddiman of Banff; and the works of both Boece and Vaus were published in Paris. In the seventeenth century Andrew Cant, Humanist at King's College, and afterwards minister of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, occupied a place in the front rank of those who united academic learning with Covenanted zeal;¹ while the noble line of "Aberdeen Doctors" culminated in John Forbes and Henry Scougal, who exerted an influence even more than national. The great work of Forbes—his *Instructiones*—was issued repeatedly on the Continent, and used in Denmark down to last century as a text-book;² while Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man* helped to generate the great Methodist Revival in England.³ In the eighteenth century the Scottish Philosophy, which attained to European prominence, took its rise in King's College with Thomas Reid; while, almost simultaneously, Campbell and Beattie led the van in Britain against the scepticism of David Hume. Finally, in the nineteenth century, a rich cluster of distinguished men, whose memory is still fresh, in all departments of science, philosophy, and learning, have signalled our University as a centre of independent thought and of far wider than national influence. Accordingly, just as we trace back, at least in part, later developments of Scottish political and religious liberty to those early struggles, under Wallace and Bruce, which infused into our national life a patriotic element; so, too, among the causes which have given to our Alma Mater a notable place in

¹ Stark, *Lights of the North*, pp. 157-69.

² Rait, *Universities of Aberdeen*, pp. 144-46; Cowan, *Scottish Church in Christendom*, pp. 254, 255.

³ Dugald Butler, *Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists*, ch. viii.

the academic world, we may reckon the broadly patriotic spirit of our Founder and his associates in organising out of native elements a thoroughly yet not narrowly *Scottish* University.

2. A second conspicuous feature, or combination of features, in Elphinstone's character is what the original and probably contemporary portrait in King's College reveals—his gracious benignity and love of peace, united, however, with firmness of disposition and fidelity to duty. If, as we have seen, he refused, as a judge, to injure the good by sparing the bad, on the other hand a significant anecdote, recorded by Boece, represents him as encouraging his sovereign, James III., to exercise at times the *nobile officium* of royal pardon.¹ If, as a bishop, he introduced into the administration of his diocese a more stringent discipline than had previously prevailed, we have testimony none the less that no prelate was more beloved of clergy as well as people.² His was pre-eminently the rôle of the Peacemaker, in private and in public life. A man who reconciled (at least for a time) two royal brothers after neglect on one side and treachery on the other;³ who at more than one juncture composed the dissensions of a turbulent nobility; who, amid keen partisanship in Scotland, regarding foreign policy, successfully promoted, until old age weakened his influence, an *entente cordiale* with both England and France—such a man was emphatically a son of peace in an age when the supposed glory of successful aggression overshadowed its criminality. As a pacific statesman he was in advance of his time; but he prepared the way for a worthier national policy.

3. Simplicity of private life was united in Bishop Elphinstone with public munificence. Hector Boece testifies to his abstemious habits, reaching almost to asceticism; and at the same time to his generous and extensive hospitality, through which his table was constantly filled with guests.⁴ He spent little on himself, and nothing on personal pomp, but he was lavish in the adornment of leading churches in his diocese, and bountiful in the equipment of the Alma Mater which he had founded. While the two older Scottish Universities continued, for many years after their foundation, to be without habitations of their own, and while that of Glasgow, in the period preceding the Reformation, declined through lack of material

¹ *Boece*, p. 76.

³ See above, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 111.

⁴ *Boece*, p. 101.

resources,¹ the University of Aberdeen, thanks to Elphinstone's personal liberality and the gifts of those whom his example affected, possessed, at an early stage of its existence, what were then adequate buildings and stipends. This original munificence to the University has been followed, throughout its entire history, and notably in recent times, by benefactions from generous office-bearers, loyal alumni, and sympathetic citizens.

4. Elphinstone united religious with educational zeal. A man of genuine and warm piety, he was no narrow Churchman, who regarded any knowledge as unprofitable unless it could be dedicated directly to ecclesiastical use. He aimed at supplying academic training, in all branches of professional knowledge which were then deemed valuable. He instituted a Chair of Medicine nearly half a century before similar provision was made in any other British University;² the "Medicus" was one of four Doctors who formed part of the original academic staff. The Bishop, moreover, was abreast of his time in appreciation of that enlightened Humanism, of which the first Principal of the University, a friend of Erasmus, was a distinguished representative. None the less, by securing, at the outset, for his University supreme ecclesiastical sanction; by inaugurating his enterprise with the erection of an academic sanctuary; by taking due precautions to insure that the teachers even of secular subjects should be men of a religious spirit; and by ample provision for the regular maintenance of divine service in the College Chapel—Elphinstone anticipated the sacred motto long afterwards adopted by the University, "Initium Sapientiæ Timor Domini,"³ and set an example of the godly training of youth which influenced the form and spirit of Scottish higher education in succeeding times. In our second Founder, accordingly, no less than in our first (however much they differed at once in religious and in educational ideas), enthusiasm for intellectual culture was hallowed by fidelity to

¹ Sir W. Hamilton, *Works of Thomas Reid*, p. 727.

² Cambridge University had no Medical Chair till 1540; Oxford had none till 1546. See P. J. Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of King's College*, p. 35. "This Chair" (in Aberdeen) "constitutes the most ancient foundation for instruction in medicine in Great Britain." Medical teaching, however, was provided both at Oxford and at Cambridge prior to the establishment of Chairs (Maxwell Lyte, *Univ. of Oxf.*, pp. 190, 220; Mullinger, *Univ. of Camb.*, p. 168).

³ This motto was first used in connexion with the University at the time of the Union in 1860. It was selected by the first Principal of the united University, Dr. P. Colin Campbell, and placed below the shield containing the academic Arms (P. J. Anderson, *Records of the Arts Class*, 1868-72, ed. 1882, p. 103).

religious principle. The fifth Earl Marischal significantly addressed his academic charter to "all true Christians"; his professed aim was to secure a "godly and upright education"—an "honourable, liberal and Christian training"; Principals and Rectors were to be "godly men". Every Lord's Day a lesson from the Greek Testament was to be given to the students; and the Founder prayed devoutly that "God would direct his undertaking to the glory of His name".¹ Elphinstone and Knox are separated ecclesiastically by a wide gulf; but that gulf is, in a manner, bridged over by their common zeal on behalf of a thoroughly Christian education; and down to the present time, although with some modifications and limitations (due chiefly to ecclesiastical divisions), Scotland continues to maintain her place in Christendom as an upholder of religious instruction in public seminaries. To exclude, either in university, normal training college, or school, the inculcation of Christian truth as if it were a subject for which it is the exclusive duty of the Church to care, would mutilate and unconsecrate our educational system, would discard one of the oldest and grandest of Scottish traditions, common to Roman and to Protestant times, and would trample with signal ingratitude on the express aim of the two Founders of our united University and of the majority of Scottish educational benefactors.

"Is it not as this mouth should tear this hand
For lifting food to't?"

The massive but unadorned tombstone in the University Chapel, beneath which are the mortal remains of the Founder, is not what it once was.² Over the stone, originally, were eight figures in brass representing the four Cardinal Virtues, the three Christian Graces, and Contemplation. These, again, supported a layer of stone on which rested the recumbent

¹ See Charter in P. J. Anderson, *Fasti Acad. Marisc.*; cf. Rait, pp. 252-60.

² See *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 562, in which the inventory of 1542 is recorded as follows: "Sepulchrum domini Fundatoris, in cuius superiore parte imago ipsius in pontificalibus, cum duobus angelis portantibus duo candelabra ad caput, et duobus mercenariis epitaphium in ere insculptum ad pedes portantibus: inferius, ex australi parte tres virtutes theologice et contemplatio, in boreali virtutes cardinales suis signis distincte: in orientali et occidentali partibus domini Fundatoris insignia ab angelis lata." Gordon of Rothiemay, in his *Abredonic Utriusque Descriptio* (1661), speaks of the thirteen "signa," on and above the tomb, as "of brass," and declares that all were "robbed and sold long ago". Orem, in his *Old Aberdeen*, p. 41, writes, in 1724-26, of the tomb as "stripped of its canopy and ornaments for fear of accidents and reduced to a plain blue marble slab" (see Norman Macpherson, *Chapel, Crown, etc.*, pp. 19, 20).

effigy of Bishop Elphinstone in pontifical robes ; while two angels held candelabra over his head, and two attendants at his feet bore in their hands an epitaph sculptured on brass. It has been repeatedly proposed to re-adorn the rifled tombstone or otherwise to commemorate through some visible and worthy memorial the illustrious Founder of the University. The approaching quatercentenary celebrations may supply the needed impulse. Meanwhile, in this case, as in that of the architect of St. Paul's, in London, it may be said, with reference at once to the outward buildings of the University at King's and at Marischal College, and to the yet grander unseen edifice of culture, science, philosophy, and professional training, of which Elphinstone, four centuries ago, laid the foundation—

SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE.

HENRY COWAN.

HECTOR BOECE AND THE PRINCIPALS.

THIRTY-EIGHT names appear in the lists of Principals of King's and of Marischal Colleges, and of the University of Aberdeen as constituted by the union of these institutions. To present even a brief sketch of each of the persons named is obviously impossible within the limits prescribed for this paper. Such sketches may be found in volumes that have been issued by the New Spalding Club, and to them, and to the admirable histories of the University compiled by Mr. Bulloch and Mr. Rait, the reader who desires to complete his information is referred. The Principals selected for review in the following pages are those who were identified with the northern Colleges at critical periods, or whose influence and service are specially memorable. A tripartite division, corresponding to three outstanding epochs, will be convenient. In the first part, the University and King's College alone is in evidence, the epoch to which it relates being that which extended from the foundation of the University in 1494-95 to the Reformation in 1560. Hector Boece is its prominent figure. The second part includes the epoch which witnessed the long and fierce conflict between the Crown and the Covenant, between Prelacy and Presbytery, terminating in the triumph of Presbytery towards the end of the seventeenth century. In this time Marischal College was established; its later period was made picturesque by the appearance of "the Aberdeen Doctors" on the scene of warfare. The third part covers what may be called the modern era—that which reaches from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day—whose conspicuous presences are the younger Blackwell and Dr. George Campbell. On the years subsequent to the union in 1860 only a rapid glance will be cast.

The subject is biographical. But the life and work of those whose official position is their first claim on our attention cannot be dissociated from the fortunes of the bodies with which they were associated. Now, in tracing the progress of the Universities we are bound to regard their

ecclesiastical and political surroundings. It may be objected that the surrounding, especially the ecclesiastical, is very much in evidence. But this is unavoidable. The Principals were heads of colleges which had a distinct ecclesiastical reference, and, with four exceptions, they were themselves ecclesiastics. Moreover, on account of their national character, the Scottish Universities largely reflected, and were influenced for better or for worse by, the impulses and tendencies that dominated Scottish history; and, from the end of the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, religious movements and contentions supplied the forces whose effect on the life of the nation was deepest. A succession of storms swept over Scotland. First, there was the wrenching of the sceptre of ecclesiastical supremacy from the Roman Church; then there was the cleavage in the ranks of Protestantism; finally, there was the protracted fight between Royal absolutism and what Hallam has called Presbyterian Hildebrandism. The Universities felt the play of all the hurricane. Their educational mission was hindered, was at times violently interrupted by it. The story of the Principals must therefore be shadowed by the story of Church as well as of State. If, in consequence, a somewhat sombre hue is imparted to the narrative, the necessity of the case is pleaded by way of apology, and the patience of the reader is bespoken as the writer addresses himself to his task.

I.

The starting-point in our retrospect is the close of the fifteenth century. Then the University of Paris was, *par excellence*, "the Home of the Muses". Like all the greater European Universities of that time, it was a cosmopolitan institution. Thither men of different nationalities and of all sorts and conditions repaired. The ingenuous youth who could dispute in Latin by speech or in thesis, and, for love of learning and piety, was willing to endure hardship, was welcome to its privileges and opportunities. Students were divided into *nationes*—special circles of brotherhood within the all-comprehending University. In the earlier half of the century there was a *natio Anglicana*, which included Scotsmen, but probably on account of the paucity of English students it disappeared; and in the later half, the Scot abroad, along with his English or Irish comrades, was ranked as one of the *natio Germanica*. George Buchanan, in caustic verse, has presented the darker side of the academical picture—the long and weary waiting of the

exiled scholar for recognition and for a position as teacher. But he has also, in verse of happier and sweeter tone, sung the praises of Gallia, with Paris its centre, as the genial nurse of good arts, making the world its guest, and generously spreading forth its treasures to the world which it received.

In Paris, Elphinstone, the Founder of the University and King's College, had studied and had taught Canon Law. From it he called a young Scot—HECTOR BOECE, Boys, or Boethius, a native of Angus—whose early instruction had been obtained in Dundee—to organise his infant *studium generale*. "He induced me," writes Boece, "by gifts and promises to leave the sacred and venerable College of Montaigu in Paris, where I was then, as best I could, reading lectures in Philosophy. Of that institution John Standonc was Principal, a pattern of every virtue, one who, by example, availed as much to inspire men with excellent virtues and learning, as the rest of the Parisians of his age did by theories. To have seen this man is the proud boast of many."¹

Montaigu, "sacred and venerable," was one of those forty-two Colleges of the University which Victor Hugo has described as "an intermediate link between the cloister and the world, between mansions and abbeys, with an austerity full of eloquence, a sculpture less gaudy than that of the Palace, less serious than that of the Convent". John Standonc, the head of Montaigu, was a remarkable man in a remarkable age. A Fleming of obscure extraction, such was the poverty of his youth that he was obliged to toil in humble service through the day, and at night, in order to save oil, he ascended the clock tower of St. Geneviève and read and studied by the light of the moon. In spite of privations, and for the most part self-taught, he qualified for graduation in Arts and Theology. He soon attracted notice. He became a Lecturer in the Sorbonne. The Chapter of Notre Dame appointed him Principal of Montaigu. In 1485 he was elevated to the dignity of Rector of the University. When he assumed the presidency of the College its affairs were at a low ebb. He readjusted its finance, restored its discipline and extended its influence. Aided by the Sieur de Granville, Admiral of France, he provided for the maintenance of eighty-four bursars, he built hostels for students who eagerly sought admission to the College, and in four towns in France he founded small Colleges under the rule of Montaigu. The good man had

¹ *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*, New Spalding Club Edition, p. 88.

his times of trouble, for he incurred the wrath of the King ; and, though he was reinstated in royal favour, he had enemies whose malignity ultimately compelled him to resign his office. But he has a great place in the annals of the University as a brave and devoted priest and teacher and a most capable administrator. His regimen was strict—too strict. Erasmus could not endure it ; he stigmatised it as cruel.¹ The Scots were of a hardier build ; the eggs which formed the staple of their repasts might be rotten, but they had been brought up on a little oatmeal, and they toiled on, infected by their master's love of poverty. For the master was as the disciples. There was no high table for him, with a lower for them. He desired to be regarded as the brother rather than as the chief, and to be remembered as poor Standonc.²

A fit guide ! his college a fit training-school for one who should undertake the ordering of the poor little College on the banks of the Don !

Among the contemporaries of Boece who felt, as he did, that it was a proud boast to have seen Standonc, were John Major or Mair, and three Angus men, Panther, afterwards Latin Secretary to James IV. and James V., Walter Ogilvy, renowned for his oratory, and William Hay, who became Sub-Principal and finally Principal of King's College. There were others who had an honourable place in the College, and who made the *triba Scottica* in the *natio Germanica* famous. The period of Boece's residence in Paris was a marked period in the history of learning. It was a spring-time. Erasmus had quickened mental activity in the Continent and in England. Literature and art had revived. The Renaissance was nearing its height. Under the spell of Erasmus, stimulated by the culture and piety of Standonc, and assimilating the varied influences of the University, Boece, "as best he could," was reading lectures in Philosophy when the summons of Elphinstone reached him.

To obey this summons meant a great change for the Parisian lecturer. It is true that, even in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Aberdeen was an ancient city, and in importance scarcely inferior to any other Scottish city. It had a population of nearly four thousand souls, with a provost and magistrates, with a strong guildry, and with incorporations of trades. It had its markets and a market cross, six posts or gates, and four quarters which, when danger was apprehended, were guarded by

¹ *Colloquies—Ichthyophagia.*

² See Crevier's *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, Book ix., pp. 20-30.

citizen captains. It had its processions and festivals. It possessed a fool, lent in 1503 to James IV. for a season, and returned by him with an expression of the king's approval of "Jok the fule of Aberdeen". It was an ecclesiastical and an educational centre. There were four houses of Friars. There was the great church of St. Nicholas. It was the seat of a bishop, with a castle—"ane fair Courte, with four high towers"—and a cathedral which, when Boece first saw it, was fairly complete. Canons, prebendaries and chaplains—some of them men of culture and of worth—resided in the neighbourhood of cathedral and castle. The memory and the fame of Barbour and of Fordoun were cherished by the Churchmen. A Grammar School of high repute provided instruction in Grammar and Logic, and a Song School instruction in music. Nevertheless, Paris was Paris; and to exchange its sunshine and beauty for "grey, wintry-featured, sea-throned Aberdeen," the stimulus of a University attended by 10,000 students, and the fellowship of a noble army of teachers, for a University which then had only a name, which was without a College, and which was designed as a civilising agency for people referred to in the Bulla of the Pope as "rude and ignorant, almost uncivilised," involved the sacrifice of much that a gentle, scholarly man most dearly prized. John Major speaks of the attraction to one's native soil as "a secret and inexpressible sweetness," and the power exercised by this sweetness is one of the most notable features of the Scottish scholars of Major's day. No doubt Boece felt it. No doubt it was to him an honourable ambition and a sacred duty to accept the call which gave him a prominent part in the higher education of his countrymen. But he has himself indicated the sadness of his farewell to Standone and Montaigu, for he expresses the regret with which "he left, while yet a young man, and hardly supplied with the rudiments of learning, so many learned teachers, as well as the whole University of Paris, the parent of every liberal art".¹

He was induced, he tells us, to make this separation "by gifts and promises". As judged by modern standards, it might seem that the gifts were not tempting. The stipend offered him was forty merks—equivalent to £2 4s. 6d. "It is difficult," exclaims Dr. Johnson, "even for the imagination so to raise the value of money, or so to distinguish the demands of life as to suppose four-and-forty shillings a year an honourable stipend, yet it was probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank

¹ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 89.

of Boethius.”¹ But, after all, imagination does not need to be unduly strained. The salary offered was worth, in purchasing power, £7 of English money at that time, and nearly £30 at the present time. There was no house rent to meet. To one who had lived at Montaigu on almost the irreducible minimum, this would appear amply sufficient for his necessities; and luxuries were out of view. Probably promises of increase were added to gifts, and as the years passed any such promises were redeemed. He obtained a Canon’s stall, and, either when this was conferred or at a later time, he was made Rector of Tyrie. In 1528, when the University bestowed on him a Doctorate in recognition of his merits as a historian, the Town Council of Aberdeen ordered that “Hector Boethius should have a tun of wine when the new wines arrive, or £20 Scots for a new bonnet”. In 1529 the King granted him a pension of £50 Scots annually, and two years later another sum of £100 Scots “until he was promoted to a benefice of 100 merks of yearly value”. On the whole the first Principal did not fare badly. Mr. Cosmo Innes maintains (though his contention can be challenged) that, when all sources of income are considered, “there is no reason to doubt that, in emolument as well as in social position, Hector Boece was greatly above any Principal of a Scotch College of the present day”.²

About the year 1500, aged thirty, Deidonensis Hector Boece came to Aberdeen, and came to stay. The Bishop and the Chapter of the Cathedral received him cordially. Though there was no College having a local habitation, sufficient light was emitted by the Lamp of the North to attract men; and, “pleased with the first-fruits of his school,” Bishop William resolved that there should be such a home for students as the Colleges of Paris had been to himself and Hector. In 1505 a College, or, as the Churchmen styled it, “a Collegiate Church of St. Mary,” was founded. “Magnificent,” writes Boece, “in respect of the beauty and extent of its buildings, and of everlasting fame.”³ The eulogy is characteristically extravagant, but the extravagance may be condoned. Much of the magnificence has vanished. The tenements in which the Principal and the students were lodged, the altars, the images of the saints, the furnishing for sacred functions, the bells “pleasing the ear with sweet and holy melody”—all are gone; but the Chapel, with its exquisite carved wood,

¹ *Journey to the Western Islands.*

² *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 271.

³ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 93.

and the Tower, with its grey crown beneath which were hung the bells, still perpetuate the fame of Elphinstone's College.

The members of this College are generally reckoned as thirty-six, increased by Bishop Dunbar, twenty-five years later, to forty-two. In the New Spalding Club publication of Boece's *Lives of the Bishops*, the total number of officers and graduates, at the foundation of the University, is reckoned as forty-four, thus distributed: "Eight Priests daily employed; seven boy Choristers; four Doctors, Regents or Professors, including the Principal; ten Bachelors, a sort of Pupil Teachers, the Chief being the Sub-Principal; fourteen youths 'of pregnant pairs,' students; one Humanist, a sort of 'Coach' to prepare the future students in Latin."¹ The Doctor of Theology was, by Elphinstone's Constitution confirmed by Dunbar's, "the Primarius, Praefectus, Principalis, or Gymnasiarcha. His position and duties are defined by both prelates, especially by the latter. All in the College, Masters and Scholars, are to render obedience with due honour and reverence. He is to combine the offices of Teacher, Preacher, College Inspector, Sanitary Officer, and Disciplinarian; to teach Theology each lawful or reading day, apparelled in the Doctor's habit according to the custom of Paris; to preach to the people six times in the year; to be honest in his ruling of the College; to visit the classes of the Regents; to see that the Court and the Chambers are kept in good order, and are free from soil; and, taking counsel with the Regents, to arrange the Timetable of Studies, and either by himself or another to punish wrongdoers."²

Thus charged, and endowed with forty merks a year, Boece taught and ruled. The record of his labours is good. The phrase *frequentibus auditoribus* in his *Lives of the Bishops* suggests that his lectures were attended not only by the residents in the college but, at least occasionally, by many who were not resident. Though we cannot trust him when he writes of things that in his time were ancient, we can trust him in respect of matters within his own experience and observation; and it is interesting to note his statement of the results "of the exact and methodical training of himself and his coadjutors". He dwells on "the number of eminent scholars that in a short time left the halls of the University". The majority of them were priests, some however making Law their special province.

¹ Notes to *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 162.

² *Officers and Graduates of King's College*, New Spalding Club, pp. 23, 24.

In the sixteenth century the Church had become decadent and corrupt, but it is refreshing to be told of an Alexander Lawrence who despised "the empty, not to say inane, joys of this world"; and of a John Adam, the first in Aberdeen to reach the crowning honour of Master of Theology, and who, as Provincial of the Friar Preachers in the realm of Scotland, "feeling indignant that the sacred duties of these Preachers were so neglected as to have almost passed into contempt, dreaded not the dangers of the deep, nor the fierce fury of rivals, no threats, no outrages, sparing no exertion nor his bodily strength, and persevered in great and incredible efforts, while he traversed his very rough province in order that the tottering fabric of religion might be restored". There is a pardonable flourish in the closing part of the paragraph in the *Lives of the Bishops* that records the fruits of the University discipline: "Others I pass by, though not ignorant of their merits, for they are too numerous to receive a place in this narrative".¹ The independent contemporaneous testimony of the Monk Ferrerius justifies the complacency of Boethius. Writing in 1534, he says that Aberdeen was the most celebrated of the Scottish Universities at that time.²

Boece was more than a successful teacher and administrator. His name is remembered chiefly on account of historical writings that still possess an interest. In 1522 a volume entitled *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, and, with all due reverence, dedicated to Gavin Dunbar, "Chief Priest of Aberdeen," was printed in Paris by Iodocus Badius. An edition of this work, with an excellent English translation and interesting notes, was issued in 1894 by the New Spalding Club, and a perusal of this edition will repay the reader. Passing rapidly over the pages which treat of the supposed Bishops of Mortlach and the acts of early Scottish kings, he will linger with pleasure in the garden that opens to him when the main study of the book is entered on—the life of Elphinstone. He will winnow out the fabulous from the true. He will not be too sceptical, for example, as to the genuineness of the speech which Bishop William is reported to have made to the King of France. He will be "a little blind" to the greed for the marvellous which is betrayed in the account of the prodigies that occurred on the occasion of the Bishop's funeral. Allowing for faults and blemishes, he will retain the impression of a quaint, graphic

¹ Pp. 92, 93.

² Quoted in *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 274.

and often fascinating narrative of men and things in "the land of the long agos". The *magnum opus* was the *History of Scotland*, published in 1527, six years later than Major's *History of Greater Britain*. The two books mark an advance. Before their appearance "there had been no history of the country in print. Fordoun and Wyntoun had written chronicles, copies of which in MSS., more or less perfect, existed in some of the monasteries."¹ With Major and Boece Scottish history may be said to begin. They wrote in Latin: being scholars of the sixteenth century they would not write in any other language. The Latin of Boece is more fluent and flexible than that of Major, which is stiff and formal. But Major has the real historical instinct. He anticipates the critical, scientific spirit of later centuries. In this respect Boece is wanting. He swallows fables, legends, myths, as voraciously as a fish swallows bait. Dates are sparingly given. Authorities are rarely quoted. He has been accused of forging the documents on which the foundation of the See of Mortlach rests. It has been affirmed that we might as well essay to sum the stars or waves of the sea as count the lies of Hector's *History*.² This is too severe. We may acquit the good man at least of intentional lying, and, recollecting the atmosphere in which he lived, excuse what appear to be inventions. "His object," it has been said, "was to give a classical dress to his rude native chronicles. One must doubt whether he really meant his grave readers to credit his stories of Veremund and Cornelius Campbell, and the records from Iona. He found, over a large period of history, bare lists of kings, and he took the pains of dressing them in what he thought suitable characters and actions. Quite unembarrassed by facts, he proposed to treat his subjects like an artist, with the proper balancing of light and shadow, and studied to administer among the persons of his drama some sort of poetical justice."³ But, when all is said by way of extenuation that is possible, the praise is faint. Boece in writing has done what an obscure artist has done for Kings of Scotland in the Picture Gallery of Holyrood: he has given us portraits and scenes that reflect his own imagination.

His *History* was popular. He lived to see it translated, by order of the King, into the Scots tongue, which Gavin Douglas, by his poetry, had rendered more ductile. In 1574 a second edition of the *History* appeared,

¹ Introduction to *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 9.

² Leland's "*Tetrastich*" on Boece.

³ *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 268.

with a continuation by Ferrerius, a monk of Kinloss Abbey, bringing it to the sixteenth century.

Let us think of the author, writing, reading, living in "the magnifick edifice of the College" which Elphinstone "caused build". The "magnifick edifice" was not finished until nearly the close of Dunbar's episcopate. But, for some time at least, Boece may have been master of the two apartments that are described in an inventory of date 1542. They were entered, we are told, by "ane portal door of aik carvit work". They had curtains of red and green worsted. They had "aiken beds". They possessed "a large chandelier of brass, with the image of our Lady and six flowers, and also a great fir chest in which were kept the treasures of the Faculty of Arts".¹ In these, or other chambers, the Principal consulted with William Hay as to College matters, or enjoyed a talk with his friends at a frugal supper, and a sip of wine when the new wines arrived in Aberdeen. With his colleagues and his fellow-Churchmen he lived on terms of hearty friendship. Indulging in his usual lavishness of encomium, he celebrates "their extraordinary mental powers," their hard labour, their skill in law, their wide reading in sacred and profane literature. Three in especial he belauds—Thomas Strachan, John Vaus, the first grammarian, a man "with a profound knowledge of his subject," and William Hay, with whom he had studied Philosophy in Paris, and whose great love to him had led to a settlement in Aberdeen "as if he had been his kinsman". Nor was he destitute of kinsmen who honoured him and whom he honoured. John Johnston in his *Heroes* celebrates the virtues of Hector and his two brothers—"three united in kindred studies and equal in piety". One of the two was Arthur, celebrated by Hector as "our Professor of Law, whose enthusiasm continues fresh and unwearied," and who, besides being a Canon of Aberdeen, was made a Judge when the Court of Session was constituted in 1532. The other brother was probably the Parson of St. Mary ad Nives, "the Snaw Kirk," or Parish Church of Old Machar. In the society of his friends, and of the bishops whom he revered, Boece lived tranquilly. A peace-loving man we take him to have been; not a strong, forceful character, but one who clung to a stronger—to Erasmus, with whom he corresponded, and to Elphinstone and Dunbar: with a capacity for plodding; faithful to his duty and loyal to his friends; too much of a Humanist to be a polemic, and in-

¹ *Fasti Aberd.*, p. 574.

disposed to change even though observant of "the tottering edifice"; a lover of the picturesque, and with a keen appetite for the wonderful; a priest, but a scholar rather than a priest, simple in his tastes, retiring in disposition, and full of kindly thoughts about men and their ways. His is a shadowy figure, looking on us out of a dim past. No authentic portrait of him exists; the portrait in King's College usually identified with him is not authentic. All our impressions are derived from scanty notices of him, from his works, and from the glimpses of his life in the biography of Elphinstone.

In 1536, after having served in King's College for thirty-six years, he passed away. His remains were interred in the Chapel whose splendours he had painted in glowing terms. The tomb of the first Principal is close to the tomb of the first Chancellor. *Requiescant in pace.*

WILLIAM HAY, the beloved of Boece, and his successor, had a peaceful and, on the whole, a prosperous reign. Its most notable external event was the visit, in 1541—the year in which Hay subscribed—of King James V. and his consort. They were the guests of the Bishop for fifteen days; and their temporary palace, apparently, was King's College. We read of "diverse triumphes and playes made by the town, and by the University and Sculis thereof," of exercises and disputations, and orations in Greek, Latin and other languages, "quhilk was mickell commendit be the King and Queen and all their company".¹ Royal personages must have been easily accommodated and easily entertained in the middle of the sixteenth century. Where the Principal lived when his chambers were assigned to the Court is not mentioned in any chronicle.

But the time for triumphs and plays was nearing its end. The storm which for long had been brewing was ready to burst. The Church, which had absorbed an immense part of the nation's wealth, had become an incubus on the nation's energy. Many who held its orders and adhered to its government deplored the low estate into which it had fallen. Archbishop Hamilton, who called a Council in Edinburgh to consider the ecclesiastical situation, admitted, in a message sent years after to John Knox, that there was "some reason" for reform. Boece, as we have seen, commented on "the tottering fabric". John Major was severe on the abuse of pluralities, on the greed and ostentation of abbots "who made

¹ Bishop Leslie's *History*, Scotch original, p. 159.

things hard for the husbandmen," and on the immoralities that were rife in monasteries. He listened with approbation to the invectives of a Friar against the licentious habits of Bishops, and, without a hint of condemnation, to the famous sermon of John Knox in 1547.¹ Good men within the Church eagerly desired reform. But a rottenness had spread from circumference to centre which no efforts that dealt only with the circumference were able to cure. Unfortunately for the direction of the State, the firm hand and the wise head were lacking. Unfortunately for Aberdeen, Bishop Gordon, the Chancellor of its University, was not only a weak prelate, he was a bad man, "not worthy," says Spottiswoode, "to be placed in the catalogue of Bishops". The disciplines of the University were confused. Financially it was almost bankrupt. In 1549 Galloway of Kinkell, the Rector, ordered and presided over a Visitation. Professors had ceased to teach. Students neglected worship. Buildings were ruinous. Disorder was rampant at College suppers. The purse of the College was empty. The Visitors enjoined amendment, drew up a plan of life for Professors and scholars, and commanded the Principal and the Sub-Principal, besides attending to their Academic duties, to preach at least seven times a year to the people.² It was in vain. The requisite internal vigour was absent. The College could not shake off its body of death. And, meanwhile, the fury outside was increasing. Aberdeen was comparatively lethargic. The great nobles who kept it in check were supporters of the Church; and the people were "far from the madding crowd" of Reformers. But the crowd was gaining in force, and making itself felt in the Mearns and on the Dee. At length, in 1560, the Reformation "fell out". The Scottish Parliament not only abolished Papal Jurisdiction, but abolished the Mass, decreeing stringent punishments—for the third offence death—on all who celebrated or heard it.

The office of Principal had been for some time in an unhappy plight. On the death of Hay, a feeble man—by name Bisset—was appointed to the office. Apparently he resigned his trust into the hands of the Pope, who nominated another, Cranston, who never acted. Then Bisset was restored, and again resigned "because of infirmity, proceeding from long sickness".

¹ *Life of Major*. Preface to *Major's History*, by Sheriff Æneas Mackay.

² For an account of Galloway's Visitation see Rait's *The Universities of Aberdeen*, chap. vii.

All this synchronises with the decadence of the University. In 1560 we find ALEXANDER ANDERSON, who had been Sub-Principal, at the head of the College. He was also Parson of Tyrie and Rector of Kinkell.

“A great scholar and a subtle disputant” is the testimony as to Anderson. The Estates had prohibited any from holding offices who did not profess the reformed faith. Anderson and his colleagues were unanimous in refusing to profess. In John Knox’s *History* there is a curious account of a conference with Anderson, with the Canonist—afterwards Bishop of Ross—and with several of the Regents. Anderson was adjudged by Knox to be “more subtle and crafty than either learned or godly, and better seen in Philosophy than in Theology”. “Nothing,” he adds, “was concludit, for that every ane of them remainit constant in their awin profession.”¹ So obstinate was their attitude, that, in 1569, the General Assembly appointed Commissioners to visit Aberdeen—the first of many Assembly Commissions. The Regent Moray was present. Various complaints against the Principal were made. It was alleged that buildings had become dilapidated, that revenues had been misappropriated, that archives, charts, diplomas had been suppressed and concealed. For some of the charges brought, there does not seem to have been sufficient warrant: but the College had not prospered; and, possibly, Anderson may have hidden or sold ornaments for “hatred,” as Middleton avers, “of the Reformed Religion”. Certainly, when summoned to express their adherence to “the true kirk,” he and his colleagues refused, “obstinately contemning his grace’s most godly admonitions”. Only one course was open to the Commissioners. The obstinate Doctors were deprived and removed, and, in the view of the Commission, “the nursery of learning was effectually purged”.² Poor Anderson! After his deposition he lived in obscurity in Aberdeen, and when he died his means were scarcely sufficient to provide for the funeral. The two redeeming features of his Principalship were, the courage of his convictions which he showed, and the vigour with which he repelled the attack of a rascally multitude headed by the Barons of Mearns, that endeavoured to abstract the lead from the roofs of the College, and the sweet bells which Elphinstone had given. *Repulit vim ferro*, says the chronicler.

¹ Knox’s *History*, pp. 238, 239.

² Wodrow’s *Life of John Erskine of Dun*, p. 22. *Book of the Kirk*, p. 142.

II.

Thus, about seventy-five years after its foundation, the University and St. Mary's or King's College passed from the control of the Roman Church. With the transference of this control to "the true kirk" of the Reformers a new book in Scottish history begins. Carlyle "doth protest too much" when he asserts that "properly there is but one epoch in the history of Scotland, that this history contains nothing of world interest at all but the Reformation by Knox, that until that day it is a country as yet without a soul, nothing developed in it but what is rude, external, and semi-animal".¹ But the Reformation by Knox was a national birth-hour. The old order died hard: only after manifold confusion and fierce protracted strife did a new order in Church and State assume a permanent form. The break was too violent: it was a break in continuity; and the newly emancipated intellectual and moral forces moved about for long "in worlds not realised". The Kirk was, for the moment, the dictator of the situation. By penalising the celebration of the Mass in obedience to its demand, the Scottish Parliament proved that "the worst part of Popery had not been taken from the hearts of those who so vehemently opposed it".² But the Kirk had its time of chastening. Around it and by it was fought the battle of civil liberty; for it interpreted the conscience of the people as against the despotic exercise of the royal prerogative. Yet the battle was stern, and developed features in all the belligerents which, in the light of the twentieth century, bring offence and dishonour on the sacred name of Religion. We shall see how our University and its Principals fared during the contest, with its ups and downs, between Prelacy and Presbytery, between uncovenanted king and covenanted nation.

The University was fortunate in the first Principal of the new régime. ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT was a scion of one of the Baronial families of Mearns. Maintaining the tradition of older days, he had studied law in the University of Paris (or at Bourges) and taken the degree of Licentiate in Law, intending to follow the legal profession. But "God otherwise disposing," after a brief pastorate in an Aberdeenshire parish, he

¹ *Heroes and Hero Worship*, "The Hero as Priest".

² Cook's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii., p. 336. "But," writes Dr. Hume Brown, "in point of fact only one Roman Catholic, the Jesuit Ogilvie, was actually awarded the crown of martyrdom. This is a pleasing record compared with that of every other Christian country" (*History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 449).

was appointed, in 1569, to the position from which Anderson had been removed, with James Lowson as Sub-Principal, and "many other shining lights" as teachers. To rehabilitate the College was no easy task. When Queen Mary visited Aberdeen in 1562 the English Ambassador wrote contemptuously of the one College with fifteen or sixteen scholars. Seven years later there were not even fifteen. In all respects the one College was in a bad way. Arbuthnot brought to his work many of the qualities required in such circumstances, though, it may be, he wanted in firmness of rule, and his poetic nature was too sensitive as to the rancour which he found in all circles. In a poem entitled "A Pure Scholar" he records his own experience :—

The fyr of hatrent kindlit is so hait,
That cheretie doth ring in none estait.

There is a chorus of testimony in his favour. James Melville, in his delightful *Diary*, describes him as "a man of singular gifts of learning, wisdom, godliness, and sweetness of nature". Andrew Melville calls him *patriæ lux oculusque*. More valuable still, as being the judgment of one who had no party bias in his favour, Archbishop Spottiswoode affirms that, "by his diligent teaching and learning, he revived the study of letters, and gained many over from superstition; that he was greatly loved of all men, hated of none, and in such account for his moderation with the chief men of these parts that, without his advice they could almost do nothing, which put him in great fashery, whereof he did often complain. Pleasant and jocund in conversation, and in all sciences expert, a good poet, mathematician, philosopher, theologian, lawyer, and in medicine skilful, so as in every subject he could promptly discourse, and to good purpose."

Arbuthnot was a staunch friend and ally of Andrew Melville. In a journey which the two made in Angus the subject which was in the hearts of both was discussed—the condition of the Universities—and reforms in "the haill ordour in doctrine and discipline" were projected. These reforms contemplated the substitution of specialised Professors for Regents—which was good; but they also contemplated the abolition of the offices of Canonist and Mediciner—which was a serious interference with the University ideal. The reforms encountered opposition. They were, so far, carried out in Glasgow and St. Andrews. But Aberdeen was dour.

A Parliamentary Commission was appointed in 1578 to examine it ; but no report was issued until 1581, and, when presented, Parliament set it aside. In 1582 the more alert and vigorous Assembly interposed, and despatched its own Commission, the Earl Marischal being one of the number. It reported, six months after its constitution, in favour of reform, and the report was adopted. But far away though Aberdeen was from the national centre, there were wires that could be pulled. The result of the wire-pulling was that, in 1583, the King put his veto on the resolution of the Assembly, and King's College went slumberously on its way.

Arbuthnot was put "in fashery" by others than the chief men of the North. James VI. was irritated. The Gowrie Conspiracy had been blessed by the Assembly. The ministers of Edinburgh, interpreting the horror and indignation awakened by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had anathematised the French Ambassador. Andrew Melville, and, in a lesser degree, Arbuthnot, experienced the wrath of the Sovereign. Arbuthnot had been named as a Commissioner to the University of St. Andrews, and the offer of the Parish Church of the old city had tempted him, with the consent of the Assembly, to become a pluralist. He was peremptorily ordered to confine himself to his Academical duty, and was sent northward, if still a jocund, a humbled and a wearied man. In October, 1583, four months after his return, he died, and was buried in the College Chapel.

We pass over the Principalships of Walter Stuart, "much esteemed for learning and prudence who deceased at the early age of 36," and of David Rait, for forty years associated with the College, the first Doctor of Divinity after the Reformation. An interesting period in the seventeenth century invites us to linger for a little.

In the see-saw between Prelacy enforced by the royal prerogative, and Presbytery resisting the prerogative, which began with the Concordat of Leith in 1574 and continued through the two Caroline reigns, the sympathies of King's College were with the prerogative and the modified Episcopacy which it established. These sympathies were expressed in the reign of the first Charles by men of renown, whom Bishop Patrick Forbes of Corse had gathered around him in Aberdeen.

Bishop Patrick Forbes deserves to be held in grateful remembrance. In him were found the best traits of an ecclesiastic, combined with the shrewdness, the *bonhomie*, the pawky humour of a typical Scottish laird. On his elevation to the See he gave his attention to the state of Elphin-

stone's University. He obtained from King Charles a Commission to inquire into its order and discipline, and the evidence laid before this Commission proves that Melville's complaint as to the "misusing" of the Universities applied with special force to the University in Aberdeen. The silver spoons (an accumulation of the spoons which graduates presented) had gone; funds had been wasted and the treasury was empty. There had been no election of foundationers for years. The Principal had been napping. Within and without the College there was "lamentable heathenism and sic lowsness as is horrible to record". By the vigilance of Patrick Forbes, buildings were repaired, extravagance in feasting was forbidden, and disciplines were adjusted. He had no respect for the New Foundation—the scheme which embodied the recommendation of a Parliamentary Commission that had incubated for thirteen years.¹ It is said that he threw the document which contained its provisions into the fire. The Canonist, the Civilist and the Mediciner were confirmed in their offices. It cannot be affirmed that obstacles to progress were entirely removed, for the King wavered between the New Foundation and the old; in one letter establishing the former, in another letter declaring for the latter as "the ancient and true"; and, in the Senatus of the University, there were feuds which again and again became acute. But the teaching work of the University was rendered more satisfactory, and in and around it a circle of culture, unequalled in previous times, was formed, with the advantage of having a printing press that the Bishop had been instrumental in obtaining.²

The Principal of King's College, in succession to Rait, was WILLIAM LESLIE of Aikenway, who when Sub-Principal had received the degrees both of Bachelor and Doctor. Gossipy Orem says: "He was in very great esteem for his learning, being one of the Doctors of Aberdeen who wrote the Duplies".

These Doctors were six in number. Besides Principal Leslie there were John Forbes of Corse, son of the good Bishop who had entered into

¹This New Foundation confirmed ancient endowments and conferred the revenues of the Deanery of Aberdeen and of some Aberdeenshire Parishes on the University, reduced the membership to twenty-two; abolished the offices of Canonist, Civilist and Mediciner; specialised the work of the Regents, and connected the Professorship of Theology and the Parochial charge of St. Machar with the office of Principal (see Rait, chap. ix.).

²For interesting accounts of Bishop Forbes see Bulloch's *History of the University*, chap. xi., and Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, chap. xlv.

rest ; Dr. Baron, Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, and Minister ; Dr. Sibbald, who had been Professor of Natural Philosophy in Marischal College ; Dr. Scrogie, Minister of Old Aberdeen ; and Dr. Ross, Rector of King's College in 1638. Intellectual stalwarts they were ; full of learning ; subtle and keen-witted logicians ; opposed to extremes in doctrine and in polity—to the High Calvinism then in favour, and to the militant Presbyterianism which was interpreted in the famous National League and Covenant of 1638.

The story of this Covenant is not now to be told. The matter that concerns us is the conduct and fate of our Principal and his companions.

Aberdeen was the one exception to the enthusiasm with which the Covenant was received by the people. It would not subscribe ; and the Tables, as the directing Council of the Covenanters was called, appointed a Commission, headed by Alexander Henderson, to visit the rebellious city, recommend the Covenant, and move the refractory Aberdonians to repentance. The Commissioners, reinforced by the great Montrose, then a zealous Covenanter, proceeded to their task. On a sunny July day they approached Aberdeen. At a short distance from the town they were met by the magistrates, who, according to time-honoured custom, courteously offered their visitors the silver cup filled with good red wine. " No," was the rebuff, " not until we know whether you subscribe." The magistrates took back the cup of Bon-Accord, gave orders that its contents should be distributed among the poor of the hospital, and turning their horses' heads made for the city. It was a bad beginning. The day was Saturday. On the Sunday the churches and the University Chapel were " altogether refused " to the Commissioners, and they were obliged to address the few who assembled to hear them from the house of the Earl Marischal. A week of keen controversy followed. The Doctors presented thirteen demands in writing, claiming answers to the demands, for, said they, " we ought to judge of those things which we swear and subscribe with the strict and inquisitive judgment of virtue, and consequently we ought to ponder duly, and propound particularly and fully to others (especially to those who require our oath and subscription and undertake to satisfy our conscience thereant), all the doubts and reasons which make us unwilling or afraid to give our subscription thereunto".¹ The reverend brethren who had

¹ *General Demands Concerning the late Covenant, together with Answers and Replies to these Answers*, pp. 34-36.

come to Aberdeen met their opponents "in modesty and brotherly love," and with the promptitude and comparative brevity which befitted men of affairs. Reply followed reply; the result, an unqualified *non possumus* by the Ministers and Professors, and the withdrawal of the Commissioners, with an expression of their sorrow that the Doctors should "be the first who had accounted the Covenant to be a confederacy against truth".

King Charles rejoiced. He wrote a letter of hearty thanks, and in token of his gratitude a charter was granted to the city, which is known as "The Great Charter of the Freedom and Liberties of the Burgh of Aberdeen". But the Tables soon turned the joy of the citizens into mourning. The Glasgow General Assembly of 1638 flouted the policy of the King, intimated the doom that awaited the Doctors, and warned the northern capital that what it would not do when entreated it would be forced to do at the point of the sword. Montrose, with an army of seven thousand men, was sent to enforce obedience, and to silence Lord Huntly, the King's Lieutenant. Aberdeen had to pay heavily for its contumacy to the Tables, and for its contumacious Doctors. A fine was imposed that impoverished the burgesses; and the inhabitants were made to sign the Covenant in the Greyfriars Church. The Doctors resolved not to sign, but, unable to face the consequence of their resolution, they disappeared. They were formally deprived by an Assembly held in the Greyfriars on the 28th July, 1639.¹ Dr. Baron had died before the deprivation. In 1640, by order of the General Assembly, his widow was taken from Strathislay, under charge of musqueteers, and her letters and MSS. were searched in order to establish a charge of unsound doctrine against her dead husband—"a mark," says Mr. Innes, with a fine charity, "of the general coarseness of the times, rather than to be attributed to the persecuting spirit of any one sect."²

Such was the end of Leslie's Principalship. As to his administration there is a conflict of testimony. The Commissioners of the Tables reported that he was negligent in his office, but they qualify their report by the admission that he was "a man of good literature, life, and conversation". The Parson of Rothiemay declares that "the University was happy in having such a light as he, who was eminent in all the Sciences above the

¹ It was enacted by this Assembly "that no preacher nor schoolmaster be allowed to reside within a burgh, University or College who refused to sign the Covenant".

² *Sketches, etc.*, p. 291.

most of men". With his removal from King's, and the scattering of the Doctors, there vanish a fulness and a brightness of culture which had shed lustre on the North.

Let us change the scene. Hitherto the subject of study has been King's College—its chiefs and its fortunes. But, for nearly fifty years before the close of Leslie's career, the irritation excited in the more ardent spirits of the period by the stolid conservatism of the University had obtained expression. An attempt to found another University in Fraserburgh had proved abortive. But the establishment of a rival institution in the city of Aberdeen was a more serious matter. The fifth Earl Marischal was a scholar, a Hebraist, a friend of Beza and the Reformers. He was one of the Assembly's Commissioners to Aberdeen in 1582. He was the King's Commissioner for the Northern Counties in 1592. Meditating much on ecclesiastical and educational problems, he came to the conclusion that King's College was joined to its idols, and that the only security for the new doctrine and learning in the North was the establishment of a College on similar lines to those of King's, but more distinctly Protestant and less fettered by tradition. Towards the accomplishment of this purpose he devoted the property, once held by the Grey Friars which had been given to him by the Crown, and persuaded the Town Council to give the monastery of the Grey Friars for the accommodation of the members of the College. It was, at first, but a small affair; only a bit of a University; only a Faculty of Arts, with a Principal, three Regents, and six bursars. But it appealed to Presbyterian and Protestant feeling—every student being held bound to the National Covenant. In 1593 the scheme of the Earl received the approbation of the General Assembly and the sanction of King James, then well within the grip of the Scottish Church. Thus it happened that, each within a mile of the other, were located two institutions with the powers and privileges of Universities—an anomaly that existed for 267 years, with a short break afterwards to be noted.

The first three Principals of the College were worthy men, of whom little needs to be said: Robert Howie, a Minister of Aberdeen, who held office for only five years, afterwards Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews; Gilbert Gray, with an influential family connection, the author of an oration on illustrious Scottish writers, in which, after the manner of Boece, he largely draws on his imagination for his facts; Andrew Aidie or

Aedy, appointed by the Earl Marischal in deference to the desire of the King and in opposition to the wish of the Town Council, who, after some years' experience of the opposition of the townfolk, lost heart and resigned the position.

The fourth in succession, WILLIAM FORBES, is the outstanding figure of the period. When Aedy retired in 1620 the Chancellor, apparently, offered the situation to Mr. Ramsay in Edinburgh, but to his translation Edinburgh would not consent. The Town Council, who claimed a right to interfere, insisted on the appointment of Forbes, at the same time, making "this always condition" that the town should not be deprived of his "two sermons every week". The insistence of the Council prevailed. Forbes was the son of an estimable burgher descended from the Corsindae branch of the Forbesees. When only sixteen he graduated in the College. At seventeen he was a Regent, lecturing on Logic, an office which he soon resigned in order that he might study in Universities on the Continent. In several European Universities he attended lectures, and acquired such a reputation that he was offered the Chair of Hebrew in Oxford. Health conditions, however, forbade his settlement in the South, and he returned to his native land, taking holy orders, and serving in two Aberdeenshire cures, Alford and Monymusk. Bishop Patrick Forbes secured his appointment to a charge in Aberdeen in 1616, and there he formed one of the circle of *literati* whose genius and acquirements made the city famous. He was associated with the Aberdeen Doctors, though he was not one of the signatories to the Demands. In 1618 he was selected to defend, in the General Assembly, the lawfulness of the first of the Five Articles of Perth, that which related to kneeling at the Holy Communion.

When Forbes became Principal, he was relieved from the duty of teaching in the College, in order that the condition laid down by the Town Council might be fulfilled—the "two sermons every week". He was a most vigorous and a most lengthy preacher. Burnet says that "he had a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time".¹ The "two sermons a week" must have exhausted him, and the congregation. But he was the beloved of the town. In 1621, to its great sorrow, he was chosen one of the clergy of Edinburgh, and demitted his chair. He had made a mistake. Edinburgh did not endorse the opinion of Aber-

¹This is Burnet's statement in his *History*; in his Preface to the *Life of Bedell* he speaks of only two or three hours.

deen. His preaching would not charm. The citizens scented Popery; and after bearing up for a time, he shook off the dust of his feet against the metropolis, returning to a vacant charge in Aberdeen, which welcomed the prodigal and his "twa sermons weekly".

One great effort the clerical Samson made. He was called to preach at the Coronation of Charles I. The King vastly admired the oratory, and the Popery which the people detected was grateful to him. Turning to his courtiers, he declared that a special Bishopric should be created for Forbes. He was made first Bishop of Edinburgh. But the honour came too late; perhaps he was taken from the evil to come, from the days when, in St. Giles, tent-stall women threw cutty-stools and stones at dignitaries of the Church. He discharged the duties of his office for only two months. Weary and worn he died at the early age of forty-four.

There is the suggestion of a grim irony in the development of Marischal College. Intended to interpret aggressive Protestant feeling, within less than thirty years after its constitution, William Forbes, the head of its teaching staff, wrote and spoke on the subject of reconciliation with Rome. Forbes has been described as "a man of monastic habits, retiring in disposition and taciturn in company".¹ Of his learning and piety there can be no doubt. The Parson of Rothiemay describes him as "one of the learnedest men and one of the most eloquent preachers of his age, or that Aberdeen, the nursery of so many great spirits, ever brought forth".² Bishop Burnet writes that "his father, who knew William Forbes long, and, being counsel for him in his law matters, had occasion to know him well, had often told him that he never saw Forbes but he thought his heart was in heaven".³

Marischal College was not bound by precedent as the sister University was. There was an excellent reason for connecting the Principal's office with a profession which secured an income. For that office was scantily endowed; indeed the endowment represented a mere eke to a living. When Forbes resigned, the Earl Marischal and the Town Council resolved to appoint a layman to the vacant place. This layman was Patrick Dun, son of "umquhile Andrew Dun, burgess". He was the first of four lay Principals of Marischal University. Three of these may

¹ Principal Lee's *Lectures*, vol. ii., p. 243.

² *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. iii., p. 241.

³ Preface to the *Life of Belcell*.

here be mentioned; the fourth, and the most distinguished of the four, is reserved for a later period.

PATRICK DUN had studied and taught in foreign Universities. The degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred by the University of Basel. In the book of Regents he is described as "a very famous Professor of Germanie". We find him Professor of Logic in 1610. In 1619 he was Rector, and, in the same year, he was elected Mediciner in King's College (without salary), an office which he held until 1632. In 1621 he became Principal. Strachan in his *Panegyrics* calls him a physician in great practice, and Parson Gordon describes him as a distinguished physician and alchemist.

He died in 1649, and, after an interval of twelve years—during which William Moir, a clergyman, also Professor of Mathematics and much occupied with "the mechanical part of Mathematics," filled the Presidential Chair—came the second lay Principal, James Leslie, of the family of Leslie of Crichtie. Concerning him our information is, that when his travels on the Continent were ended he graduated M.D. and was appointed Physician to the City; that the Town Council secured the Principalship for the City Doctor; and that, between 1661 and 1678 he flourished, doctoring the city, guiding the College, and enjoying the affection of three wives in succession. At his decease, in 1678, Robert Paterson, who held the then most lucrative office in the College—that of Librarian—was selected. He retained his charge of the Library, with the emoluments pertaining thereto—an unassuming, prudent, learned man, son of the Bishop of Ross, and brother of men who rose to high places.

Thus in the seventeenth century the two Universities kept a light burning in the north-east of Scotland. In the early years of the century the light was not brilliant. At times it did little more than flicker. The days were evil, and the Colleges suffered. There were not twenty students in King's, and there were not so many in Marischal. But as the century advanced numbers increased, and the activity of Regents increased also. There were exchanges of courtesy and of service between the two institutions. Principals and Regents helped one another; and occasionally they had "wyne and tobacco and pypes together". Always, however, their mutual attitude was that of a jealous emulation, and often emulation passed into rivalry. We read of Regents taking their holidays in the way of journeys through the provinces with a proselytising aim, "intyseing the scholleres of the one College to the other".

Both Colleges were affected by the developments of the century. For them, a notable development was the formal union of the two in 1641. Charles I. intended good things; but his methods were so dominated by his conviction as to the divine right of kings that his intentions were unappreciated and unsuccessful. He did well when he endeavoured to remove the anomaly of two competing Universities in the one city; but though King Charles's University was mentioned in State documents, in official papers and Acts, for twenty years, there was no change in administration and in policy. The union was right, but it was imposed from without; it was not the expression of a unity that had grown up within; and the Colleges liked it not. The unfortunate but well-meaning King accomplished something. He benefited the Universities by dividing between them the feu-duties of the Bishopric of Aberdeen, assigning two-thirds to the older and one-third to the younger. He stimulated also the desire for fuller and wider usefulness.

But there came a day when lines of policy and levels of action were rudely disturbed. In September, 1651, General Monk, in the name of the Lord Protector, entered Aberdeen at the head of an army whose "order and discipline and face of gravity and piety" amazed the people. The consequences of this visit to Principals and Professors, especially to those of King's, were most serious.

Oliver Cromwell was a friend of learning and piety. He issued an ordinance whose preamble stated that "the Universities should receive both countenance and encouragement, and be provided for with competent maintenance for the members of the said Universities, for the better training up of youth in piety and good literature".¹ He not only confirmed the gift by King Charles of the feu-duties of the Bishopric, but to this, in accordance with the prayer of a petition presented by the Colleges, he added the superiority of the Bishopric, and 200 merks yearly from the Customs of Aberdeen as "a farder additional maintenance of the mean condition" of the Colleges. But, before these bounties were enjoyed, there was a special whip-cord for King's, concerning which an evil report had reached him from those who "smelled Prelacy" in it.

The Principal of King's at the time of General Monk's visit was Dr.

¹ Letter embedded in decree of the Sheriff Court in 1655. A Copy of this letter, signed by Mr. John Row and Mr. William Moir, and of the decree was published by Dr. Littlejohn, the esteemed Sheriff Clerk of Aberdeenshire, in the *Evening Gazette*, 26th May, 1904.

WILLIAM GUILD. The benevolence of his disposition, and his benefactions to the Trades of Aberdeen have ensured that his name shall be held in grateful remembrance. But, if truth must be said, though an amiable, he was a weak, man. His selection by the Presbyterians as Dr. Leslie's successor, in view of the candidature of Robert Baillie, is unaccountable. For he had sat on the fence in the controversies of the Aberdeen Doctors. He was with them, but he would not commit himself wholly to their views. When the all-powerful Assembly ordered subscription to the National Covenant, as the condition of retaining benefice and chair, he subscribed, yet with reservations. When Montrose threatened Aberdeen, he retired to Holland until issues should be more clearly defined. His nomination to the Principalship decided his course; for a time his zeal on behalf of the Covenant moved him "to bring down the people, man, wife and maiden to the College Chapel, to hear his explanation and enforcement of it". Alas! the response to his "bringing down" was not hearty, and his violent heat came to a sudden end. Notwithstanding the passion for the Covenant, the General Assembly, informed by the vigilant Cant, distrusted him. In 1649 it appointed one of its numerous Commissions to inquire and report on him and the University, and acting on the report of the Commission he and some of his colleagues were removed. The burlesque of the matter is that the Regents would not remove and the Principal held on.

This was the situation that confronted Monk and his colonels. They made short work of it. Quietly, but effectually, they removed the offenders. Guild, "Rector," as he is styled, "of King Charles's University," bitterly resented the action. He cherished an ill-will to the College with which he had been identified, and to Old Aberdeen, whose people had "odiously thocht of" his conduct when he demolished the castle of the Bishop that had been given him for a residence. In his will he left none of his estate to King's or to the cathedral city; he bestowed his gifts on Marischal College and the burghal city.

Dr. Guild was replaced by a man according to Cromwell's own heart, by JOHN ROW, one of the Ministers of Aberdeen, "a person well seen in the Latin and Greek languages, and not ill in the Hebrew". He did good to and in the College. With the aid of General Monk and the colonels, and of citizens whose gifts were duly recorded in the *Album Amicorum Coll. Regii Aberdonensis*, he added a tenement of six stories in height, with twenty-

four chambers. The tower in King's College commonly called Cromwell Tower is a survival of this extension. Nor in his care for the fabric did Row neglect the internal upbuilding of his College. He was a masterful man; not altogether ungenial, for he encouraged football, and did not frown on the "wyn, tobacco and pypes" of the Regents; but he was a most strict disciplinarian of the Puritan type, and withal an alert educationist—his students becoming famous for their disputations in Philosophy, not in the vernacular, but in Greek, Latin, French or Hebrew. For nine years, from 1652 to 1661, John Row laboured and taught. And then the fate of Dr. Guild overtook him. At the Restoration of the Monarchy, Row was dismissed. Thenceforth he supported himself by keeping a private school. He died, "poor and necessitous," in his daughter's house.

III.

The landing of William of Orange at Torbay rang the death-knell of the Stuart dynasty. James VII. fled ingloriously from Whitehall, and a great revolution was effected. In 1689 the Estates which, four years before, had offered their duty, with their lives and fortunes, to the representative of "the sacred race of their most glorious Kings," transferred their duty to the Stadtholder of Holland and his wife, the daughter of James. It was the beginning of a new era, the era of constitutional monarchy and of civil and religious liberty.

What was the position of the Universities when William and Mary, with uplifted hands, repeated the Coronation oath, read in the name of the Scottish people by the Earl of Argyll?

A Rescissory Act passed in 1661 had ended King Charles's University. The union, as has been remarked, had been little more than a form during the twenty years of its existence. There were no tears shed over its practical dissolution. The two Colleges continued their work and their rivalry, with the (to them doubtful) benefit of Commissions and Visitations. Aberdeen kept apart from the fight between Prelacy and Presbytery which the policy of Charles II. renewed. The killing time did not reach it. It was staunchly Episcopal and Royalist, and the sound of the battle waging in the south and south-west was heard only from afar. Education advanced. Marischal College aimed at the repair and extension of its buildings, and many of the Aberdonians who had sought and made their fortunes in the European Continent contributed to the furtherance of its aim.

Additional Chairs were founded. The Libraries were enlarged. When William became King there were more than seventy students in King's, and Marischal College was not far behind its elder sister. Plans of reform were in the air. There was increased vigour in teaching and administration.

Far-reaching changes followed on the establishment of the new dynasty. In the phraseology of the day, Church and State were purged. The Universities of Scotland were also purged. In 1690 Parliament passed an Act which decreed that no Principal, Professor or Regent should be allowed to bear office in any College or University unless he subscribed to the Confession of Faith, took the oath of allegiance, and acknowledged the Presbyterian government of the Church. To ensure the enforcement of this Act, and to inquire and report on the condition of the Universities, a Commission was appointed. An immediate result of its inspection was that in St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, several Professors who refused to comply with the requirements of the Act were deposed. In the northern University the officials were not so scrupulous as their brethren in the south. With the exception of Dr. Garden, the Professor of Divinity in King's College, they subscribed, with mental reservations, and Dr. Garden was treated with a patience and consideration which surprised him. There was no desire to press the law to the strict terms of its letter. The King was opposed to coercive measures. So was his successor, Queen Anne. So was her successor, King George. The Government was forced to adopt a repressive policy by the conduct of academic men in openly espousing the cause of the Stuart claimant when he landed at Peterhead, and made his futile attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors.

This is illustrated by the case of Dr. George Middleton. He succeeded his father, Alexander Middleton (a weak and infirm man) as Principal of King's University in 1684. Orem says that he was a great Humanist and Philosopher and a sound divine, but that "notwithstanding the Presbyterians turned him out in 1717". The statement is misleading. The offence for which he was turned out by the Royal Commission was not his ecclesiastical attitude, but his disloyalty to the Government of King George. He was implicated in the rising of 1715; and by this rising hangs a tale which involved the Universities as well as Middleton.

It has been pointed out that the antagonism of the principles and career of William Forbes to the original idea of Marischal College exemplified that irony of fate which is frequently traceable in the affairs of

men. The same irony appears in the history of the family of the Earls Marischal. The fifth earl, the founder of the University, was a fervent Presbyterian and an opponent of the prerogative as claimed by the Stuarts. The tenth earl was a fervent Jacobite. In September, 1715, he proclaimed James VIII. King at the Market Crosses of Aberdeen and of Old Aberdeen. The bells of the city were rung. The citizens cheered vociferously. The Incorporated Trades feasted the Earl. Professors of the two Colleges joined in the demonstration. The students were infected by the enthusiasm; it is said that, even after James had fled, they lit a bonfire in the College Bounds, in which the Duke of Brunswick was burnt in effigy. It was on account of alleged sympathy with this ebullition of feeling that Middleton, three Professors of King's, and six Professors of Marischal College, were deprived of their offices. "The sentence," writes Ramsay of Ochertyre, "was put into execution with a vigour that excited general indignation. No wonder that Chalmers, the new Principal, and the other Presbyterian Professors should meet with a very bad reception from all classes of people. It required years to soften the prejudices against them."¹

The Earls Marischal disappear; and concurrently with the vanishing of a noble and picturesque Scottish family, there is a transference of patronages to the Crown. It was an advance towards the nationalisation of the Universities, and, as the consequence of this nationalisation, a day of wider Academical outlooks.

Marischal College was especially the *Academia* of the city of Aberdeen. It shared in the growth and prosperity of the city. King's College was slow to move out of old paths. It had resisted the proposal of the Commissioners in 1698 so to adapt its Arts curriculum as to provide for a Chair of Greek. It was limp and halting in the endeavour to establish a Chair of Mathematics. Marischal College took the lead in the recognition of the Sciences. As the eighteenth century progressed, it progressed in the consciousness and the partial realisation of a *studium generale*. The work of McLaurin, and, at a later date, of Copland, brought Physics into prominence. The "Mediciner" was a tradition of King's, and at times the office was more than a tradition; but its neighbourhood to the Infirmary and the Dispensary gave Marischal College an advantage. Regenting

¹ *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 289.

was abolished in the latter institution long before it was abolished in the former.¹

Concerning the Principals: After Dr. Middleton's deposition there came a succession of good men, undistinguished by special eminence, in King's College. Two Chalmers, bearing the name of Dr. George and Dr. John, did faithful service. The elder of the two by his exertions secured the re-building of the Library. Dr. Roderick M'Leod, who followed, is described as "a merry old gentleman, the very reverse of a starched old pedantic North Briton". Dr. William Jack, his successor, was apparently a kind of Admirable Crichton. He was a clergyman but also a Doctor of Medicine. He had taught Mathematics, Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. He was the author of a pamphlet in which old age pensions were advocated as "an antidote to pauperism and a substitute for rates". These worthy men divided a hundred and thirty-eight years between them. At the death of Dr. Jack, in 1855, Dr. Peter Colin Campbell was appointed; and with him the series of King's Principals closed.

The honours of the period remain with Marischal College. Some names in its roll are entitled to special recognition.

Dr. THOMAS BLACKWELL, the younger, is one of these. He was born in 1701, the son of Dr. Thomas Blackwell, Professor of Greek (the last of the Earl Marischal's presentees), and also Principal. The son graduated M.A. when only seventeen years of age. At the age of twenty-two he was Professor of Greek, even then with such a reputation for scholarship that Bishop Berkeley corresponded with him as to a Professorship in the projected College in the Bermudas. Homer was on the brain of young Blackwell; his first publication (anonymous) being an inquiry "By what fate or disposition it has happened that no poet has equalled Homer for 2,700 years, nor any that we know of surpassed him before". Letters, still anonymous, on the subject of mythology followed. But the fame of the young scholar had spread, and when, in 1748, after twenty years' tenure of the office, Dr. Osborne died, the King appointed him Principal—the fourth of the lay Principals of Marischal College. Four years later his University lauded him LL.D. In 1753 appeared (not now anonymously) the *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*, a book which Dr. Johnson—not, of course, without the Johnsonian sneer at the author's

¹ "The professorial system was not finally adopted in King's College until 1799" (Bulloch's *History of the University*, p. 153).

nationality—acknowledged to be “the work of a learned man”. He was for only nine years Principal. Never robust, his health so failed in 1757 that, after taking a pleasant farewell of his colleagues and friends, he set out for a tour in sunnier climes. In Edinburgh the hand of death arrested him, and he passed away in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The lay Blackwell was a man of another stamp than the clerical Blackwell. The clerical had written a volume entitled *Ratio Sacra*; the nickname of the son was *Ratio profana*. In temperament and in habits he was unlike not only his father but almost all his predecessors. According to Ramsay of Ochtertyre, “in his manner of writing he had copied the affectation of Lord Shaftesbury, his favourite philosopher; he was not supposed to be very correct in his principles; there was an elaboration and splendour in his talk which disgusted most people; he was regarded by many as a learned coxcomb of some genius and much application”. There could be no doubt, however, as to his erudition, “and even,” says Ramsay, “those most prejudiced against him admitted that he had a happy, efficacious way of interesting his scholars in all he taught them”.¹

The eighteenth century was not a time of lofty ideals. But, as it proceeded, there was a renaissance of culture. In Edinburgh, divines, philosophers, lawyers, physicians, met in taverns and elsewhere, their special “band,” not that of the old Scottish type, but the spirit of humanism, the love of learning and of literature. Aberdeen, though far from the metropolis, felt the renaissance. Principal Blackwell gave a new impulse to his University and city. And the impulse gained in momentum during the Principalship of Dr. George Campbell, 1759-95.

Hereditarily, GEORGE CAMPBELL was connected with the noble house of Argyll. He was born on Christmas Day, 1719, in Aberdeen. His father, who died when he was nine years old, was one of the city clergy. The boy was destined for the legal profession; but, in 1741, he exchanged Law for Divinity. Completing his professional course in Edinburgh, his promotion was rapid. In 1748 he was ordained to the parochial charge of Banchory-Ternan. In 1757 he was translated to Aberdeen. In 1759, retaining his cure, he was appointed Principal of Marischal College. In 1771 he resigned his pastorate on being elected Professor of Divinity. A spare small man of delicate constitution, his health was a continual anxiety. A severe illness in 1791 laid him prostrate, and from its effects he never

¹ *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century.*

fully recovered. First the Chair was demitted in 1795; and, a year later, the Principalship—a pension having been granted by the Crown. Within three months after his resignation he entered into rest.

Dr. Campbell was a voluminous writer, and some of his works have still a place in the libraries at least of older folk. Though they do not rank as classics, their merits command respect. Three of them may be noticed.

The most controversial of his writings is *A Dissertation on Miracles*. The troubler of the Scottish Israel in the eighteenth century was David Hume. To his celebrated *Treatise on Human Nature* there were many replies, and Aberdeen contributed some of the most notable of these. At the date of the publication of the treatise Thomas Reid, then Parish Minister of New Machar, was a disciple of Bishop Berkeley, but Hume disillusioned him and sent him in search of a new philosophical basis. After years of study he submitted his *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, in draft, to the society which he had founded and of which Campbell was a member. In this inquiry the scepticism of Hume was criticised. James Beattie, the Minstrel, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischal College, wrote his *Essay on Truth*—vehemently polemical and unsparing in its condemnation of the celebrated David. It was the most popular of all the answers, attracting royal favour and obtaining a wide acceptance. The Principal's *Dissertation*, challenging Hume's argument as to experience, had a considerable vogue. It was calm, careful in its reasoning, and uniformly courteous (many regarded it as too courteous) to his opponent. That opponent paid it the compliment of saying that he never felt so violent an inclination to break through a resolution which he had formed in early life, not to reply to an adversary, as when he read it. In the form which it then assumed the controversy waged is largely outwith the trend of thought in our day, but it has still points and phases of interest.

The most directly theological of the Principal's books is *A New Translation of the Gospels, with Preliminary Dissertations and Notes*. It had the largest circulation of all his books—running into a seventh edition. The development of Biblical Criticism has left it among the things behind; but we can appreciate the scholarship which it manifests, the candour and fairness of its notes, and the liberal spirit breathed in the words with which its preface closes: "Truth has been in all my inquiries, and still is my

aim. To her I am ready to sacrifice every personal consideration, but am determined not knowingly to sacrifice her to anything."

The least theological of the Principal's writings is his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. We cannot call it out of date. It has a measure of authority. Although, like other publications of the period, it is occasionally stilted and formal in style, yet, because of its lucidity, its views as to eloquence and elocution, its analysis "not only of the operations of the intellect and imagination but of the lurking springs of action in the heart," it is well worthy of perusal. An interesting feature connected with it is that the book was the expansion of discourses read to the same society as that to which Professor Reid read his *Inquiry*.

It was a society founded in 1758, and called, half in jest, the Wise Club. Aberdeen, relieved from many kinds of pressure, had become a home of learning. There was a galaxy of cultured men in and around the Universities; and the Society of the Wise, at its meetings in the inn, gathered the *literati* together, and encouraged definite intellectual effort. The Principals of the Colleges, Thomas Reid, Professors Gregory and Gerard, were of the number of the Wise.

Dr. George Campbell's successor in all the positions he had filled—Minister of Greyfriars, Professor of Divinity and Principal, was WILLIAM LAURENCE BROWN. Born at Utrecht, 7th July, 1755, in which city his father was a clergyman, he received the rudiments of his education in Holland. When the father was called to a Professorship in St. Andrews, the son was entered as a student in the ancient University. But his heart was in Utrecht, and, returning thither, he was ordained to the charge his father had served. He soon became a famous essayist, and distinctions followed rapidly. Before he was thirty, he was a D.D. of St. Andrews; shortly thereafter he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy and Ecclesiastical History in Utrecht, and in 1790 he was made Rector of the University. Among the good people of the Netherlands he would have lived and died but for the hurricane caused by the French Revolution that swept over Europe. In an open boat, in the coldest month of the year, he escaped with his wife and children to the shores of England. Aberdeen opened its arms to him, gave him in 1795 the Greyfriars Church and the Chair of Theology in Marischal College. In 1796 it welcomed him to the Chair of the Principal.

A great plum fell to him. Sometime before Dr. Brown's appoint-

ment, a religiously-minded merchant in Aberdeen bequeathed part of his estate to trustees for the purpose of stimulating thought in the Theistic argument. He directed that at intervals of forty years two premiums open to all should be offered for essays presenting and discussing the evidence of the wisdom and goodness of the Deity. The subject was congenial to the Principal of Marischal College, and he was adjudged worthy of the first prize at the first competition, value £1,200—not an inconsiderable addition to the resources of a poorly paid official. The second prizeman was the Rev. John Bird Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Both essays had no doubt literary merit; but they had no permanent value, and they are now unknown. It may be noted *en passant* that, after the prescribed four decades had been passed, there was a second competition, when the honours were assigned to the Rev. J. A. Thomson, a Lancashire clergyman, and to the Rev. John Tulloch of Kettins, subsequently Principal Tulloch of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Under Parliamentary authority the capital sum bequeathed was at a subsequent date diverted to more useful objects.

Dr. Brown did not eat the bread of idleness. Academic, municipal and ecclesiastical affairs engaged his attention. He seems to have been a man of influence in the city. But if the criticism of Donald Sage is just, he cannot have been an inspiring teacher.¹

Over the appointment of his successor there was considerable wrangling, and, as the consequence, there was a protracted vacancy. The Senatus of the College petitioned for one man, the Crown preferred another. It was not until 1832 that the Crown nominee, Dr. Daniel Dewar, was installed. He had been Professor of Moral Philosophy in King's College, and had held important positions in the Church. In 1833 he became also Professor of Church History, "on a presentation," says Knight, "which he had obtained from the Crown without the privities of the College". It may be that some who read this paper can recall the sturdy old man who was never popular, but who held on, teaching, preaching, presiding over the Senatus, writing books which have disappeared from book-shelves, shrewd in judgment, hospitable, and with much of an old-world courtesy in his manners.

His was a memorable time in the annals of the College. The monastic edifice in which its instruction was carried on had been modified and

¹ Sage's criticism is quoted by Bulloch, *History of the University*, p. 186.

enlarged at intervals in its history. But no architect, however skilful, could make it a suitable or comely fabric. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it consisted, writes the historian of the University, "of a four-storeyed central building, with an unsightly wing at the south side, and a huge clumsy tower for an observatory at the other. The public school, a long trough of a place, paved with stone, 'gave one the idea of a hastily built granary'."¹ The growing importance of the city of Aberdeen, the increase of students, the demand for fuller equipment of the Medical School, the development of an Academical spirit among graduates, gave urgency to the desire for more commodious premises. In 1834 the Treasury, which had been for long besieged, surrendered, and granted £15,000 for a new College. The work of designing the College was entrusted to Mr. Archibald Simpson. In 1837 the memorial-stone was laid, with great pomp, pride and circumstance, and in 1844 the building was occupied.

The friends of King's College looked askance at the forward march of its neighbour. It, too, had hugged the mortar tub. Originally the tower was crowned by a spire, but the spire was demolished by a furious gale in the year of Lord Mar's hunting party. When the "old Pretender" had vanished, George I. expressed his interest in the proposal to repair the structure, which had become unsightly, and to restore the parts of it which had become ruinous. The generosity of Fraser of Chelsea supplied a library, afterwards burned, and other chambers. But in 1825 the removal of the desolation of many generations and the renewal of the fabric were seriously faced. Then a new front, not by any means in the best taste, was reared. It was the Treasury grant towards this erection which stirred the zeal of the supporters of Marischal College and began the movement that resulted in the brand-new fabric. The King's College Professors would not take part in the celebrations at Marischal; only the good Principal (Jack) was large hearted enough to rejoice with those who rejoiced. Small jealousies, unworthy of scholars and of learned societies, engendered miserable frictions that prevented co-operation for the public good. An attempt to found a joint Medical School proved a fiasco, the Senatus of King's College declaring that "it was inexpedient and even dangerous to maintain further intercourse with Marischal

¹ Bulloch's *History of the University*, p. 181.

College". The applications for funds on the part of both institutions brought this bitterness of feeling into light, and, along with it, revealed the necessity for the reform of both. Bills aiming at union were introduced into Parliament, but, in consequence of the opposition which they received, were withdrawn. The recommendation of a Commission appointed in 1837, that there should be double Faculties in Arts in the Colleges, with single Faculties in Theology, Medicine, and Law, was unpalatable. A proposal in 1854 to divide the Faculties between the Colleges kindled a blaze of controversy in University circles and in the city. At length, in 1857, a Commission was sent to take evidence and report; and this time there was real business. Indignation and protesting assemblies of graduates and citizens were disregarded. A plan of union—substantially that which was carried into effect—was drawn up, and, ultimately, ratified. On 15th September, 1860, it came into operation. The University and King's College and Marischal College and University died, as such, to re-exist in the University of Aberdeen.

The hatchet was very quickly buried. Peace with honour very quickly reigned. The University of Aberdeen shared in the benefits, if also in the unsettlements, of the legislation which was preceded by a Commission appointed in 1876. Year after year witnessed the introduction of a Bill into Parliament, but in 1889 the copestone was put on Parliamentary action by the passing of an Act "for the better administration and encouragement of Universities". This Act created a body of Commissioners with power to arrange financial affairs, to regulate courses of study, methods of teaching, qualifications for degrees, the admission of women, new Professorships, terms of foundations, and other matters. As to the diligence of this, the last of a great multitude of Commissions, and the thoroughness of its work, ample evidence is borne in the report of its 250 meetings, and in the 169 ordinances under which the affairs of the Scottish Universities are now administered. It is not within the scope of this paper to dwell on the changes which, by these ordinances, have been effected in government, in educational curricula and methods, in the Professoriate and the Faculties, in the ranges and the aims of University culture. Nor can there be more than a grateful acknowledgment of the munificence of Dr. Andrew Carnegie and of the stimulus thereby given to the cause of higher education. Nor yet, again, in this part of the Quatercentenary volume, can the story of the extension of the buildings and the fuller equipment of the University be

told. With regard to these and other subjects, the words with which John Major concludes his *History of Greater Britain* may be adopted: "This then so far; the rest let others tell, or we in other place".

Since the union of the Universities three Principals of the University of Aberdeen have ceased from their labours. The time has not yet come for the appraisal of their service and influence. For Dr. Peter Colin Campbell, Dr. William Robinson Pirie, and Sir William Duguid Geddes, are not mere names in a roll of the departed; they do not belong to a day that is past; they live in the grateful remembrance of many who knew them as colleagues or as teachers and guides, and who blend the impression of their personalities with all reminiscences of the old *Alma Mater*. The present writer is aware of the distance at which he follows his distinguished predecessors. But he is not behind any in the sincerity with which he prays—

Floreat Universitas Aberdonensis.

J. MARSHALL LANG.



George North fifth Earl Mansfield

FROM THE PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY

THE MAKER OF MARISCHAL COLLEGE : AND HIS "HAPPIE OFFSPRING".

. . . Marischal College, Aberdeen . . . where for a few, in those stern granite Counties, the Diviner Pursuits are still possible (thank God and this Keith) on frugal oatmeal (Carlyle in *Frederick the Great*).

IT was a true instinct for the differentiating fact which made Carlyle note—as his phrase elliptically implies—that the Motive and the Man responsible for the creation of Marischal College and University were more palpable and more personal than in the case of the sister foundation in Old Aberdeen.

Consider the Motive which created King's College. At a stroke of his pen, the Holy Father impressed upon the bleak outpost in his Empire which jutted out defiantly on the North Sea a complete model of the highest Catholic culture of the time. An elementary school would have been far more suitable in the circumstances. As it was, a University, in the full panoply of the four Faculties, started into being—at least on parchment—as if its site had been some mediæval seat of learning instead of a townlet far removed from the sources of civilisation. Very different was the case of Marischal College, which simply had to be erected in deference to an intensely national, nay a burning local, desire. The present uses of the two institutions are but a symbol of this difference in initial Motive. King's College still stands for the vague culture of the Liberal Arts: while its former rival—always nearer and dearer to the city dweller—has come to confine itself to the specialised forms of that culture in the shape of medicine and the allied sciences.

Similarly with the men more immediately connected with the two origins. If Bishop Elphinstone, the founder of King's College, is not as shadowy as a figure in the Roll of Saints, his priesthood necessarily stands for aloofness, and the panegyrics (in rotund Latin) which mainly constitute his biography only help to obscure his human side. But George Keith,

fifth Earl Marischal, stands clearly defined for us on much more personal grounds, just as his Motive was much more an indigenous impulse.

If that Motive had been Protestantism pure and undefiled, the term indigenous would, of course, be inexact; all the more as in the case of the founder of Marischal College the "true religion" was not a new-born discovery but an inherited creed, which he had strengthened at the fountain-head in Geneva. The converting of Marischal's grandfather was not wholly theological. The democratic principle underlying Protestantism was essentially antagonistic to an aristocracy, and was naturally repudiated by the other nobles of the north-east of Scotland, the Huntly Gordons and the Erroll Hays, who both stood by Rome; and it was probably this fact which greatly influenced William, the fourth Earl Marischal, in deciding to support the reformed creed, for he saw in it an opportunity of asserting his right to live which had been menaced by the forceful dominance of the Gordons. That dominance had dwarfed the Keiths, for, though they had been settled in the North long before the Gordons trekked from the Borders to Strathbogie in the beginning of the fourteenth century, they had seen the intruders overrun the three north-eastern shires with a permeating progeny which is the despair of the genealogist. The power of the Gordons is demonstrated by the fact that, though they were new-comers, they attained noble rank (about 1445) some years before the Keiths, and had penetrated the country as far as Sutherland, while the Keiths remained a select sept in a comparatively limited area of Kincardine and Aberdeen.

The instinct of the Gordons for absorbing their neighbours had even been practised on the Keiths. The fourth Earl Marischal's grandmother was a Gordon, daughter of the second Earl of Huntly, and his sister had married the fourth Earl of Huntly: Marischal himself, with an almost jealous anxiety for the purity of his line, reinforced his Keith blood by marrying his distant kinswoman, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Keith of Invergie. There was, therefore, a peculiar significance in the fact that it was in the full bloom of this family connection that the two Earls took opposite sides. The clash of the Reformation put Marischal on the top for a time. Huntly—setting up as his own sovereign—was slain by the Queen's forces at Corrichie in 1562: while his son John was executed in the same year before the very eyes of the Queen, who witnessed the execution from the house of Marischal, at once her host and the uncle of the handsome victim on the scaffold. To emphasise the complete severance of interest,

Huntly's younger son, James, as if to make up for his father's fatal dubieties, developed into the inveterate Jesuit, whose notorious connection with the Spanish Blanks still keeps his memory green.

Besides joining issue with Huntly on the point of religion, Marischal counter-weighted the dominance of his rival by adopting a far wider public policy in other directions. Huntly's leading idea was a belated attempt to revive the old tribal feeling: to become a power by himself—the Cock of the North—ready on occasion to defy the Crown itself. Though he was not the head of a clan in the strict sense of the word, he spent much of his power in standing by men of the same name in the old tribal fashion. Marischal on the other hand (partly through his position as a high officer of state, and partly, perhaps, by deliberate design) came into contact with the worlds that lay beyond his own acres, broad as they undoubtedly were. His house had felt the impingement of one of those other worlds on the field of Flodden, where his grandfather (whom he succeeded) and his uncle both fell. Marischal himself fought at Pinkie and his son spent a year in captivity in England. He got his vision broadened by a visit to France whither he accompanied James V. when the King went for the bride who was to become the mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. This widening of his outlook was an admirable equipment for the open mind with which Marischal listened to the new creed, and which led to the foundation of his university.

To the fifth Earl Marischal, Protestantism must have presented sincere attractions, for it survived in him despite some discouragements. To begin with, his mother, Lady Elizabeth Hay, belonged to the Catholic family of Erroll, and he received his education at King's College at a time when it was thoroughly demoralised after the fierce fight waged in the name of Rome against the Reformers—its number of students reduced to a handful: its buildings and resources a wreck of their former selves.

The boyhood of George Keith, who was born about 1553, was spent in the thick of the ferment which the new creed created. When he was nine the battle of Corrichie was fought, and if he did not see, he must have remembered, the execution of his handsome kinsman, Sir John Gordon. When he entered King's College, possibly as a lad of sixteen, the University was at a very low ebb. The energies of the officials had been dissipated in the guerilla warfare waged with the Reformers since the year 1561, when they were taken in hand by the Assembly. Knox, who never underrated his opponent, had found in the Principal a man

“more subtil and craftye than ather learned or godlie”; for under the guidance of Principal Anderson, the Assembly was kept at bay until July, 1569, when the Regent Moray with his ecclesiastical advisers went North and deposed them.

It says much for young Keith's balanced mind that he was not diverted from the main object of his curriculum by the frothy elements with which the liberal arts were flecked. He applied himself with diligence to his work, and made particular progress in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, besides showing an aptitude for the study of history, antiquities and literature. Thus early did Keith range himself on the side of the intellectuals—in striking contrast to the Gordons, who, amid many picturesque qualities, have scarcely at any period of their history cultivated the art of contemplation.

In the circumstances of the time, King's College could not possibly supply the highest culture. So Keith betook himself to Geneva, where the strenuous work of Calvin was being carried on by Theodore Beza. Beza and Keith met on the common ground of belonging to the aristocratic caste, so that the heir-presumptive to the Earldom of Marischal was not repelled as he might have been by the rougher qualities of most of the other Reformers. Beza, who had already discovered the great qualities of another Scot, Andrew Melville, formed a high opinion of Keith, and may have had something to do in sending him on a tour of the principal Courts of Europe, where the youth created an excellent impression. The experience, always of first-rate importance to islanders like ourselves, must have had a broadening influence, and is extremely interesting in view of the subsequent Continental connections of the Keith family.

Keith's father, of whom we know comparatively little, except that he had spent a year's captivity in England, died in 1580, and his grandfather in 1581, so that at the age of eight-and-twenty Keith found himself Earl Marischal, with a rent roll of 270,000 merks, and a world of very difficult national problems to solve. During the next twelve years he was mainly absorbed in these questions, taking an active part in the affairs of the kirk. In April, 1582, he was one of the commissioners appointed to visit the North of Scotland, and deal with persons suspected of “papistrie,” and in January, 1588-89, he was a member of another commission for the purpose of putting into more effectual execution the laws against the Catholics. Huntly was still to be found in that category, so that Marischal would have

been more (or less) than human if he had not found a certain pleasure in his ecclesiastical intent. He must have undertaken the task with all the greater zest, in that Huntly, with the extraordinary luck which was to see the Gordons raised first to a marquisate and then to a dukedom almost in virtue of their faults, and which helped them to survive through the very crisis which blotted out the house of Marischal, had come into royal favour for a time, so that Marischal had to give sureties in 10,000 merks to abide by the decision of the King in regard to the "actions, feuds and debates" between him and Huntly. As an interlude to the pursuit of his ancient enemy, Marischal was sent to Denmark in July, 1589, as ambassador extraordinary to complete the match between the Princess Anne and King James. His knowledge of foreign languages at once marked him out as the right man, while his great wealth was of first-rate importance, for he made himself responsible for the enormous expenses of the mission. By way of recompense, he got the lands of the historic abbey of Deer, which were to play an important part in the endowment of his University.

The University must have long been in his mind as the greatest weapon with which to attack his old enemy, and to put an end to the interminable turmoil which Huntly's attitude created. Empowered (on 9th March, 1592-93) as the King's Commissioner within the shires of Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine, to apprehend Huntly and other Catholics, he must have seen clearly that without the solid basis of a better-informed democracy, the hide-and-seek policy of the Cock of the North would go on indefinitely until the earldom was suppressed; but he also knew quite well that Huntly still stood high enough in the whimsical royal favour to make that an improbable contingency. To do Marischal justice, however, it would be a mistake to regard his turning to the educational problem as a mere excuse for paying off a private grievance. He was genuinely interested in culture, and numbered Andrew Melville, the great educationist of the period, among his friends.

Although the Catholic professoriate had been driven out of King's College in 1569, the University steadily resisted the reforming energies of Melville and his supporters. Melville had left Geneva—just about the time when Marischal entered it—to become Principal of Glasgow University, and in that strong position he drew up a new code which he tried to impose on King's College. The assault was begun under an Act of Parliament of 1578, when the first of several commissions was appointed to

consider the position of affairs. A second commission was appointed in 1582, with Marischal as one of the members, while a third one started its task in 1584. Even then it took thirteen years to prepare its historic report, known as the New Foundation, and that mysterious scheme was never put into operation.

It would be an excursus in the subtlest casuistry to attempt to follow the deviousness of the nineteen years during which King's College was under the discussion of the kirk. The main fact to recognise is this, that in the interval Marischal offered a solution by founding a University of his own. His action had a double significance. In the first place, it put him on a level with his rival Huntly, whose house had more or less exercised a sort of territorial influence on King's College. In the second place, the Earl's gift saved the new University from the taint of mere clericalism; and therein made it much more practicable.

The first step towards the new University was taken on 20th September, 1592, when the King, with possibly unconscious irony, granted in life-rent to the Earl the lands and barony of Altrie, including the lands formerly belonging to the monastery of Deer, together with certain lands formerly in possession of the Black and White Friars of Aberdeen. The next step was taken on 2nd April, 1593, when the Earl, greeting "true Christians all and each," granted the charter founding the College and University named after him. In addition to the lands and property of the Black and White Friars, Marischal endowed his University with the properties formerly belonging to the Grey Friars, thus scoring another point off the Romish Church. The preamble of the charter summarises the situation with the vague grandiloquence of most Latin diction. While emphasising the national character of the University, it never loses sight of the founder's identity:—

"Whereas, being mindful of our birth, position, and duty, we had determined according to our ability, to be of service to the Church, the Country, and the Commonwealth, and to further the general well-being by whatever means we could. . . .

"We desire to found at Aberdeen (called New to distinguish it from Old Aberdeen)—a city which has deserved well at our hands, and which being specially bound to us by this our benefaction, will, we trust, deserve still better of us and of our successors and of our whole family—a public 'Gymnasium' in the buildings formerly belonging to the Franciscans . . .

where young men may be thoroughly trained and instructed, both in the other humane arts and also in Philosophy and a purer piety."

In this spacious mandate—the expansion of Carlyle's expressive "Thank God and this Keith"—we find Marischal not only giving expression to the aspiration of his Church, but projecting himself as the patron peer of Aberdeen. If it is a strange thing that the Crown did not advance Marischal a step in the peerage for his munificence, while it raised the renegade Huntly to a marquisate, it is stranger still that Aberdeen has erected no memorial to its benefactor, although it named a street after him. That was a tardy recognition, for it was not carried out until the family had been driven into exile. There is, however—if one may be permitted the digression—a curious, if unconscious, symbolism in Marischal Street, for it leads to the harbour and thence to the sea; and the sea has played a large part in the fortunes of the Keiths and their munificence. The fourth Earl—"William of the Tower"—and his successor, the founder of Marischal College, spent the autumn of their years in brooding over it from Dunnottar keep. The fifth Earl had gained his highest fame as an officer of State in crossing the sea for the King's bride. It was also across that sea that the last Earl's mother looked longingly for the "King" who came only to bring ruin to her house; and it was across that sea that her sons found glory and a grave. That same sea has borne the children of the College to every corner of the world; and the dazzling white tower which marks the fifth Earl's great foundation stands to-day as one of the first landmarks for the wayfarer in our northern waters.

An analysis of the charter, while of great value from the educational point of view, is hardly germane to a biographical sketch of the founder, for the University was more the realisation of a national religious aspiration than the expression of a personal opinion or a private enthusiasm. One or two points in the foundation, however, call for special notice. In the first place, it was a degree granting University, not a mere College, which Marischal created, so that Aberdeen was in the unique position of having two Universities while all England had no more. Secondly, it was organised on a much smaller scale than the other University, for it was equipped with only one Faculty, that of Arts, and had a much smaller staff. There was an unmistakable touch of the man who is accustomed to deal in lands in the excellent provision, forbidding "any perpetual leasing out of lands or feus, or alienation to emphyteusis, or commutation of victual

for money, whether on pretext of augmentation or improvement, or for any other reason, or under any name whatsoever". Had this clause been strictly observed, the College would be in an impregnable financial position to-day, owning the solum of a great part of Aberdeen. In point of fact, however, the lands were frittered away by a direct breach of the founder's sound intent.

The educational constitution—of which the most remarkable feature was the specialisation of teaching and the abolition of regenting—was drawn up by the Reformers; but Marischal's share in the foundation was underlined by the provision that "the nomination of all the teachers, or presentation as it is called, whenever a place is vacant by death, dismissal or resignation, shall be in the hands of Earl Marischal, the Founder or his heirs". The powers of examination were vested in certain authorities, including the Principal of the "old Academia," which shows that Marischal was no violent extremist. He also proved his moderation with regard to Huntly, for though he was one of the commissioners appointed for the trial of the Catholic lords, yet he was one of the five judges on that occasion (1594) who did not agree to their forfeiture.

The Earl was clearly proud of his creation, which remains to this day the only University in this country founded by a nobleman. That, however, did not prevent its being democratic, for, "having a care," as the charter put it, "to provide for poverty," the Earl not only allowed for six bursars, but he ordained that in the matter of fees "the poor shall be altogether exempt". As Carlyle has it, the "Diviner Pursuits" were made possible "on frugal oatmeal". This provision, which differentiates the Scots from the English University, based, as the latter still is, on caste, has been of inestimable value to the north-east of Scotland, and anticipated Mr. Carnegie's so-called pauperising of the northern student.

If the founding of the University did not exhaust Marischal's ingenuities for the public welfare, the organisation of the College would seem to have absorbed most of his surplus energy, for he figured only in the routine of duty during the thirty years that were left to him. Even at this he became a little remiss, so that his abstention from attendance at the Privy Council led to his being struck off the roll for a time (1599-1601). He was, however, one of the nominated members of the Council as reconstituted in 1610, and a member of the court of ecclesiastical commission for the Diocese of St. Andrews in 1615; while he was chosen King's Commissioner in the Scots Parliament in 1609.

Unfortunately the Earl had to squander some of his time in the wasteful purlieu of the law courts, for he had trouble with Lord Erroll on the precise nature of the offices of the Marischal and the Constable: and on a very curious dispute with Francis, son of the Earl of Caithness, in which Marischal's son and the latter's footman were involved, the Privy Council intervening with a threat of forfeiture. More lamentable than these troubles was Marischal's home life which was far from happy, for his two families fell out and caused him much trouble. By his first wife, a daughter of the fifth Earl of Home, who was a staunch Protestant, he had one son and two daughters. By his second spouse, Margaret, daughter of the sixth Lord Ogilvy, of Airlie, he had two sons, including James of Benholm. The Earl's domestic difficulties reached such a point that on 27th October, 1622, six months before his death, he had to petition the Court against his son James. In plaintive terms of helplessness he complains that:—

“Maist unkyndlie and unnaturalie schaikin af these respectie dewiteis of consideratioun quhairin in conscience befoir God and be the strait bandis of nattu he standis bund unto me and being unthankfull of the grite cair that I have had of his educatioun & of the estait and leiveing quhairunto I haue provydit him, he hes withdrawne himself fra me and assotiat himself with some personis, enimeis to my house, and quha huntis by all occasionis to mak thair advantage of this fyre of divisoun, quhilk thay have raisit in my hous: and by thair counall he hes committit a number of insolencyes aganis me, quhairof some will resolve in criminall persutes, and utheris in civile persutes.” The whole matter came up again after the Earl's death, when Lady Marischal, who very soon remarried, was impeached for having taken the Earl's “goods, silver work and tapestry”.

It was a sad way of going out (the Earl died at Dunnottar on 23rd April, 1623); and the sordidness of this private interest shows up all the more painfully against the greatness of his public career. The King keenly resented the intrusion of the scandal, for he intervned in the dispute in 1624, writing a strong letter to the Privy Council, in which he commented on the “unkynde, ingrate and insolent behaviour of the late Erle Merschel's wyfe to hir lord and husband, who with hir sone Benholme, the laird of Thorntowne [Strachan, whom she had married very soon after the Earl's death] and utheris, beside uther indigniteis, had in a thifteous maner robbed the said Erle of writtis, money, plate, furnitour

of his houses and uther things". The King, with a flout at the Countess's "clandestine and night work," explained his intervention as arising "out of the regaird we had to the memorie of that man who had to our honour and contentment served us at home and abroad in greatest charges".

Justice, more rhetoric, was done to Marischal by William Ogston, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University, who delivered a funeral oration in sonorous Latin periods on the "maximus virorum". Raban's press dropped some *Lachrymae* (in Latin, Greek and English) in which David Wedderburn and his brother William, Andrew Massie, and James Sibbald extolled the virtues of Marischal—"Moecenatis et fundatoris sui munificentissimi, nobilissimi, et illustrissimi". The English tributes, by William Guild, afterwards Principal of King's College, have a quaint intimateness unknown to the classical dirge. After mourning the "matchlesse losse" the poet closes his addresses with an exhortation to Marischal's posterity:—

As Trueth ov'r-comes and doth victorious rest,
Thy loue to It hath made thee now most blest.
Which with Thine happie Off-spring to remaine,
Shall bee to them their onlie Glore and Gaine.

Poetic justice, however, falls far wide of the mark in a prosaic world, and it must be admitted that the Earl's "happie off-spring" maintained a connection with the University which was mainly titular. True they all went dutifully to the College, and the ninth Earl added a professorship of Medicine. But they also directed their energies to other pursuits, partly international and partly political, to their own ultimate undoing.

The sixth Earl had such an eye for the picturesque (and unpractical) that he indulged (in 1634) in the fantastic project of the equipping a fleet for Vladislas VII. of Poland—a kingdom then, as now, the Ireland of mid Europe. He survived the curious enterprise a year.

His happy offspring included three earls, two sons who succeeded him and a third who was created Earl of Kintore. The seventh Earl threw himself heart and soul into the cause of King Charles, for whose rescue he raised a troop of horse in 1648. He managed to escape from the rout at Preston; he even had the honour of receiving the King at Dunnottar; but his enthusiasm ended in a nine years' imprisonment in the Tower (1651-60).

The eighth Earl, brother of the seventh, had indulged his cosmopolitan tastes by soldiering in the French army, which he put to some purpose at Preston and Worcester.

Stuartism obsessed his son, the ninth Earl, to the point of perilous reaction. He was against the Union, and, according to the mordant Macky, "always opposed the measures of King William's reign"; although, borrowing a little of the Gordon opportunism, he "waited on the Queen at her accession to the throne and acknowledged her government". The adventurous Colonel Hooke found his manners "insinuating: his temper of mind full of vivacity," and describes him as the "most active of all the King of England's friends". But Macky had merely a contemptuous admiration for him: he had "abundance of flashy wit, and by reason of his quality, hath good interest in the country". He was "a thorough libertine, yet sets up mightily for Episcopacy: a hard drinker"; all of which was a sad decline from the high emprise of his great-grandfather, the founder of the University.

Death, intervening in 1712, saved the ninth Earl from the necessity of having to make up his mind as to which King and cause he would serve. Had he lived he might have shuffled through the crisis with the adroitness of the Gordons, who had managed to turn their dubieties on national questions first into a marquisate and then into a dukedom. Yet the ultimate decision of the noble Keiths to stand by the Stuarts—whose regalia they had kept in their jealous custody until 1707—was really the logical development of the traditions of the family. Moreover, it led to the fullest expression of their inherited cosmopolitanism, which ended in their blazing forth with an unexampled brilliancy, instead of petering out in the commonplace security which was adopted by some noble but negligible stay-at-homes.

The crisis was precipitated, of course, by the death of Queen Anne; and it was also a woman, the wife of the ninth Earl, who helped largely to decide the policy of the new Lord Marischal and his brother, just as it was a woman, the common-sense Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, Duchess of Gordon, who helped to preserve the Huntly Gordons. The luck of these Gordons is all the more remarkable in that their blood and influence had enveloped Lady Marischal. Lady Mary Drummond, who became Countess of Marischal about 1690, was the granddaughter of a Gordon. Her father, the fourth Earl of Perth, who had started out as a zealous Presby-

terian, became Catholic coincidentally with his marriage to Lady Mary Gordon, her stepmother. Moreover, her brother had married Lady Jean Gordon, and thereby emphasised his Jacobitism which ended in his attainder and the disappearance of the family from the peerage for over eighty years. The University had also contributed to settling the convictions of young Marischal and his brother, for they had been tutored by an alumnus, William Meston, an ardent Jacobite who swelled the splendid chorus of Jacobite song. Then the picturesqueness of the crisis must have attracted the Earl; he may have been put on his mettle by the undignified dilly-dallying of his ancient rival, the Duke of Gordon: and he had prepared himself for fight, if need be, by having learned some soldiering under Marlborough. Last of all, the essential foreignness of the Stuarts, inherent in their entire mind and method—compared with which the German lairdie was accessible homeliness itself—must have made its appeal to certain strains in the Earl's character. It is that strain, rather than the mere Jacobitism, which is the outstanding feature of the last two Keiths, for their chance of glory at home was over within six months.

Marischal duly attended Mar's famous meeting at Aboyne on 3rd September, 1715; and as he was hurrying north he had caught up (at York) his brother James, a lad of nineteen, who was flying from the tedium of a lawyer's life to seek the clash of arms, wherein he rose to such splendid achievement. On 20th September the two brothers proclaimed the Chevalier King from the Cross of Aberdeen, on the very spot where their ancestor, the fourth Earl, had seen Sir John Gordon executed for defying the beautiful Stuart Queen. In October Marischal joined the Jacobite army at Perth with some 300 men; and at Sheriffmuir (13th November) he commanded a squadron on the right of the front line. Even here in the stress of a common cause the old jealousy between the Keiths and the Gordons found vent, as you will find in the Master of Sinclair's mordant memoirs. Suddenly the young Earl found himself in the proud position of host to the "King," for James landed at Peterhead (22nd December) and having spent a night under Marischal's roof at Inverugie, passed to the Earl's house at Fetteresso where he held his first Privy Council. Marischal subsequently entered Dundee with the Chevalier and attended him at Scone; and it was by the merest chance that he did not sail away with him in the ignominious disappearance from Montrose on the night of 4th February, 1716.

Then the Reckoning ; swift, but, for many, not decisive. To the Countess Marischal it meant the breaking up of her home, and the blighting of her dear hopes, for she did not live to see even Prince Charlie, though she dreamt of the coming of the King in the most pathetic of the Jacobite lyrics:—

I may sit in my wee croo hoose
 At the rock and the reel to toil fu' drearie ;
 I may think on the day that's gane,
 And sigh and sab till I grow wearie.
 I ne'er could brook, I ne'er could brook
 A foreign loon to own or flatter,
 But I will sing a rantin' sang
 The Day the King comes ower the Water.

O gin I live to see the day
 That I hae begged and begged frae Heaven,
 I'll fling my rock and reel away
 And dance and sing frae morn till even.
 For there is ane I winna name
 Wha comes the bingin' byke to scatter ;
 And I'll put on my bridal goon
 That Day our King comes ower the Water.

. . . Though lyart be my locks and grey
 And eild has crookt me down, what matter
 I'll dance and sing another day
 That Day our King comes ower the Water.

. . . My father was a good lord's son
 My mither was an earl's daughter,
 And I'll be Lady Keith again
 That Day our King comes ower the Water.

Alas ! there was never another Lady Keith of her quality, and the Countess, with her boys abroad in perilous enterprises, and with no hope coming from the sea which her castles guarded, passed away thirteen years later.

For her sons it was different. It is true that forfeiture and flight followed their dashing six months of king-making. They became plain Keith, although to the last the Earl signed himself "George Maréchal d'Ecosse". They even brought Marischal College down with them in their fall, for the Earl was stripped of his Chancellorship, and the right of

patronage fell to the Crown, while nearly all the professors were dismissed, and the College was closed for two sessions (1715-17). The broad acres of the house were sold, under forfeiture, to an unimaginative and inept gambling London syndicate, while Keith and his brother had to begin building their fortunes all over again. And yet, one cannot place them on the level of most of the other exiles, whose career in every sense was ended. For the Keiths their expulsion was rather the occasion of their giving full expression to that cosmopolitanism which had been such a remarkable feature of the family, and which from first to last found an outlet in Switzerland, Denmark, Poland, France, Spain, Austria, Russia and Prussia.

The Earl dabbled for some years in the pettifogging plotting which was carried on in various parts of the Continent, although he found a more strenuous way of intriguing than at the foolish little Court of St. Germain. Operating from Spain, he led the expedition of 1719, which landed in Lewis and ended ignominiously in the pass of Glenshiel, where the Earl was severely wounded. Returning to Spain, he continued dreaming of a restoration until 1744, when for some reason he desisted, and he took no part in the '45. The Earl's abstention has been put down to jealousy; but I am inclined to believe that it was due to the conviction that the game was really up, and that the young Chevalier was not likely to do better than his feckless father. Indeed Hume declared that the Earl thought there was "no vice so mean or atrocious" of which Prince Charlie was not capable. The Earl's brother, James, had settled down to work out his own life long before this. He showed himself a worthy descendant of the founder of Marischal College by beginning his exile after the Rebellion with a course of mathematics in Paris, thus preparing himself for his strenuous life of scientific soldiering under three Crowns. For a brief moment he turned back to the old dreary tale of intrigue, and took part with his brother in the 1719 expedition to the West Highlands. Like his brother, too, he settled down in Spain, where he spent nine years in the army, taking part in the siege of Gibraltar. When he had gone as far there as possible, he set out for Russia, where his ancestors' neighbour, Patrick Gordon, of Auchleuchries, had risen to be a general, high in Peter's esteem, and where two north-country Jacobites had preceded him—General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul, and Admiral Thomas Gordon, governor of Kronstadt. James Keith spent nineteen years in the service of Czardom (1728-47), distinguishing himself in whatever he

put his hand to—in the ornamental position of lieutenant-colonel of the Empress Anna's Bodyguard; and then in three campaigns—the war of the Polish succession (1733-35); the struggle with Turkey, in which he was very severely wounded; and last of all the war with Sweden (1741-43). Keith was also an administrator as well as a campaigner, for he served as governor of Ukraine and as Russian ambassador at Stockholm.

Once again his strong common sense told him when he had come to an end of the tether of advancement. So one day, with the terrors of Czardom in his mind, he quietly slipped out of Russia, and sought a new field for his energies. He immediately (1st September, 1747) offered his services to Frederick the Great who, ever with an eye for a good man, snapped at the offer, though Keith was now fifty-one. On 18th September, within a month of his leaving Russia, Keith found himself a full blown Prussian field-marshal, and very soon he was Frederick's right-hand man, being ultimately joined by his brother the Earl. It was surely a curious fate which drove the Keiths into the arms of Germany—or rather the maker of modern Germany—seeing that it was the proposal of a German dynasty which had driven them from home.

The Scot abroad has frequently achieved greatness; but incomparably the greatest of them all is Field-Marshal Keith, with his brother a good second. They had found their *métier* at last: in Frederick a friend whom they understood completely and who appreciated them both in return. To follow the military career of James in Prussia would be to detail the tortuous history of the opening of the Seven Years' War. The end came, as the Field-Marshal had fully warned Frederick, at Hochkirch (14th October, 1758), where the Prussian right under Keith was crumpled up by the Austrians. But even to the victors the Field-Marshal in death remained a master, for they buried his scarred body with all the honours in the village church, whence Frederick transferred it to Berlin, raising the marble monument which is still to be seen in the Cadets' Academy and is represented in a bronze replica in the heart of Peterhead. Carlyle, an out and out admirer, says he could talk "knowingly on all manner of subjects," which is another way of saying that he had all the brains of his ancestor, the founder of Marischal College. Indeed, the Field-Marshal may be said to have founded a University of his own, for Kriegshachspiel which he invented was the parent of Kriegspiel, and that is nothing more or less than a Faculty of Soldiering. To this day the German Army remembers

the Field-Marshal more directly in the shape of the "Infanterie Regiment Keith (I. Oberschlesisches) No. 22".

Earl Marischal felt his brother's death acutely. In James, "the junior but much the stronger and more solid," he had lost "a father and a younger brother at once: father under beautiful conditions". But his pride in the Field-Marshal—and it was never greater than when he found a heritage of "only twenty ducats" in the soldier's purse—kept the Earl alive, as it were, and he survived the Field-Marshal twenty years. He served Frederick faithfully in the more placid walks of diplomacy, first as Prussian Ambassador to France and Spain, and then as governor of Neufchâtel. The Earl was pardoned by George II. in 1759, and a special Act of Parliament was passed allowing him certain payments out of his estate, sold forty-one years previously. He made two attempts to settle in Scotland. But the cosmopolitan fascination was so strong upon him that when Frederick wrote him in 1764: "If I had ships to steal off my *cher mylord* and bring him thither," he could not resist. So he returned to Potsdam where Frederick built a villa for him, and bade him "live in the bosom of friendship, liberty and philosophy". Macaulay has said that the Earl was "the only human being whom Frederick ever really loved"; and small wonder, for he was, as Carlyle puts it, "an excellent, cheery old soul, honest as the sunlight with a fine small vein of gaiety and pleasant wit in him . . . a treasure to Frederick".

In search of continuities—never so difficult to find as in the case of hereditary honours—one thinks with pleasure of the Earl, the last of his line, surrounded by the great thinkers of his time. He was the friend of Voltaire, and he figures charmingly in the Confessions of Rousseau, who was "struck with admiration" as he watched "his noble features, so full of fire and so expressive of truth". His kinsman, Sir Robert Murray Keith, our kindly ambassador at Vienna, has described his manner of living as a "mixture of Aberdeenshire and the kingdom of Valencia," animated by a conscience "that would gild the inside of a dungeon".

The old man flickered out at Potsdam on 28th May, 1778 (eight years before his friend Frederick), at the age of eighty-six: the most charming personality of his long line. One would have liked to know him more intimately than is possible "in the Books". As it is, one feels grateful that he closed the story of his line with honour and dignity worthy of the man who made Marischal College.

J. M. BULLOCH.

THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO PHILOSOPHY.

I.

WE need not do more than advert, in our review, to the foundation of the University, nor need we linger over the first 200 years of the University's life; for, though Philosophy held a prominent place in the Arts curriculum from the beginning, and was continuously taught in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were then few influential or outstanding contributions made: social, religious, and political circumstances determined intellectual effort. According to the Bull of Erection of the University (1494-95), as also according to Bishop Elphinstone's Foundation (1505), the duty of the regent in Arts was to instruct his pupils in the liberal sciences according to the practice that obtained in the Universities of Paris and Bologna and the other *studia generalia* that served as models for the University of Aberdeen; and that meant systematic study of the works of Aristotle and inculcation of his teaching. Nor were matters much different in the earlier post-Reformation times. The earliest known Aberdeen Graduation *Theses* belong to Marischal College, and are those of Principal Andrew Aidie, dated 1616, and dedicated to D. Alexander Forbes of Tolquhon. Besides raising the question of the relation between Theology and Philosophy, they traverse Logic, Ethics, Physics, and Astronomy, and, in all departments, circle round the writings and positions of Aristotle. There is just this indication that we are now in a Reformed Church University, that, in handling such a passage of Aristotle as that which refers to the state of the dead (*Nic. Eth.*, i., 11), occasion is taken to impugn the efficacy of Masses for the dead and the doctrine of Purgatory. It is much the same with the oldest Theses of King's College. These are the *Theses Philosophica* of Alexander Lunan, printed by Edward Raban in 1622 (for there was now a University printer in Aberdeen), and dedicated to Bishop Patrick Forbes. Here too Aristotle rules—and rules,

indeed, with even greater stringency. Later on, Theology in its Protestant form became very pronounced, especially at Marischal College in Covenanting days; but still Aristotle retained a firm hold. If the *Theses Philosophicæ* (1658) of Andrew Cant, of Marischal College, son of the more famous father of the same name, may be taken as representing the University teaching of Philosophy of his age, then it consisted mainly in reading the universe and man in the terms of Christian Theology, on the one hand, and of Aristotelian Physics and Metaphysics, on the other hand.¹

All this, however, gives us only the kind of philosophical teaching that then prevailed in the University of Aberdeen. Great works and great writers are conspicuous by their absence. Yet, one notable exception must be made—*viz.*, JOHN FORBES OF CORSE, Professor of Theology at King's College (1620), the greatest of "the Aberdeen Doctors". Forbes was no ordinary man, and his writings are no ordinary writings. Distinguished for his controversial and expository works in Theology, and for his *Irenicum*, called forth by the Scottish ecclesiastical troubles of the time, he was no less distinguished for his *Theologia Moralis*, which is a solid treatise on Ethics, interpreted in the light of Scripture, and based on the Decalogue, and one that may still be commended to the consideration of moralists—especially of those who have interest in the application of ethical principles to life. So also an exception must be made, on the side of metaphysics, of a graduate and regent of Marischal College, somewhat earlier in date (regent 1603-7)—THOMAS REID, Latin Secretary to James I., who, during a nine years' residence abroad, made his own name, and so, incidentally, that of Aberdeen, famous at the Universities of Rostock and Leipzig. What was the substance of his philosophical prelections at Aberdeen, we do not know; but, if we may judge of it from his writings published at Rostock in the first decade of the seventeenth century, it was supremely metaphysical, and marked by great subtlety in distinguishing. The titles of these writings tell their own tale: "De accidente proprio theoremata philosophica," "Pervigilium Lunæ de objecto metaphysicæ," "Pervigilium Martis de ente," "Pervigilium Mercurii de proprietatibus entis," "Pervigilium Jovis de veritate et bonitate entis,"

¹For a vivid account of Cant's public disputation, in 1651, with John Strachan, regent in King's College and "the best scholar that ever was in the College," see Mr. P. J. Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of King's College* (New Spalding Club), p. 56.

“Pervigilium Veneris de diversitate entis,” “De objecto metaphysicæ dissertatio elenctica”.¹

Two other distinguished metaphysicians of these earlier centuries emanating from Aberdeen must be mentioned—JAMES CHEYNE (King’s College), son of the laird of Arnage, who was, first, Professor in the College of St. Barbe at Paris, and, afterwards, Professor in the Scotch College, Douay, and died in 1602—famous as an expounder and commentator of Aristotle; and GILBERT JACK, M.D. (of Marischal College), Professor of Philosophy at Leyden from 1604 till his death in 1628. The second of these was called to be the first White Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, but declined.

A manifest change has passed on Philosophy, when we come to the eighteenth century. The influence of Descartes and of Locke is now clearly felt. As early as 1730, we find the Graduation *Theses* of Marischal College (David Verner, Praeses) dealing with such questions as: “Omnis idea, aut oritur a sensibus aut a reflectione,” “Mens humana semper cogitat,” “Bruta non sunt mera Automata”. One wonders whether Spinoza also has not made some impression when one reads “Intellectus et Voluntas, non inter se realiter distinguuntur”. But, apart from this, there is evidence everywhere that a transformation of the thinking of the North is in progress. Let us see.

II.

I. The prominent place that Aberdeen occupied in Philosophy during the eighteenth century was due in great measure to THOMAS REID (a relative of Secretary Reid), whose name is inseparably associated with the origin of “The Scottish Philosophy” or “The Philosophy of Common Sense”. Early in the century, indeed, ANDREW BAXTER had shed lustre on King’s College, where he had been educated, by his *Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, wherein the Immateriality of the Soul is evinced from the Principles of Reason and Philosophy*, published in 1733; but that treatise, though it was much canvassed at the time and gained for its author considerable fame as a metaphysician, was not an influence of a far-reaching or abiding character. We begin with Reid.

¹These should be taken in connexion with the animated polemic of Henningus Arnisaecus of Frankfort.

Although his distinctive work did not take concrete form till after he became Professor in King's College, Old Aberdeen, in 1751, his speculations began much earlier, while he was Minister of the quiet agricultural Parish of New Machar, where he wrote and published his *Essay on Quantity*, and where his philosophical meditations were gradually shaping themselves. As with Kant, so with Reid: the impulse to philosophizing came directly from David Hume. "I shall always avow myself your disciple in metaphysics," he wrote to Hume. "I have learned more from your writings in this kind, than from all others put together. Your system appears to me not only coherent in all its parts, but likewise justly deduced from principles commonly received among philosophers; principles which I never thought of calling in question, until the conclusions you draw from them in the Treatise of Human Nature made me suspect them." Thus was Reid thrown back upon an examination of the current principles of the philosophers—more especially, upon the principles of Berkeley and Hume, and of what he denominated generally "the ideal system".

With Berkeley Reid had much in common; for the Berkeleyan idealism naturally appealed on its spiritualistic side to a Minister of the Church of Scotland, accustomed to regard the Divine as manifested in the phenomena and processes of Nature. But, while the spiritualistic presupposition of the Berkeleyan system seemed indisputable, it gradually dawned upon Reid that, when tested by the intellect and subjected to a critical analysis, the cognitive basis of the system was insecure. Berkeley had denied the existence of matter and material things *as substance* and had reduced them to mere phenomena; "for as to what is said of the absolute existence of unthinking things without any relation to their being perceived, that is to me perfectly unintelligible. Their *esse* is *percipi*, nor is it possible they should have any existence out of the minds or thinking things which perceive them." The one real substance, he maintained on the testimony of consciousness, is self or ego. In like manner, he had denied matter *as cause*. All that we get from sense objects is simply change or succession: causality belongs solely to self or spirit. This, too, is an immediate deliverance of consciousness. If, then, causality belongs to mind or spirit, the cause of our sensations must be ascribed to spirit. But our sensations are not caused by ourselves who are spirits. There can, therefore, be only one ultimate source of their existence, *viz.*, Objective Self or Spirit—*i.e.*, God. Thus is the being of

things secured : when unperceived by us or other finite spirits, they are perceived by the Deity—they subsist in the mind of the Eternal Spirit.

Accepting Berkeley's view of matter, Hume proceeded to turn the Berkeleyan reasoning against Berkeley's conception of self. If there is no evidence for a noumenal matter, neither is their evidence, he argued, for a noumenal ego. "What we call a mind is nothing but a heap or collection of different perceptions, united together by certain relations, and supposed, though falsely, to be endowed with a perfect simplicity and identity." Substance of the soul there is none, and "the question concerning the substance of the soul is absolutely unintelligible." And as for causality, all that we are conscious of in the psychical, as in the physical, sphere is change, succession : in either realm, there is no real permanence, no true causation ; there is only a flow or sequence of experiences, held together as a continuity by custom. The individual ego, then, goes ; being merely a bundle or collection of "impressions" and "ideas". But if the individual ego goes, there vanishes also the Deity ; for, if there be no substantial finite ego, there is nothing on which to ground our belief in a substantial Infinite Ego. And if the Deity vanishes, there disappears also the Berkeleyan conception of the world as a system of arbitrary signs, of significant symbols—a Divine visual language. The final result is universal scepticism.

This was the situation that confronted Reid when he was Minister of New Machar, and that stirred him to intellectual energy. In face of it, he addressed himself to a fresh analysis and examination of knowledge. Berkeley had maintained, and Hume agreed with him, that all the objects of our knowledge are ideas. Here, thought Reid, is the fundamental fallacy of the whole ideal system. "Supposing this principle to be true, Berkeley's system is impregnable. No demonstration can be more evident than his reasoning from it. Whatever is perceived is an idea, and an idea can only exist in a mind. It has no existence when it is not perceived ; nor can there be anything like an idea but an idea." Can we, then, grant this fundamental assumption ? "If," says Reid, writing in later years, "I may presume to speak my own sentiments, I once believed this doctrine of ideas so firmly as to embrace the whole of Berkeley's system in consequence of it ; till, finding other consequences to follow from it, which gave me more uneasiness than the want of a material world, it came into my mind, more than forty years ago, to put the question, What evidence have I for this doctrine, that all the objects of my knowledge are ideas in

my own mind? From that time to the present I have been candidly and impartially, as I think, seeking for the evidence of this principle, but can find none, excepting the authority of philosophers." Consequently, Reid set himself with great eagerness to examine the foundations of mental philosophy, and to see whether Knowledge and its presuppositions might not still be saved. The ultimate result was that "the ideal system" was found wanting in all its forms, and the scepticism of Hume rebutted. On the one hand, the conception of Cause was submitted to a fresh analysis and a place found for it, as also for the Law of Causality, in the constitution of the human mind. This carried with it a doctrine of First Principles on the basis of Common Sense—principles that are ultimate and so inexplicable, and such, therefore, as must simply be taken for granted. On the other hand, the problem of Sense-perception was subjected to a strict scrutiny, and emphasis was laid, as with Kant later, upon the native activity of the mind and the impossibility of explaining knowledge on the bare supposition of sense units. In sense-perception, it was maintained, both subject and object, mind and matter, ego and non-ego are given, and given immediately, as separate and distinct, though related. Both are alike known, because both are alike involved in one and the same indivisible act. Locke's distinction between the primary and the secondary qualities of matter must be adhered to, and the knowledge-giving power or objective efficiency of the former insisted on. It is through these primary qualities that we obtain our direct knowledge of an external world; for the perception of objective reality begins with a judgment ("a natural and original judgment"), and the primary qualities cannot be resolved into sensation. Says Reid, "If I may trust the faculties that God has given me, I do perceive matter objectively—that is, something which is extended and solid, which may be measured and weighed, is the immediate object of my touch and sight. And this object I take to be matter, and not an idea. And though I have been taught by philosophers, that what I immediately touch is an idea, and not matter; yet I have never been able to discover this by the most accurate attention to my own perceptions." In other words, Reid's analysis of knowledge, as tested by the crucial question of sense-perception, led him to posit a real object as well as a real subject in perception, and to attest both by immediate consciousness. This was his doctrine of Natural Realism, and his "common-sense" answer to Berkeley and "the ideal system".

But Reid's importance for modern philosophy does not lie alone in his Theory of Knowledge. He has a distinct place also as a psychologist, working on the inductive or Baconian method and furthering the scientific investigation of mental phenomena. He was himself well versed in science, mathematical and physical; having taught these subjects, along with Philosophy, while he was regent-professor in King's College, Aberdeen. He was an interested student of Chemistry, and was enthusiastic enough, at the age of fifty-five, after he had gone to Glasgow as Professor of Moral Philosophy, to attend the chemical lectures of Joseph Black, as he expounded his theory of "latent heat". He took practical interest in both Zoology and Botany, and showed himself a keen observer of nature.¹ Consequently, when he made the investigation of the human mind his special province, he devoted himself to the task in the truly scientific spirit. He was thoroughly aware of the difficulties that lay before him, and he did much to remove them. In his *Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense*, he led the way in his analysis and treatment of Sensation and the Senses; and in his later work, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, he greatly advanced the psychology of Perception and of Judgment and of other intellectual processes. He had firm faith in the possibility of progress in his chosen subject. "There is a natural order in the progress of the sciences, and good reasons may be assigned why the philosophy of body should be *elder sister* to that of mind, and of a quicker growth; but the last hath the principle of life no less than the first, and will grow up, though slowly, to maturity. . . . We ought never to despair of human genius, but rather to hope that, in time, it may produce a system of the powers and operations of the human mind, no less certain than those of optics or astronomy." That is the true note of the genuine worker in the realm of mind.

The same scientific spirit and psychological insight were carried by him, later on, into his treatment of Ethics. His *Essays on the Active Powers of the Human Mind* is a treatise eminently inductive and psychological and full of subtle analysis. In this work, as elsewhere, it is

¹ This is seen, among other things, by the fact that he frequently devised or carried on experiments in connexion with plant and animal life. For example, we read in the Minutes of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, that on 14th August, 1759, the Society "recommended to Dr. Gregorie, Dr. Skene and Mr. Reid to concert a plan of experiments proper for determining the Effects of Lime on Vegetation"; and, after he had settled in Glasgow, we find him experimenting on fungus and "smutty oats" (Hauilton, *Reid's Works*, pp. 48, 49).

apparent that "common sense" did not mean for him ready acceptance of the unanalyzed thought and unsifted beliefs of the plain man, but implied careful examination and critical estimate—only, emphasis was laid on the necessity of acknowledging the authority of the native elements of human nature, intellectual and ethical alike, when these were ascertained.

The philosophy of Reid took definite shape during his Professorial days in Aberdeen. This it did through friendly intercourse with a group of kindred spirits whom Reid gathered round him and formed into "The Aberdeen Philosophical Society". This was a Club founded by Reid, in conjunction with his near relative, Professor John Gregory, in 1758, with a view to the furtherance of thinking and the discussion of philosophical problems. The object of the Society is given in the minutes that still remain, in Rule 17, in Reid's own handwriting, thus: "The Subject of the Discourses and Questions shall be Philosophical, all Grammatical, Historical, and Philological [*sic*] Discussions being conceived to be forreign to the Design of the Society. And Philosophical Matters are understood to comprehend, Every Principle of Science which may be deduced by Just and Lawfull Induction from the Phaenomena either of the human Mind or of the material World; All Observations and Experiments that may furnish Materials for such Induction; The Examination of False Schemes of Philosophy and false Methods of Philosophizing; The Subserviency of Philosophy to Arts, the Principles they borrow from it and the Means of carrying them to their Perfection." Seldom has a learned Society accomplished its end so well as this one did. Out of it proceeded, not only Reid's memorable *Inquiry*, but also Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Beattie's *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*, and Alexander Gerard's *Essay on Taste* and his *Essay on Genius*. No wonder that Aberdeen thinks gratefully of its Philosophical Society! It gave being to the Scottish School of Philosophy.

For something like a century, the philosophy of Reid held sway among thinkers. In Scotland, it was taken up and gracefully expounded by Dugald Stewart in Edinburgh University; and, later on, it was annotated and commented on with exceptional learning by Sir William Hamilton, and had a new setting given to it which secured for it a fresh term of life. In that form, it influenced Hamilton's immediate successor in the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics, Professor A. Campbell Fraser; and, in

Glasgow, it survived, in its Hamiltonian rendering, till near the end of last century in the teaching of Professor Veitch ; and Thomas Spencer Baynes continued it, after the same pattern, in St. Andrews. In England, its influence was less concentrated, but not insignificant. If, on the one hand, it aroused J. S. Mill to criticism and opposition, it attracted Mansel and his friends, on the other hand, and stimulated Samuel Bailey to efforts at strengthening it in its central cognitive position. It was made known to France in the translation of M. Jouffroy, and enjoyed a wide and commanding reputation there, having been embodied in the eclecticism of Victor Cousin and defended by his eloquence. Even Germany acknowledged its power ; and no more gratifying tribute could be wished than that of Schopenhauer, who pronounced Reid's *Inquiry* to be "very instructive and well worth reading—ten times more so than all the Philosophy together that has been written since Kant". In more recent times, we have seen a return to the leading principles of Reid's philosophy with modifications ; and that Reid may still be studied with profit is attested by such modern works as Professor Campbell Fraser's *Thomas Reid* and Professor A. Seth Pringle-Pattison's *Scottish Philosophy and Hegelianism and Personality*.

2. Not the least remarkable of the contemporaries of Reid in Aberdeen was GEORGE CAMPBELL—Minister of one of the city churches and Principal of Marischal College, also Professor of Divinity. He was an original member of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, present at its first meeting on 12th January, 1758, and rarely absent from any meeting down to the very close of the Society, on 9th March, 1773. He was a particularly active and efficient member, frequently contributing papers and propounding and discussing questions.

He has the twofold reputation of a divine¹ and a philosopher. As a divine, he was eminent as a preacher and a man of independent mind, ready to brave popular obloquy in the interests of truth. His sermons are striking compositions, and can very well explain how the writer came

¹ A great topic, worthy of detailed treatment, would be "the University's contribution to Theology"; but it does not fall to the present writer. It would take one back to Professor John Forbes of Corse and the other "Aberdeen Doctors," and to Alexander Ross (of Hudibras fame), a pioneer in the Science of Comparative Religion, and would come down, through Henry Scougal, Campbell, and Gerard, to at any rate Duncan Mearns and Robert Macpherson. There is a rich mine of material here.

to exert so great an influence in the community of Aberdeen. But distinguished though he was as a clergyman, he was more distinguished still as a theologian. His reputation in this respect to the outside world rests on his *Dissertation on Miracles*, in answer to David Hume. This work, before its publication, was submitted in manuscript, through Dr. Blair, of Edinburgh, to Hume, and benefited by his criticisms. Later on, on receipt of a copy, Hume, with characteristic generosity and courtesy, sent Campbell the well-known letter, praising his production and expressing appreciation of "the civil and obliging manner" in which Campbell had conducted the dispute. Campbell, on his side, in the Preface or "Advertisement" to the work, acknowledged his obligations to the great thinker whose position he was controverting, and handsomely remarked: "If I am possessed of any talent in abstract reasoning, I am not a little indebted to what he hath written on *human nature*, for the improvement of that talent. If, therefore, in this tract, I have refuted Mr. Hume's *Essay*, the greater share of the merit is perhaps to be ascribed to Mr. Hume himself. The compliment which the Russian monarch after the famous battle of Poltowa paid the Swedish generals, when he gave them the honourable appellation of his *masters in the art of war*, I may, with great sincerity, pay my acute and ingenious adversary." The treatise was hailed with acclamation by perturbed theologians throughout the land. As a distinguished Aberdeen Principal—Principal Pirie—used vividly to put it in his class, while he was Professor of Church History: "Hume's attack on miracles laid the theologians flat on their backs, and they did not regain their erect position till Campbell came and set them up again". That, likely enough, expresses quite correctly the historical fact. But Campbell's theological fame rests on other foundation than his treatise on Miracles. His *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* show him as a man of clear head and sound sense; but his highest theological distinction was achieved by his work on *The Four Gospels*, the preliminary dissertations of which stand as a permanent monument of learning and solid judgment, and place him in the front rank of Biblical critics.

Campbell's philosophy, as well as his theology, is found, in part, in the volume on Miracles. The foundation argument is an appeal to Common Sense or "the primary principles of the understanding". Hume had urged that belief in miracles is irrational, because it must rest on the evidence of testimony, but no amount of testimony can suffice to prove a

miracle, inasmuch as the evidence of testimony is based on experience, and experience ("firm and unalterable") has established the laws of nature, whereas a miracle claims to be a violation of these laws. To this Campbell, *inter alia*, replies that, so far is it from being true that our belief in testimony rests solely on experience, the reverse is the case—our belief in testimony (as we see in the credulity of children) is antecedent to experience, and often needs experience to correct or to tone it down. "To say, therefore, that our diffidence in testimony is the result of experience is more philosophical, because more consonant to truth, than to say that our faith in testimony has this foundation. Accordingly, youth, which is inexperienced, is credulous; age, on the contrary, is distrustful." And when the objection is raised that such primitive credulity is inexplicable, he makes answer that no doubt that is so, but you must begin with something, you must have some original grounds of belief, and this primitive credulity is one of the original grounds, as the law of causation and the uniformity of nature are others. Whether or not this is a sufficient reply from the side of philosophy, it was generally accepted at the time, and shows at any rate that Campbell, in his philosophical principles, was at one with Reid.

The same is shown by the most philosophical of all Campbell's treatises—his *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. The plan may be given, in the author's own words, from the Preface. "It is his purpose, in this work," he says, "on the one hand, to exhibit, he does not say, a correct map, but a tolerable sketch of the human mind; and, aided by the lights which the poet and the orator so amply furnish, to disclose its secret movements, tracing its principal channels of perception and action, as near as possible, to their source; and, on the other hand, from the science of human nature, to ascertain, with greater precision, the radical principles of that art, whose object it is, by the use of language, to operate on the soul of the hearer, in the way of informing, convincing, pleasing, moving, or persuading." It is psychology, then, applied to rhetoric and literary criticism, in due Scottish fashion, with the principles of philosophy underlying all. Specially noteworthy, from the psychological point of view, are the analysis and exposition of Wit, Humour, and Ridicule; the consideration of the cause of the pleasure excited by Pity and other painful feelings; and the handling of the different kinds and sources of Evidence. The treatise shows well Campbell's philosophical aptitude. It discloses him as a close and vigorous reasoner, with subtle perception of intellectual

facts and psychological distinctions, and a thinker possessed of undoubted metaphysical power. The work itself had great influence for many a day. It was much used by Dugald Stewart; it was accepted as a text-book at Oxford; and it is known and appreciated in accredited quarters still—as may be seen, for example, from Professor Stout's reference to it in his *Analytic Psychology*.

3. A wider, though less solid, reputation in philosophy than Campbell's was that of JAMES BEATTIE, who must be accorded (for the times determined it) the place next in order to Reid among the Scottish philosophers of the eighteenth century. Beattie occupied the corresponding Chair at Marischal College to that which Reid held at King's, and was appointed to it in 1760, at the age of twenty-five. He, too, was a member of the Philosophical Society, having been enrolled in 1761—the year after his appointment to the Professorship; yet, owing doubtless to his very chequered health, he was irregular in his attendance, but his contributions were not inconsiderable.

Beattie's fame nowadays rests mainly on his poetry. "The Minstrel" and "The Hermit" are known—at least in quotation—to many who never heard of his philosophical writings. But, in his own day, it was entirely the other way; and it is Beattie *the philosopher* whom Sir Joshua Reynolds painted in the famous allegorical picture that hangs in the gallery of Marischal College. This was in great part the result of accidental circumstances; although Beattie's own merits counted for much—for far more than is now usually accorded him. In the first place, Beattie had literary style,¹ and wrote in a fashion that could attract the popular mind. In the next place, he was ardent, vehement and slashing in his criticisms of David Hume. That was precisely what the age wanted. So great was the religious consternation caused by Hume's scepticism that the calm philosophical examination of his positions made by Reid and by Campbell did not appeal to "the general". Moreover, both Reid and Campbell had spoken respectfully of Hume, had even written to him politely, and had submitted their writings to his inspection before publication. That seemed pure timidity and weakness: could they not arouse the *odium theologicum* and end the

¹ Beattie, Campbell, and Gerard, as literary critics and as founders of a Scottish school of Criticism, would form an admirable subject for a chapter in this volume. The view might be continued down to Bain and Masson and Minto.

matter? But here was one who dared to meet the enemy to his face, and to deal him doughty blows in the interest of orthodoxy. And so, when the *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* appeared (in 1770), it was eagerly read, and greeted with a general chorus of praise, led by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Edition followed edition rapidly (five of them within four years), and the work was by and by translated into French, German, Dutch, and Italian. Honours were showered upon Beattie. He was honoured by interviews with the King and had a royal pension bestowed upon him; he was treated as one of the celebrities whenever he visited London, and enjoyed the friendship of great men like Samuel Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Burke; Oxford conferred the degree of Doctor of Civil Law upon him, and made his work a text-book; Church dignitaries offered him ecclesiastical preferment, if only he would take Holy Orders. He was welcomed everywhere as the philosophical champion of the faith. Yet, to his credit be it said, this unparalleled popularity never spoiled him; he was fully conscious of his own intellectual limits, and retained to the end his modesty of nature.

The subject of the *Essay* was Truth; and the handling of it was twofold, expository and critical. On the expository side, it took the form of a presentment of Common Sense as the standard of truth, and an enunciation of its principles and their criteria. Unfortunately, the appeal was made, in large measure, to the convictions of the *profanum vulgus*; the thinking was often loose and superficial; and there were wanting the calm, analytic judgment of Reid, and his mental grasp. This laid the writer open to easy attack. His opponents quite recognized his earnestness, sincerity, and good intention; but they ridiculed his lack of philosophical penetration and his naiveté of treatment. "When we see," said Priestley, "how miserably bewildered the bulk of mankind are, one would think that this principle of truth is like the god Baal, who when he was most wanted, and ought to have made a point of being present, to assist his worshippers, was asleep, or on a journey, or engaged some other way." And, even in Aberdeenshire, there were not wanting those who saw the weak point of the position, and expressed themselves accordingly. In particular, the Reverend John Skinner of Linshart turned Beattie's doctrine of intuitive knowledge or inward light into sprightly Latin verse, set to the tune of "Tullochgorum," and treated it with light humour, the edge of which was taken off by the laudatory epithet applied to Beattie in the catching

refrain of "Doctissime Doctorum". "How," among other things, he asks, "can you on this doctrine account for the diversity of opinions and beliefs that exist among mankind, one man regarding as true what another asserts to be false?" and he chides Beattie for attacking Hume while accepting Rousseau, and for placing such implicit faith in the ancients, especially Aristotle.

As to the other point—Beattie's criticism. This was often vehement and exaggerated, and the opponents made a great handle of it. Hume is said to have complained that Beattie had not treated him "like a gentleman," and Priestley objected to Beattie's "vehemence," and to his "arrogance and insolence" towards those who were opposed to him. Beattie's own answer, given in a letter to Dr. Blacklock, dated 27th May, 1770, is as follows (see *Beattie and his Friends*, by Miss Margaret Forbes, p. 48): "I have heard from very good authority that Mr. Hume speaks of me and of my book with very great bitterness (I own I thought he would rather have affected to treat both with contempt); and that he says I have not used him like a gentleman. He is quite right to set the matter upon that footing. It is an odious charge. It is an objection easily remembered, and for that reason will be often repeated by his admirers; and it has this further advantage that being (in the present case) perfectly unintelligible it cannot possibly be answered. The truth is, I, as a rational, moral, immortal being, and something of a philosopher, treated him as a rational, moral, and immortal being, a sceptic and an atheistical writer. My design was not to make a book full of fashionable phrases and polite expressions, but to undeceive the public in regard to the merits of the sceptical philosophy and the pretensions of its abettors. To say that I ought not to have done this with plainness and spirit, is to say, in other words, that I ought either to have held my peace, or to have been a knave. In this case, I might perhaps have treated Mr. Hume as a gentleman, but I should not have treated society and my own conscience as became a man and a Christian. I have all along foreseen, and still foresee, that I shall have many reproaches, cavils, and sneers to encounter on this occasion; but I am prepared to meet them. I am not ashamed of my cause." The *Essay* had many striking tributes paid to it at the time. Even Samuel Johnson said: "Beattie's book is, I believe, every day more liked; at least, I like it more as I look more upon it". Perhaps, the greatest tribute of more recent times is the fact that the *Essay* was the book which more than any other helped to save Dr. Chalmers from philosophical scepticism.

Of Beattie's *Evidences of the Christian Religion briefly and plainly stated* and of his *Elements of Moral Science* nothing need be said: they are long obsolete. But reference may be made to his *Dissertations—Moral and Critical*. Here Beattie appears at his best as a psychologist, and the subjects treated have perennial interest, *viz.*, Memory and Imagination, Dreaming, The Theory of Language, Fable and Romance, The Attachments of Kindred, and Illustrations on Sublimity.

4. Another member of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, ALEXANDER GERARD, admitted on the 8th March, 1758, now claims our attention. Gerard was, first, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in Marischal College, where he had as his pupil, among others, James Beattie. He was, later on, transferred to the Chair of Divinity in the same College, when Beattie became his successor in the Chair of Philosophy. He completed his Professorial career as Professor of Divinity in King's College.

His theological ability may be seen from his *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the Genius and the Evidences of Christianity* and his *Pastoral Care* (posthumously published by his son Gilbert, who succeeded him in the Chair of Divinity at King's); but his philosophical reputation rests on his *Essay on Taste* and his *Essay on Genius*. These exhibit the analytic power of the Scottish philosophers, and are marked by the same calm, well-balanced judgment that was characteristic of Thomas Reid. Gerard lacked, indeed, Reid's faculty of sustained thinking, and one can hardly conceive him as the author of a system; but he could handle a theme adroitly and with penetration, and his writing is always pleasant to read, if not highly original in substance. He is also a leader in literary criticism, and stands forth as one of the Scottish school of criticism (Campbell and Beattie and Kames being others) which aroused the jealousy and drew forth the sarcasm of Voltaire. Special interest attaches to his *Essay on Taste*, not only because it was awarded a gold medal in open competition on the subject, but also because it sets forth views that met with much acceptance in Scotland and in France, resolving beauty, "at least in part," into association. In like manner, the *Essay on Genius* enjoyed much popularity. In it, he traces the origin of Genius to the associating power of the imagination, and devotes space to consideration of the Laws of Association, following Aristotle; thereby giving occasion for Sir William Hamilton's remark regarding Gerard, that "of the later British philo-

sophers, indeed, there is hardly to be found another who has studied the works of Aristotle more attentively and to better effect". But the most notable fact about this Essay is that it had the good fortune to attract the attention of Immanuel Kant and to affect his doctrine of Genius as laid down in the *Kritik of Judgment* (see Dr. Otto Schlapp, *Kants Lehre vom Genie und die Entstehung der "Kritik der Urteilskraft,"* pp. 9, 244, 417, 441, etc.).¹

5. Of JOHN GREGORY only a word need be said. He was a relative and attached friend of Reid, and a member of the noted Gregory family (Reid's own, through his mother) that supplied no fewer than fourteen professors to the Universities in Great Britain. He was Mediciner of King's College when Reid became Professor of Philosophy there; and, after he removed to Edinburgh as Professor of the Practice of Medicine, he acted as one of the most trusted counsellors of Beattie whose staunch friend he had been in Aberdeen. While in Aberdeen, he joined Reid in instituting the Philosophical Society; and his own contributions to that Club ultimately assumed the form of the little volume entitled *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*. This is not a treatise on Animal Psychology, as the title might suggest, but simply a collection of five discourses on a number of interesting points in psychology, written in a cultured, agreeable style, and marked by much sagacity. It reveals a very amiable and refined nature, and shows the advantage that the medical man has in psychology whenever psychical facts have to be interpreted practically.

6. Three further names of Aberdeen philosophers of the eighteenth century must be mentioned—GEORGE TURNBULL, WILLIAM DUNCAN, and JAMES DUNBAR. The first two of these were Professors of Philosophy at Marischal College; the first in the earlier part of the century, the other later on. Turnbull was Reid's college teacher in philosophy; and, if we may judge of his prelections in the class from his *Principles of Moral Philosophy*, published in 1740, he inculcated doctrines akin, in many points, to those that Reid afterwards developed. He enforced the

¹ Gerard was also a University reformer; and it is mainly owing to him that Marischal College gave up the "regenting" system, and supplanted it by that of the professoriate, in 1755, while King's, under the influence of Reid, still adhered to the regents. See Gerard, *Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of it* (1755), translated into German in 1770.

propriety of studying mental and moral facts inductively; he appealed to common sense; and he traced our idea of power solely to the will. His moral philosophy, however, is pervaded by Natural Theology and culminates in Christian philosophy. Duncan, on the other hand, had a considerable reputation as a logician, and his *Elements of Logick* (partly psychological) went through many editions. Dunbar was Professor of Philosophy at King's College (elected a member of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, 26th November, 1765), and his *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultivated Ages*, published in 1780, has interest as being an early attempt at the philosophy of history, and has a modern aspect in many of the topics handled,—e.g., “Of the general Influence of Climate on National Objects,” “Of the further Tendency of local Circumstances to affect the Proceedings of Nations,” “Of the Relation of Man to the surrounding Elements”.

7. Of distinguished eighteenth-century students whom the University produced, two are outstanding in their future philosophical reputation. One was the product of King's College—Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH (fellow-student of Robert Hall), destined to eminence as a lawyer, a statesman, a man of letters, and a philosopher; in which last capacity, his *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy* shows his indebtedness to the teaching of Scottish philosophy that he had received in Aberdeen. The other emanated from Marischal College—Lord MONBODDO, who attended the University while George Campbell was a student, the learned, upright, though eccentric judge; the Darwinian, in advance of his time; the enthusiastic cultivator of Greek manners and of Greek philosophy, whose *Antient Metaphysics* is a plea for scholarship as indispensable to the philosopher and for the necessity of returning to Plato and to Aristotle, if true wisdom is to be found.

III.

When we reach the nineteenth century, we find the Scottish philosophy still supreme at Aberdeen, and for the first half of the century little else was taught. Unfortunately, the teaching became stereotyped. No great advance in any direction was made, but there was simply a repetition, servile and lifeless, of Reid and Campbell and Beattie, with Dugald Stewart, in some instances, added. Even ROBERT EDEN

SCOTT, Professor of Moral Philosophy at King's College, who enjoyed a high local reputation as a philosopher, is simply, in his *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy*, published in 1805, an echo of Reid. Influence on the philosophical world, accordingly, there could be little. Influence on the outside world in general, on the other hand, was effected mainly in the sphere of Psychology by JOHN ABERCROMBIE, who had studied at Marischal College and there imbibed the Scottish philosophy. His *Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth* (published in 1830) and his *Philosophy of the Moral Feelings* (published in 1833) attained enormous popularity, not only in our own country, but in India and America; yet this was owing, not to any advance that they had made over Reid and Beattie, but because of the numerous pathological facts that the author could bring to bear upon the study of mind from his own wide experience as the most noted Edinburgh physician of his time. The common-sense, high-toned character of his psychology, practical in its nature, may very well be seen from his address, in 1835, on "The Culture and Discipline of the Mind," to the students of Marischal College, whose Rector he then was (see *Aberdeen Rectorial Addresses*, edited by P. J. Anderson, 1902). We have to wait for the year 1860, and the advent of Alexander Bain, till we get a fresh start, with new and fruitful developments.

Two partial exceptions, however, must be made—one in the sphere of Apologetics, and the other in that of Mental Philosophy.

1. In 1816, WILLIAM LAURENCE BROWN, Principal of Marischal College, published his treatise on Christian Theism, designed to confirm religious faith to an age that was fast slipping away from it. The occasion of it was this. John Burnett of Dens, a merchant in Aberdeen, anxious to have the central truth of religion exhibited in a rational form that might carry force and cogency along with it, devoted a large sum of money for two prizes, to be adjudged every forty years to the best essays (in open competition) on the subject of the Being and Attributes of God, treated first from the side of Natural Theology, and next in connexion with Divine Revelation. The first of the competitions took place early in the century; and, after a long and careful examination by competent judges of fifty dissertations that had been sent in, the first prize (of £1,200) was adjudged, on 4th August, 1815, to Principal William L. Brown, and the second to

the Reverend John Bird Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The scope of Principal Brown's essay may be gathered from the long and crowded title-page: "An Essay on the Existence of a Supreme Creator, possessed of Infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness; containing also the Refutation, from Reason and Revelation, of the Objections urged against His Wisdom and Goodness; and deducing from the whole subject, the most important Practical Inferences". Credit must be given to the author for strenuous thinking and detailed presentation of his positions. His metaphysics is occupied with such points as Necessary Existence, Cause and Effect, the Theistic Proofs; and the doctrines are elucidated with much sincerity and not a little learning. Reason and Revelation are both canvassed in behalf of the Divine Personality and Attributes, and special attention is directed to the Problem of Evil. The effect intended to be produced on the mind of the reader is that of the vastness, elevation and attractiveness of the subject; and the conclusion enforced is that "real, rational and enlarged *Theology* is, thus, the noblest of all sciences". Judged from present-day standpoints, the work must be pronounced to be in large measure antiquated—we have ceased to think quite in those grooves, and we have outgrown the spirit that could speak of "Spinoza, Toland and other Atheists". But it served its purpose; and, taking it in connexion with the time when it was written, and remembering that the horrors of the French Revolution were still fresh in people's minds and that Infidelity was widespread and rampant, we can see how it furthered the cause of Philosophy when, even in its measure, it justified the rationality of the universe and recalled men's thoughts to the higher speculation.

2. The other work (published in 1858) was of a different kind, and came from WILLIAM ROBINSON PIRIE, then Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, afterwards Principal of the united University. It was an *Inquiry into the Constitution, Powers and Processes of the Human Mind, with a view to the determination of the Fundamental Principles of Religious, Moral and Political Science*. It covers the whole province of Psychology—traversed, however, with practical intent. The keynote is struck by the writer himself in his Preface when he says: "He repudiates all interest in what is usually called metaphysics. However much it may lower him in the opinion of those who profess a philosophy—whether originating with ancient or modern masters—which no

one, save men of extraordinary genius and profundity of thought can understand, he must deferentially express his conviction that all such philosophy is mere delusion, into a supposed belief of which people deceive themselves by mistaking the vague notions which grand words and poetic images generate for definite ideas. His only purpose was and is, therefore, to lay, so far as in his power, solid foundations on which may be reared with certainty a determination of those great practical questions which concern our happiness, our rights, and our duties. Except in so far, consequently, as his arguments assure human faith, and clearly explain spiritual phenomena, he desires no importance to be attached to them whatever. If he has failed in realising those objects, he at once acknowledges that he has failed altogether." The treatise, like all that the author wrote, is stimulating and highly unconventional—fresh in its thought and vigorous in its criticism. It is marked by keenness of dialectic, and the reader is carried along in one continuous flow of natural eloquence. Perhaps, the reason why the book has not taken the place that it might have taken is, that it is too much the work of a special pleader, and that the writer's independent thinking militates against his entering with full sympathy into the views and thinking of others.

3. The year 1860, when ALEXANDER BAIN returned to Aberdeen as Professor of Logic and English, marks a definite stage in the teaching of Philosophy in the University. Bain had himself been educated, as a student at Marischal College, in the philosophy of Reid and Beattie; and he retained the method and not a little of the spirit of the Scottish philosophers to the end. He was also, like Reid, proficient in mathematics and physics, and had acquaintance with the biological sciences, and could put his knowledge of these departments to effective use in illustrating logical principles and psychological processes. The change that he created, however, in the philosophical outlook amounted almost to a revolution, inasmuch as his standpoint was so determinedly positive and his leading doctrines those of the English psychologists. Associationism now became supreme in Psychology, and Utilitarianism in Ethics. Unwonted emphasis was also laid on the physiological side of mental process, and subtle analysis of psychological phenomena was accompanied by an exhaustive scheme of scientific description, after the Natural History type. For the remainder of the century, the psychology of Bain dominated thinking in Aberdeen.

Bain's psychology was first elaborated in *The Senses and the Intellect*, which appeared in 1855; and was continued in *The Emotions and the Will*, published in 1859. These works soon gained for their author a solid reputation; and they made an epoch in British psychology. From that time forward, Bain's influence was in the ascendant. His activity was untiring; and both from the Logic Chair and through the Press (not least through the philosophical journal *Mind*, which he himself instituted and owned) he disseminated his views and produced a deep and permanent impression. Book followed book from his pen—now re-casting and amending and adding to the original teaching, as in *Mental and Moral Science* and in the articles that constitute the *Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics*, as well as in the successive editions of his greater works; now breaking up new ground for the application of his psychological principles, as in the *Rhetoric* and in *Education as a Science*; now supplementing by excursions into allied provinces, as by his treatise on *Logic* and his various works on *English Grammar*. Everywhere, in whatever sphere, the handling revealed the skilled psychologist. Not since Aristotle has so keen an intellect dissected human nature and pushed his principles unflinchingly in every available realm.

Psychology to Bain was supremely inductive and essentially empirical, and the ruling principle was Association. Starting with sensation, and taking full account of the instinctive and spontaneous impulses of the human system, as also of the mind's native power of retentiveness and discrimination, he proceeded to explain how knowledge and ultimately our whole mental structure are built up by Association, operating in the two forms of Similarity and Contiguity. The elaboration of this is a stupendous effort, occupying the greater part of *The Senses and the Intellect*. The result is an enduring monument of intellectual skill and psychological ability, surpassing everything that had been done before in the same direction. It could have been effected only by whole-hearted recognition of the close connexion that obtains between physiology and psychology, and by using the one as a help to the other. The individual mind to Bain was essentially a growth, and it depended both for its activity and for its development on physical and physiological conditions—more especially on the brain.

The same principles that explain the senses and the intellect are employed by Bain to explain the emotions and the will, and thus unity is

given to his system and the impression of a solid structure compactly built together.

No doubt, more recent psychologists have a good deal to say by way of controverting the Associationists—more particularly, when they emphasize the native activity of the mind. But much of their criticism, although they themselves seem not to be aware of it, applies only to the older Associationists and is inapplicable to Bain. Bain's position may be given, in one of the latest formulations of it by himself, when criticizing Wundt (see *Dissertations*, pp. 50, 51): "I propose to remark upon the bearing of Wundt's speculation upon the laws of Association, properly so called. Notwithstanding the stress put upon the action of the will, he still allows that will is not everything: he does not shunt the associating links, and lay the whole stress of the exposition on the apperceptive volition. What he says as to the essential concurrence of emotion and will with the workings of Association we fully admit. No associating link can be forged, in the first instance, except in the fire of consciousness; and the rapidity of the operation depends on the intensity of the glow. In like manner, the links thus forged are dormant and inactive, until some stimulus of consciousness is present, whether feeling or will. . . . As to the influence of the will in apperception, everything that Wundt advances is supported by our experience. . . . The operation that represents Wundt's Apperception in its full sweep is the crowning example of voluntary power—the command of the thoughts, by detaining some and dismissing others, as they arise, and are found suitable, or the contrary. Too much cannot be said as to the importance of voluntary attention in this lofty sphere. All thinking for an end,—whether it be practical or speculative, scientific or æsthetic,—consists in availing ourselves of the materials afforded by Association, and choosing or rejecting according to the perceived fitness or unfitness for that end. When, therefore, Wundt says that Association alone does not explain the higher intellectual functions, he only says what we all admit, namely, that Association needs the control of will and feelings, in order to bring forth our more important thinking products. In the absence of some degree of conscious intensity, Association can no more unite ideas, or restore the past by virtue of such unions, than a complete set of water-pipes can distribute water without a full reservoir to draw from. The scheme of Wundt does not lead to the slighting of Association as a great intellectual factor. His Apperception would be nothing without it."

Bain's is a great name in philosophy, and one that cannot die. The extent of his influence, more particularly in psychology, it is hardly possible to over-estimate. As I have elsewhere expressed it, "It has gone abroad into many lands through his writings—many of which have been translated into diverse tongues. It emanated from his teaching as a professor, and lives in pupils who reproduce his spirit and his method. It is felt by others, not a few, who have attained renown in psychology, but who owe much to him for early counsel and encouragement. But, perhaps, the best testimony to his influence, and certainly the most striking proof of his originality, lies in the fact that any exposition of his distinctive positions must needs seem to the modern psychologist conversant with the subject a mere enunciation of commonplaces. The doctrines are commonplaces now, but they were new, and many of them alarming, when they first appeared. Hardly less significant is the fact that to some those doctrines are a perennial subject of criticism. That is a high compliment. People criticize only what they feel to have weight and potency: harmless, even though distasteful, teaching is passed by in silence. . . . 'Pre-eminent,' as the present Editor of *Mind* has phrased it, are his services to psychology and philosophy; and when the history of psychology comes to be written in English, a commanding place will be assigned to him among those who advanced the science of mind in the nineteenth century, and due acknowledgment will be made of the distinctive value of his work."¹

4. Bain's successor in the Chair of Logic and English was a distinguished pupil of his own—WILLIAM MINTO. Minto's name is associated most with English Literature and Literary Criticism; and his writings in that sphere are brilliant and have acknowledged worth. He has no work on Psychology or Philosophy; but he taught with much lucidity in the Logic Class the doctrines and principles of Bain, and his psychological faculty may be seen from such an article as that on John Stuart Mill in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He produced a manual on *Logic, Inductive and Deductive*, which has attained considerable popularity.

¹ For a detailed account of Bain's philosophy, see my article in *Mind* (vol. xiii., N.S., pp. 161-179), preceded by my Obituary Note (same vol., pp. 151-155). For an account of his life, see his *Autobiography*, published in 1904.

5. Another distinguished pupil of Bain was GEORGE CROOM ROBERTSON. He expounded and upheld the master's principles, both as Grote Professor of Philosophy of Mind and Logic in University College, London, and as editor of *Mind*. Indifferent health prevented his producing the great work in the History of Philosophy that those who knew him best confidently expected; but his *Philosophical Remains* and the two posthumous volumes of his Class Lectures (*Elements of Psychology* and *Elements of General Philosophy*), as well as his small treatise on *Hobbes*, show the loss that Philosophy sustained by his too early death.

6. Note must be taken of the encouragement given to Philosophy at Aberdeen by the Burnett¹ and Gifford Lectureships, during the last twenty years of the century.

Under the first of these (which is now non-existent) was produced *Theism as Grounded in Human Nature*, by the writer of this article (another of Bain's pupils). Under the other (which continues operative), two works of great philosophical merit have appeared—one by Professor JAMES WARD on *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, and the other by Professor JOSIAH ROYCE on *The World and the Individual*.

IV.

The teaching of Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen at the present moment does not here come within our view: the nature of it may be gathered, in part, from the published writings of the occupants of the Philosophical Chairs. But this may be said that it is neither stationary nor unduly restricted in scope, nor is enthusiasm lacking in the prosecution of it. It may, further, be noted that, within the last ten years, the teaching of the Chairs has been supplemented by three Lectureships—one the Anderson Lectureship in Comparative Psychology (including Experimental, as well as Animal, Psychology), and the other two devoted to Political Economy and Political Science. Thus is advance being made at Aberdeen over former days.

¹ This is the Burnett of Dens prize fund diverted in this way by a Provisional Order of the Secretary of State in 1881. It is now devoted to the Burnett-Fletcher Chair of History and Archæology in the University.

THE HISTORIANS.

IT has been remarked, and by one whose erudition spices the compliment, that from the foundation of the University "a love of historical studies has continued to mark the Aberdonian scholars, who have contributed more to Scottish history than the inhabitants of any other part of Scotland".¹ Whence arises this persistent aptitude for historical exposition and research it is beyond my power to penetrate, and happily the inquiry is irrelevant. In the bidding-prayer which the University offers at this pious commemoration, I do but seek to name those who, as it were in an apostolical succession extraordinarily prolonged, founded and confirmed the reputation of the University in a particular department of its activity.

Having regard to the bias of Aberdonian scholarship towards historical exposition, there is suggestiveness in the fact that the first Principal was a historian: "Quid enim cum in cyclicis disciplinis omnibus, tum historii, Hectore illo Boethio eruditius simul et elegantius?" Ferrerius challenged,² and the Principal's contemporaries sometimes submitted themselves to his skill as a compounder of simples.³ Posterity has forgotten Boece's eclecticism, his occasional appearances as "the man in the gig," and remembers him as the first writer whose printed page made his country's history a national possession.

Before the publication of Boece's history very little had been done to rescue the history of Scotland from the region of "unsatisfactory conjecture," of which Boswell once complained. Adamnan's (625?-704) *Life of St. Columba*, Bishop Turgot's (d. 1115) *Life of St. Margaret*, John Blair's (circ. 1300) *Life of Wallace*, the epic on that hero by Blind Harry (fl. 1470-1492), Andrew of Wyntoun's (circ. 1350-1420) metrical history of Scotland to the year 1394, John Barbour's (1316?-1395) *Brus*, John Fordun's (d. 1385?) *Scotichronicon*, its continuation by Walter Bower

¹ Sheriff Æneas Mackay, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. v., p. 300.

² *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, ed. Stuart, p. xxi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xlviii.

of Inchcolm (*d.* 1449), and Sir Thomas Gray's (*d.* 1369?) *Scalacronica*—such are the comparatively meagre materials which have survived. With most of them, and with others that have been lost, Boece was familiar. A manuscript of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* was his gift to the University.¹ Barbour's *Brus* was equally accessible to him.² Both men by residence were Aberdonians, and of the parent foundation whence the University sprang.

JOHN BARBOUR'S birth is placed conjecturally in 1316.³ He died in 1395, five years before his contemporary Chaucer. He can have been little more than a lad when Robert Bruce died in 1329. "Of his parentage we know nothing," wrote Cosmo Innes in 1856, "and conjecture is defeated by the wide spreading of the name."⁴ Later speculation has inclined to hold Aberdeen his home, and even to detect Aberdonic accents in his work!⁵ His career is as misty as his parentage. The earliest reference to him is in the *Rotuli Scotiæ* of 1357. He was then Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and had permission to travel to Oxford with three other scholars. Seven years later, in 1364, we find him again visiting Oxford. In 1365 he was bound for St. Denis, near Paris, and again in 1368 had permission to travel through England to France to study there.⁶

It is remotely credible that an Archdeacon should prolong his general education to beyond his fiftieth year, but it is reasonable to conjecture that Barbour's journeys to England and France were undertaken for the acquisition of information upon subjects which he was particularly investigating, upon which the archives at Aberdeen shed insufficient illumination. Barbour's study of the career of Bruce would hardly draw him out of Scotland. His peregrinations therefore may be held to support the attribution to him of works whose preparation would entail a wider hunt for

¹ Skene, *Johannis de Fordun Chronica*, vol. i., p. xxv. The MS. is now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

² See book xiv., chap. 8, in which Boece quotes "the Brucis buke" (Bellenden, vol. ii., p. 383).

³ See *The Bruce*, Scottish Text Society, vol. i., p. xxix. Dr. Skeat there inclines to the date 1320.

⁴ *The Brus*, ed. Cosmo Innes, Spalding Club, Pref., p. iii.

⁵ *D.N.B.*, vol. iii., p. 153.

⁶ See Cosmo Innes's Preface to *The Brus*. The fullest list of contemporary references to Barbour is given by Dr. Skeat in his Preface to the Scottish Text Society's edition of *The Bruce*.

materials. He is said to have written on the Troy legend.¹ A volume of *Legends of the Saints* is also attributed to him, a bulky work of over 33,000 verses. Both of these are described as "almost literal translations" of earlier manuscripts.² Dr. Skeat rejects them, but assigns to Barbour poems on *The Brut* and *The Original of the Stuarts*.³

Whatever the object of them, Barbour's visits to foreign Universities seem to have ceased after 1368. Soon after his last visit to France he was employed as Clerk of Audit in the King's Household, and also in the Exchequer.⁴ In the same period he began and concluded the work which dubs him Father of Scottish history. He was in or about his sixtieth year when he wrote *The Brus*. If the work was not completed in 1375,⁵ it probably was finished by 1377, when a royal grant of £10 upon the customs of Aberdeen was seemingly the King's recognition of the poet's service to his grandsire's memory. Further marks of royal bounty followed, among them an annual grant of twenty shillings in perpetuity from the fermes of Aberdeen. The latter gift Barbour assigned to the Chapter of St. Machar, and annually on 13th March, until the still distant Reformation, a Mass was said for the repose of his soul.⁶

JOHN FORDUN, or John de Fordoun, is barely discernible in the meagre details of him which have come down to us. His historical work passes under the title *Scoticronicon*. His authorship of it, or rather of the earlier part of it, is attested by a note upon the MS. preserved in the British Museum, known as *The Black Book of Paisley*.⁷ A more cryptic indication of authorship is found in the lines annexed to the titles of the chapters of the first book of the work.⁸ His continuator describes Fordun as "presbyter".⁹ In the Prologue to the British Museum MS. he is styled "Capellanus ecclesie Aberdonensis".¹⁰ He was one of the

¹ Fragments have been printed by the Early English Text Society.

² *D.N.B.*, vol. iii., pp. 154, 155.

³ *The Bruce*, Scottish Text Society, vol. i., p. xlvi. Mr. George Neilson, in *John Barbour, Poet and Translator* (1900), attributes to Barbour authorship of *The Buik of the most noble and valiant Conqueror Alexander the Grit*, edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1834. See also Mr. J. T. T. Brown's *The Wallace and the Bruce restudied* (1900).

⁴ Cosmo Innes, *The Brus*, Pref., p. iv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pref., pp. v., vi.

⁷ "Scoticronicon inceptum per Johēm de Fordun Aberden. Caþlanum et completum per Walterum Bower Sti Columbe Abbatem, 1447. Quinque Libros Fordon undenos Bower arabat" (David Murray, *The Black Book of Paisley*, p. 1).

⁸ *Johannis de Fordun Chronica*, ed. Skene, vol. i., p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

clergy of the Cathedral of St. Machar, perhaps a chantry priest.¹ There is no evidence to determine the date of his birth or that of his death. A reference in his *Gesta Annalia* to Richard II. "qui nunc est"² proves him at work within the period 1377-1399. Towards the close of his *Chronicle* he inserts a genealogy of David I., which he had obtained long before (*dudum acceperam*) from Walter Wardlaw, whom he describes as Lord Cardinal of Scotland.³ Wardlaw received that office in 1384,⁴ and Fordun clearly was writing or revising the latter portion of his work after that date. The latest entry in his *Annals* is an event of 1385. Probably he died in that year or soon after.

John Fordun's historical work consists of the first five books of a *Chronicle of Scotland* which was continued by Bower and is generally known as the *Scotichronicon*. Fordun contributed to it the history of Scotland to 1153. He left also, under the title *Gesta Annalia*, historical notices of the period 1153-1385, and a collection of materials relating to Edward I.'s claim to suzerainty over Scotland. Several chapters of the sixth book of the *Scotichronicon* are also his.

Mr. Skene's list⁵ of authorities quoted by Fordun attests the chaplain's zealous research. It includes, beside others less familiar, Adamnan, Bede, Ethelred of Rievaulx, Eusebius, Eutropius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gildas, Henry of Huntingdon, Higden, Richard of Cirencester, Seneca, Sigibert of Gembloux, Suetonius, William of Malmesbury, and Turgot. Fordun also refers to certain anonymous *Chronicles*,⁶ and to a particular *Historia*⁷ which Mr. Skene holds⁸ to be a volume mentioned in the list of contents of the great Register of the Priory of St. Andrews. Is it to be inferred that St. Andrews was the scene of Fordun's labours? Mr. Skene seems to contemplate no other conclusion. He writes: "The circumstances which led him [Fordun] to devote himself to the work of compiling a history of his native country, we are not sufficiently acquainted

¹ *Johannis de Fordun Chronica*, ed. Skene, vol. i., p. xiv.

² *Ibid.*, p. 319.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴ *D.N.B.*, vol. lix., p. 354.

⁵ *Chronica*, vol. ii., p. 375.

⁶ These are the *Chronicles of 1165 and onwards* which Mr. Skene printed in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*.

⁷ Book iii., chap. 14.

⁸ Vol. ii., p. 396. Mr. Skene inclines to the opinion that this was the work of Veremundus, an authority whom Bishop Stillingfleet accused Boece of having invented. (See Irving, *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i., p. 6.)

with his life to be able to guess, but the Church of St. Andrews had always been associated with the production and preservation of these early historical documents, and his name indicates his connexion with that diocese. The great Register of the Priory of St. Andrews had been compiled between 1313 and 1332, and contained documents connected with the early annals of Scotland, as well as a *Historia* which may have attracted his attention.”¹

It is too alluring to picture a pre-academic Aberdeen in which John Barbour and John Fordun lived as contemporaries to allow surrender of a conviction that the early books of the *Scotichronicon* took shape under the shadow of St. Machar. The single statement that has reached us regarding Fordun's place of residence and occupation connects him with Aberdeen. And it is clear, from the reference to him in the *Black Book of Paisley*, that wherever and whatever he may have been in earlier years, he died a chaplain or official of the Cathedral of St. Machar. It is also clear that it was the later years of his life that he devoted to putting his *Chronicle* into shape. If these suppositions are accepted, and at least they are reasonable, Aberdeen in the latter half of the fourteenth century could boast possession of two men, contemporaries, diligent workers in the field of Scottish history, both of them greater lights in a constellation at that time not lavishly starred.

Barbour's persistent journeyings in search of historical material have been alluded to. Fordun was equally indefatigable. No unreasonable strain upon the imagination is needed to picture the *Capellanus* of St. Machar as one of those who accompanied Barbour to England and elsewhere. But with or independently of John Barbour, Fordun between the years 1363 and 1385, as Mr. Skene infers,² was zealous in search of materials. “Idcirco et ipse pedester,” Bower says of Fordun, “tanquam apis argumentosa, in prato Britanniae et in oraculis Hiberniae, per civitates et oppida, per universitates et collegia, per ecclesias et cœnobia, inter historicos conversans et inter chronographos perendinans, libros eorum annales contrectans et cum eis sapienter conferens et disputans, ac tabulis sive dipticis quæ sibi placuit intitulus, tali fatigabili investigatione, quod non novit invenit atque in sinuali suo codice, tanquam in alvario, inventa, quasi mellifluos favos accurate conguessit, et ipsa, ut præmissi, in quinque

¹ *Chronica*, ed. Skene, vol. ii., p. lxxii.

² Vol. i., p. xxxiii.

libros, usque ad mortem sanctissimi regis David filii sanctæ Margaretæ, eleganter intitulavit.”¹ That is a handsome compliment to Fordun’s assiduity. Of Fordun himself a brief appreciation survives. Some one once said to Bower: “I knew the man well whom you rate so highly, the author of the book you are speaking of, and bringing before us. He was a simple man, and nowhere graduated in the schools.”²

The historical value of Fordun’s work is concisely expressed by Mr. Skene: “In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it forms the indispensable groundwork of our annals, while in the fourteenth century it becomes a contemporary authority”.³ Its popularity and reputation are attested by the large number of manuscripts of it which survive. Tradition connects Bishop Elphinstone with one, now in the Bodleian.⁴ Another was compiled for Hector Boece, and was presented by him to the University. It bears on the first page “Collegi Aberdon. ex dono Magistri Hectoris Bois primi primarii ejusdem”.⁵ It is almost inconceivable that a gift intrinsically so valuable and of such intimate interest should have been surrendered. At what period it was lost cannot be determined. In 1682 it was in the library of Richard Smyth, and at the sale of his books in that year was purchased by the Duke of Lauderdale. From him it passed to Thomas Gale, who used it as the text of his edition of Fordun in *Historiæ Britannicæ Scriptores XV*. After Gale’s death in 1702 the MS. passed to his son Roger Gale, who lent it to Thomas Hearne for his edition of the *Scotichronicon* published in 1722. Upon Roger Gale’s death in 1744 his MSS. were acquired by Trinity College, Cambridge. There Boece’s copy of Fordun remains.⁶ Irrevocably?

John Fordun died about 1385, John Barbour some ten years later. A century separates them from Boece. In the interval Aberdeen made no contribution to historical literature. But the tradition which Barbour and Fordun had established was communicated to the new University by the Founder himself. WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE’S life and activities are described elsewhere in this volume. Here I point out merely that he was a student of history, a diligent collector of materials, and the

¹ Skene, vol. i., p. 1.

² Murray, *The Black Book of Paisley*, p. 2.

³ Vol. i., p. ix.

⁴ Skene, vol. i., p. xxii. More recent investigation, however, does not confirm the tradition.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

⁶ Murray, *Black Book of Paisley*, p. 7.

author of a volume of notes or reflections upon them. Of the Bishop Boece writes:¹ "The history of the antiquities of the Scottish nation, especially in the Hebrides, he examined with great care and labour. The result of his researches into our history he condensed into one volume. The Bishop's writings I have largely followed in the history of Scotland which, to the best of my humble ability, I have recently put in writing. Whoever shall see these will understand either that our country has lacked historians, or that our historians have been rather careless; but that we have never lacked those capable of making history. The acts of the saints, to whom our parish churches are generally dedicated, after much research in many quarters, he collected into one work." Elphinstone "took great delight in the memorials of our ancient nation," Boece writes elsewhere.² None of the MSS. mentioned by Boece are extant, though it is stated by Bellenden's editor that Elphinstone's historical collections are in the Bodleian.³

Contemporary both with Elphinstone and Boece was ALEXANDER GALLOWAY, Rector of the University at intervals between 1516 and 1549. He is remembered as the architect of the Bridge of Dee and of Grey Friars Church. Like Elphinstone, he is said to have studied the antiquities of the Hebrides, and to have written upon the subject of the clag-geese, those mythical birds whom mediæval credulity believed to grow on trees.⁴ An instinct of historical research dowered Elphinstone's foundation in its infancy. The goose inquiry may be condoned as an inspiration of juvenile credulity!

So I pass to HECTOR BOECE. His family was of old standing in Angus.⁵ The name is variously spelt Boece, Bois, Boyis, but Boyce is preferred by Boece's biographer.⁶ In two of the forms the name is also found in England. John Bois, an erudite Hellenist, was one of the translators of James VI.'s Authorised Version.⁷ Three Boyces are remembered, Samuel, Thomas and William. The fame of the first two is literary. The third was a musician.⁸ Boece's Christian name, Hector, was certainly

¹ *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*, ed. J. Moir, p. 99.

² *Ibid.*, p. v.

³ Bellenden, vol. i., p. xxii. Bodley's Librarian, however, informs me that there is nothing in the Bodleian to support the statement.

⁴ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 161. See *Aberd. Eccl. Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 93.

⁵ See the article on Boece in *D.N.B.*, vol. v., p. 297.

⁶ Irving, *Scottish Writers*, vol. i., p. 1.

⁷ *D.N.B.*, vol. v., p. 311.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 88.

unusual at the period of his birth (*circa* 1465). It betokens in his parents an interest in the new Humanism which, in part, explains their son's career. Hector Boece's early years were spent in Dundee, and as "Hector Boetius Deidonensis" he dedicated his *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen* to Gavin Dunbar.¹ From Scotland Boece passed to Paris, and in or about the year 1492, the *annus mirabilis*, became a Professor in the Collège de Montaigu.² He names several notable men who were his contemporaries in Paris; among them Erasmus, whom he eulogises as "nostræ ætatis splendor et ornamentum," and his fellow-countryman John Major, "theologus eruditissimus, cujus scripta, haud aliter quam illuminatissimæ faces, magnum Christianæ religioni attulere fulgorem".³ From Paris, where he says of himself, "philosophiam utcunq̄ enarrabam," he came to Aberdeen at Elphinstone's invitation, "ut adolescentes literarum amantes (mea pro exiguitate) bonis artibus instituerem".⁴ For more than thirty years he watched over the youthful University's fortunes, and died in 1536.

Boece's fame as a historian rests upon two published works. The first in order of publication, but not as I shall show in composition, was the *Lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen*. The second, published five years later, was his *History of the Scots*.⁵ Boece chose the common language of Humanism, and wrote both works in Latin. One could wish that, like Barbour, he had expressed himself in his mother-tongue. By aping Livy Boece allowed John Bellenden and William Stewart to gain for their translation of him an interest which he might have secured to himself.

The *Lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen* was published at Paris by Iodocus Badius in 1522. Dr. Moir remarks: "It was, with the exception of John Major's *History of Greater Britain*, published in 1521, the first attempt, apart from scholastic and theological works, on the part of a Scotsman to appeal through Latin to a wider audience than Britain provided".⁶ Boece declares that the work owed its inception to the suggestion of Bishop Gavin Dunbar.⁷ As Dunbar became Bishop of Aberdeen in 1518,⁸ and Boece's Preface is dated 31st August, 1521,⁹

¹ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The full title is: "Scotorum Historiæ, a prima gentis origine, cum aliarum et rerum et gentium, illustratione non vulgari".

⁶ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. ix.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. v.

⁸ *D.N.B.*, vol. xvi., p. 151.

⁹ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. v.

the work was completed within that narrow period. The deduction meets a criticism of Boece as wanting in fairness and generosity to a contemporary and rival. It has been remarked by his editor, that while eulogising John Major as a theologian, Boece makes no reference to his *History of Greater Britain*, published in 1521.¹ The reason is clear. Boece's MS. was on its way to the Paris press before the prints of Major's work had been distributed in Scotland.

Boece betrays a disposition, common to his period, to treat his materials upon the principle *omne scriptum pro vero*. The See of Aberdeen possessed a series of charters, the earliest of which purported to be a grant by Malcolm II. in 1016 to one Bishop Beyn of lands in Mortlach, Banffshire, and elsewhere, as the foundation of a Bishopric whose seat was ultimately transferred to Aberdeen. The charter² was not attested, a suspicious fact which Boece notices only to remark "tanta tum fides mortalium animos regebat".³ There can be little doubt that it was spurious and had been introduced into the Cathedral archives in order to confirm an early tradition, recorded by Fordun.⁴ With Nectan, the fourth prelate in Boece's list, the historical succession of the Bishops of Aberdeen begins. David I.'s grant in 1137 to Nectan⁵ of "totam villam de Veteri Abbiridon" and other lands dates the virtual foundation of a See whose antiquity Boece expanded by over one hundred years.

Apart from the Mortlach tradition, Boece's *Lives* is remarkable for a biography of Elphinstone, which almost equals in length the sum of the biographies of the Bishop's predecessors. It is written with a filial regard for its subject, and here and there with touches which point the bias of the author towards credulity. Elphinstone's funeral was an event which Boece himself must have witnessed. Yet he writes:⁶ "On this occasion several prodigies occurred. At Foveran, a village ten miles from Aberdeen, an infant was born with two heads and two bodies, but only two legs, being in other respects in no ways hideous in aspect. Another child was born at Aberdeen, who, when placed to his mother's breast, refused to suck, or to look upon her except with horrible cries,

¹ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 160.

² It is printed in Cosmo Innes, *Registr. Episcop. Aberdon.*, and in Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 4.

³ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 6.

⁴ Skene, vol. ii., p. 175.

⁵ Lawrie, *Select Charters*, p. 89.

⁶ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 109.

although he took the breast of any other mother quietly. The vanes at Aberdeen which indicate the direction of the wind, and for this purpose are placed on the steeples of churches, all fell down or were broken. At the time that his funeral took place, his pastoral staff, made of silver, which Alexander Lawrence was carrying, as is usual in such processions, was broken. It is doubtful how this happened, but one part of the staff fell into the grave where the body was to be laid. Then a voice was heard, but whence it came was doubtful: 'Thy mitre also, O William, should be buried with thee!'" Even a pestilence which broke out and ravaged Aberdeen pitilessly seems by some inexplicable association in Boece's mind to connect itself with the good Bishop's death.¹

The *Lives of the Bishops*, completed by 31st August, 1521,² was published at Paris in 1522. The work was reprinted in 1825 by the Bannatyne Club. In 1894 the New Spalding Club published the Latin text and an English translation of it by Dr. James Moir, Co-Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School. It is pertinent to recall that Dr. Moir's labour was inspired by its appropriateness to the approaching Quatercentenary of the University, which it was intended at that time to celebrate in 1895. Alexander Garden, Advocate, of Aberdeen, wrote in 1619 (printed 1878) *The Lyf, Doings, and Deathe of the Right Reucrend and worthy Prelat William Elphinstoun . . . excerpted and translated out of the Lyues of the Bishops of Aberdene, wretin in Latine by . . . Maister Hector Boes.*

One may hazard a conjecture that the success of the *Lives*, and possibly the stimulus of John Major's example, induced Boece to entrust to the Paris press in 1527 an earlier and more considerable work. In his memoir of Elphinstone he refers to the *History of Scotland* as already written, and acknowledges his indebtedness to the Bishop's "scripta in re Scotica".³ Boece's *History* was, therefore, written before 1521. I have alluded already to Elphinstone's assiduous collection of historical materials, and to a volume of his historical reflections to which Boece had access. The *History* may have been begun in the Bishop's lifetime, and have had the benefit of his active collaboration. Possibly the work was the pious execution of a literary trust. Neither in his *Lives* nor his *History* does Boece represent himself as a collector of materials or as particularly interested in historical research. His *Lives of the Bishops*,

¹ *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*, Pref., p. v.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

he tells us frankly, was undertaken at Bishop Dunbar's suggestion. His *History* he admits to be "largely" based on Elphinstone's materials. In the autobiographical details which he gives us in his memoir of the Founder, he claims for himself no remarkable interest in history, nor enthusiasm such as that which induced both Barbour's and Fordun's studious pilgrimages. Probability is against the supposition that before he left Scotland for Paris he had collected the materials which he ultimately employed. In Paris he certainly had no opportunity to study Scottish antiquities. I infer, therefore, that as from Bishop Dunbar came the inspiration to Boece to write his *Lives*, so from Elphinstone, to a great extent, came the materials for the *History*.

Boece's *History* appeared in 1527. Excepting Major's *History of Greater Britain*, it was the first treatise on Scottish history to issue from the printing press. Wyntoun and Fordun were still in manuscript, unknown to all but a narrow band of scholars. To the uninitiated, therefore, Boece blazed with the glory of one whose industry had restored to Scotland the lost volumes of her history. And how seductive was his revelation of her antiquity. England, the "auld enemy," was but a *parvenu* beside her. For Boece told of one Gathelus, son of Cecrops of Athens, who, after a wayward career in Macedonia and Achaia, "becaus he couth not suffer the correctioun of freindis," fled to Egypt, where Pharaoh, "the scourge of the pepil of Israel," was then reigning. In Egypt Gathelus was "plesandly resavit," and after valiant deeds in war became "generall-lieutenant" in the Egyptian army. Greater favours rewarded this eponymous ancestor of the Gaelic folk. He was "ane lusty person, semely, and of the blud riall of Grece, with prudent ingine". He married Pharaoh's daughter Scota, and received as her dowry lands won "be force of battall fra the pepill of Israel". Scota's father died a few years later, and her brother, "Bochoris Pharo," the Pharaoh of the Exodus, succeeded to the throne. When his refusal to release Israel drew upon his people "uncouth plagis," Pharaoh consulted his gods, and had warning of greater inflictions "quhilkis war appeirand to cum haistely on thame". Gathelus was "astonist be this respons," and resolved to escape from the horrors to come. In the year of the world 3643 he, his wife Scota, his fellow-exiles from Greece, his friends and servants, Greek and Egyptian, sailed from the Nile. In the "land of Numide" he hoped to find shelter, but was forbidden to disembark. Passing through the Straits of Gibraltar he came to "ane part of

Spanye, callit than Lusican, quhilk wes eftir, be his arriving thair, callit Portingall, that is to say, the Port of Gathele"! Gathelus by this time was "sowpit be lang travel". He therefore landed, overcame the inhabitants, and had from them "certane landis in the north part of Spanye, callit now Galicia". There he settled, named his people Scots, in gallant compliment to his wife, builded himself a city, and ruled his subjects "sittand in his chiar of merbill," which "had sic weird, that it maid every land quhair it wes found native to Scottis; as thir versis schawis:—

The Scottis sall bruke that realme as native ground,
Geif weirdis failt nocht, quhair evir this chiar is found."

James VI. subjected England to the "weird". As time went on Gathelus "seand his pepil increas with mair multitude than might be sufficiently nurist," resolved upon a second exodus. He sent his sons, Hiber and Hemecus, "to spy git ony landis war within the oceane". Five days' sail brought them to an island, called Ireland after Hiber! The inhabitants allowed themselves to be "plesandly subdewit". Leaving Hemecus to rule them, Hiber returned to Spain, found Gathelus dead, and so increased his father's power in that peninsula that after him it was known as Iberia! From him descended Simon Brec, who in the year B.C. 695 was called from Spain to succeed Hemecus as king in Ireland. Hemecus died precisely 861 years after his father's flight from Egypt. *Scota*, his mother, I infer to have died of weariness in the interval!

Fordun tells the same story, more or less. To Boece's readers it was as credible as the modern deductions of comparative philology. Their land was Scotland, and lo! *Scota*. They knew themselves as Gaels, and opportunely Gathelus! Correctly they divined that Ireland had housed them before Scotland received them, and the convenient Hiber personified the tradition. Chapter IV. unravelled the last skein in this tangled puzzle of origins. Two hundred and sixteen years after Simon Brec began his reign in Ireland—the date was B.C. 479, therefore, and approximately it is 1000 years too early—the Scots crossed from Ireland to Scotland proper. *Rothesay* had its name from its Scot conqueror. *Ardgaell* or *Argyll* was named after Gathelus, the Hebrides after the insatiable Hiber. For 250 years the Scots possessed unchallenged the country whose first settlers they were, and then came the last infusion of racial ingredients. So far as Boece's chronology can be deciphered,

about B.C. 230 "a banist pepill, named Pichtis, come furth of Denmark, to serche ane dwelling place; and efter that they war inhibit to land baith in France, Britane, and Ireland," the batch of undesirable aliens landed in Scotland. As to their original home Boece is doubtful, but "treuth is," he assures his readers, "after thair cuming in Albion, thay war ane civill pepil, richt ingenious and crafty baith in weir and peace," though "of oncouth blude". An invitation to the Scots "to have thair dochteris in mariage," as in the legend of the Romans and the Sabines, linked up triumphantly the chain of origins.¹

I have dwelt on Boece's theory of origins, rather than his saner exposition of Scottish history to James I.'s death (1437), because it chiefly gained his work public attention and applause. So immediate was its popularity that a free translation of it into rugged Scots was at once undertaken at James V.'s command by John Bellenden, Canon of Ross. It was published at Edinburgh under the title of *The History and Croniklis of Scotland* in 1536, the year of Boece's death. At about the same time a metrical version was undertaken by William Stewart (1481?-1550?).² A French abridgment of Boece, by Jean Desmontier, was printed at Paris in 1538, under the title *Sommaire de l'Origine, Description, et Merveills d'Escosse, avec une petit Cronique du Roys dudit Pays jusques a ce Temps*. A copy was in Sir Robert Sibbald's possession in 1710.³ In 1574 a second edition of the Latin original was published at Paris, with a continuation, to 1488, by Ferrerius. Finally, and perhaps of the greatest result in popularising Boece's myths, an English version of the *History* was included in Holinshed's *Chronicle* in 1577. From the Boece of Holinshed Shakespeare drew his "Macbeth," as Boece had certainly taken the story from Fordun.⁴

This is not the place to discuss Boece's integrity as a historian. The fabulous history of Scotland, expounded by Fordun and Wyntoun and popularised by Boece, reflected the exaltation aroused by Scotland's vindication of her independence against England, and discounted the equally

¹ See chaps. i.-iv. of Bellenden's translation of Boece.

² Stewart's version was not printed until 1858, when it was edited for the Rolls Series by William Barclay Turnbull.

³ Sibbald, *An Account of the Writers of North Britain*, p. 17.

⁴ It is instructive to compare book v., chaps. i.-vi., of Fordun with book xii., chap. vii., of Boece.

fictitious genealogy on which England in part based her claim. English antiquaries therefore viewed Gathelus, Scots, and their children with patriotic scepticism.

Hectoris historici tot quot mendacia scripsit
Si vis ut numerem, lector amice, tibi,
Me jubeas etiam fluctus numerare marinos
Et liquidi stellas connumerare poli.

So wrote John Leland (1506?-1552).¹ Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699), Bishop of Worcester, brought the graver charge against Boece of having invented authorities to support his fictions.² John Pinkerton (1758-1826) denounced him as "one of the most egregious historical impostors that ever appeared in any country".³ One may dismiss so grave a charge, and set against it Erasmus's testimony: "A tuis moribus," he told Boece, "semper fuit alienissimum mentiri".⁴ As Bacon wrote:⁵ "He that undertaketh the story of a time, specially of any length, cannot but meet with many blanks and spaces which he must be forced to fill up out of his own wit and conjecture". Modern standards require an author to dis sever fact from conjecture. But as Bellenden's editor remarks, countering Pinkerton with Pinkerton's own phrase, "it is no crime not to have been a philosopher before philosophy revived".⁶

Barbour and Fordun belong to the fourteenth century, Boece to the fifteenth. The first two were attached to the ecclesiastical foundation whence the University sprang. Boece dowered Aberdeen with gifts acquired elsewhere. But in the sixteenth century the roll of the University holds the names of three historians educated within its walls, John Leslie (1527-1596), Bishop of Ross, David Chambers (1530?-1592), and another David Chambers or Chalmers. A fourth, Thomas Dempster, is a doubtful *alumnus*. Theirs was the Marian period. In it the first two played a prominent part. Both of them were whole-hearted in service to the unhappy Queen. Both of them made solid contribution to the literature of Scottish history. They were contemporaries, surely, at King's. Both of them studied in France. One became a Bishop, the other a Lord of Session. Otherwise their public activities are curiously parallel.

JOHN LESLIE was born in 1527, the year in which Boece's *History*

¹ *Collectanea*, vol. v., p. 126.

² *History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 421.

³ *Advancement of Learning*, book ii.

⁴ Irving, *Scottish Writers*, vol. i., p. 6.

⁵ Quoted in Bellenden, vol. i., p. xxxiii.

⁶ Bellenden, vol. i., p. xxv.

was published, and must have proceeded to King's College soon after Boece's death. In 1546 he was admitted an acolyte of St. Machar, where shortly after he was inducted to a canonry. After a few years' study of civil and canon law at Paris and Poitiers, he returned in 1554 to his native University, and in 1562 was appointed to the Chair of Canon Law. Four years later (1566) he became Bishop of Ross. He was the first *alumnus* whom the University gave to high public service. Queen Mary's chief adviser in her ecclesiastical policy, her ambassador to Queen Elizabeth in 1568-70, an opportunity which he used to publish his *Defence of the Honour of Queen Mary*, Leslie was imprisoned in the Tower in 1571 for participation in the Ridolfi Plot, and after his release proceeded (1574) to Paris and to Rome (1575) to represent the Queen's interests. At Rome in 1578 he published in Latin his *History of Scotland*. In 1579 he was appointed Suffragan and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Rouen. About 1591 he was given the Bishopric of Coutances in Normandy, and died at Guirtenburg, near Brussels, in 1596.¹

Father Cody has remarked that all Leslie's writings were "in object—when not, also, in subject—political," and that his politics were "summed up in the maintenance of the cause of Queen Mary and the Catholic religion in Scotland".² James Maitland states that Leslie published anonymously several pamphlets in Mary's behalf.³ The most considerable of them was *A Defence of the Honour of the Right High, Mightye, and Noble Princesse Marie, Queene of Scotlande and Dowager of France; with a Declaration as well of her Right, Title, and Interest to the Succession of the Crowne of Englande, as that the Regimente of Women ys conformable to the Lawe of God and Nature*, published in 1569 and immediately suppressed. Leslie's most important work was also composed with an eye upon the controversy raging round the unhappy Queen. The first part of it, under the title *The Historie of Scotland fra the Death of King James the First in the Yeir of God MCCCCXXXVI. to the Yeir MDLXI. and sae of the four late Kingis called James Steuartis, and of Quene Marie now Quene of Scotland*,⁴ forms a continuation of Boece, and has contemporary

¹ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 93-99.

² Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, ed. Cody, Scottish Text Society, p. xvii.

³ *Miscell. Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 158. Maitland adds a list of their titles. See *Edinb. Bibliog. Soc.*, vol. ii.

⁴ The Scots version of the work was first printed at Edinburgh in 1830, for the Bannatyne Club.

value. The work was written in Scots for presentation to the Queen during Leslie's residence in England as her ambassador, 1568-1570. He employed his leisure in those years, he says, "in reidinge of historeis, as maist facile, pleasand and profitable studie for the present". "And albeit," he continues, "the trew historeis of our countrey be largely, truely and eloquently treated and wreattin be that cuning and eloquente historiographe, Hector Boecius, yit he wreittis only to the deathe of Kyng James the first, quhilk was in the yere of our lorde god 1436 yeires, sen the quhilk time nevir ane hes preassed to gif furthe any thing in wreitt; swa that the history of oure countrey sen that time, and the deides of the foure last noble kingis of oure realme, called Jamesses, . . . and to whom your Heighnes most justly be inheritaunce succedes, are like to be erdit in oblivione, as also the estaite of your Majesties owne reigne and good governement, for lake of wreitting."¹ Leslie brought his work down to Mary's arrival in Scotland in 1561, and excused himself from continuing it further, partly upon the ground that he was "certefeit that thair ys sindrie men of excellent knowledge, and of diverse nationis, that purposis to sett forth the historye of Scotland, frome the tyme of the arriving of hir hienes thair furth of France in the 1561 yeire of God to thir dayes".² Had he not imposed this self-denying ordinance it would have been difficult to maintain that impartiality which Leslie claims, and not without reason, to distinguish his narrative.³

The discovery of the Ridolfi plot caused Leslie's confinement in the Tower, and later at Farnham Castle. Towards the end of 1573 he was given his liberty. In January, 1574, he landed in France, and about a year later proceeded to Rome. There he resumed his historical studies, and in 1578 published a general History of Scotland under the title *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum Libri decem*. The last three books were a revised translation into Latin of the earlier work offered to Queen Mary. The first seven books, narrating the history of Scotland to 1436, were added, he explains, in order that Scotsmen, contemplating the virtues of their forebears, might be encouraged "cum in ceteris virtutibus, tum in avita religione maxime," to follow in their footsteps.⁴ This portion of the work is of little value, and is mainly a *réchauffé* of Boece and Major. Like Boece and Fordun, however, Leslie prefaced his historical

¹ Bannatyne edit., pp. 7, 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴ *Historie of Scotland*, ed. Cody, Scott. Text Soc., vol. i., p. xvii.

narrative with a geographical description of Scotland; and that section of the book has independent value.

Mr. Lang has printed recently James Maitland's *Apology* for his father, William Maitland of Lethington.¹ James Maitland was no friend of Leslie. "He leving at Rome thrie zeirs togither," Maitland states, "did publiss and set furthe in print in the Latin toong, anno 1578, his historie or Chronicle of Scotland fra the beginning to his auin tyme, or rather did withe help of vthers put in forme and set togither that historie pairtlie maid or collectit be Mr. Ninian Winzet, Abot of the Scots Abay in Regensburg, pairtlie be Mr. Alexander Andersone, Principal of the Colledge in Aberdein, and pairtlie be Mr. James Scheme, Chanon of the Cathedral Kirk of Tournay, eiking at the end thairof onlie some of his auin informations. . . . The causes of his publisching of that book at that tyme and in his auin name war his Ostentation, vaine glorie to mak himself knauen, his name famouss, bot the chiefest caus of al wes to send and give it to Princes and great personnages and vnder that colour to craue and seik fra thame meanes or support."² Maitland's accusation should be entertained with caution. Leslie, on his passage through France in 1574, possibly may have received from Ninian Wingate, at that time Preceptor of Arts at Paris,³ and a vigorous literary foe of Knox and Buchanan, notes for the revision of his narrative of the period 1436-1561. Alexander Anderson, who was Boece's fifth successor as Principal (1553-1569), was dead long before Leslie was at work at Rome, and even before his narrative of the years 1436-1561 was presented to Queen Mary. But incidentally one notices that in 1616, when Maitland wrote his *Apology*, Principal Anderson was remembered as the inheritor of the interests of Elphinstone and Boece. Leslie's indebtedness to him it is impossible to establish or refute.

A Scots version of Leslie's *De Origine*, made in 1596 by Father James Dalrymple, a monk of St. James's, Ratisbon, was published by the Scottish Text Society, 1884-1891. Leslie also left a MS. narrative of events from 1562-1571, which was printed in 1885 by Mr. Forbes-Leith in his *Narrative of Scottish Catholics*.⁴

¹ *Miscell. Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., pp. 153-228.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³ *D.N.B.*, vol. lxii., p. 236.

⁴ In addition to the authorities I have mentioned, an account of Bishop Leslie will be found in Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, vol. i., pp. 145-49; David Irving, *Scottish Writers*, vol. i., pp. 122-46. See also bibliography in *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxiii., p. 99.

A contemporary, as I suppose, of Bishop Leslie at King's College was DAVID CHAMBERS, afterwards Lord Ormond. His birth is placed conjecturally in 1530. He died in 1592.¹ At King's College he studied philosophy and theology, took orders, and proceeded to France to complete his studies. As he counted Adam Blackwood among his friends, it is possible that they were students together at Paris.² From France Chambers went on to Italy, and was studying under Marianus Sozenus at Bologna in 1556.³ Upon his return to Scotland he became Chancellor of the Diocese of Ross, and, on his Bishop's death, succeeded him on the Privy Council and as a Judge of the Court of Session (26th January, 1565).⁴ In the next year (1566) the digest of the Scottish Acts of Parliament, known as *The Black Acts of Parliament*, was published at Edinburgh, a work to whose editing Chambers contributed.⁵ With the tragic events of the following years he was associated closely. Rumour held him privy to the murder of Darnley at Kirk o' Field, and after Mary's defeat at Langside he was forfeited by the Estates (August, 1568). He found shelter in Spain, and later in France, where he employed his leisure upon the works which support his reputation as a historian. In 1583 his forfeiture was removed. In 1586 he resumed his duties on the Court of Session, and exercised them until his death in 1592.⁶

Chambers's historical work was published at Paris in 1579, with a dedication to Henry III. It bears the title: *Histoire abregée de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre et Escosse, mise en Ordre par Forme d'Harmonie; contenant aussi un brief Discours de l'ancienne Alliance et mutuel Secours entre la France et l'Escosse: Plus, l'Epitome de l'Histoire Romaine des Papes et Empereurs y est adjoustee; et celle d'iceux Roys augmentee, selon la mesme Methode.* In the same volume he included his *Discours de la legitime Succession des Femmes aux Possessions de leurs Parents; et du Gouvernement des Princesses aux Empires et Royaumes*, and his *La Recherche des Singularitez plus remarquables concernant le Estat d'Escosse.*⁷

"Though chiefly known as one of the curiosities of literature," Sheriff Mackay remarks,⁸ "the work of Chambers deserves note as an early speci-

¹ *D.N.B.*, vol. x., p. 16. ² See Michel, vol. ii., pp. 205, 211.

³ Mackenzie, *Lives of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, vol. iii., p. 380.

⁴ *D.N.B.*, vol. x., p. 16. ⁵ Mackenzie, vol. iii., p. 380.

⁶ *D.N.B.*, vol. x., p. 16. ⁷ Mackenzie, vol. iii., p. 391. ⁸ *D.N.B.*, vol. x., p. 16.

men of a chronological abridgment of the comparative history of Europe." He appears to have contemplated the inclusion of Spain in his compendium, and to have abandoned the idea in favour of a separate publication devoted to that country, a project which he never executed. A scheme so embracing, completed in so short a period, necessarily compelled its author to borrow generously from his predecessors in more restricted fields. In regard to Scotland he claims to found his narrative on Veremundus, Turgot, Bishop Elphinstone, Boece, the *Black Book of Scone*, the mysterious Iona manuscripts referred to by Boece, and others.¹ But in fact, as Thomas Innes points out,² Chambers relied almost exclusively on Boece. A later critic even accuses him of padding his Preface with authorities in order to conceal the paucity of his investigations.³

Chambers's *Abridgment* was written in 1572 and was presented to Charles IX. of France. There can be little doubt that the book was intended to point the value of the Ancient League and to emphasise the need for its continuance.⁴ Chambers's *La Recherche des Singularitez*, which was written in the same period of exile, was dedicated to Queen Mary. It is of considerable interest, inasmuch as the author offers the earliest printed account of the constitution of the Scottish Parliament, the titles and functions of the officers of State, and those of the King's household.⁵ The third part of Chambers's volume, his *Discours de la legitime Succession des Femmes*, was written in defence of Queen Mary's right to succeed to the English crown, and is a somewhat laboured challenge to Knox's *Monstrous Regiment of Women*.⁶

Another DAVID CHAMBERS or Chalmers was the author of a book printed in Latin at Paris in 1631. It bears the title, *De Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate, ac de Ortu et Progressu Hæresis in Regnis Scotia et Angliæ*. The work has been attributed to Lord Ormond.⁷ But its dedication to Charles I. and a reference to Thomas Dempster's death in 1625 sufficiently disprove such an authorship. At the same time David Camerarius, whoever he was, was certainly an *alumnus* of King's College, and has given the earliest account of the discipline of the University in its youthful days. The Professors and their flock, it appears, were roused at

¹ Mackenzie, vol. iii., p. 381.

² *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, ed. 1879, p. 171.

³ Mackenzie, vol. iii., p. 390.

⁴ See *Ibid.*, p. 391.

⁵ See *Ibid.*, pp. 381-84.

⁶ See an analysis of the work in *ibid.*, pp. 384-90.

⁷ See Brit. Mus. Catalogue.

five in the morning. From six to eight the students attended lectures. Chapel followed, absentees being mulcted in fines. At ten lectures were resumed. At eleven a public disputation before the Professors filled an hour until noon. From twelve to two a break for dinner. From two to six more lectures. Chapel followed, and then the evening meal. By nine the University was a-bed.¹ For the rest, the earlier part of the *De Fortitudine* covers the same ground as the *Recherche des Singularitez* in its narrative of Scottish prowess against Britons, Romans, English, Picts and others. The latter part of the work, in its author's words,² offers "Catalogum et breue quoddam Menologium Sanctorum Scotorum et gloriâ præstantium virorum qui olim in regno Scotiæ floruerunt". From it one has the impression that the saints of Christendom who were not Scotsmen were of little account!

What share the University has in the renown of THOMAS DEMPSTER is not easy to determine. If one may trust the autobiography³ which Dempster modestly included among his *Lives of Scottish Writers*, he was born in 1579. His father owned property on the Deveron, and Dempster had his early grounding in letters at Turriff "sub ferula" of Andrew Ogston, the village dominie. Thence, at an early age, he passed "ad celebrius auditorium Aberdoniæ". Possibly Dempster proceeded to Elphinstone's foundation. More probably he was sent to the Grammar School. He mentions Thomas Cargill as his master, and Cargill taught at the Grammar School. The fact does not necessarily disprove Dempster's connection with King's College, though it lessens the probability of it. If he left Aberdeen and entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, in his tenth year, as he declares, the improbability of a previous residence at King's College is increased. From Cambridge Dempster passed to Paris, and except for one visit his native country saw no more of him. He died at Bologna in 1625, Professor of Humanity in that famous University.⁴

Dempster's best-known work, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, sive De Scriptoribus Scotis*, was published at Bologna in 1627, two years after its author's death. An edition of it, by David Irving, was published by the Bannatyne Club in 1829. The scope of the work is expressed rather in the subsidiary than in the chief title. It is in fact a bio-

¹ *De Scotorum Fortitudine*, pp. 56-59.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. Irving, vol. ii., p. 672.

⁴ See the article on him in *D.N.B.*, vol. xiv., pp. 335-40.

graphical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen, of whom Dempster's ingenuity was able to enumerate so many as 1,210—including himself! It would seem that Boece had brewed a heady wine! Scotland, to adapt a sentence of Disraeli, had become intoxicated with the exuberance of her own antiquity! Dempster's book has been described as "chiefly remarkable for its extraordinary dishonesty".¹ But megalomania rather than dishonesty is accountable for Dempster's unblushing ascription of Scottish parentage, descent, or domicile, to a number of persons whose claim to the distinction was mythical. Alcuin, who was a Yorkshireman, appears as one of four Scotsmen whom King Achaius sent to Charlemagne.² Achaius, according to Dempster,³ was the founder of the Ancient League between France and Scotland, and was also the author of a volume of letters to Charlemagne, a volume on the acts of his royal predecessors, and one on municipal laws. He died in A.D. 819. His *Leges Municipales* must have been instructive! Pope Adrian IV. Dempster inclines to regard as an Englishman, but includes him in his list of Scottish worthies, apparently because "putatur a multis Scotus".⁴ On the Venerable Bede, unable to claim him for Scotland exclusively, Dempster decrees a Solomonic judgment: "reperio eum nec Anglum domo nec Scotum, sed in Scotia diu vixisse, in Anglia obiisse".⁵ Most extraordinary of all, in this list of Scottish writers appears the name of Boadicea!⁶ It is disturbing to come upon Boadicea in an Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. It is vastly more so to be invited to accept her as a Scottish authoress. Yet Dempster with unruffled gravity details a list of her works:—

- “‘Conciones Militares,’ lib. i.
- ‘Querelam suorum Temporum,’ lib. i.
- ‘Epistolas ad Principes Provinciarum,’ lib. i.
- ‘De Excutiendo Jugo Romano,’ lib. i.
- ‘De Obsidionibus Urbium,’ lib. i.
- ‘De Exercitu pedestri ducendo,’ lib. i.”!

Fain would one read Boadicea on *The Field-Force in Action*, or on *Siege Tactics*! Merlin the Magician, it seems, also was a prolific author. In vain, says Dempster contemptuously,⁷ do Englishmen claim him as a

¹ *D.N.B.*, vol. xiv., p. 339.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

² *Hist. Eccl. Scot.*, ed. Irving, vol. i., p. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 488.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

compatriot, though he wrote *King Arthur and his Times*. In fact he lived for years a hermit in the Caledonian forests, and left for posterity a volume entitled *De Albanorum Fortunis!* Enough of Dempster!

From Dempster and his mythical Scotsmen to the next batch of Aberdeen historians is an abrupt transition. About them is no spice of pedantry. Boece and his fabulous antiquity had no allurements for them. They lived in times when history was in the making. All of them are of the mid-seventeenth century. Most of them are of first-rate importance in following the great upheaval which Stuart misrule invited. Many of them, fittingly, are known through the medium of an Aberdeen Society which bears the name of one of them—John Spalding.

Of JOHN SPALDING few facts survive. An early reference in 1727 describes him as an advocate in Aberdeen.¹ James Man, writing of him somewhat slightly in 1741, supposes him to have been the son of Alexander Spalding and Christian Harvey, who were married in 1608 and lived in Old Aberdeen, "where," says Man, "'tis certain our Author lived, a Lawyer by Profession".² Upon a manuscript of his work, now in the Library of King's College, Spalding is styled "Commissary Clerk of Aberdeen". The infrequent references to himself in his narrative suggest an Aberdeen domicile. In 1640 he signed the Covenant, "not willinglie," in St. Machar's. Earlier he had "glaidlie" signed the King's Covenant in the same place.³ In September, 1644, when Montrose marched out of Aberdeen, "none durst bury the deid," writes Spalding; "yea and I saw tua corpis careit to the buriall throw the Oldtoun".⁴ There is reason to infer that he was living there in 1663.⁵

Spalding's only historical work, *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England*, A.D. 1624-A.D. 1645, appears to have attained considerable popularity. Man states that in his time several manuscripts of it were "in the Hands of the Gentlemen of Aberdeen-shire," and also that Spalding was believed to have continued his narrative to 1650. He declares also that Spalding had "ingrossed, almost word for word" in his *Memorialls* the MS. of William Gordon of Dalmoir, the author of a genealogical

¹ Gordon, *History of the Gordons*, vol. ii., p. 152.

² Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. i., p. xxxii.

³ *Memorialls of the Trubles*, ed. Stuart, vol. i., p. 278.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 410.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. x. The only John Spalding on the roll of graduates proceeded M.A. of King's College in 1644 (Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 189). This cannot be the historian. I am informed that he is generally accepted as an *alumnus*.

account of the Gordons.¹ A local historian hardly could neglect any extant material relative to that family. It is, however, his own close observation and homely record of public affairs from the outbreak of the first Bishops' War that give to Spalding's work its value. Even Man grudgingly admitted: "I must acknowledge he has some curious Passages concerning the Affairs of this Nation, which I have not found in other Writers".² Though Man questioned whether "one of 100 would be at the pains to read, far less at the Expence to buy such a Book if printed," an effort was made in 1765 to publish Spalding's work by subscription. Ultimately an edition was published in 1792 and reprinted in 1829. In 1828 the work was edited for the Bannatyne Club by James Skene of Rubislaw and David Laing. The first volume of that edition was already printed before "the most authentic version, if not the original manuscript of Spalding," came into the hands of the editors. Appropriately it was reserved for the Spalding Club, founded in 1839, to issue in 1850 a new edition of the *Memorials* based entirely upon the new-found text.³

ROBERT GORDON OF STRALOCH is said to have been the first graduate of Marischal College.⁴ It is curious that as the first Principal of King's College was a historian, so also was the reputed first graduate of the sister-foundation. James Man attributes to Gordon *Notes on Bede's History, touching the Scottish Antiquities; On the Origin of the Saxon Language among the Scots; On the Origin of the Nation*, and a dissertation upon the sparse population of the country.⁵ He also wrote a history of the family of Gordon,⁶ and a Latin introduction to Bishop Spottiswood's *History*. His portrait, and his son's, hang in the Picture Gallery. His grandson founded Gordon's College.⁷

Contemporary with Gordon of Straloch at Marischal was the Quaker ALEXANDER JAFFRAY (1614-1673). He was admitted to the College in 1630.⁸ In the municipal life of Aberdeen, and in the public life of the period, he took an active part. He was one of the five persons who represented Scotland in the Nominated or "Little Daft" Parliament at Westminster in 1653, and was of the minority that refused to concur in

¹ *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. i., p. xxxii.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Memorials*, ed. Stuart, vol i., p. xi.

⁴ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 185.

⁵ *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. i., p. vi.

⁶ Printed in J. M. Bulloch's *House of Gordon* (New Spalding Club).

⁷ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii., p. 226.

⁸ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 206.

that body's surrender of its powers to Cromwell.¹ Before the formal Ordinance of Union Jaffray acted as Director of the Chancellery in Scotland. He is better known, however, by his *Diary*, which was discovered so recently as 1827, and was published in 1833 by John Barclay.² It is distinctly a document which the historian of the period cannot afford to neglect, and therefore justifies Jaffray's admission here. On the same ground I mention ALEXANDER BRODIE (1617-1680). He was admitted to King's College in 1631.³ Like Jaffray he was a prominent man in the public life of the period. *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie* was published by the Spalding Club in 1863.⁴

Straloch's son, JAMES GORDON (1615?-1686),⁵ graduated M.A. of King's in 1636,⁶ and five years later (1641) was appointed minister of Rothiemay. In 1661 his father died, and left to him "all mappes, papers, and descriptions, the most part written and drawn with my hand, which conduce to the description of Scotland, and hee to bee countable therefore to the publike".⁷ James Gordon's literary activities had begun many years before these papers were committed to his keeping. He had assisted his father to prepare the *Theatrum Scotiæ* in Blaeu's Atlas. In 1646-1647 he executed a large plan of the city of Edinburgh, and embellished it with two "prospects" and drawings of its principal edifices.⁸ Shortly after he was invited to draw and "deschryve" the shire of Angus, and in 1661 he constructed a plan of Aberdeen, Old and New, with insets representing King's College, a "Prospect of New Aberdene," and a map of the surrounding country. To it he added his *Abredoniæ Utriusque Descriptio*, a valuable topographical description of the two Aberdeens,⁹ the unpublished MS. of which is in the Advocates' Library.

James Gordon's claim to be remembered as a historian was long obscured, partly by the reputation he had acquired in another field, partly by the attribution to his father of the authorship of the *History of Scots Affairs*. James Man, writing fifty years after Gordon's death, seems to have been

¹ See Jaffray's *Diary*, p. 51.

² See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxix., p. 127.

³ Anderson, *Alumni*, p. 11.

⁴ See *D.N.B.*, vol. vi., p. 377.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xxii., p. 206.

⁶ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 186.

⁷ *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. i., p. xlix.

⁸ The survey is published in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. ii.

⁹ The plan and a nearly contemporary but inaccurate translation of the *Descriptio* were published by the Spalding Club in 1842.

the first to point out that Straloch was not the author of that work.¹ Indeed the *History* bears internal evidence in disproof of such an authorship.² But the discovery of the original MS. in James Gordon's autograph puts the matter beyond question, and dates the period of its production between the years 1659 and 1661.³ The manuscript commences with Book II. of the work, and a note upon it in the handwriting of Thomas Ruddiman suggests that Book I. was intended by the author to serve as a general Introduction, and was never written.⁴ It is clear from the opening words of Book II. that the tumult caused by the introduction of Laud's Liturgy in 1637 was the event selected by Gordon for the beginning of his *History*. His narrative ends in September, 1640. There is a faint tradition that Gordon intended to continue, or did actually continue, his narrative to 1660.⁵ No trace of such a continuation has been found. Nor has there survived a *Common-place Book of Practical Divinity* which Man attributes to Gordon's authorship in 1646.⁶

Yet a third Gordon, and by adoption an Aberdonian, has left record of the period of "the Troubles". PATRICK GORDON OF RUTHVEN was the second son of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny. He inherited his father's devotion to the Chief of the House, George, first Marquis of Huntly, the "michtie Marques," as Spalding dubs him,⁷ and continued it to his successor. That Gordon was educated at Aberdeen is probable. But the only event in his life of which there is record is his enrolment as a burges of Aberdeen in March, 1609.⁸ It is barely possible that he is identical with the "Patrick Gordon, gent.," who published at London in 1614 *Neptunus Britannicus Corydonis*, a congratulatory ode to Prince Charles and Princess Elizabeth, and in 1615, at Dort, *The Famous Valiant Historie of the renowned and valiant Prince Robert surnamed the Bruce*, and *The First Booke of the Famous Historye of Penardo and Laissa*.⁹ Whatever may have been his activities as a poet, Gordon's historical work

¹ *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. i., p. xxiii. ² See *Ibid.*, Pref., p. 40.

³ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii., p. 207.

⁴ *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. i., Pref., p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷ *Memorialls*, vol. i., p. 73.

⁸ *Britane's Distemper*, ed. John Dunn (Mar. Coll. 1830-32), p. viii. The editor found Gordon's signature in certain legal documents between the dates 1606 and 1622. From one of them it appears that Gordon's wife, Jean Murray of Cobairdy, could not write even her own name (*ibid.*, p. xi.).

⁹ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii., p. 222.

consists solely of *A short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper, from the Yeare of God MDCXXXIX. to MDCXLIX.*¹ It was written certainly after 1647, and from internal evidence was completed before the Restoration.²

Gordon was impelled to narrate the events of 1639-1649 principally to vindicate the character of the second Marquis of Huntly, who was executed in 1649. One is not disposed to quarrel with Gilbert Burnet's judgment, that Huntly, though a gallant man, "made a poor figure during the whole course of the wars".³ He lacked the spirit and daring of Montrose, with whom his relations were far from cordial, and whose designs he did little to forward, if indeed on occasions he did not seek to thwart them. Wishart's panegyric of Montrose, anonymously published in 1647, provided unpleasant reading for Huntly's friends, and Patrick Gordon took up the quarrel. Upon Wishart he exhausted a fervid vocabulary. He calls him "this railing author,"⁴ "this satirist worm wood authore," "this bitter and invective relator," "a hobgobline, seiking to poisons all his wayes with the wenom of his corroding tongue".⁵ The book, however, is far from being merely an impassioned *apologia*. It offers a careful and informed narrative of a stirring period, and a vivid portraiture of two men who played, in differing degree, an active part in it.

While Spalding and the Gordons were penning their histories, the classrooms of the two colleges in Aberdeen held as students four youths whose manhood's careers were widely apart, but all of whom in greater or less degree made contributions to historical literature. George Mackenzie (1630-1714), first Viscount Tarbat and Earl of Cromarty, graduated M.A. of King's College in 1646.⁶ Almost his contemporary, at King's in 1649, was another George Mackenzie, of Rosehaugh (1636-1691), the "Bloody Advocate" of a later generation.⁷ In 1654 that restless spirit, Robert Ferguson (*d.* 1714), the "Plotter," graduated M.A. of Marischal.⁸ Three years later (1657) the precocious Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) passed Master

¹The work, edited by John Dunn, was published by the Spalding Club in 1844.

²See passages quoted on p. x. of the editor's Preface.

³*Own Time*, ed. 1838, p. 23.

⁴*Britane's Distemper*, p. 181.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁶Anderson, *Alumni*, p. 16.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 18. Mackenzie did not graduate at Aberdeen. In the biography of him, which prefaces his *Works*, he is said to have been "sent by his Parents to the Universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, where he finished the Course of his Studies in the Greek and Philosophy in the Sixteenth Year of his Age," *i.e.*, in 1652.

⁸Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 217.

of Arts from the same college.¹ "I was five years at the Colledge of New Aberdeen," Burnet writes in his *Autobiography*, "and went thro the common methods of the Aristotelian Philosophy with no small applause, and passed Master of Arts some moneths before I was fourteen."² His father—an *alumnus* of Marischal³—was Burnet's "chief tutor".

As a politician, a career which he preferred to that of letters, GEORGE MACKENZIE, Earl of Cromarty, showed himself "extramely Maggoty and Unsettled," in Lockhart's phrase.⁴ He "ratted" at the Revolution, and Dundee, with some provocation, denounced him as "a great villain".⁵ As an author he was correspondingly versatile. He contributed to the Transactions of the Royal Society. He wrote a large number of pamphlets upon the Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland; a *Vindication of King Robert III. from the Imputation of Bastardy, by the clear Proof of Elizabeth Mure*, published at Edinburgh in 1695; an *Historical Account of the Conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie and of Robert Logan of Restalrig against James VI.*, published in 1713; and a *Vindication of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, with some Account of the Records*, which was printed posthumously in 1802. He was also the author of a *History of the Family of Mackenzie*.⁶

Cromarty's versatility is matched by that of Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE of Rosehaugh. He "published many books, all full of faults," Burnet remarked.⁷ Like Cromarty, he contributed to the Transactions of the Royal Society. He wrote in praise of Solitude as against Public Employment! and defended the paradox, that it is easier to be virtuous than vicious. I take note of him here as author of *A Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland*, and *The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland further cleared and defended*, in which he maintained the Boecian myths against English critics. Of his own time he left *A Vindication of the Government of Scotland during the Reign of King Charles II.*, and *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*. Genealogical collections of his are preserved at Blairs.⁸

¹ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 220.

² *A Supplement to Burnet's History*, ed. H. C. Foxcroft, p. 454.

³ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 206. See a memoir of him in *The Family of Burnett of Leys*, ed. Allardyce, p. 130.

⁴ *Memoirs*, ed. 1714, p. 68.

⁵ Terry, *John Graham of Claverhouse*, p. 312.

⁶ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxv., p. 147.

⁷ *Own Time*, ed. 1838, p. 275.

⁸ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxv., p. 144.

To include ROBERT FERGUSON among the historians of the University is to place him in incongruous company. One of the arch-contrivers of the Rye House Plot in 1682, chaplain to the rebel force routed at Sedgemoor in 1685, a member of William of Orange's expedition in 1688, a Jacobite, and finally an informer against that wily knave Simon Fraser of Lovat, in 1703,¹ Ferguson's activities should have left little time for the studious interests of the closet. He was a vigorous pamphleteer, however,² and has left accounts of two events with which he was closely associated. His narrative *Concerning the Rye House Business* is among the Domestic State Papers and has been printed.³ In 1706 he published his *History of the Revolution*, chiefly remarkable for its curious endeavour to represent the "glorious Revolution" as the outcome of a Papal design to advance Roman Catholicism in Europe!⁴ In his regenerate Jacobite period, "since God of His infinite mercy and grace convinced and converted me,"⁵ Ferguson published (1702) Bishop Henry Guthrie's *Memoirs of the Conspiracies and Rebellion against Charles I.*

It would be invidious, in this resurrection of reputations, to point to one man or another as the most distinguished in a pursuit which all followed in common. But of the many historians bred by the University one may hold GILBERT BURNET the most widely known. He was of the Aberdeenshire Burnets or Burnetts of Leys. His father Robert, with the title Lord Crimond, was a Judge of the Court of Session after the Restoration.⁶ His mother was Rachel Johnston of Warristoun, whose brother, Sir Archibald, framed the Covenant. After graduating at Aberdeen in 1657, he visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and travelled in Holland and France. In 1665 he was ordained minister of Saltoun in East Lothian. Four years later (1669) he received the Chair of Divinity in the University of Glasgow.⁷ While he held it he was a frequent visitor at Hamilton Palace, and had access to the papers of the first and second Dukes (1606-1651). His researches, so Burnet declares, "brought the character of King Charles the First very low with me," and

¹ *D.N.B.*, vol. xviii., p. 350.

² His own list of his writings, reprinted from *Analecta Scotica*, is in Ferguson, *Robert Ferguson the Plotter*, p. 385.

³ In *Ibid.*, pp. 409-37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

⁶ He died in August, 1661 (*Family of Burnett of Leys*, ed. Allardyce, p. 132).

⁷ *D.N.B.*, vol. vii., p. 394.

“the Earl of Clarendon’s History sunk it quite”.¹ In 1677 he published his first historical work, *The Memoires of the Lives and Actions of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton and Castleherald*. For the period 1625-1652 it is a work of first-hand authority. The appearance of the book, says Burnet, “made some think me capable of writing History, and that set my friends on engaging me to write the History of our Reformation, in which I took so particular a method and succeeded so well in it, that it gave me a very generall reputation”.² Burnet’s *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* was undertaken at the suggestion of Sir William Jones, Attorney-General, the “Bull-faced Jonas” of Milton’s *Absalom and Achitophel*. The first part was published in 1679, and the work was completed in 1714.³ It covers the period from the divorce of Catherine of Aragon to 1567, and is well documented. Projected with an eye to the consequences of a Catholic reign in England, the work was successful in stimulating anti-papal feeling, and gained for its author the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

Burnet’s *History of My Own Time* was begun in 1683. He left directions for the posthumous publication of the work before joining William of Orange’s expedition in 1688. But after the Revolution was accomplished, and Burnet was settled at Salisbury, the *History* was continued to the year 1713. It was not published until 1723 (second volume 1734), but the existence of the work was known during Burnet’s lifetime. He had threatened, in fact, to publish it in 1687, and in later years not infrequently showed it to his friends. Unknown to Burnet, at least one transcript was made of it in his lifetime. In 1699 Harley actually primed himself for an attack upon the ministerial party, which Burnet supported, by the study of Burnet’s own work in a manuscript whose existence was unknown to the author! In 1703 it was denounced as a “most virulent and voluminous Secret History . . . the lewdest libel”.⁴ When it was published the work was assailed with fierce criticism. Its editors, said the Earl of Aylesbury, deserved the pillory, “for what relates to me is false as hell”!⁵ On the other hand, Burnet claimed that he had been guided by an honest and impartial regard for truth. Ranke subjected the work

¹ *Autobiography*, in *Supplement*, ed. Foxcroft, p. 479.

² *Autobiography*, in *op. cit.*, p. 486.

³ *D.N.B.*, vol. vii., p. 398.

⁴ See the Introduction to *A Supplement to Burnet’s History*, ed. Foxcroft.

⁵ *D.N.B.*, vol. vii., p. 404.

to close criticism,¹ and though he was unable to find that Burnet successfully and invariably subordinated the partisan and politician to the historian, Mr. Osmund Airy has shown that on one controversial topic, the Scottish policy of Charles II., Burnet's narrative is characterised by remarkable accuracy, "not only as regards actual facts, but even as regards the character of men whom he either vehemently admired or as vehemently disliked and opposed".²

The latter half of the seventeenth century adds several *alumni* to the roll of historical writers. WILLIAM ALEXANDER (M.A., Marischal, 1671³) published at London in 1685 his *Medulla Historiæ Scoticæ: being a comprehensive History of the Lives and Reigns of the Kings of Scotland from Fergus the First to Charles the Second*. The *Medulla* follows Boece, and sets forth the whole array of mythical Kings. Alexander was a stout Royalist, but he defends his countrymen against the charge of having sold the King in 1646.

JAMES WALLACE (*d.* 1688), minister of Kirkwall, graduated M.A. of King's in 1659.⁴ His first charge was at Ladykirk in Orkney, and he furnished one of the earliest accounts of that part of Scotland in *A Description of the Isles of Orkney. By Master James Wallace, late Minister of Kirkwall. Published after his Death by his Son. To which is added, An Essay concerning the Thule of the Ancients* (Edin., 1693). The *Description* was reprinted in 1883.⁵

GEORGE MACKENZIE (1669-1725) graduated M.A. of King's in 1682.⁶ He was the grandson of the second Earl of Seaforth, Montrose's erratic colleague, and having continued his studies at Oxford and Paris, proceeded M.D. of King's in 1696.⁷ He practised as a physician at Edinburgh, but found leisure to undertake historical and genealogical work. He was the author of the biographical Preface to the *Works* of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, and prepared a history of the Seaforth Mackenzies. His chief work, of unequal value, *The Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, was published in three folio volumes in 1708, 1711, 1722.⁸

¹ Ranke, *History of England*, vol. vi., p. 45.

² *D.N.B.*, vol. vii., p. 404. Burnet took an active interest in the welfare of his Alma Mater. See Anderson, *Records*, vol. i., p. 392.

³ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 234.

⁴ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 195.

⁵ *D.N.B.*, vol. lix., p. 99.

⁶ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 212.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁸ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxv., p. 148.

Somewhat junior to George Mackenzie, Sir WILLIAM KEITH, Bart., of Ludquhairn, graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1687.¹ In later life he was Governor of Pennsylvania. He was the author of various pamphlets, and projected a *History of the British Plantations in America*. Part I, of the work, containing *The History of Virginia; with Remarks on the Trade and Commerce of that Colony*, was published in London in 1738. No further instalment was made to the completion of the scheme.² Keith must have been one of the earliest Aberdonians to hold high Colonial office after the Union, and his career might be profitably investigated.

WILLIAM GORDON, "of Old Aberdeen," was a Bajan at Marischal in 1694.³ He published in two volumes in 1726, 1727, *The History of the ancient, noble, and illustrious Family of Gordon from their earliest Arrival in Scotland, in Malcolm III.'s Time, to the Year 1690*. Its author appears to have been obsessed with the conviction that the history of the House of Gordon was in fact the history of Scotland!

JAMES ANDERSON entered Marischal College in 1696.⁴ In later life he was minister of the Scottish Church in Westminster. His publications fill more than a column in the Catalogue of the British Museum. In 1732 he published a daringly comprehensive work, *Royal Genealogies: or, The Genealogical Tables of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, from Adam to these Times*.

The last on the seventeenth-century roll, Bishop ROBERT KEITH (1681-1757), graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1699.⁵ During his occupancy of the See of Fife⁶ he published in 1734 the first and most important of his historical works, *The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reformation in the Reign of King James V. to the Retreat of Queen Mary into England, Anno 1568. Taken from the publick Records and other Authentick Vouchers*. The last sentence sings a modern note. It sounds also in the "Advertisement to the Reader," which prefaces Keith's work. "The Author," he writes, "is sensible there are some Things for which he has Need to bespeak the Favour of the Readers. And the first is, the plain Freedom he has taken to censure the Defects and Misrepresentations of former Historians." Keith's *History* is exceedingly fully documented, and the modernity of

¹ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 257.

³ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 271.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

² See the Brit. Mus. Catalogue.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁶ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxx., p. 326.

method appears very clearly in his apology for obtruding the dry bones. Keith's second work, *A large new Catalogue of the Bishops of the several Sees within the Kingdom of Scotland down to the Year 1688*, was published in 1755 (new edit. 1824). It is marked by the same critical habit which distinguishes his *History*. Boece, Fordun, and the myth-mongers are no longer infallible. Keith adopts, with criticism, Boece's account of the Mortlach See. None the less the Bishop may be held the pioneer of the moderns in the appraising of historical values.

The eighteenth-century roll holds the names of several men whose achievements have been deemed worthy of record in that Valhalla between covers, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and of others who have failed to achieve that distinction. The first of them is ALEXANDER GORDON (1692?-1754?), whose voice gained him the name "Singing Sandie". He is believed to have been born in Aberdeen in or before the year 1692. He graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1708,¹ with a high reputation for classical scholarship. He was extraordinarily versatile. In the course of his career he taught languages and music, was a fair artist, and occasionally sang in opera. As an antiquary, however, he chiefly made himself known to his contemporaries, and is remembered by posterity. While a young man his attention was drawn to the Roman antiquities of Britain, and a vast deal of patient labour, as well as a rich store of fanciful speculation, were given to his first work, *Itinerarium Septentrionale; or, A Journey thro' most of the Counties of Scotland and those in the North of England*. The book was published in 1726 in two parts, the first containing an account of all the monuments of Roman antiquity, the second an account of the Danish invasions, with sixty-six engravings. Gordon projected the publication of *A Compleat View of the Roman Walls in Britain*, but unfortunately was unable to obtain the necessary subscriptions. In 1729 he published *The Lives of Pope Alexander VI. and his Son Caesar Borgia*, and in 1730 issued a translation of Maffei's *De Amphitheatro*, under the title *A Compleat History of the ancient Amphitheatres, more particularly regarding the Architecture of these Buildings, and in particular that of Verona*. In 1736 he was appointed Secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, and to the Society of Antiquaries. Soon after, he received the secretaryship of the Egyptian Society. He published two essays towards the deciphering of hieroglyphics, and in 1741 sailed for

¹ Bulloch, *House of Gordon*, vol. i., p. 495.

South Carolina. At Charleston he settled, prospered, and died. An unpublished work of his, *An Essay towards illustrating the History, Chronology, and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians*, is in the British Museum.¹

ADAM ANDERSON (1692?-1765) was at Marischal 1708-1712.² He published in 1764 his *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, a notable work, the fruit of his experience in the South Sea House.

LACHLAN SHAW (1692-1777), one of the earliest and most exact of local antiquaries, graduated M.A. of King's in 1711.³ He published in 1775 *The History of the Province of Moray*. The work has been republished more than once, and remains a model of its kind. Shaw also continued Hew Rose's *A Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Kilravock*, published by the Spalding Club in 1848.⁴

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD KEITH (1696-1758),⁵ Field-Marshal in Prussian service, entered Marischal College in 1711.⁶ But for the Rising of 1715, I take it, he would have graduated in that year. In a Jacobite gallery the Field-Marshal would be among the stalwarts. I mention him here as the author of a brief *Autobiography* which the Spalding Club published in 1843. The fragment has first-rate historical value. For the Rising of 1715, and for the abortive effort of 1719, it is indispensable.

In the *Scots Magazine* for October, 1741, appeared the following notice: "Just published, No. I. of *Memoirs of Scottish Affairs from 1624 to 1651*. Collected from several MSS. never before printed; written by Patrick Gordon, Brother to Sir Alexander Gordon of Clunie; Gilbert Gordon of Straloch; Sir John Scot of Scots-Tarvet; John Spalding, Citizen of Old Aberdeen; William Gordon of Dalmoir; Mr. James Gordon Parson of Rothimay; Alexander Jaffray of Kingswalls, Prior of Aberdeen, and Director of the Chancery under Oliver Cromwell, etc. All which authors lived in the time that the Transactions happened. The Numbers as they come out will be mentioned in the *Scots Magazine*. Gentlemen in the North of Scotland may have them from Mr. James Man at Aberdeen; and others from the Booksellers with whom they respectively correspond; the whole at the rate of Three halfpence per sheet."⁷ JAMES MAN or

¹ See Mr. Goodwin's article on Gordon in *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii., pp. 164-66.

² Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 288; *D.N.B.*, vol. i., p. 371.

³ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 221. ⁴ See *D.N.B.*, vol. lvi., p. 441.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xxx., p. 324.

⁶ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 292.

⁷ Quoted in Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs*, vol. i., p. 27.

Main (1700?-1761) is better known as the critic of Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan.¹ He graduated M.A. of King's in 1721,² and became Master of the Poor's Hospital at Aberdeen. Of his projected *Memoirs of Scottish Affairs*, only a fragment, with an Introduction, was published in 1741.³ Two volumes of his MSS. are in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh.⁴

Contemporary with Man at King's, WILLIAM DUFF graduated M.A. in 1721.⁵ In 1727 he was a Regent of Marischal, and apparently of an irascible and litigious disposition.⁶ In 1750 he published the first volume of *A new, full, critical, biographical, and geographical History of Scotland, from Robert Bruce to the Present Time*, which had been issued in 1749 as the work of "An Impartial Hand". The work was neither continued nor completed.

WALTER GOODALL (1706?-1766) was at King's 1723-1727.⁷ He is best known for his *Examination of the Letters said to be written by Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell, shewing that they are Forgeries*, published in two volumes in 1754. Goodall was the first to state and maintain that conclusion. In 1759 he edited Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, and in 1769 a translation of his Latin Preface to that edition was published under the title *An Introduction to the History and Antiquities of Scotland*. He also assisted Bishop Robert Keith in the preparation of his *Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*.⁸

Contemporary with Goodall, champion of Queen Mary, was Bishop ROBERT FORBES (1708-1775), the Boswell, as one may term him, of Mary's great-great-great-grandson, Prince Charles Edward. At Marischal College Forbes was in the class of 1724-1728.⁹ He was assiduous in collecting every detail relating to Prince Charles's adventures in 1745-1746. A portion of his MS. collection was printed (1834) by Robert Chambers in the *Jacobite Memoirs*. Under the pseudonym "Philaethes," Forbes

¹ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxvi., p. 12.

² Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 225.

³ It is reprinted in the Spalding Club edition of James Gordon's *Scots Affairs* as an Appendix to the Preface.

⁴ The collection is known as the Strathloch Manuscript (MS. 35.4.3). It is a compilation from sources then in manuscript, and referred to in the notice in the *Scots Magazine* quoted above.

⁵ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 225.

⁶ See Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 42.

⁷ Anderson, *Alumni*, p. 61.

⁸ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii., p. 118.

⁹ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 302.

published in 1765 *A plain, authentick, and faithful Narrative of the several Passages of the Young Chevalier from the Battle of Culloden to his Embarkation for France*. Forbes's complete Jacobite collections, entitled *The Lyon in Mourning*, were published by the Scottish History Society in three volumes, 1895-1896. The Bishop's *Journals* of his Episcopal visitations in Ross and Caithness were published in 1886 by the Rev. J. B. Craven, an *alumnus*.¹

On an autumn day in 1773 Boswell, bear-leading Dr. Johnson, found himself prisoned by wet and stormy weather in a lodging in Skye. He was afflicted with "a kind of lethargy of indolence," unequal even to the task of provoking Dr. Johnson to talk, in disgust of "the labour of writing down his conversation". "After dinner," he adds gloomily, "I read some of Dr. Macpherson's Dissertations on the Ancient Caledonians. I was disgusted by the unsatisfactory conjectures as to antiquity before the days of record."² Dr. JOHN MACPHERSON (1710-1765)³ graduated M.A. of King's in 1728.⁴ In 1768 he published the work whose "unsatisfactory conjectures" disappointed Boswell. Its title runs: *Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, Language, Government, Manners, and Religion of the Ancient Caledonians, their Posterity the Picts, and the British and Irish Scots*. Macpherson was a minister in Skye, and his work is described⁵ as "the production of the leisure hours of a clergyman . . . excluded by the peculiar situation of the place from the society of the learned". It is curious to notice that the author, sceptical as to the Scota legend, regards the migration of the Scots from Ireland as "a fiction in itself improbable, however venerable on account of its antiquity".⁶

WILLIAM CROOKSHANK graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1736, and the degree D.D. was conferred upon him in 1763.⁷ He published in 1761 *The History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*. It is of the familiar Shields-Wodrow-Howie type. Nor need the reader burrow deeper than the title-page, with its gruesome insets, to inform himself of the author's point of view.

¹ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xix., p. 409.

³ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxv., p. 267.

⁵ Preface, p. v.

⁷ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 84.

² *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 7th September.

⁴ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 229.

⁶ Dissertation I., p. 18.

GEORGE CAMPBELL (1719-1796)¹ studied at Marischal, 1734-1738.² In 1759 he was appointed Principal of the College. His *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* were edited in 1800, with a memoir of the author, by GEORGE SKENE KEITH (1752-1823). Keith graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1770,³ and may be mentioned also as the author of a *Dissertation on the Excellence of the British Constitution* (Aberdeen, 1800), and of a *Particular Examination of the new French Constitution* (Aberdeen, 1801).⁴

WILLIAM ROBERTSON (1740-1803), Deputy-Keeper of the Records of Scotland, entered King's College in 1752.⁵ In 1768 he published his *History of Ancient Greece from the Earliest Times*, a translation from the French of P. A. Alletz. Robertson's version ran to nine editions. After his appointment as Deputy-Keeper of the Records in 1777 he was much engaged in examining claims to the Scottish peerage. His investigations led to the publication (1790) of his *Proceedings relating to the Peerage of Scotland from 16th January, 1707 to 29th April, 1788*. He threw himself into the task of attempting the recovery of the ancient records of Scotland. At his suggestion, and with considerable success, search was made in the London State Paper Office and British Museum. From a MS. found at Wishaw he published in 1798 *An Index drawn up about the year 1629 of many Records of Charters granted by the different Sovereigns of Scotland between the Years 1309 and 1413, most of which Records have been long missing, with an Introduction giving a State, founded on authentic Documents still preserved, of the ancient Records of Scotland which were in that Kingdom in 1292*. The first volume of *The Records of the Parliament of Scotland*, prepared by him, was published in 1804.⁶

In 1752 JAMES MACPHERSON (1736-1796) entered King's College,⁷ and migrated to Marischal 1754-1755.⁸ As the resuscitator, possibly the inventor, of Ossian, Macpherson is vastly more interesting than as a historian, though some of his historical work has permanent value. In 1771 he published *An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, mainly, as his Preface declares, for his own amusement. It is

¹ See *D.N.B.*, vol. viii., p. 357.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³ Anderson, *Alumni*, p. 77.

⁷ Anderson, *Alumni*, p. 78.

² Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 310.

⁴ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxx., p. 322.

⁶ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xlviii., p. 430.

⁸ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 323.

remarkable chiefly for its Celtic bias. In 1775 Macpherson issued *The History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover*. In the same year he published the most valuable of his historical works, *Original Papers, containing the secret History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover. To which are prefixed Extracts from the Life of James II. as written by Himself*. For the *Original Papers* Macpherson had access to Thomas Carte's Brunswick collection, which is now in the Bodleian. For the period 1688-1714 it is of first-rate value. In his later years he acted as agent for the Nawab of Arcot, and published in 1779 *The History and Management of the East India Company*.¹

HUGH MACLEOD graduated M.A. of King's in 1755,² and became Professor of History in the University of Glasgow. In 1791 he published his *Casus Principis; or An Essay towards a History of the Principality of Scotland, with some Account of the Appanage and Honours annexed to the Second Prince of Scotland*. Macleod's is a learned treatise on the origin, style, titles, appanage, and privileges of the Prince Royal or Prince of Scotland.

GEORGE CHALMERS (1742-1825) came to King's College³ from the Parish School of Fochabers. Having completed his legal education at Edinburgh, he emigrated to Maryland, where he practised as a lawyer until the outbreak of the War of Independence. From 1775, when he settled in London, his life was one of extraordinary literary activity. His publications range from such topics as the export of wool to the love-letters of Mary Stuart. His chief work, *Caledonia; or, An Account, historical and topographical, of North Britain*, appeared in three volumes, 1807, 1820, 1824. The remaining three volumes, in which Chalmers intended to bring his investigations to a conclusion, were never written, though he left large manuscript collections towards their completion. So far as it goes the *Caledonia* is the fullest account of the subject of which it treats. If its conclusions have not been allowed to stand unchallenged, it is largely due to the fact, to which Sheriff Mackay draws attention, that Chalmers belonged to, and indeed was almost the last of, "the extinct race of authors who were antiquarians rather than historians, collectors and publishers rather than

¹ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxv., p. 261. ² Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 210.

³ He received an Honorary LL.D. from Marischal College in 1775 (Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 99).

minute critics of historical antiquities". Aberdeen has contributed generously to that "extinct race". Chalmers's *Life of Mary Queen of Scots* was published in 1818. He made a contribution also to the Casket controversy in his *Detection of the Love Letters lately attributed in Hugh Campbell's Work to Mary Queen of Scots* (1825).¹

ALEXANDER STEPHENS (1757-1821), the son of a Provost of Elgin, attended King's College, 1771-1775.² Having tried the Colonies, the army, and the law, he settled down to literature. In 1803 he published his *History of the Wars which arose out of the French Revolution*, a work long since superseded. His chief work, and of permanent value, *Memoirs of John Horne Tooke*, appeared in 1813. He also edited the first five volumes of the *Annual Biography and Obituary*, and was a large contributor to Sir Richard Phillips's *Public Characters*.³

Among local historians the name and reputation of WILLIAM KENNEDY are held in deserved honour. He was at Marischal for two years, 1774-1776.⁴ In 1818 he published in two stout volumes his *Annals of Aberdeen from the Reign of King William the Lion to the End of the Year 1818, with an Account of the City and University of Old Aberdeen*. It is a work of great research, based largely upon documentary materials at that time entirely in manuscript.

ALEXANDER CHALMERS (1759-1834) was born in Aberdeen, and graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1778.⁵ He wrote a *Continuation of the History of England*, which ran to four editions. His chief work was his edition of the *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, which had been published in 1761, and was republished, 1798-1810, under the editorship of William Tooke, Archdeacon Nares and William Beloe. Chalmers added nearly 4,000 biographies, and by 1814 completed in thirty-two volumes *The General Biographical Dictionary: containing an historical and critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the most eminent Persons in every Nation, particularly the British and Irish, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*. As George Chalmers deemed his *Caledonia*, so the *Dictionary* was Alexander Chalmers's "standing work". In their own day they held the field. It is pathetic to think how short-lived was the authority so laboriously won.⁶

¹ See *D.N.B.*, vol. ix., p. 445.

³ See *D.N.B.*, vol. liv., p. 168.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

² Anderson *Alumni*, p. 89.

⁴ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 347.

⁶ See *D.N.B.*, vol. ix., p. 443.

Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH (1765-1832) will be more fittingly dealt with in another part of this volume. Born at Aldourie, near Inverness, he graduated M.A. of King's in 1784.¹ He wrote in 1830 the *History of England* for Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*. His best-known historical work, *History of the Revolution in England in 1688, Comprising a View of the Reign of James the Second, from his Accession to the Enterprize of the Prince of Orange*, was published posthumously in 1834. Like many other excellent works of their day, it is remembered chiefly as having elicited one of Macaulay's brilliant reviews. Macaulay found it "decidedly the best history now extant of the reign of James the Second," though open to the idle citizen's criticism of his pudding: "Mem., too many plums and no suet," too much disquisition and too little narrative. Mackintosh's *Vindicia Gallica* (1791) has permanent value as indicating the sentiment with which its Whig sympathisers in England watched the progress of the French Revolution.²

JOHN SKINNER (1769-1841) was the elder son of Bishop John Skinner. He graduated M.A. at Marischal in 1787.³ From 1797 he was Episcopal minister of Forfar, and Dean of Dunkeld.⁴ In 1818 he published his *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy, from the Year 1788 to the Year 1816*. It is of first-rate importance for the history of the Episcopal Church in Scotland during Bishop Skinner's Primacy, a period of critical interest from more points than one. It forms a continuation of the *Ecclesiastical History* (1788) of the author's grandfather, also named JOHN SKINNER (1721-1807), who was at Marischal 1734-1738,⁵ and is best known as the author of "Tullochgorum".⁶

The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinary outburst of interest in Scottish history. For the first time the materials upon which alone a sound exposition of the past could be attempted were laid in profusion before the student. In 1812 the Roxburgh Club was founded for the purpose of reprinting rare tracts or compositions, chiefly poetical. The Bannatyne Club was established in 1823, and the Maitland Club in 1828, both of them in order to recover and to publish manuscripts illustrating the history, antiquities and literature of Scotland. With the same end in view the Abbotsford Club was founded in 1834 in honour of Sir Walter Scott. The

¹ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 258.

³ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 361.

⁵ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 311.

² See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxv., p. 173.

⁴ *D.N.B.*, vol. lii., p. 346.

⁶ *D.N.B.*, vol. lii., p. 343.

Surtees Society also was established in 1834 to explore materials bearing upon the history of the tract lying southward of the Forth and Clyde, the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. Five years later, in 1839, the Spalding Club was founded to investigate more particularly the antiquities of the North and East of Scotland. Among the guardians of the public archives the signs of awakening interest are as remarkable. A general Index to the Rolls of the English Parliament was issued in 1832. Cosmo Innes undertook a similar work for the Scottish *Acts* a generation or so later. In 1830 the publication of the documents in the office of the Keeper of the Records began, and after the incorporation of the State Paper and Public Record Offices in 1855 the invaluable *Calendars* began to appear.

COSMO INNES (1798-1874), the *doyen* of the century, was born at Durris Manor-house. The property belonged to his father, whose ejection from it is a leading case in the law of entail. Before that event, which doomed the family from affluence to poverty, Cosmo Innes and his brother attended the classes of King's College.¹ The lads walked to and from Durris whenever a holiday gave welcome pause to their studies! Innes did not graduate. He proceeded to Glasgow, and thence, in 1817, to Balliol, Oxford. "Life at Oxford he found extremely delightful," his daughter writes, "and through life he retained the almost passionate love for his *Alma Mater* which is so generally entertained by her sons". His chief friend there was Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnoise, brother-in-law of Maria Edgeworth. Innes once stayed with Butler in his vicarage, and found an umbrella as necessary under the Dean's roof as upon the open highway! In 1822 he began to practise as an advocate at the Edinburgh Bar. In 1840 he was appointed Sheriff of Moray. Unlike Sir Walter Scott, he resigned the Sheriffdom upon his appointment (1852) as Principal Clerk of the Court of Session. In 1846 Innes had accepted the Professorship of History at Edinburgh. No stipend was attached to the Chair; indeed its occupant feed the University for the privilege of his existence! The History Class was non-compulsory and students were few. Innes abolished the fee, and his classroom was packed! Anon he exacted a fee, and harangued empty benches! The experiment was disheartening, and until his class was made compulsory Innes refused to lecture. His professorial teaching survives in his *Scotland*

¹ Anderson, *Alumni*, p. 122.

in the Middle Ages, published in 1860. He died very suddenly in his beloved Highlands in 1874.

A strong attraction draws one to Innes as one reads the Memoir by his daughter. Like Sir Walter he exemplified how possible it is to follow the trade of Dryasdust and be human withal, to acquire learning and continue normal. I do not attempt to enumerate his contributions to Scottish history. The catalogues of the publications of the Bannatyne and Spalding Clubs display his unwearying activity. His edition of and introduction to *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (1844), his edition of *The Brus* (1856), his *Sketches of Early Scotch History* (1861), his *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland* (1868), and his *Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities* (1872), sustain his reputation as a historian. His *Scotland in the Middle Ages* I have mentioned already. His *Fasti Aberdonenses* (1854) was the precursor of Mr. P. J. Anderson's familiar volumes.¹

JOSEPH ROBERTSON (1810-1866), whose forebears had long lived in Leochel, was born in a small house on Woolmanhill. His father died when the lad was seven. But his mother, with heroic effort, managed to give the boy an excellent education. At Udney he was under the well-known Dr. James Bisset of Bourtie. Thence he passed to the Grammar School, and so to Marischal College, where he studied 1822-1825.² In an anonymous Memoir³ of him I find cryptic references to practical jokes, raids upon signboards and knockers, in which Robertson distinguished himself among his contemporaries. He was, in fact, a high-spirited young fellow, popular with his class-fellows, and known to his Professors as a sound rather than a brilliant student. He was little more than sixteen when he graduated, an unusually early age at that period, as I gather. In view of his later interests, a sound knowledge of Latin was perhaps the most valuable asset with which school and college endowed him. Like his friend and contemporary, John Hill Burton, Robertson turned to the law upon leaving the University, but showed no particular affection for that calling. His

¹ For Cosmo Innes see *D.N.B.*, vol. xxix., p. 27, and an anonymous *Memoir of Cosmo Innes* (Edinburgh, 1874). The latter is by his daughter, Mrs. John Hill Burton.

² Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 448.

³ *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, by Joseph Robertson, LL.D. With biographical Memoir of the Author (Aberdeen, 1893). The memoir was written by the late Mr. William Watt.

historical and antiquarian interests were already developing. He read much, and remembered what he read. At the debates of "The Society of Writers," which the young legal apprentices attended, Robertson soon had the reputation of being singularly well informed. Then he drifted to literature. To *The Aberdeen Observer* he contributed literary criticism. To *The Aberdeen Magazine*, which began a brief career in 1831, he was the chief contributor, and began to reveal an increasing interest in history and antiquities, and also a happy gift of humour. The *Magazine*, however, did not survive its second birthday, and Robertson, who had abandoned meanwhile the idea of a legal career, proceeded to Edinburgh in 1833. There he did much literary work which can have been barely congenial. But in 1838 his latent power and abiding interests appeared in *The Book of Bon-Accord, or, A Guide to the City of Aberdeen*. That it out-distanced its predecessors in literary finish and exact information is, I believe, admitted. But it is chiefly interesting, as the anonymous Memoir which I have quoted already remarks, as "a reflection of the author's own progress, while it was being written, in knowledge and research". Robertson had been unearthing the musty records of the Register House and elsewhere, and the digging-fever was upon him. "The *ultima Thule* of my desires would be a situation in the Register House," he told Hill Burton in the early days of his Edinburgh life. But the Register House had to wait for twenty years for its ideal Curator, and in 1839 Robertson returned to Aberdeen.

The year 1839 was memorable. While he was in Edinburgh Robertson had been maturing an idea which was the outcome of his researches for *The Book of Bon-Accord*. He outlined it in *The Constitutional*, a weekly newspaper, successor to the defunct *Observer*, which he returned to Aberdeen to edit. In December, 1839, the Spalding Club—"The Raban Club" had also suggested itself for the Club's title—was launched. Spalding, "the best of our local historians—perhaps the most graphic of our Scottish annalists," as Robertson described him, was the Club's eponymous patron. Robertson himself was conclusively the founder. John Stuart, on whom a word later, shares the honour with him. The Club gave Robertson his opportunity. Without it, I fancy, he must have burst from the suppression of accumulated lore. Its first publication, James Gordon of Rothiemay's *History of Scots Affairs*, was edited by him and George Grub, 1840-1842. For the Club he edited also *Collections for a*

History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff in 1842; *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (1847-1869), "the most complete series of records which any county in Scotland has yet published," as Sheriff Mackay remarks; and in 1862, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, A.D. 1635-1699. To the fifth volume of the *Miscellany* (1852) he also contributed an article on "Scholastic Offices of the Scottish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries".

In the full tide of his work for the Spalding Club Robertson removed to Glasgow to edit *The Glasgow Constitutional* (1843). At once the Maitland Club claimed his service. In 1846 he edited for that Society the Chartulary of the Collegiate Church of Glasgow and the Charters of the Black Friars of the City. The fourth volume of the Maitland *Miscellany* (1847) was edited by him, and he helped to prepare the first volume of the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* for the press. In June, 1849, he published in the *Quarterly Review* an exhaustive article on "Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals," "one of the finest specimens of its class," Grub declared, erudite and readable. In the same year (1849) Robertson returned to Edinburgh to edit *The Courant*. Four years later (1853) he reached his Mecca, the Register House. During the all too few years that remained to him he lavished his knowledge upon those who sought his advice. "If you had a casual discussion with Robertson on some obscure point," Hill Burton recalled, "you were sure to receive from him next morning a letter full of minute and curious erudition concerning it." The Robertsonian tradition happily still rules the Register House. Yet he found leisure for other work. He was a prolific contributor to *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*. For the Bannatyne Club he edited in 1863 the *Inventories of Jewels, Dresses, Furniture, Books and Paintings belonging to Queen Mary*. He advocated strenuously and successfully the need to issue calendars and reproductions of the manuscripts under his charge. In 1866, shortly before his death, he published his last and greatest work, *Concilia Scotiae; Ecclesiae Scoticae Statuta, tam Provincialia quam Synodalia, quae supersunt 1229-1559*. For the history of the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland the work is vital. Less than six months later Robertson died.¹

¹See the anonymous Memoir already quoted; Sheriff Mackay's article in *D.N.B.*, vol. xlviij., p. 416; and Grub's Memoir in the *Antiquities*, vol. i.

Contemporary with Joseph Robertson at Marischal, and possibly also at Udny, where both were at school, was JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON (1813-1882). He studied at Marischal, 1824-1826,¹ passed on to Cambridge, and eventually to high preferment in the Church of England. He was appointed Canon of Canterbury in 1859, and from 1864 to 1874 held the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London. He owed his Professorship chiefly to his *History of the Christian Church*, a work of soundness and research, which appeared in four volumes, 1854-1873, and was reprinted in 1874-1875. He had already edited (1849) Peter Heylyn's *Ecclesia Restaurata*, and had published (1859) *Becket; a Biography*. He also edited (1877-1881) five volumes of *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* in the Rolls Series, and, for the Camden Society (1866), Bargrave's *Alexander VII. and the College of Cardinals*. Like his contemporary Joseph Robertson, he died in harness, toiling to complete the sixth volume of his *Materials*.²

To that wide public which is less interested in the processes by which the historian reconstructs the past than in the story he has to tell and his manner of telling it, the best known of the Robertson group was and is JOHN HILL BURTON (1809-1881). He was Joseph Robertson's senior by something less than a year, and survived him for nearly fifteen. They were together at Marischal, whence Burton graduated M.A. in 1829.³ Like Robertson, Burton half-heartedly entered the legal profession, abandoned his practice at Edinburgh, and turned to literature. He wrote for *The Westminster Review*, for the *Edinburgh*, and for a time edited *The Scotsman*. He was already known as editor of Bentham's works when, in 1846, his biography of Hume sealed his reputation as a man of letters. His *Lives of Simon Lord Lovat, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden* (1847), and *Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland* (1852), precluded the first instalment of his chief historical work, the *History of Scotland*. In 1853 he produced the final portion of it, dealing with the period 1688-1745, and by 1870 the work was completed. A revised edition was printed in 1873, and quite recently (1905-1906) a "popular" edition of the work has been issued. Burton's place in the literature of Scottish history may be indicated in a sentence—He was the Boece of the nineteenth century. I do

¹ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 454.

² *D.N.B.*, vol. xlvi., p. 412.

³ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 459.

not mean, of course, that he harked back to the unscientific standard of a credulous age. His work and Boece's were the products of the fullest scholarship of their period. Both were clothed in a literary guise which commended them to the attention of the "general reader". A generation and more has added much to the materials which Burton might and would have used had they been extant in his time. Yet the pleasure of reading him does not wane. If his supersession awaits the advent of the composite Scott-Burton-Carlyle suggested by the late Richard Garnett,¹ his vogue may be held perpetual! In 1860 he edited the valuable eighteenth-century *Autobiography of the Reverend Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk*. In 1864 the characteristic and familiar *Scot Abroad* appeared. In 1880 Burton published his *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, a work of minor value. To the Abbotsford Club he contributed in 1840 (with David Laing) the *Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family*, and in 1849 *The Darien Papers* to the Bannatyne Club. After the completion of his *History*, he accepted the editorship of the *Register of the Privy Council*, and published the first two volumes of that invaluable series in 1877-1878.²

To WILLIAM FORBES SKENE (1809-1892) the University can lay no claim. But a Skene of Rubislaw is a local possession. On John Hill Burton's death in 1881 Skene succeeded him as Historiographer Royal for Scotland. Skene's predecessor was an Aberdonian. So also is David Masson his successor. Skene's father, James Skene of Rubislaw, the friend of Sir Walter Scott, edited (1828) Spalding's *History of the Troubles* for the Bannatyne Club. William Forbes Skene's interests all bent towards the period which he dealt with in his *Celtic Scotland*. He was still under thirty years of age when he published (1837) *The Highlanders of Scotland, their Origin, History and Antiquities*. In 1867 he issued his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, in which for the first time he made public the earliest Welsh and Irish sources of Scottish history. His *Four Ancient Books of Wales* was published in 1868. His edition of *Fordun* (1871), in which he submitted the early mythical history of Scotland to rigorous analysis, I have referred to already. For the series in which his *Fordun* appeared he re-edited (1874) Reeve's edition of Adamnan's *St. Columba*.

¹ *D.N.B.*, vol. viii., p. 11.

² For Burton's life see Dr. Richard Garnett's Memoir in *D.N.B.*, vol. viii., pp. 10-12; Mrs. Burton's Memoir in the 1882 large paper edition of his *Book-Hunter*, and *Blackwood's Magazine* for September, 1881.

In three volumes, 1876-1880, Skene focussed his learning upon his crowning work, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*. Many of Skene's ingenious speculations have failed to gain the approval of later investigators. But he may be held to have scotched the Boecian myths, and to have been the first to present the Dark Ages of Scottish history in reasonable and accurate guise.¹

I have mentioned already JOHN STUART (1813-1877), co-founder of the Spalding Club, and its Secretary during the thirty years over which its operations continued. He was born at Forgue, and spent three sessions at Marischal College, 1828-1831. In 1866 he received the degree LL.D. from King's.² Like Joseph Robertson and Hill Burton, Stuart adopted and abandoned the legal profession. In 1853 he was appointed an official searcher of records in the Register House, and in 1873 Principal Keeper of the Register of Deeds. Soon after receiving the former appointment he became Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and worked enthusiastically in its behalf. His energy was boundless. Of the thirty-eight volumes issued by the Spalding Club, Stuart edited no less than fourteen. I forbear to enumerate them all, but single out the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (1856, 1867), Spalding's *Memorialls of the Troubles* (1850, 1851), and *The Book of Deer* (1869) as of particular importance. He edited volumes for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and to the Burgh Records Society he contributed two volumes of *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1625-1747* (1871, 1872). He was employed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission to examine and report upon the muniments of the Scottish nobility and others. In the course of his investigations he came upon the original dispensation for the marriage of Lady Jane Gordon and Bothwell, which inspired his *A lost Chapter in the History of Mary Queen of Scots* (1874).³

JOHN FERGUSON MCLENNAN (1827-1881), born at Inverness, graduated M.A. of King's in 1849.⁴ The science of Sociology has so specialised a meaning that my inclusion of McLennan among the Historians possibly may be challenged. But Sociology is after all the speculative history of early and unrecorded periods of human existence, and in that subject McLennan achieved work which was in the highest degree original and

¹ See Sheriff Mackay's art. in *D.N.B.*, vol. lii., p. 338.

² Anderson, *Alumni*, p. 146.

³ See *D.N.B.*, vol. lv., p. 102.

⁴ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 301.

stimulative. His studies in primitive marriage and kinship, and his examination of Sir Henry Maine's patriarchal theory, are classic if challenged. He wrote also (1867) a *Memoir of Thomas Drummond, Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1835 to 1840*. In 1874 he received the degree LL.D. from his old University.¹

GEORGE GRUB (1812-1892) was born in Old Aberdeen. "The Doctor," as he was affectionately known in later years, was educated at King's, though he did not graduate M.A. until 1856.² In 1836 he was admitted a member of the Society of Advocates of Aberdeen, and in 1841 was appointed its Librarian, a post he held until his death. In 1843 he became Lecturer on Scots Law and Conveyancing in Marischal College, and in 1860, upon the fusion of the two Colleges, acted as Professor-Substitute of Law. In 1881 he received full possession of the Chair in that subject, and held it until 1891, when he retired. For nearly fifty years he had been responsible for the legal training of the community, and when he retired there were no more than twelve of the Society of Advocates who had not received their instruction at his hands! The University conferred the degree LL.D. upon him in 1864. A friend of both Joseph Robertson and John Stuart, Grub took part in the formation of the Spalding Club. For it he edited (with Joseph Robertson) James Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs* (1840-1842); Thomas Innes's *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (1853), to which he prefixed a memoir of the author; and the index volume to Robertson's *Illustrations of the Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff* (1869). He had published already in 1861 his chief work, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Time*, concluding his fourth and last volume with the death of Bishop John Skinner in 1857. The work was the most exact and complete upon the subject which had appeared, nor is it superseded. Grub was both a Tory and an Episcopalian, but his *Ecclesiastical History*, with good reason, has been described as "an almost unique example of fair and impartial consideration of the course of Church affairs in Scotland".³ In one who held himself attached, and devotedly attached, to what Sir Walter Scott called "the suffering remnant of the Scottish Episcopal Church," such laboured impartiality may be counted for righteousness. The delicate tread of Agag is infrequently

¹ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxv., p. 210.

² Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 308.

³ Mr. James Duguid, in *Aurora Borealis*, p. 210.

traceable in modern dissertations upon that vexed seventeenth century, and Grub, no doubt, would have a wider vogue among partisans of both sides were he not distinguished by what Professor Cooper calls "extreme scrupulosity".¹ To *Chambers's Encyclopædia* Grub was a contributor, and evidence of his historical interests and learning is found in the publications of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society.²

More briefly I call to remembrance other nineteenth-century *alumni* who worked in the same field. THOMAS STEPHEN was for one year (1803) at Marischal.³ In maturer years he was Medical Librarian of King's College, London. In 1831 he published *The History of the Reformation and Church in Scotland till the General Assembly of Glasgow*. In 1835 appeared his *Book of the Constitution of Great Britain*, a comprehensive survey. Between 1843-1845 he published in four volumes *The History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Present Time*. In 1839 appeared *The Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp*, a work still useful.

ROBERT BEATSON (1742-1818) resided at Aberdeen, where he was Barrack-master, 1796-1817, and received the degree LL.D. from Marischal College in 1804. In addition to various agricultural works, he published in 1786 *A political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland*, which reached a third and enlarged edition in 1806. In 1790 Beatson published his *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from the Year 1727 to the Present Time*. In 1807 appeared his *Chronological Register of both Houses of Parliament, from the Union in 1708 to 1807*.⁴

Beatson was the oldest of a group of Aberdeen military historians of whom Major-General THOMAS GORDON of Cairness (1788-1841) was another. Gordon was at Marischal in 1804.⁵ He served in the Greek Army during the War of Independence, and published in 1832 his *History of the Greek Revolution*. The work was translated into German.⁶

Another military historian, JAMES GRANT DUFF (1789-1858), was

¹ *D.N.B.*, Supp. vol. ii., p. 373.

² For Grub's life see *D.N.B.*, *ibid.*; *Aurora Borealis*, p. 205; and Dean Walker's *Three Churchmen* (Edinburgh, 1893).

³ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 393.

⁴ See *D.N.B.*, vol. iv., p. 21.

⁵ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 393.

⁶ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii., p. 230.

at Marischal in 1805.¹ His *History of the Mahrattas* (1826; 3rd edition, 1873) was the outcome of Duff's military service in India.²

Sir ANDREW LEITH HAY (1785-1862), the fourth of this almost contemporary group of military historians, was born at Aberdeen, and in 1826 and 1828 acted as Rector's Assessor at Marischal.³ His military service in the Peninsular enabled him in 1831 to publish *A Narrative of the Peninsular War*, which ran to four editions. He was also the author of a valuable work of another character, *The Castellated Architecture of Aberdeenshire*, published in 1849, and partly reprinted in 1887.⁴

In 1816 HEW SCOTT (1791-1872) was admitted Honorary M.A. of King's.⁵ His life-work, *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ: The Succession of Ministers in the Parish Churches of Scotland, from the Reformation, A.D. 1560, to the Present Time*, was published in three volumes, 1866-1871. Its subject is indicated by its title. The research involved is stupendous.

ALEXANDER LOW, minister of Keig, graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1819.⁶ In 1826 he published *The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Middle of the Ninth Century*.

Among the explorers of local antiquities the name of JOHN BURNETT PRATT (1799-1869), Episcopal minister of Cruden, is familiar. He was born at Cairnbanno, New Deer, and graduated M.A. of King's in 1820. In 1864 the University conferred upon him the degree LL.D.⁷ His well-known *Buchan* was published in 1858. Further editions of the work appeared in 1859, 1870 and 1901. Pratt also published in 1861 a monograph on *The Druids*.⁸

JAMES AITKEN WYLIE (1808-1890) was at Marischal 1823-26 (LL.D., 1855). His works, strenuously Protestant, include *The History of Protestantism* (3 vols., 1874-1877).⁹

In the same category as Pratt stands JOHN DAVIDSON, M.A. of Marischal in 1838.¹⁰ He published in 1878 his *Inverurie and the Earldom of Garioch*, a topographical and historical account of the Garioch from the earliest times to the Revolution.

¹ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 395.

² See *D.N.B.*, vol. xvi., p. 130.

³ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 21.

⁴ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xxxv., p. 251.

⁵ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 275. See *D.N.B.*, vol. li., p. 27.

⁶ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 423.

⁷ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 277. ⁸ See *D.N.B.*, vol. xlvi., p. 290.

⁹ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., pp. 109, 451; *D.N.B.*, vol. liii., p. 237.

¹⁰ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 490.

HENRY MILES (M.A., King's, 1839; LL.D., 1863), wrote *The History of Canada under French Régime* (1872), and also sound history text-books for Canadian schools.¹

PETER BAYNE (1830-1896) graduated at Marischal in 1850. Chiefly known as an essayist and journalist, he wrote *English Puritanism* (1862), and *The Chief Characters of the Puritan Revolution* (1878).²

Colonel FRANCIS DUNCAN (1836-1888) was born at Aberdeen, and graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1855.³ He was gazetted to the Royal Regiment of Artillery and served in Nova Scotia and Canada. At Woolwich, in later years, the records of the regiment were in his charge, and he published (1872, 1873) his *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, of which a second edition appeared in 1874. In 1877 appeared his *The English in Spain*, an account of the Spanish Civil War of 1834-1840. Several lectures on Canada were the outcome of his personal knowledge of that country, and in 1878 he published *The Royal Province of New Scotland and her Baronets*.⁴

WILLIAM STEPHEN, Rector of St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, Dumbarton, graduated M.A. of Marischal in 1856, and received the degree D.D. from the University in 1897.⁵ He was the author of a *History of the Scottish Church*, published in two volumes 1894, 1896, a comprehensive survey of the subject extending to 1895.

As assistant to Cosmo Innes, JAMES GRANT (1840-1885) (M.A., 1861) did much of that valuable spade work which too often passes unrecognised. His *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland* (1876) is worthy of his close association with Innes, his "dear friend and revered teacher".⁶

Lastly I name an institution. Founded in 1886 the New Spalding Club already has issued thirty volumes of materials valuable to the historian. The Club's intimate association with the University is well known.

The tale is complete, though some whom I ought to include may have been omitted. But imperfect as the record may be, it amply justifies the appreciation which I quoted at the beginning of this article! Truly Aberdeen has been the nursing mother of historians, and counting DAVID MASSON among her surviving sons, who shall say that her progeny is extinct?

¹ Anderson, *Officers and Graduates*, p. 293; *Scott. N. and Q.*, vol. xi., p. 173.

² Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 536; *D.N.B.*, Supp. vol. i., p. 146.

³ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 555.

⁴ See *D.N.B.*, Supp. vol. ii., p. 166.

⁵ Anderson, *Records*, vol. ii., p. 560.

⁶ *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii., p. 391.

C. S. TERRY.

NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITIES.

[The preparation of this sketch of the progress of Natural Science in the Universities of Aberdeen has been rendered possible only by the assistance received from friends, whose acquaintance with the history of the Universities, and of their graduates and other *alumni*, has been most helpful to the writer. To the Editor of this volume thanks are especially due for the information obtained from his published *Records* of the Universities and from many personal communications during the preparation of the sketch. It is intended to give, in a volume to be issued by the New Spalding Club, a fuller account of the work of Dr. David Skene and of others that have furthered the progress of Natural Science in the North of Scotland; and any information with regard to that progress will be welcomed.]

THE appreciation and study of the Natural Sciences appear to have been of tardy growth in the North of Scotland. Even within the Universities they were not officially recognised until centuries had passed; and provision for their practical study is of very recent date. In these circumstances their past history among us is necessarily brief, though sufficient to give bright promise for the future in view of the greatly increased opportunities already within reach of our students, of the continuous progress towards fuller equipment for education and research in these sciences, and of the ever-increasing interest manifested in them.

The Natural History of the Middle Ages had become degraded to little else than the repetition of such fables as are abundantly contained in the strange *Ortus Sanitatis*, the high repute of which was shown by the numerous translations and editions issued, and by the long period during which it was accepted as a guide. The revolt against such absurdities and puerilities, and the return to the study of the natural objects, as shown in the

works of Brunfels, Fuchs, and other early naturalists, seemed to find little favour in Scotland in the sixteenth century. The struggle for a mere livelihood must always stand in the way of a true appreciation of the worth of knowledge that does not appear likely to provide the necessaries of life. The poverty and disturbed political state of the country during the years that witnessed Flodden and the events that led to the Reformation, and the direction given to intellectual interests by these conditions, were not favourable to the study of the Natural Sciences. Even the stimulus arising from foreign travel, so frequently the outlet for the sons of the aristocracy and middle classes, aided little in this, for their interests were chiefly those of soldiers of fortune or of traders, and many of them settled in the countries to which they went.

Among the teaching staff appointed to the University founded by Bishop Elphinstone in Old Aberdeen, under the papal bull obtained in 1494, was a Mediciner—the earliest inclusion of medicine within the curricula of any University in Great Britain. The first recorded holder of that office was James Cumyne, appointed soon after 1500. This, however, is scarcely evidence that Natural Science, as such, was taught within that University; and there is nothing further to show that it was so.

In the Foundation Charter of Marischal College and University, dated 2nd April, 1593, the subjects of study are strictly laid down. Greek and Latin, the elements of Arithmetic and Geometry, Geography, History and the Outlines of Astronomy are enjoined, apparently without limitation as to their source. Ethics and Politics were to be taught by selections from Aristotle's writings and from Cicero's *De Officiis*, and Logic from the *Organum Logicum*. In the third year of the course, "the Regent next after the Principal" had to "interpret the acroamatic books of Aristotle's *Organum Physicum*," subsequent to which the Principal had to "set forth all the rest of Physiology from the Greek text of Aristotle, to which he shall add a short explanation of Anatomy". The foundation of Marischal College in 1593 was virtually a protest against the reactionary attitude of the earlier University in Old Aberdeen; and the latter was visited and reported on, as shown by the records of both Parliament and Church of Scotland, between 1578 and 1638.

A *Nova Fundatio* was drawn up for King's College in the early part of the seventeenth century, which sets forth the subjects of the curriculum, though there is reason to believe that the scheme of instruction was not

closely adhered to. It appears to have been largely influenced by, if not modelled on, the Charter of Marischal College. It provides that the fourth Regent should teach the whole of Physiology, and what was necessary in regard to the nature of animals, from the Greek text of Aristotle. He was also to teach Geography, Astrology, general Cosmography, and the course of the ages from the origin of the world. The other subjects of study were almost as in the Charter of Marischal College, and, as provided in it, were to be taught largely from Aristotle and Cicero. In these regulations of the two Universities there is little indication that the method of study that was already taking shape on the Continent of Europe, and was soon to revolutionise the Natural Sciences, had gained any place in Aberdeen. The direct appeal to natural objects had not yet replaced the authority of Aristotle.

But from other sources there is evidence that at least two physicians in Aberdeen were in sympathy with the return from authority to the study of the objects themselves. Both were sons of burgesses of Aberdeen. Unfortunately there are no records of the students or graduates of King's College and University to show whether they had been students there; but there is other evidence that one had been, and so probably was the other. Both travelled on the Continent of Europe and studied there for some time, after which they returned to Aberdeen; and in the early years of the seventeenth century both bestowed valuable gifts for the encouragement of learning in the recently founded University.

JAMES CARGILL is believed to have studied Botany and Anatomy under the celebrated Kaspar Bauhin at Basle, sometime between 1589 and 1600. Bauhin and L'Obel in their writings mention that they had received from Dr. Cargill seeds and other specimens (including seaweeds) from Aberdeen. L'Obel refers to him as being well skilled in Botany and Anatomy. By his will, dated in 1614, he bequeathed "for the maintenance of four *puir scholaris* at the college quherein learning shall be thocht by the Councill of Aberdein most to floorische four thousand merkes," besides sums to the Grammar School and to the "Hospittall of new Aberdeine". To his memory the genus *Cargillia*, including trees of the family Ebenaceae from Eastern Australia, was dedicated by Robert Brown.

Of DUNCAN LIDDEL fuller information exists in the form of a short biography, published in 1790, written by John Stuart, Professor of Greek in Marischal College, and accompanied by a portrait. Born in 1561, Liddel

was educated at the Grammar School of Aberdeen and at King's College until 1579, when he went to Dantzic. He travelled through a great part of Poland and Germany, pursuing his education in Mathematics and in Medicine. He afterwards became a lecturer on these studies, and spent several years as a professor in the Academia Julia at Helmstadt. In 1607 he left that town, and ultimately returned to Scotland, and died on 17th December, 1613, in Aberdeen. In 1612 he had given the lands of Pit-muxton, near Aberdeen, to support six bursars, who might attend either King's or Marischal College; and shortly before his death he endowed a Professorship of Mathematics in Marischal College, and left his library to that College, along with a legacy for the purchase of new books, which at present yields a few pounds annually. The bursaries have been, and are, valuable aids to students; and the library contained books on Botany, Mathematics and other sciences that are treasured in the University Library at the present time. There is no clear evidence that these two men produced any direct effect on the studies in the rival Universities; but their example may have stimulated, and Liddel's bequest aided, one whose fame was destined to surpass theirs as a leader in botanical science.

ROBERT MORISONE entered Marischal College as a student of Arts in 1635, and was awarded one of the bursaries founded by Dr. Liddel. On the completion of the curriculum he became Liddel Tutor in Mathematics from 1640 to 1643, and was also an under-master in the Grammar School of Aberdeen in 1641. He was the son of a burgher of Aberdeen. His parents wished him to become a clergyman, but his scientific tastes inclined him to the medical profession. In the political disturbances of the time he had joined the Royalists, and was severely wounded in the head, in 1639, near Aberdeen. Possibly the ruin of the King's cause may have co-operated with his desire to study Natural Science and Medicine in leading him to Paris, where he spent some time in studying Botany, Zoology and Anatomy, under Robin, among others. He graduated M.D. at Angers in 1648. In 1650 he was entrusted with the charge of the famous garden of the Duke of Orleans at Blois. There he pursued his investigations in Botany, and showed to the duke the method of classification devised by himself. His patron encouraged his studies, and enabled him to travel through much of France to procure additions to the garden. After the death of the duke, Morison (as his name is generally spelt) was invited to England by Charles II., to whom he had become known in France. He

accepted the invitation, refusing a tempting offer to remain in France, and was appointed King's Physician and Royal Professor of Botany, with an official salary and residence. In 1669 he was called to the new Professorship of Botany in Oxford. On 9th November, 1683, he died from the effects of injuries received while crossing a street in London. Several botanical works by him are well known as classics in the science, and have won for him honour as a philosophical botanist.

He introduced conspicuous improvements in methods of classification and of exposition; but his acknowledged merits are marred by the acrimony, and even unfairness, with which he criticised the work of others.

JAMES WALLACE, A.M. of King's College, in 1659 had settled in Kirkwall, Orkney, as minister of the parish. Apparently under the influence of Sir Robert Sibbald, he wrote *A Description of the Isles of Orkney*, in which are brief notes on the cultivated and wild plants, and on the remains of trees found in the mosses, and also on the animals and the more useful minerals. The author died in 1688, but the book did not appear until 1693. His son issued, in 1700, virtually a second edition, under the title, *Account of the Islands of Orkney*, with additions, including lists of the plants and molluscs.

Alexander Blackwell (son of Rev. Thomas Blackwell, Principal of Marischal College from 1717 to 1728) may also be named, less, however, for his own merits as a botanist, than as the husband of Elizabeth Blackwell, the botanical artist, authoress of *A Curious Herbal*, and because of his tragic fate on the scaffold in Stockholm, in 1747.

The records of the Universities in Old Aberdeen and Aberdeen remain silent during the seventeenth century in regard to the instruction provided in Natural Science, and there is no evidence that Botany, Zoology or Geology was taught in either University.

In 1726 an effort was made "for setting on foot a Compleat Cours of Experimental Philosophy in the Marischall Colledge of Aberdeen". With the view of providing "Entire *Setts* of Instruments, necessary in Astronomy, Mechanicks, Opticks, Chymistry, Hydrostaticks, and Anatomy," which could not "be purchased under two hundred guineas," as well as "the Best Books which treat of Natural and Experimental Philosophy; and MODELS of the newest *Machines* in Husbandry," subscriptions were invited; but the scheme appears to have met with little support. There was, however, an "Experimental School"; and between 1721 and 1756

the records of several years mention gifts of money from Magstrand classes, on leaving the University, as "Scholæ experimentalis," or "instrumentis experimentalibus". In 1740 the gift was "Ad scientiam naturalem promovendam"; but, despite the different mode of expression, this probably was for the same object as the other gifts, and not for the promotion of the biological sciences.

Although at first there are, as shown in the provisions quoted above, indications that the Professors had certain specified subjects assigned to each, this practice appears to have been soon departed from in favour of each in rotation giving instruction in all the subjects of the curriculum in Arts to the students from their entrance on it throughout their whole period of study. The standard of teaching could not have been high under such a system, and probably the Natural Sciences did not form part of the course of study of at least many students. The Professors received the designation of "Regents" under this system. In King's College one of the Professors was from the origin of the University entrusted with the duty of teaching the Latin language under the designation of "Humanist," and was not included among the Regents.

In accordance with an injunction of a Royal Commission for the visitation of the Scottish Universities, a Regent in King's College, appointed in 1686, was in 1700 formally designated to be Professor of Greek there, and after that year that Chair remained distinct; but not until 1794 were other Professorships defined in that University. In Marischal College the injunction to appoint a Professor of Greek was obeyed only in 1717; but the change from the former system to professorships of defined subjects was effected in 1752 and 1753, the designations of the several chairs being "Moral Philosophy," "Natural Philosophy," and "Civil and Natural History". After 1753 the appointments were to these professorships, though the term "Regent" continued in use as a designation of the Professors for many years afterwards.

The first occupant of the Chair of Civil and Natural History in Marischal College and University was FRANCIS SKENE, son of the Minister of Kinkell, a cadet of the family of Skene, which long held the barony of Skene, a few miles west of Aberdeen. He was a student of Arts at King's College, where he graduated A.M. in 1721. When he was appointed a Regent in Marischal College in 1734, an attempt was made to abandon the system of Regents, described above, and to restrict each to

the teaching required for the class of one definite session, as laid down in the Foundation Charter of the University. Skene joined in the opposition to this proposal, by which he was to have had the third year of the course as his charge. It was not pushed at that time, but was carried into effect nineteen years later, in 1753, when, as Professor of Civil and Natural History, he took the second (Semi) class. In 1766 he received the degree of LL.D. from Marischal College, in which he was at the same time appointed Professor of Laws, which appears to have been little more than titular. He died in 1775. The only record of him that I have found is: "For the long period of forty-one years he discharged the duties of his office, and was reckoned a good teacher".

There remains nothing from which one may learn the scope of the instruction given in the class by him; and among the alumni and graduates of the two Universities, except Wallace and Blackwell, none appear to have studied Natural Science during more than a century from the time when Robert Morison quitted Aberdeen.

One of the first to break this silence was Dr. DAVID SKENE, born 13th August, 1731, a native of Aberdeen, but not of the same family as the Professor. His name appears in the roll of the Grammar School of Aberdeen, and in that of the Arts Class of 1744-48 at Marischal College. From extant letters to his father, Dr. Andrew Skene, a physician in Aberdeen, it appears that from 1751-53 he studied Medicine in Edinburgh, London and Paris, and that on his way home he remained again for a time in Edinburgh, studying Botany under Dr. Alston and in the botanic garden. On his return to Aberdeen he received the degree of M.D. from King's College in 1753, and in July of that year settled at home to assist his father, whose practice included many of the principal families in Aberdeen, and extended over a large district around. In 1767 he was elected Dean of Faculty in Marischal College, an office to which he was re-elected annually until his death in 1770.¹ He was one of the founders of the Philosophical Society

¹ The Dean of Faculty was then not a member of the professoriate, but was elected from outside the teaching staff. The Charter of the University specified "Vir sit pius, literatus nec tantum in humanioribus (quas vocant) disciplinis, sed etiam in omni Philosophia versatus, qui annuis Examinationibus et Promotionibus intersit et praesit, et ab examinatorebus jusjurandum fidelis operae ea in re praestandae exigat, curam Doctrinae et Diligentiae Praeceptorum habeat, videat ne ejus neglectione Academia quid detrimenti cupiat, in Electionibus incorruptum Suffragium et e Republica ferat; ea denique omnia exerceat, quae in Academia aliave Academia ad Decani Facultatis Liberalium Artium munus officiumque pertinere intelliguntur".

of Aberdeen, his associates in this being all men of wide culture, and of more than merely local fame. His sympathies and interests were wide; and his library is known to have included the best works obtainable in classical and English and French literature, as well as in Medicine and in Natural Science. He was held in high esteem as a physician, and there is evidence of his being called on to attend patients in Ross-shire and other distant counties. Fortunately, manuscripts left by him have been preserved, and are for the most part in the Library of the University of Aberdeen, to which they were bequeathed a number of years ago by the late Alexander Thomson of Banchory, his nephew, by whom the notes and correspondence were arranged and bound in a number of volumes. It is, necessarily, impossible to determine in how far these manuscripts cover his studies; but that they are not complete is evident by allusions to notes and to letters from correspondents that no longer exist. Those that remain are sufficient to excite wonder that one who did not reach the age of forty years could, in the course of a life devoted to a large medical practice, have been able to carry out so extensive personal researches in Natural Science, especially with so little previous training, and while so isolated from intercourse with students of science elsewhere for the greater part of the time. It was his habit to examine very carefully plants, animals and other natural objects found by himself in Scotland, or procured from foreign countries through sailors and others, and to write the descriptions, often in Latin, from the objects. Comparing these with the descriptions of Linnæus and of other authors, he not infrequently differed from them in his conclusions, and recorded his reasons in criticisms that give cause for regret that his life was so short, and afforded so little leisure to pursue those studies in which he showed so great ability.

His notes showed that he studied every branch of Natural History by personal investigation as well as in such books as he could procure; and he communicated some of the results to the Philosophical Society of Aberdeen, as well as to such friends as Professor Reid (the famous Metaphysician), Professor Hope of Edinburgh University, Lord Kames and Lord Monboddo. After 1765 he carried on a stimulating exchange of letters with Thomas Pennant, John Ellis and Linnæus, as well as with other men of less renown. A number of these letters are still extant, and a few have been published; but the latter give only an imperfect idea of the range of topics discussed in the correspondence, of the extent and

accuracy of his acquirements, and of the acuteness of his judgment. Many of the letters show the great esteem in which Dr. Skene was held by his contemporaries. He was urged by such men as Professor Hope of Edinburgh and Professor Thomas Reid to settle in Edinburgh or Glasgow, as a Professor in one of the Universities, where his abilities might find more fitting scope; but he would not consent to leave his native place. His contributions are acknowledged by Pennant in the Zoology prefaced to Lightfoot's *Flora Scotica* and also by Ellis in his *History of British Zoophytes*. His notes on the Natural History of the North of Scotland, especially around Aberdeen, include numerous descriptions of plants and animals, records of the species observed in his walks and during professional visits to places at some distance from Aberdeen, dates when plants were first seen in flower for the year, peculiarities of structure and other topics that show close and accurate observation, in part directed apparently with the aim of collecting materials for the preparation of an account of the Natural History of the North of Scotland, a project cut short by his early death.

To Dr. David Skene we owe the earliest records of the flora and fauna of the counties near Aberdeen; and his manuscripts are of very great interest from this standpoint. The descriptions are so careful that it is very generally possible to recognise the species to which they refer where he had not been able with the means at his command to identify them; and they afford evidence of his accuracy where he had identified them by aid of his books. He records (with a description) as found at the Bay of Nigg, near Aberdeen, the Yellow Horned Poppy (*Glaucium flavum*), long since extinct in this part of Scotland, as well as several other plants from localities close to Aberdeen that cannot now be found there. There are many records of his medical cases, of which he had kept minute notes, including among them an account of his own experiences from gout. This disease is said to have led to his death.

Professor Francis Skene and Professor George Skene, his son and successor in the Chair of Civil and Natural History, have left no traces of personal investigation into the sciences taught by them. The scope of the class was specified in the statute passed by "the principal, professors and masters" of Marischal College on 12th November, 1752, limiting the Professors to the subjects of one year or nearly so. In this statute it is directed: "That the second year of the academic course shall be spent in teaching *history, geography, chronology* and an introduction to *natural history*, com-

monly called *special physics* ; at the same time that the whole students of this year shall attend the lessons of the Professor of Mathematics”.

Professor Francis Skene, who died in 1775, was succeeded in the Chair of Civil and Natural History by his son George, who had been appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy in Marischal College in 1760, at the age of nineteen. An account of Professor George Skene, published in 1804, relates that after his becoming Professor of Natural Philosophy he studied Medicine, and that he resigned the Chair of Civil and Natural History in 1788, because of his medical practice having grown so large as to require his whole time. It also tells that he died in 1803 of a fever contracted from a patient. His character and literary tastes receive high praise ; and he is described as “a genuine scholar, of good ability, great shrewdness and sense, and witty” ; but there is no hint of the scope of the instruction given by him as a Professor in either of the Chairs. Possibly his literary tastes and medical practice may account for this reticence as to his powers as a teacher.

On Professor Skene's resignation in 1788 the presentation to the Chair of Civil and Natural History was given to William Morgan, D.D., who died before he had actually entered on the duties. The appointment was then given, still in 1788, to JAMES BEATTIE, Jun., (nephew of the better known James Beattie, D.C.L. (Oxon.), poet, and moral philosopher, a Professor in Marischal College). Professor James Beattie, Jun., was a native of Fordoun, in Kincardineshire, and had been a student in Arts at Marischal College, where he had afterwards acted as assistant to Professor Skene in the classical section of the class of Civil and Natural History, instruction in both Latin and Greek then forming an integral part of the work of the class. While assistant he had also attended theological classes with a view to enter the ministry of the Church of Scotland ; but when he became Professor he devoted himself wholly to the duties of his Chair. He is said to have had a very exact and extensive knowledge of classics and facility in the use and exposition of Latin. The various branches of Natural History were pursued by him with great diligence ; and he is said to have made collections of minerals, plants and animals. For Botany he showed a peculiar preference ; and the herbarium of Sir James E. Smith, now in the possession of the Linnean Society, contains a number of specimens sent by him, especially of Carices. “To an intimate acquaintance with the writings of Linnaeus he added his own practical experience, spending a part of

every vacation in exploring all the glens and recesses of his native county, in which he was exceedingly successful in discovering many plants not then known as indigenous in Scotland or England. For the last ten years of his life he taught a botanical class¹ during the College vacation, accompanying his scholars to the fields and inspiring many of them with his own enthusiasm for the science, and thus imposing upon them for life a great interest in the beauties of Nature." Such is the testimony of Professor William Knight, who had been one of his students.

Among the plants not previously known to occur in Scotland that were discovered by Professor Beattie in his "native county" of Kincardineshire were *Linnaea borealis* and several Carices, of which some were described and named by Smith as new to science.

The scope of the instruction given by him is stated in an account of Marischal College, prepared by John Stuart, Professor of Greek in the College, and published in 1799 in the first *Statistical Account of Scotland* (edited by Sir John Sinclair). "1. Six meetings a week were devoted to the Latin classics, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Cicero, and, occasionally, Tacitus, supplemented by a brief course of lectures and illustrations of ancient and modern versification. The students also continued to read Greek occasionally during the session.

"2. As an introduction to Civil History, a view is given of Chronology and Geography. Particular attention is paid to the revolutions of Greece and Rome, the Greek and Roman Antiquities, and the progress of Literature, Philosophy and the Fine Arts among the ancients.

"3. Natural history, comprehended under six heads, *viz.*, Meteorology, Hydrology, Geology, Mineralogy, Vegetation, Zoology, the last whereof is introduced by a brief view of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology; the students receive a syllabus of the whole."

Of this syllabus there is, unfortunately, not a copy in existence, so far as can be ascertained. From the number of sciences embraced under Natural History, only a very limited time could have been given to each of them, which probably led to Professor Beattie undertaking the class mentioned above in his favourite subject of Botany during the vacation each year. His early death from a fever must have been a serious loss to the progress of scientific studies in the University, his successor being far inferior to him, to judge by the information accessible.

¹ Of from ten to twenty students.

In the same volume of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* is a statement "by the Members of the University" (of King's College) "anno 1798," in which the only reference to instruction in Natural Science in the College occurs under *Semi* Class: "The Professor gives occasional lectures on Geology and the meteorological branches of Natural History". Under *Museum* stands: "A museum of Natural History has been furnished for the use of the students, with a pretty large assortment in Mineralogy and Zoology, many of them bestowed by private donors".

From other sources we learn that this was an insufficient account of the instruction given in Natural History within that University. In *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland from Edinburgh to Cullen*, written about 1780 by Francis Douglas, and published in 1782, there is a particularly full account of Aberdeen. King's College and University receives a longer notice than is given to its rival, Marischal College; and in that notice is the following:—

"About eight years ago, Mr. William Ogilvie, professor of Humanity, began, of his own accord, to put together a collection of specimens for a museum of natural history in the King's College, and has now fitted up, and furnished three apartments for their arrangement. The professor reckons he hath already nearly attained the first object he had in view, which was, to procure such an assortment of specimens of fossils, and in the various branches of zoology, as might serve to excite the liberal curiosity of youth, and make them, in some measure, acquainted with the immense variety of the works of nature. He proposes still to go on, enlarging that museum, as new acquisitions come to hand: but without pretending to adorn it with splendid or costly specimens. In the progress already made, he acknowledgeth himself to be much indebted to the assistance of many respectable people in the country around; and modestly says that his own trouble hath not been so great as it may appear. One is astonished to find so large a collection of birds, fishes, marbles, spars, etc., etc., accumulated in so short a space."

In *Travels in Scotland*, by Rev. James Hall, describing a tour made in 1803, is a statement in the account of Aberdeen as follows: "They have a tolerable collection of natural and artificial curiosities, both at the Old Town and New Town Colleges; and Professor James Beattie, of the New Town College, nephew to the late Dr. Beattie, seems to know more of natural history, and of the important and now fashionable branches

of knowledge connected with it, than any other person I know in any part of Scotland; except the accomplished Professor Ogilvie of King's College."

Professor WILLIAM OGILVIE, referred to in these extracts, was a student in the Arts curriculum in King's College in 1756-1759, when he graduated A.M. Afterwards he studied Chemistry in Glasgow University, under Dr. Joseph Black; and he spent 1761-1762 at Edinburgh University. In 1761 he was appointed Assistant Professor of Philosophy in King's College, with the promise of being elected one of the Regents on the first occasion of a vacancy. This promotion came in 1764, when he succeeded Dr. Thomas Reid, on the latter becoming a professor in Glasgow. There is documentary evidence that the then Chancellor of King's College and University, the Earl of Seafield and Findlater, suggested, in a letter to Principal Chalmers, dated 16th September, 1765, that the Humanist or Professor of Latin, in addition to the instruction in that language, should give a course of lectures upon Antiquities and History, both Political and Natural, and stated that he considered Professor Ogilvie would find it "easier to enter upon a new manner of teaching the Humanity Class than it would be for Mr. Gordon to leave the tract he has been used to," and that they two were disposed to exchange duties. On 25th September, 1765, the exchange was formally made, both Professors demitting their offices, and being appointed, Professor Gordon as Regent and Professor Ogilvie as Humanist.

That Professor Ogilvie had studied Zoology and gave instruction in that science is shown by Douglas' account of the museum that he had formed by 1780, and by a printed *Synopsis of Zoology*, of which a copy exists in the Public Library of Aberdeen. This copy has not a title-page; but it bears on the fly-leaf a note in the handwriting of Professor Knight to the effect that "these notes of Zoology, printed by Professor William Ogilvie, were used by him in teaching his Natural History Classes in King's College, 1790-1805". They form a small pamphlet of thirty-six pages, of which the first ten pages are occupied by a careful summary, in English, under various heads, of the chief features in the structure and functions of the organs, and also of the environments, of Mammals. The remainder of the *Synopsis* is devoted to summaries, in Latin, of the characters distinctive of the leading families and genera of the animal kingdom, with notes on their habits and on other points of interest.

That Professor Ogilvie's labours find so little recognition in the semi-official account in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, in 1798, may find its explanation in the facts that he was an ardent advocate of the union of King's and Marischal Colleges, and of the better regulation of the funds of King's College for the support of the Library and of the bursary funds, while he was an equally keen opponent of the alienation of University property, and of other lines of policy supported by the majority of his colleagues. The minutes of the University show how he felt compelled to protest on several occasions against the resolutions of the majority, and how little support his own proposals received. Had his views prevailed the University would have benefited greatly in almost every case in which he differed from his colleagues, if we may judge by the records. In no case do his views appear to have been based on self-interest.

In February, 1817, he wrote to Principal Jack as follows: "Finding my health declining very fast, I have for some time employed Mr. Patrick Forbes as an Assistant, and in the hopes that the meeting will be so good as to elect him Conjunct Professor with myself I hereby demit my office of Professor of Humanity into the hands of the Principal and Masters with all emoluments from this date". On 18th July, 1817, the Masters, along with four Procurators elected as customary, appointed Mr. Forbes, Minister of the Second Charge of Old Machar, to be Assistant and Successor to Professor Ogilvie, with the duty of teaching a class of Chemistry and Natural History, as well as the classes in Latin. Professor Ogilvie died in Old Aberdeen in 1819, aged eighty-three.

It may not be out of place to note that in the inclusion of Natural History as a necessary part of the Arts curriculum, Marischal College stood alone among the Universities of Scotland, and that King's College, even in the "occasional lectures" on Natural History, came next in the recognition that some scientific knowledge of the world in which we live ought to be provided in the training of every educated person.

Even before 1800 there were indications that the instruction in Natural History afforded in Aberdeen required to be supplemented by special instruction in Botany. Probably the demand arose largely in connection with the education of medical students, and because of there being Professorships of Botany in the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Be that as it may, from 1778 onwards until 1801 there is evidence from advertisements in the *Aberdeen Journal*, that Botany was taught more or less

regularly by lecturers, one or two of whom seem to have had a kind of official recognition from the Universities.

The lecturers whose names can be ascertained were Rev. Robert Memis, an Episcopalian clergyman in Stonehaven, who attempted in 1780 to form a botanic garden in Aberdeen; and Alexander Smith, afterwards minister of the parish of Chapel of Garioch. From 1801 until 1810 Professor Beattie taught the class of Botany.

Among the students in the first class of Civil and Natural History taught by Professor Beattie after his appointment to the Chair must have been Robert Brown, the famous botanist. Brown, who was son of a keenly Jacobite clergyman of the Scottish Episcopalian Church in Montrose, was born there on 21st December, 1773. He entered the Arts curriculum in Marischal College in 1787, and his name appears in the roll of the class during three years. Then, owing to his father's removal to Edinburgh, Robert Brown went to Edinburgh and studied Medicine there. A fine bust of him, presented to the University of Aberdeen in 1896 by his relative, Miss Hope Paton, of Montrose, stands near the entrance to the Mitchell Hall.

Professor Beattie died in October, 1810, and his class was taught during the following session by William Knight, who had been a student in the Arts class of 1798 to 1802 in Marischal College. The Chair was offered to Rev. Robert Renny, D.D., minister of Kilsyth, who in April, 1811, resigned the presentation owing to private affairs. The Faculty of the College then recommended for the post James Davidson (M.D. Edin.), a physician in Dunfermline, who was appointed. He held the Chair until his death in 1841, but appears to have exercised little influence as a teacher; and has left no traces of personal investigation in any branch of the wide range of subjects entrusted to him. During his tenure of office Botany was taught by lecturers, among whom were: William Knight in 1811 to 1816, James Collie in 1817 and 1821, Rev. A. B. Mackey in 1818 and 1819, William MacGillivray in 1819, and William Knight again from 1823 (in which year he became Professor of Natural Philosophy in Marischal College) until 1839.

The great need of adequate provision for the training of medical students in Aberdeen had led to an agreement between the two Universities (King's and Marischal) to carry on a Joint Medical School, the lecturers in which received the official sanction of both institutions. This

agreement subsisted from 1818 until 1839, when strained relations between the Universities led to its being dissolved by mutual consent. Under it Professor Knight was recognised as Lecturer on Botany from 1827 to 1839, when he resigned the office. He left records of the number of students attending his classes, varying from nine to twenty-one in the years 1823 to 1826, and from eleven to fifty, with an average of twenty-four, in the years 1827 to 1839. An intimation published in 1832 that all candidates for medical service in the Army must have certificates of three months' courses in Botany and in Natural History no doubt helped to stimulate attendance on these classes.

In the Preface to his *Botanist's Guide to the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine*, Professor Dickie records that prior to 1830 classes in Botany were taught by "the Rev. Mr. McMillan" and by "Mr. Morren".

Returning for a time to the instruction given in the class of Civil and Natural History by Professor Davidson, it is possible to gain a clearer idea of its scope than in the case of his predecessors. In Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, ii., pages 95, 96, published in 1818, is the following statement, which had probably been supplied by Dr. Davidson: "2nd Class.—James Davidson, M.D., Professor of Civil and Natural History. In the Scottish Universities perhaps there is no class correspondent to that of the second year at this University. It is denominated the Natural and Civil History Class. The lectures delivered by Professor Davidson are composed on an extensive plan, and embrace subjects of the utmost importance to the student. They proceed nearly in the following order: In the first branch is given a short view of the celestial system, comprising an account of the rise and progress of astronomy; then follow short sketches of the nature and effects of light, connecting together the solar and terrestrial system. These naturally lead him to consider electricity, galvanism, magnetism and their various causes and effects. The Professor then proceeds to give a brief view of the affinities which unite minute atoms of matter of the same kind forming aggregation; and of dissimilar kinds producing chemical union. Those general principles are then applied by giving a history of the atmosphere; of the phenomena connected with it, rain, wind, hail, snow, meteors, thunder, etc.; and of the waters on the surface of the globe; with the origin of springs, the nature of rivers, etc. A short explanation is also given of geology, with the various theories of the earth; and the phenomena of volcanoes, earthquakes, etc. In the second branch is given an

explanation of the three kingdoms of nature ; the simple substances found in minerals, and their unions, are first illustrated by specimens, of which the Professor possesses a beautiful and extensive collection. The constituent principles of vegetables next engage his attention ; and this branch he concludes with a view of the physiology of plants, an outline of the Linnean classification, animal chemistry and physiology of animals, and the various plans which have been adopted for arranging them into a system. The natural and civil history of man concludes the course. Two hours a day are devoted, during the time of session, to these various branches of science ; and one hour is appropriated, for four months, to the study of the Latin language, in which the students generally read the *Georgics* of Virgil, as being not only models of the most perfect Latin composition, but as affording grounds for illustrating the knowledge of the ancients with regard to natural history."

In the Report of the Commissioners appointed in 1826 to visit the Universities of Scotland the evidence given by Professor Davidson is stated fully, and shows that although the plan of his course was still framed largely on the lines indicated above, certain important alterations had been effected. Greek he had ceased to teach soon after his appointment ; Latin he had "got rid of" in 1826. The time so gained he devoted to an "extension of Natural History," with "illustrations much more numerous and complete". To Civil History he devoted about three months, beginning with the origins of history, the causes of the rise and fall of states, their laws, all as exemplified in "the early states—Egyptians, Phenicians, and all those varieties, till I terminate with the Grecian states . . . and have given an account of Persia". He then applied the information to illustrate "many facts in modern times, comparing one with the other". The subjects that formed his course "have no further connection than this, that I find many facts of Natural History go far to illustrate Civil History". "Botany I do not at all teach, because the season of the lectures does not admit of it, and Dr. Knight has been in the habit of giving lectures upon Botany." His further evidence showed that the treatment of the various subjects included under the heading of Natural History was of a very superficial kind ; but he could submit no written or printed statement of it. "I have never written a syllabus, because my lectures varied every year." An hour in the forenoon was devoted daily to lecturing, and an hour in the afternoon of the same day to an oral examination upon the subjects discussed in the forenoon.

Professor Knight also gave evidence before the same Commission in respect to the instruction given in his class of Botany, which he described as of the same length and nature as in the southern Universities. Its scope is shown by a small work, issued in 1813, and again in 1828, with considerable additions, by Professor Knight under the title *Outlines of Botany, intended to accompany a series of Practical Demonstrations in that Science, given in Marischal College and University*. In the second edition pages 1-34 form a brief outline of the morphology and physiology of plants, in so far as required to understand their bearing on the recognition of plants by the Linnean system. Great part of the book is occupied by the characters of the Linnean classes and orders, followed by those of the genera of flowering plants, ferns and their allies, and mosses; but these have probably been drawn up from Smith's *Flora*, or some similar work, as a number of the genera are not indigenous near Aberdeen. The morphology is often defective. In his class he "never used any drawings whatever, either large or small, nor any specimen even of dried plants . . . (excepting in illustrating part of the cryptogamia), from the impression that such a mode of teaching Botany is of no practical use".

From the Report of the Commission of 1826 it appears that in King's College Mineralogy and Geology were then taught along with Chemistry by Rev. PATRICK FORBES, who had succeeded Professor Ogilvie as Professor of Latin, although he continued to be second minister of the parish of Old Machar. He submitted a "class-book," which contained the heads of his lectures, along with "other things that could not be recollected from hearing them stated in a lecture," and stated that no other part of Natural History than Mineralogy and Geology was taught in King's College. Fortunately, a copy of the "class-book" has been preserved in the University Library. The Mineralogy in it is largely based on the previous Chemistry, with references to differential characters from physical properties and form. A brief Geognosy (description of the chief rocks) follows, and it is succeeded by a page on Geology, in which after a reference to the Wernerian and Huttonian Theories, there is sketched an "Attempt at a New Theory of the formation of the *primary* crust of the globe". The metals and their compounds are then enumerated; and the book concludes with several pages on the chief organic substances then known.

The appointment of Rev. JOHN FLEMING, D.D., to the Chair of

Natural Philosophy in King's College, in 1834, brought to Aberdeen one of the foremost naturalists of the time in Britain. While a student, and afterwards in ministerial charges in Bressay in Shetland, Flisk in Fifeshire, and Clackmannan, he had won for himself a high reputation as a Zoologist and Geologist, while his earliest scientific publication related to the flora of his native county, Linlithgow. His *Philosophy of Zoology*, published in 1823, and his *History of British Animals*, in 1828, greatly stimulated zoological studies, and gained for him renown. He was also the author of many papers of value. He did not teach any branch of Natural History in Aberdeen, though peculiarly fitted to do so; but he continued his personal studies in these subjects while there. In 1845 he accepted the Professorship of Natural Science in the New College for the education, in Edinburgh, of candidates for the ministry of the Free Church of Scotland.

In 1836 appeared Part I. of *The Northern Flora, a Description of the Wild Plants belonging to the North and East of Scotland, with an account of their places of growth and properties*. The author, ALEXANDER MURRAY, had been a student of Arts in Marischal College from 1812 to 1816. He afterwards studied Medicine, and took the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh in 1828. He was Lecturer on Clinical Medicine in the Joint Medical School in 1837 at the time of his death, which cut short the *Northern Flora* while less than half-completed. What exists possesses great merit. The descriptions are very carefully prepared and brief; the habitats are those of the district treated of; the localities given for the more rare or local species rest on his own observations or on trustworthy testimony. But the most valuable feature of the work is the series of personal observations relating to many of the plants, which embody the results of the author's personal researches, and frequently show much ability.

A purely local list of the plants growing wild within a radius of about fifteen miles from Aberdeen was published in 1838, under the title *Flora Abredonensis, comprehending a List of the Flowering Plants and Ferns found in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen; with remarks on the Climate, the Features of the Vegetation, etc., etc.*, by GEORGE DICKIE, A.M., Lecturer on Botany in Aberdeen. Its author was born in Aberdeen in 1813, and passed through the Arts course in Marischal College in 1826 to 1830. In the latter year he attended Professor Knight's class of Botany, having begun to study Medicine. After two more years in Aberdeen he completed his medical training in the Extra-Mural School in Edinburgh, and

in 1834 took M.R.C.S. London. He soon definitely abandoned medical practice in favour of Natural Science, Botany being his favourite pursuit. The dissolution of the agreement between the Universities to carry on a Joint Medical School having made it necessary for each to appoint its own lecturers, Mr. Dickie was appointed Lecturer on Botany for King's College in 1839. Next year he had the Lectureship on *Materia Medica* added to his duties; and in 1844 was appointed Librarian to the University. These offices he held until he was called, in 1849, to the Chair of Natural History in Queen's College, Belfast.

When, in 1838, Professor Davidson ceased to be fit for duty, the class of Civil and Natural History in Marischal College was entrusted to a substitute, JOHN SHIER. Born in 1806, he had, after a considerable struggle, been able to attend the Arts class of 1827 to 1831, graduating in 1831. Determining to qualify himself for teaching science, he devoted much labour to the study of Chemistry, Botany, Zoology and Geology. He was a successful lecturer in various centres in the North of Scotland, giving practical instruction as well as lectures. His favourite subjects were Botany and Chemistry. Though nominally Assistant to Professor Davidson, he planned out and gave his own course of lectures on Natural History. One who had been a student in the class both previously and under his charge describes the contrast to its state under Professor Davidson thus: "The change was like the passing from blackest night into brightest day, not only in respect of the order maintained in the class, but in regard also to the style of lecturing". As showing his ability as a Geologist, it may be mentioned that he taught his students that the reptiliferous sandstone of Elginshire belonged to the New Red Sandstone, although Murchison and Ramsay, even in 1859, supported the view that it belonged to the Old Red. Time has fully vindicated Shier's accuracy on this point. On Professor Knight resigning the Lectureship in Botany in Marischal College, Shier was appointed to it in 1840.

A sum of money was bequeathed in 1790 by Sir William Fordyce, M.D., who had been a student in Marischal College nearly fifty years previously, and Rector in 1790 and 1791. It was assigned to found a Lectureship in the College on Chemistry, Natural History and Agriculture, for twelve lectures each year, recommending an examination of the soil of all earths, minerals and metals found in Aberdeen in the beds of rivers, rocks, etc.; but, being subject to the life-rent of a niece, who died in 1835, it did

not become operative until 1840, when the Fordyce Lectureship in Agriculture was founded, and Shier became first Lecturer. From this period his work became almost wholly chemical and agricultural; and he gained high standing as an authority on Agricultural Chemistry. In 1845 he became Agricultural Chemist to the colony of Demerara. There he did admirable work in the public service; but during a visit to the West Indian Islands he contracted malarial fever, under which his health never fully recovered, and he died in 1854.

On the death of Professor Davidson in 1841, he was succeeded in the Chair of Civil and Natural History by WILLIAM MACGILLIVRAY, one of the ablest naturalists that Scotland has produced. Born at Old Aberdeen in 1796, the son of a soldier who fell at Corunna in 1809, he spent his childhood in Harris, on a farm occupied by two brothers of his father. At the age of eleven he came to Aberdeen to school, afterwards attending King's College, where he graduated A.M. in 1815. He then entered on the study of Medicine, as pupil of a young physician, George Barclay, M.D., to whom he became deeply attached, and to whom he acknowledges his gratitude. Dr. Barclay died, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, of typhus fever. During his studies in Arts and in Medicine, the latter extending to five years, MacGillivray spent most of his summer vacations in the Hebrides, making the journeys across Scotland on foot. During the vacations, and, when possible, during the sessions also, he took every opportunity to watch the life of birds and other animals in their natural surroundings, and to seek out and study plants, minerals and rocks, from the sea coasts to the wildest recesses of the mountains. In his writings there are many passages that tell of the delight that such expeditions gave him, that delight shared, whenever possible, with his close friend, William Craigie. An artist in words, as well as with pencil and brush, he depicts most vividly the fascination of such pursuits, and of the scenes into which they led him; and scarcely less evident in him is the longing to aid others to acquire the pleasures that meant so much to himself. His endowments marked him out as a teacher by nature.

In 1819 he advertised a class of Botany, the advertisement containing a brief outline of the proposed course of instruction, and showing a well-balanced scheme. About this period he resolved to devote himself wholly to Natural Science; so he went to Edinburgh to continue his studies, and, as he states in the preface to an ornithological work, to engage in "a kind

of mineralogical speculation". He attended the lectures of Professor Jamieson on Natural History. In 1820 he married a young lady in Harris, and returned to Edinburgh, to become assistant and secretary to Professor Jamieson, and to take charge of the Natural History Museum in the University. After a few years he resigned these occupations, in order to have more time for personal investigation of the habits of birds and for similar studies. During some time he supported his wife and children by his "labours in the closet," which appear to have comprised literary work in Natural Science. In 1831 he was appointed Conservator of the Museum of the College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, succeeding the well-known anatomist, Dr. Knox, a position which he held until his appointment to the Chair in Marischal College. His industry, judged by the results of his labours during that period, was extraordinary. The duties of his post were exceptionally heavy, owing to the removal of the collections in his charge to a new building, and included the preparation of a catalogue of the collections; but all were discharged in a manner that won for him the complete approval of the curators. In anticipation of these duties he spent some weeks visiting a number of museums in Scotland and England. His journal shows how carefully he noted whatever he thought might be of service. During his stay in Edinburgh he issued several manuals on branches of Natural Science, which, though intended for junior students, are by no means mere compilations, but show an excellent grasp of the sciences treated. Among them is one on Botany; and he prepared an abridgment of Withering's *Arrangement of British Plants*, in one volume, which went through numerous editions, each carefully revised and brought up to date by him. A manual of Geology and frequent references to geological features, in scenes described in his other books, show that his attention had been directed with success to that science. But it was especially to Zoology that he devoted himself, both in the field and in the study of the structure of animals; and his *History of British Birds* will remain a classic because of the value of the personal research with which it is stored, and of the light thrown by it upon the structure of birds, and on the problems of their relationships and classification. The first three volumes of this great work appeared while he was in Edinburgh, the two final volumes several years afterwards, the last being completed just before his death. In addition to these labours, while in Edinburgh he wrote a *History of British Quadrupeds* for Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*, a book

on the *Lives of Eminent Zoologists, Descriptions of the Rapacious Birds of Britain*, numerous articles on branches of science for journals; and collaborated with Audubon in the preparation of the well-known *Ornithological Biographies*, bringing into form and scientific accuracy the materials accumulated in his American wanderings by Audubon, and contributing to the work with the pencil as well as with the pen. From 1835 to 1840 he edited the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural History and Physical Science*, and several new editions of books on Natural Science. By his talents and industry he had won for himself a front rank in Natural Science, but with small means of supporting his family; and the appointment to the Chair of Civil and Natural History in Marischal College in 1841 must have brought a welcome relaxation of the strain.

But to such a man it could not bring leisure, and he threw himself with ardour into his new duties. He does not appear to have taught Civil History; but the change that had been introduced into the teaching of Natural History by Mr. Shier was extended, and the students were stimulated to undertake investigations for themselves in the field.

A striking proof of his energy as a naturalist, and of his success as a teacher, is afforded in *A History of the Molluscous Animals of the Counties of Aberdeen, Kincardine and Banff*, published in 1843. The preface is so characteristic of the man's whole work that it should be read for its value as a clue to his outlook on life and as a standard for all workers, whether in Natural Science or in other fields. Some sentences may be quoted here which will suffice to show the spirit in which the teaching of Natural Science was undertaken by him: "Having been recalled to my native place in May, 1841, I naturally felt a desire of renewing my acquaintance with the productions of a district often traversed by me while prosecuting my studies at the Universities there, and not being aware of any very important investigations having been conducted in this much neglected, though not uninteresting, part of Scotland, with reference to its Zoology, I thought it might be useful to describe some or all of its numerous animals. I therefore at once commenced an examination of the Mammalia, Birds, Reptiles, Fishes, Mollusca, Insects and Radiata, the results of which I intend in due time to lay before the public. Thinking, however, that the pupils whom I have to initiate in the Science to which my labours have for many years been directed, could not acquire much practical acquaintance with most of these tribes of animals in the winter season,

when engaged with their various academical studies, I selected a branch of Zoology which I thought capable of affording them greater facilities for observation than any other." . . . "In fine, such as it is, being the first Zoological work that has emanated from the University of which I am a member, I cannot but look upon it as indicating the not distant dawn of an era, destined, I trust, to produce investigations, the importance of which will tend to give our city a rank, certainly not yet acquired, among those distinguished for the cultivation of Natural History, the most delightful of all sciences, the source of all knowledge, the study best adapted to refine our affections and to bring us continually into the presence of our Creator, the maker and preserver of us and of all those wonderful objects that everywhere present themselves to our view."

The promise thus given in the commencement of his tenure of duty in Aberdeen was well kept during the eleven years that he held the Professorship. He taught Zoology and Geology in winter, and Botany in summer; and into all he brought the same spirit of inquiry. There was no provision within the University, until many years after, for work in the laboratory; but MacGillivray delighted in excursions, to which he welcomed those who would come; and few teachers were more fitted to aid beginners in such studies. The materials collected in his excursions were employed in the formation of a museum to illustrate the courses of study.

His desire to investigate the fauna of the district around Aberdeen, in order to aid his students and others, was expressed in the *History of the Mollusca*; and it was in evidence even when an invalid, and aware that his life must soon end. This desire led to the journeys an account of which is given in the *Natural History of Deeside*, the manuscript of which was purchased after his death by Queen Victoria, and published in 1855 by her Majesty's command, the work being edited by Dr. Edwin Lankester, F.R.S. He had, in his youth, visited parts of the valley, and had crossed the mountains that enclose it, vivid pictures of their features being given in some of his earlier works; but the book is chiefly based on a holiday of about a month in the autumn of 1850, spent with his eldest daughter and his son Paul (then a lad, but who afterwards distinguished himself as a naturalist in Victoria). The aim of this excursion is stated by himself to have been to examine the "geological structure of Braemar, its alpine vegetation, and to a certain extent its Zoology". The narrative is most interesting in the revelation of his wide interests and knowledge, his high

ideals and his simple habits. Lists of the plants, animals and minerals of the valley of the Dee, and often of localities considerably beyond that limit, are inserted in the second part of the volume; but though chiefly compiled from Professor MacGillivray's note-books, assisted by contributions from specialists, they were prepared after his death, and one can but wish that they had had the care bestowed on them that marks all that came from his own hand.

Towards the close of the session 1850-51 he became so ill that he was obliged to entrust his class to a former student, James Farquharson; and in the autumn of 1851 he was sent to Torquay, his lungs being affected. There he spent the winter, even in illness working at the last two volumes of his great *History of British Birds*. While he was at Torquay, his wife died suddenly at Aberdeen. Returning to Aberdeen in 1852, he died at home, on 8th September, 1852.

His wife and family were helpers to him in his labours. He frequently acknowledges their aid in his books; and of his sons two distinguished themselves as naturalists, while a third, of equal promise, died young. His herbarium is now in the Botanical department of the University of Aberdeen, the gift, a few years ago, of Mrs. Roy, in memory of her husband, Dr. John Roy, to whom it belonged. Eloquent testimony is given by it also to the loyal aid brought to MacGillivray by his wife and children.

On the significance of the term species, and on similar problems, it is evident that his beliefs underwent change, as the result of his personal investigations. At the outset he appears to have shared the prevalent view that species were immutable, existing as they were originally created. In the introduction to the *History of British Birds*, in the first volume, issued in 1837, he asserts that "species alone exist in nature," and that "genera, families, orders and all the mediate sections of a class must ever remain fluctuating," and that although species "are more or less allied to each other, they exist in an order conformable to the plan of their creation". In his *Manual of Botany*, issued in 1840, occurs: "There is nothing absolutely certain as to species, much less as to the groups into which they are disposed, as genera, families, orders, tribes and the like. We merely agree to consider as species individual plants which closely resemble each other in the structure and form of their organs. Such species, however, often pass into each other by gradations, which render it impossible to

draw a line of demarcation, and thus all species are more or less arbitrary. We know from observation that all assumed species undergo changes from climate, cultivation and other influences; and individuals exhibiting remarkable alterations we call collectively varieties; but variety is a still more vague idea than species." There is scarcely room for doubt that he would have welcomed the rise of the theory of evolution as heartily as did other leaders of Natural Science, and that he would have recognised it as affording the clue to many of the problems that were perplexing him.

On 20th November, 1900, a mural tablet was presented to the University of Aberdeen as a memorial of Professor MacGillivray, from surviving pupils and others who hold his work in honour. It has been placed in the Natural History Museum. In 1905 a prize was founded for students of Zoology by his daughter, Mrs. Patrick Beaton.

In King's College Medical School from 1849 (when Professor Dickie demitted his lectureships) until 1859 the Lectureship on Botany was held by John Christie in 1850; by C. Wyville Thomson¹ in 1851 and 1852; and by Rev. John Crombie Brown from 1853 to 1859.

A Lectureship in Natural History was founded in the same school in 1853, and was held from 1853 until 1860 by Rev. John Longmuir, a clergyman in Aberdeen, and author of some small works of local interest.

Professor JAMES NICOL succeeded Professor MacGillivray in the Chair of Civil and Natural History in Marischal College, in September, 1853. Son of Rev. James Nicol, a Scottish poet, he was born at the Manse of Traquair in 1810. In 1825 he entered the Arts course in the University of Edinburgh, and on the completion of his Arts studies he attended classes in Theology; but he turned to Natural Science, giving special attention to Mineralogy, which he studied at the Universities of Berlin and Bonn. An ardent student of Mineralogy and Geology, he gained a high reputation by the value of his work, set forth in numerous papers and other writings. He was for a time Assistant Secretary to the Geological Society of London; and in 1849 he became Professor of Natural History in Queen's College, Cork, whence he came to Marischal College in 1853. On the union of King's and Marischal Colleges in 1860, to form the University of Aberdeen, he was appointed Professor of Civil and

¹ Afterwards Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, and well known for his researches into the deep-sea fauna, and as the scientific head of the *Challenger* Expedition, for his services in which he received knighthood.

Natural History in that University. Like his predecessor, he did not lecture on Civil History. Nor did he undertake the Lectureship on Botany, as he desired to keep the summers free for investigation in the field.

Although interested in and acquainted with all the sciences included under Natural History, his preference was decidedly for Mineralogy and Geology; and his vacations were largely devoted to the study of these sciences in the field in various districts of Scotland, but especially in the north-west, where the difficult problems offered by the greatly altered strata attracted him strongly. His personal investigations led him to conclusions with regard to the succession of the strata, and to their geological relations, widely different from those supported by Sir Roderick Murchison and his followers. Professor Nicol's views were overborne for a time by the supposed weight of authority, but he never wavered in his conviction that they would be accepted when the evidence was considered fairly; and recent years have amply vindicated his assurance, although only after his death. It was characteristic of him that during the years in which Murchison's authority caused his discovery of the true stratigraphic succession to be denied credence, while he asserted its truth he never spoke of Murchison otherwise than with respect and good feeling.

He suffered for several years from inflammation of the throat, which grew worse, until disease of the larynx caused him to resign the Chair in the autumn of 1878. An operation performed in the spring of 1879 appeared likely to be successful, but he died a few days after it.

His reserved manner hid from many of his students his lovable qualities; but those that had the privilege of closer intimacy hold his memory dear as of one whose life was an inspiration to his pupils in all that makes for good. In 1902 the Nicol Prize in Zoology was founded by a former pupil to be a memorial of Professor Nicol in the University of Aberdeen, and to encourage investigation by students, particularly in the fauna of Scotland. A memorial tablet to commemorate his work as a geologist is in course of preparation—the gift of former pupils and friends—and will be placed in the new Geological Museum.

C. Wyville Thomson was appointed to the Lectureship on Botany in the Marischal College Medical School in 1853, when Professor Nicol declined it. He was followed in 1854 by William Rhind, a student of Arts in Marischal College from 1812 to 1814, M.R.C.S. Edin., author of various works in Botany. From 1855 to 1859 the lectureship was held by Robert

Beveridge, A.M. of Marischal College in 1843, and M.B. in 1847, a physician in Aberdeen, and for a number of years on the staff of the Royal Infirmary, where he was an esteemed teacher.

The fusion of the rival Universities of King's and Marischal Colleges had at different times been discussed ; and it had been more than once strongly urged in former years by those that recognised the value to education in the North of Scotland of a strong University in Aberdeen. It had even been once effected, though in hardly anything but name, when the " King Charles's University " was declared to have been formed by their fusion in 1641, but survived, even in name, only a very brief time.

At last a Commission was appointed in 1858, with full powers to effect their real fusion ; and this was done in 1860. The resources of the two were united ; where the same subjects had been taught in both Universities duplicate Chairs were abolished ; the salaries of the remaining ones were made such as to make it possible to put an end to their being held along with a clerical or other charge, as had been not uncommon previously ; and new Chairs were added, where such had been recognised to be necessary, while others that had been more or less inefficient were made fully effective. Thus the new University of Aberdeen came into being, much more fully equipped in various ways than had been its two predecessors ; and gradually the rivalries that had hindered these were replaced by the growth of loyalty to the one *Alma Mater*.

Among the new Chairs founded in 1860, which replaced lectureships in the former Medical Schools, were those of Botany, Institutes of Medicine (Physiology) and *Materia Medica*. To these Chairs were appointed respectively, Professor GEORGE DICKIE (recalled from Belfast), Dr. GEORGE OGILVIE (A.M. of Marischal College in 1838, Lecturer on Physiology in Marischal College School for some years), and Dr. ALEXANDER HARVEY (Lecturer on Medicine in King's College School for some years also). All three were naturalists with wide sympathies in Natural Science, pursuing it in the field rather than in the laboratory ; and all wrote works embodying their personal contributions to science. Appreciations in the pages of *Aurora Borealis Academica*, and elsewhere, bear witness to their worth, and to the influence for good exerted by them on their pupils.

In 1860 Professor Dickie published *The Botanist's Guide to the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine*, based largely on his own observations before his departure to Belfast in 1849, but assisted by

numerous correspondents in various parts of the counties. This has taken rank as a very valuable example of a local flora. It was followed in 1863 by a similar work, the *Flora of Ulster*, embodying Professor Dickie's researches in the north-east of Ireland, made during his eleven years' residence there.

At the close of the summer session of 1860 he spent some days botanising with a party of his students in Braemar among the hills and corries. Unfortunately the weather was most unfavourable, and Professor Dickie's health received permanent injury from its effects. A long and dangerous illness was followed by more or less chronic bronchitis and ill-health. Inflammation of the ears resulted in deafness, which became gradually worse, though with occasional remissions. The duties of the Chair included at that time only one lecture daily during the summer session, with weekly excursions to places around Aberdeen, and class and degree examinations; but in the autumn of 1876 he felt himself unable to continue to discharge these duties and resigned the Chair. The relief had a beneficial effect on his health, and he was able to continue to work at marine algæ, to which he had for a number of years paid particular attention, and in which he was recognised as an authority. He died in 1882, leaving an example of faithful discharge of duty, and helpfulness to those whom he could aid, that has been a stimulus to his students, and will not soon be forgotten.

In 1902 the Dickie Prize was founded by a former pupil, to be a memorial of Professor Dickie in the University, and to encourage personal research by students in the flora of Scotland, thus continuing a work that he did much to advance, while training themselves in methods of research, particularly on plants in their natural environment.

He was succeeded in the Chair of Botany, in March, 1877, by the writer, graduate in Arts (1870) and in Medicine (1876) of the University of Aberdeen, who is still in office.

Returning to the Chair of Natural History, on the resignation of Professor Nicol in the autumn of 1878, delay in the appointment by the Crown of a successor made it necessary for the Senatus of the University to provide for the class being taught. At the request of the Senatus the writer taught the class during the session of 1878-1879. Professor JAMES COSSAR EWART (a graduate of the University of Edinburgh) was appointed during the session, but was unable at once to undertake the duties, owing to engagements in Edinburgh. He remained in office until his

appointment, in 1882, to the Chair of Zoology in the University of Edinburgh.

To him succeeded Professor H. ALLEYNE NICHOLSON, honourably known for his researches in palæontology, especially among graptolites and corals, and also as the author of standard text-books in Zoology. A graduate of the University of Edinburgh, in Science and in Medicine, he had been Professor of Natural History in Toronto, in Durham and in St. Andrews, from which latter University he came to Aberdeen.

Practical instruction in Zoology had been commenced by Professor Ewart. Professor Nicholson added a Practical Class in Geology, and extended the time given to that science. To permit of his devoting full attention to it in the winter session, he was relieved of the classes of Zoology in the winter sessions, his senior assistant, Alexander Brown, B.Sc., being appointed by the University Court to teach these classes, with the status of Lecturer on Zoology during the winter sessions. Professor Nicholson himself taught the classes of Zoology during the summer sessions. He died in 1899, after a short illness. A mural tablet, the gift of friends, to commemorate his eminence as a palæontologist, was presented to the University in 1903, and is placed in the Geological Museum.

He was succeeded by J. ARTHUR THOMSON, a graduate in Arts of the University of Edinburgh, the present Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen.

The necessity of making adequate provision for the teaching of Geology apart from Zoology was recognised by the Senatus and the University Court; and since 1899 the separation has been almost virtually complete, although both subjects were still nominally included under the designation Natural History, and were accommodated until the present year within the same department. Professor Thomson preferring to teach Zoology, of the two sciences for which he was nominally responsible, the University Court appointed his chief assistant, Mr. Alfred W. Gibb, B.Sc., to teach Geology, with the status of Lecturer on Geology. In the Front Block of Marischal College Geology has been provided with a complete suite of rooms, quite apart from the Zoological suite, which remain as before, but with extended space.

Thus Zoology and Geology will cease to be united under the one Professorship even in name; and the Chair of Civil and Natural History, as it existed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, is represented by the Chairs of History, Botany, and Zoology, and the Lectureship of Geology.

NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE CURRICULA FOR DEGREES.

As shown in the preceding pages, both the Universities (King's and Marischal) included in the curriculum leading to the degree of A.M. at least some recognition of the worth of Natural Science. This was particularly the case in Marischal College, where the class of Civil and Natural History was a necessary part of the course, although for a time the value of the instruction in Natural Science given in the class appears not to have been great. Botany was the first of the Natural Sciences that was taught in Aberdeen in such a way as to produce an evident effect, judged either by the number of former students that distinguished themselves in science in after years, or by the diffusion of a taste for science shown by such indications as the frequent notices of plants in accounts of the parishes of the counties in the East and North of Scotland, as given in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, published in 1845. Probably Botany owed this precedence to the fact that, before the era of practical classes, it could be studied even in the classroom by actual examination of the objects under discussion, instead of being confined to lectures aided by diagrams. Botany also, from an earlier period than the other Natural Sciences, formed a part of the curriculum for medical students; and the effect of this is seen in the frequency with which medical graduates distinguished themselves as botanists. Professor Dickie's *Botanist's Guide* shows how much assistance was given by alumni, chiefly clerical and medical, in his preparation of the account of the flora of the counties around Aberdeen. The only local parallel in Zoology is that afforded by Professor MacGillivray's *History of the Molluscos Animals*, and even it refers only to aid received from intimate friends and from a few pupils.

The Ordinances of the Universities (Scotland) Commission of 1858, which effected the union of the rival Universities to form the University of Aberdeen in 1860, provided for a thorough medical training, as then understood, being obtainable within the University; and required that all medical students must attend a three months' course in Zoology as well as one in Botany. But *practical instruction* in these sciences was not required of medical students, nor is it yet by any specific Ordinance in the Universities of Scotland.

By an Ordinance of the same Commission it became possible to gain the degree of A.M. with Honours in Natural Science, the candidates re-

quiring to attend the lecture courses of Botany and Chemistry in addition to the class of Natural History (Zoology, Mineralogy and Geology) required of *all* candidates for the degree of A.M. in the University of Aberdeen alone. They had to pass a separate examination on a higher standard than that for ordinary degrees in Arts or in Medicine in each of these sciences, the examination being written and oral, and in Chemistry also practical. The knowledge beyond that included in the elementary classes had to be acquired by candidates as best they could, as there were no classes for their assistance.

There was no provision until nearly thirty years later for degrees in Science apart from Arts or Medicine. Those desirous of a fuller knowledge of Natural Science often took the Medical curriculum after the Arts, to gain the practical training afforded in the dissecting-room and in the surgical and medical work of the hospital and the dispensary, in addition to the lecture courses in Anatomy and in Physiology.

Candidates for A.M. with Honours in other departments than Natural Science had the stimulus of competing for several comparatively large prizes, gifts or legacies of benefactors, to be gained by the most meritorious. In the absence of any similar prize for Honours in Natural Science, the Senatus, in 1868, gave a prize of £10 to "the Magstrand who acquitted himself the most creditably at the Examinations for Honours in the Department of Natural Science". This prize was thereafter offered annually, until 1894, when it ceased to be given, owing to the introduction of new regulations for A.M.

Thus in 1860 the instruction given in Botany and in Natural History (Zoology, Mineralogy and Geology) was in each an elementary lecture course, illustrated by diagrams and specimens; the work in Botany being the more practical, as specimens were supplied to each student for personal inspection while their structure was being discussed, and excursions enabled students to learn to know plants in their natural environments. In Chemistry there were a lecture course in winter and a practical course the following summer; and a few of the more promising students were permitted to continue their practical work in the laboratory during the following winter. Anatomy and Physiology were seldom studied by any but medical students. Both were taught largely from the comparative standpoint. Anatomy extended over three years of the medical course, and, as elsewhere, had large provision for practical instruction in the dissecting-room. In the earliest

printed *Calendar* of the University (for 1863-64) it is stated that the Professor of Physiology taught a class of Histology three hours a week in summer sessions, with special reference to its bearings on Physiology, Pathology and Vegetable Anatomy. Under Anatomy it is stated in the same *Calendar* that instruction was given in Histology. However, even in 1870 the facilities for learning Histology were very small, the special class not being then taught, perhaps owing to difficulties in regard to space and equipment. In 1872 a class for instruction in the use of the microscope was formed in the Anatomical department, but was limited to those that, from previous ignorance of its use, were most in need of such instruction.

For nearly twenty years the opportunities for acquiring a knowledge of the Natural Sciences underwent little change within the University of Aberdeen. Space was wanting for the provision of laboratories, and the funds allowed to the several departments did not permit of the purchase of microscopes or other necessary equipments for practical instruction of an effective kind. The regulations for graduation remained as in 1860, but the Natural Science Prize had been instituted, as already stated.

A summary of the conditions existing within the University in 1877 and of the changes effected since that time in the provision for instruction in Natural Science and in the regulations for graduation will afford some measure of the progress made within thirty years. That period covers the time during which the writer has been a Professor in the University, which he entered as a student in 1866, and in which he spent four years in the Arts curriculum and four in the Medical. The subjoined account is thus based on knowledge of the limitations of the past gained from the stand-points of both student and teacher, of one who shared in the experiences that forced the conviction that expansion was of vital importance to the usefulness of the University, who felt the difficulties that at times almost led one to despair of even a partial realisation of what was seen to be absolutely necessary, and who has seen progress so much beyond what at times seemed reasonable to hope for, that, while well aware of how much there is yet to be done in further expansion of the University, to him at least the future appears full of promise of progress for the University, and of opportunities for those students that turn to Natural Science for love of it.

BOTANY.—The instruction extended to an elementary course, taught during the summer session, of about twelve weeks' duration. The principles of classification and the chief families were illustrated by specimens

supplied to the individual students, who thus obtained a certain amount of practical acquaintance with their features, as well as with the more commonly used terms. Seven or eight excursions also helped this practical study of plants. Beyond this there was no provision for practical instruction. The lecture-room was shared with other subjects and was suited only for lectures with illustrations of the usual kind. The seats were badly lit, and thus unsuitable for the careful examination of the specimens supplied as above stated. A small room was shared with another subject, under the name of a museum, but had to be used only as a store owing to lack of other accommodation. There was no room that could be claimed as a laboratory of even the most limited dimensions. The microscopes belonging to the department were two, both of them very much the worse of use; while the allowance for all expenses and for provision of new equipment was £10 annually. An attendant was shared with other departments, the share of time allotted to Botany scarcely sufficing for more than that required to keep the classroom tidy and to occasionally dust the museum. The only other assistance afforded was that of a student attending the class, as a good many did, for a second time, who took charge of the class roll, collected some of the wild plants required for distribution as specimens, and assisted beginners at excursions. The remuneration allowed for his services was the return of his class fee. Under such conditions it had been impossible for Professor Dickie, in precarious health, to attempt to form a practical class, or to do more for some years than give the daily lecture during the summer sessions.

NATURAL HISTORY was so far in better state, there being a classroom assigned exclusively to it, a large museum with numerous representatives of the various groups of animals, and numerous mineralogical and geological specimens collected by Professor Nicol, an attendant for the department exclusively, a storeroom and workroom for his use, and a small endowment for the expenses of the department that permitted of additions being made to the collections in the museum, models and other equipment purchased, and similar desirable outlays incurred.

PHYSIOLOGY was in much the same position as Botany as regarded space, equipment and assistance, or lack of these.

In 1877 Dr. William Stirling, now in the University of Manchester, became Professor of Institutes of Medicine (Physiology), Professor Ogilvie having resigned the Chair. Professor Stirling began practical teaching in

his subject, having received from the funds of the University a grant for the purchase of microscopes and other necessary equipment, though on a very modest scale. Not having a laboratory at first, he taught the practical class in the public school, a rather dark and dingy hall now no longer recognisable, having been cut up in the formation of the Students' Union.

A practical class was formed in Botany in 1879, at first meeting two hours a week, and open to any student enrolled in the ordinary class of Botany, the funds for a few microscopes and other necessities being provided from private sources. There being no laboratory, this class also met in the public school at a different hour from Physiology, and on the other side of the room. As this hall was at times required for examinations, or for other purposes, that required the equipments of these practical classes being removed, the arrangement, though the only one possible at the time, was far from satisfactory. Soon after 1880 a laboratory was provided for Physiology; and in 1888, when the widening of the old South Wing of Marischal College allowed Forensic Medicine to be transferred to rooms in that wing, a small laboratory was assigned to Botany, sufficient to allow of about twenty being taught at a time in it.

Professor Ewart began duty in the summer of 1879, and as soon as possible he instituted a class of Practical Zoology, obtaining a laboratory by clearing out the former storeroom.

In all these new practical classes the provision of microscopes was a very serious difficulty, and was partially overcome only by borrowing from colleagues, and lending in turn. The instruments suffered in their transport from room to room; and often serious inconvenience was felt from the necessity, imposed by such arrangements, of fitting the requirements of one class to suit those of another; but the only alternative was to stop the practical teaching, which was out of the question. Gradually the pressure was relieved, as the increase in University funds permitted of somewhat larger grants for the regular expenses of the several departments; and important aid has been given by occasional special grants for apparatus from the Chalmers Fund, bequeathed in 1893, and in recent years from the Carnegie Trust.

These new classes and other extensions of existing subjects, and the additions of new subjects, such as Pathology in 1882, made the extension of the buildings of the University a matter of urgent necessity; and it was evident that the problem must be faced without delay. Careful inquiry

showed that the cost of the absolutely necessary extension could not fall below £80,000. Naturally the urgency was not so apparent to those that had not experienced the impossibility of making the existing accommodation suffice to meet immediate demands; but all doubts and fears as to the prudence of the undertaking had to be set aside in view of the appointment of the Scottish Universities Commission of 1889, empowered to make great changes in the scope of both teaching and examinations, which would render inevitable large extensions of buildings and equipment.

A Committee appointed by the Senatus of the University in 1879 to prepare a statement of the more pressing needs of the University submitted a report, which after careful consideration by the Senatus was approved and printed. It did good service in showing how great was the need, and in preparing the way for further action. New claims continued to arise, and the urgency became more evident, while the estimates originally put forward were found to be insufficient to meet the absolutely necessary provision for the work of the University. In 1888 the Senatus revised the report, and ordered that it be put into the *Calendar* of the University and otherwise circulated. Increased accommodation within the buildings of the University was one of the very urgent requirements set forth in the report, along with various others, most of which have since been supplied. Under the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 the charge of the material resources of the Universities was transferred in each from the Senatus to the University Court, a change that in Aberdeen made it necessary for the Court to take an active part in the efforts to secure the extension so much required. Accordingly, between 1890 and 1906 the Minutes of the Court contain many references to the progress of the movement, both in its inception and in carrying on the work after the funds had been secured by the generous gifts of friends of the University, supplemented by a contribution from national funds; and throughout these years the Senatus co-operated most heartily with the Court.

An undertaking of such a kind could not but give rise to differences of opinion on many points of detail, and even of general policy, but this is not the fitting place to enter into the merits of these questions. Suffice it to say that all sought to promote what appeared to them likely to benefit the University; and that the practical question was not so much the ideal best as what was possible in the existing circumstances.

While the urgent need of extended space and equipment was steadily

becoming more clamant, the result of the new classes that gave rise to that pressure was felt in other ways also, particularly as regarded degrees in Science.

A Committee was appointed by the Senatus to prepare a scheme for regulating the conditions under which degrees in Science (B.Sc. and D.Sc.) should be conferred by the University. The proposals of the Committee were fully considered by the Senatus, which, on 14th May, 1889, sanctioned "Regulations for Degrees in Science," and entrusted their administration to the "Committee on Degrees in Science," which consisted of the Professors whose subjects were compulsory or admitted as options in the examinations for degrees.

Under these "Regulations," candidates had to pass an adequate preliminary examination, unless entitled to exemption by an equivalent qualification. They had thereafter to spend three years in the curriculum, and had to pass a First B.Sc. examination in Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology and Mathematics *or* Logic, unless they had already passed the examinations for A.M. in the subjects of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics or Logic, and for the other subjects were graduates in Arts with Honours in Natural Science, or had passed in them for degrees in Medicine. The final examination for B.Sc. included five groups, any one of which the candidate might select. The "Natural Sciences" formed the third group, and candidates in it were allowed to select three from among Chemistry, Geology, Botany, Zoology, Anatomy and Physiology. The D.Sc. could be taken after two years, the candidate requiring to pass a more severe examination in one of the subjects selected in the final B.Sc. examination, and to submit a thesis containing either an account of personal research in some field of science, or a historical or critical discussion connected with the special subject of his higher examination. If the thesis was adjudged to be of exceptionally high merit the examination might be dispensed with.

The degree of B.Sc. was conferred for the first time in the University of Aberdeen in 1890 on Alexander Brown, A.M. He was also the first to proceed to D.Sc., in 1898, having in the interval graduated M.B., C.M., in the University, and been Chief Assistant to the Professor of Natural History, with the status of Lecturer in Zoology during the winter sessions.

The widening of the old South Wing of Marischal College, already referred to, had supplied to the Natural History department a somewhat

better laboratory than it formerly had, and a small separate museum for Geology. Professor Nicholson was thus enabled to organise a practical class and higher instruction in Geology; but the department remained much in need of additional room, in view of the extension of teaching in both Zoology and Geology.

On 12th July, 1892, the University Court, after receiving a "representation" from the Senatus, resolved to admit women "to Graduation in all the Faculties of the University of Aberdeen". The classes of Botany, Chemistry, Geology and Zoology were at once as open to them as to male students, and provision for their instruction in Anatomy, Physiology and the other classes of the medical curriculum was approved in June, 1896.

In 1892 an Ordinance of the Universities Commission constituted Faculties of Science in the Universities of Scotland, the Faculty in Aberdeen consisting of the Professors of Anatomy, Botany, Chemistry, Mathematics, Natural History (Geology and Zoology), Natural Philosophy and Physiology. It has charge of the administration of all matters relating to curricula and degrees in Science, both pure and applied, within the University.

The same Ordinance regulated degrees in Science in the Scottish Universities, superseding the Regulations in force previously, except in respect of students that had begun their curricula in Science before the Ordinance took effect. It made certain important alterations on the Regulations summarised above, the chief being as follows: In the Preliminary Examination the amount of Mathematics was raised. In the First Examination Logic is no longer allowed, and candidates are permitted to choose between Mathematics and *both* Botany and Zoology. The Final Examination was limited by the exclusion of the "Mental Science" group and of Pathology and Pharmacology from the "Medical Sciences," and by the grouping of the remaining subjects being abandoned, candidates being left free to select any three or more of the following: Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Human Anatomy with Anthropology, Physiology, Geology with Mineralogy, Zoology with Comparative Anatomy, and Botany with Vegetable Physiology. It also specified that the standard of the examination shall be as nearly as possible equivalent to that of the examination for the Degree of Master of Arts with Honours, where the subjects are different; and where the subjects are the same, the examina-

tion shall be identical.¹ Under this Ordinance the degree of D.Sc. may be gained by Bachelors of Science of not less than five years' standing, by Masters of Arts with first or second class Honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, of not less than five years' standing, and also by possessors of the degree of B.Sc. or M.B., or its equivalent, from any recognised University, who have spent not less than two winter sessions, or an equivalent period, within the University in the prosecution of research under approved conditions. Every candidate for D.Sc. must present a thesis or a published memoir or work, to be approved by the Senatus on the recommendation of the Faculty of Science.

While provision has thus been made for a fuller recognition of the study of Science, particularly in certain subjects, the Ordinance framed by the same Universities Commission for Graduation in Arts, which came into operation on 1st October, 1892, and has since been somewhat modified by supplementary Ordinances, has given a relatively lower place than they formerly held in the University of Aberdeen to the Natural Sciences in the Arts course. They are no longer represented among the subjects to be studied by all candidates for the degree of A.M., though permissible as options to fill up the three classes required beyond those from the four groups compulsory on all candidates for the ordinary degree, and with a more limited option in the case of candidates for "Honours". The degree of A.M. can no longer be taken with Honours in Natural Science, these sciences being wholly excluded from this recognition in the Arts course. Despite this change in the official recognition of the value of a scientific training in general education, the number of Arts students that attend classes in these sciences is large, and tends to increase, such attendance being frequently added to the number of the classes required by them to qualify for the Arts degree.

Returning for a little to the efforts for the extension of the buildings of the University, in so far as relates to the teaching and study of the Natural Sciences, all of these sciences have benefited much, though in varying degrees, and at different stages of the extension. Anatomy received considerable additions to its space in the portion of the extension that dealt with the Halls, Students' Union, and remainder of the Central

¹ One result of the last clause is that Masters of Arts with Honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy are entitled to proceed to the degree of B.Sc. by adding Chemistry to the Arts course.

Block, and which was completed in 1895. Botany received new rooms in the greatly widened old North Wing of the College, these rooms being opened for use in 1896. Chemistry has an extensive suite of rooms in the western continuation of the North Wing, opened in 1896. Somewhat later a much-needed laboratory for advanced studies in Zoology was fitted up in an upper room in the Tower at the west end of the North Wing, near Broad Street.

Then for a time a pause ensued, while the means to advance with the second stage of the extension were being secured—that extension along Broad Street the opening of which in September, 1906, will mark the conclusion of the present extension of the buildings. Physiology and Geology are both provided in it with suites of rooms believed to be sufficient to suffice for their probable requirements for a considerable period to come. The space vacated by the transference of these two sciences will enable very desirable additions to be made to the accommodation of Zoology and of certain of the medical departments.

The new department assigned to Botany in 1896 had no provision for physiological or chemical work, or for growing plants. This defect will be to a considerable extent made good by the addition to the department of two rooms in the top of the North Tower, which are being prepared for the purposes indicated.

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE in the University of Aberdeen. Reference has been made above (p. 166) to the lectureship founded by Sir William Fordyce in Chemistry, Natural History and Agriculture, which became operative in 1840, and was then filled for a time by Mr. John Shier. Yet the stimulus it brought to the study of Agriculture in Aberdeen was small while the University had no other funds to devote to this department. But after the appointment of the recent Universities Commission, an effort was made to secure that a branch of study of so great importance to the welfare of the country should be adequately taught within the University; and a Committee of the University Court was appointed, under the chairmanship of the Rev. James Smith, LL.D., minister of the Parish of Newhills, near Aberdeen, to conduct negotiations with the Trustees of the Fordyce Lectureship, the Town Council of Aberdeen, the Councils of the surrounding counties, and others interested, with a view to such provision being made. A "Joint Committee on Agricultural Education" was formed, representative of the various bodies interested, Dr. Smith being chairman of it also;

and, in view of the Universities Commission having passed an Ordinance authorising the University of Aberdeen to grant the degree of B.Sc. in Agriculture from 1895 onwards, contributions were guaranteed to allow of the requisite instruction being provided by lectureships within the University.

On the recommendation of the Joint Committee in each case, the University Court appointed a Fordyce Lecturer in Agriculture in November, 1895, and Lecturers in Agricultural Chemistry, Veterinary Hygiene, and Agricultural Botany and Agricultural Entomology in 1896. Provision was also made for instruction being given in certain minor subjects; and it became possible for students of the University to gain the degree of B.Sc. (Agr.), which was conferred for the first time in the University in April, 1898, on William R. Buttenshaw.

It was found desirable also to provide for a number of students in Agriculture who wished to acquire knowledge that would be useful to them for their work in life, but were unable to attend during the three years' curriculum required for the degree. To meet their case the Senatus instituted a Diploma in Agriculture, which can be gained by attendance during two years on the classes more directly bearing on agricultural practice and theory, the examinations in these subjects being the same for the diploma as for the degree. Candidates for either must, before it can be conferred, show evidence of not less than a full year's actual work on a farm, under conditions approved as sufficient to secure practical instruction.

The rooms set free by the transference of Chemistry to its new quarters in 1896 were assigned to the classes of Agriculture, Agricultural Chemistry and Veterinary Hygiene; while Agricultural Botany and Agricultural Zoology have been taught in the Botanical Department. The addition of these classes to those already housed in Marischal College has necessarily increased the congestion; but steady progress has been made in the Agricultural department, despite the disadvantages of deficient space and equipment in the past. Rooms have been assigned in the new Front Block to the subjects of Agriculture, Agricultural Chemistry and Veterinary Hygiene; while the other two subjects will continue to be taught in the meantime as before. The accommodation thus provided for Agricultural instruction will, even under the new arrangements, be sufficient for immediate requirements only if supplemented by the loan of classrooms at times from other departments for certain large classes; but the far worse

congestion passed through makes the difficulties of the immediate future appear light in comparison, though sufficient to indicate that in no long time further extension of the University buildings will be a matter of urgency.

A further important development in regard to Agricultural Education in the North of Scotland took place in 1904, when, on the initiative of the Scotch Education Department, steps were taken to form a College of Agriculture in Aberdeen, with resources sufficient to extend the educational facilities throughout the country, as well as to provide curricula for the degree and the diploma. The various local authorities concerned gave cordial co-operation, and the Aberdeen and North of Scotland College of Agriculture came into being for the purpose of developing Education and Research in Agriculture, Forestry and allied subjects in the North of Scotland. It is controlled by a body of Governors representative of the several bodies that contribute the funds, including the University. The Governors have control of all the financial arrangements of the College, and provide for the necessary expenses of instruction in the subjects of the curricula for degree and diploma, as well as for courses of lectures open free to all in Aberdeen and in numerous centres throughout the contributing counties, and for experiments in matters of practical import to Agriculture and allied subjects. The University is thus no longer in the same relation as before to the provision of education in Agriculture; but the bond remains very close, as the Governors of the College have appointed the Lecturers within the University to be the Lecturers of the College, while making provision outside the University for certain other subjects and for extension work. The Agricultural department of the University, therefore, continues to be the centre of Agricultural study and teaching for the North of Scotland, to which application is made by those in search of information or expert advice. There is good evidence that the work of the College of Agriculture has already commended itself to agriculturists in its district; and extensions of that work, such as a four weeks' course for those actually engaged in farming, which was given in the University in January and February, 1906, are largely taken advantage of. There is every reason to anticipate for the College a future of great and increasing value to the community, with the hearty goodwill and co-operation of the University in its work.

INSTRUCTION IN NATURAL SCIENCE FOR TEACHERS.—The re-

quirement by the Scotch Education Department that those intending to become teachers must have gained such a knowledge of plant and animal life as would enable them to communicate to their pupils some true ideas of the living things around them made it necessary that suitable instruction should be brought within reach of these students. Accordingly, in 1900, courses of instruction in Botany and Zoology were planned and taught by the Professors of these subjects in the University and have since been repeated each summer session. Each course extends to not less than forty hours' instruction, and the aim in it is to help the students to learn how to study plants and animals as living things, so as from their own experience to know how to help their pupils to observe and discover for themselves. Common plants and animals are used as examples of the methods to be employed, the object being to induce the students to advance afterwards along the paths opened to them, and not to repeat statements that they have merely heard or read. These courses are attended by all students in training to be teachers at the Normal Colleges (King's scholars), or at the University (King's students), except by those that prefer to take the ordinary class and the practical class in each subject, as an increasing number now do each year. A similar short course in Geology was instituted, in 1902, for King's students, and has been continued annually; but this subject is not required of all intending teachers.

Briefly summing up the contrast between 1877 and 1906 as regards the sciences of Botany, Zoology, Geology and Physiology, it stands thus:—

1877. In each the instruction was limited to an elementary course of lectures, illustrated by diagrams, etc., and in Botany by specimens in the hands of the students for examination; but in none of the subjects was there provision of any kind for the teaching of a practical class. Zoology and Geology were combined for Arts students in the winter course, while a summer class in Zoology was provided for Medical students. All candidates for A.M. had a written examination in Zoology and Geology. Candidates for A.M. with Honours in Natural Science had to pass a higher standard in these two, and to add Botany and Chemistry, an oral being added to the written examination in each. Candidates for medical degrees had a written and oral examination in Botany, Zoology and Physiology.

1906. **Instruction and Study.**—Geology has been virtually separated from Zoology as a distinct lectureship. Each of the four sciences has accommodation that permits of elementary and advanced instruction being

given, including practical classes, and also of research work being done by those that wish to continue their studies after Graduation. Each department is equipped with microscopes and other necessary instruments for teaching and for research within limits that are being widened as the funds for equipment allow, the grants for such purposes and for class expenses having been very considerably increased. In each department assistance has been provided to the Professor, as also more adequate service, the work carried on in the department having very largely increased. In each of the sciences the following classes are taught : Elementary lecture course, elementary practical class, advanced course each session, including lectures, demonstrations, discussions, and guidance in the laboratory work done by each student. In Botany, Zoology and Geology there are the special classes for teachers described above.

Graduation.—In Arts, Natural History is no longer a compulsory subject for A.M., nor can the degree be now taken with Honours in Natural Science. Botany, Zoology, Geology and Chemistry may be selected as options for the degree ; and many students add one or more of these to the number of subjects absolutely required.

In Science, which now forms a Faculty, the degrees of B.Sc. and D.Sc. are conferred in pure Science ; and a Department of Agriculture has been constituted, with several new lectureships, and the degree of B.Sc. (Agr.) and a Diploma in Agriculture are conferred.

In Medicine the conditions as regards Botany, Zoology and Physiology remain much as in 1877, except that students are required to take instruction in practical Physiology, and that the examination has had a practical side added to it in each subject.

The access to a good library and freedom in its use are too well understood to require to be enlarged on. In 1877 students were rarely allowed to have access to the shelves of the University Library, while there were few books of value in the departments that they might use. Within recent years works of reference have been placed within the departments for use in research. The rules in use in the University Library have been altered, and now permit of access to the books on the shelves for purposes of reference, while students are encouraged to borrow books freely, without charge or even deposit. For a time the funds available were utterly inadequate to purchase even the most necessary new books that ought to have a place in such a library ; but the grant of £1,000 annually from the Carnegie Trust

has been of very great assistance during the last four years. A much larger sum, however, might be spent on the Library to great advantage in filling many gaps due to past poverty, and in extending the works of reference that ought to be added to the Library as they are published.

The transference of the books on Science, pure and applied (except in Mathematics and Physics), from their former location in a room ill-suited for a reading-room to the new Library, equipped for convenient access to the books in a commodious reading-room, will, it is believed, do much to extend the usefulness of the Library among the students. The very fine window in the reading-room, symbolical of the Sciences, is a gift from Miss Anne Hamilton Cruickshank, in memory of her father, Dr. John Cruickshank, Professor of Mathematics in Marischal College and University from 1829-1860, who had charge of the Library of the University from 1844-1860, and spent much labour on its behalf.

In addition to the General Library there are departmental libraries for the service of students within several of the scientific departments.

Thus, while great progress can be traced within recent years in the equipment for instruction and research in the Natural Sciences within the University of Aberdeen, the stimulus to continue the effort to secure the means necessary to enable the work to advance is not likely to be withdrawn from the University, for as each urgent need is supplied new developments lead to others pressing on in its place; and already congestion is felt in some of the departments provided with rooms within the last ten years. Nor can one wish it should be otherwise, for that congestion is at once a proof of the vitality of the University and a spur to further advance.

ALUMNI AND GRADUATES distinguished in Natural Science.—In addition to those members of King's and Marischal Colleges that have been more particularly referred to in the preceding pages, there are some whose contributions to the progress of the sciences should be noted here. Some gained reputation by work done beyond the limits of Scotland, while others gave their services to Scottish Natural History.

Among the former may be named Alexander Garden, M.D. (M.)¹ in 1753, whose letters to Linnaeus on the Natural History of S. Carolina form a large part of the published letters in the Linnean correspondence.

¹ K. and M. in brackets denote respectively that the person attended classes in, or received the degree from, King's or Marischal College.

Francis Masson, at Arts (M.) about 1755, the first collector sent from Kew to the Canaries and Azores in 1778, to South Africa in 1772-73 and in 1786-95, and to North America in 1798; Rev. Colin Milne, at Arts in 1760-64, L.L.D. in 1771 (M.), author of several works on Botany; George Fordyce, A.M. in 1753 (M.), F.R.S., author of *Elements of Vegetation and Agriculture*, better known as a physician, grandfather of the celebrated botanist, George Bentham; Rev. Patrick Keith, A.M. (K.) in 1798, author of *A System of Physiological Botany* and other botanical works; William Hunter, A.M. in 1777 and M.D. in 1808 (M.); and William Jack, A.M. in 1810 (K.), both in the medical service in tropical Asia, whose services to Asiatic Botany are commemorated by the genera, *Hunteria* and *Jackia*; Hugh Falconer, A.M. in 1826 (K.), F.R.S., noted as a botanist in India, and as the explorer of the rich fossil deposits in the Sivalik Hills, the donor of a natural history museum to his native town, Forres; Colonel James Augustus Grant, at Arts in 1840-44 (M.), F.R.S., explorer of sources of the Nile, from which he brought a valuable collection of plants, described in the *Transactions* of the Linnean Society; Thomas Edmonston, at Arts in 1843-44 (M.), author of a *Flora of Shetland*, whose death by a gun-shot in 1846, while Naturalist in the exploring voyage of H.M.S. *Herald*, cut short a life of great scientific promise; Peter Cormack Sutherland, at Arts in 1842 (M.) and M.D. in 1847 (K.), afterwards Surveyor-General in Natal, who did valuable botanical and geological work in the Arctic regions and in Natal; Andrew Leith Adams, A.M. in 1846, and M.B. in 1848 (M.), who entered the Army Medical Service and became distinguished as a zoologist and palæontologist in the East, Professor of Natural History in Cork at the time of his death; Paul Howard MacGillivray, second son of Professor MacGillivray, A.M. in 1851 (M.), who in 1851 published a small *Flora of Aberdeen*, in which are some additions to previous records; afterwards studying medicine he went to Australia, where for a time he was in medical practice, but for a number of years devoted himself to the study of the fauna of Australia, and was author of important contributions on the lower marine fauna; Rev. James M. Crombie, student in Arts (M.) in class of 1847-49, for some time minister of Braemar, of which he published a short guide, with notes on the flora; for many years in London and at Aldershot as Chaplain; studied Lichens and published a volume *British Lichens* in the British Museum series; died in May, 1906.

Among travellers in whose writings are notes of scientific interest may be named the following *alumni* of King's College: Captain Alexander Gerard, A.M. in 1808; Surgeon James G. Gerard, A.M. in 1811, and Captain Patrick Gerard, at Arts 1808-12, all in the H.E.I.C.S.; Thomas Simpson, A.M. in 1828, explorer of Boothia Felix, and his brother and biographer, Alexander Simpson, A.M. in 1817, author of works on the Sandwich Islands and Oregon; Brodie Cruickshank, A.M. in 1831, author of *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*.

Were it permissible to name living alumni and graduates that in scientific work and travel abroad have won honour for themselves and for their *Alma Mater*, it would be still more apparent that the University of Aberdeen has no unworthy roll of proved worth to rejoice in.

Among sons of the Universities of King's and Marischal Colleges that have done good service in the investigation of the Natural History of Scotland, a number have been ministers of country parishes or of the smaller towns. Of such were James Wallace, already mentioned as the pioneer of such studies in Orkney, and his successor George Low, A.M. in 1766 (M.), Minister of Birsay and Harray, in Orkney, author of the *Fauna of Orkney*, published by Dr. W. Leach in 1813, eighteen years after the author's death; Rev. George Skene Keith, A.M. (M.) in 1770, and D.D. (M.) in 1803, minister of Keithhall, author of *A General View of the Agriculture of Aberdeenshire* (1811); James Farquharson, A.M. in 1798, and LL.D. in 1837 (K.), for many years minister of Alford, in Aberdeenshire, won reputation by his researches in a wide range of scientific pursuits: Meteorological (particularly on the aurora borealis), Botanical (on the agricultural value of native plants, and on their distribution), Zoological and Geological, whose value gained him the Fellowship of the Royal Society. A son, also James Farquharson, was a distinguished student, A.M. in 1846 (M.), and acted as Professor MacGillivray's substitute during his illness and consequent inability to teach the class of Natural History. Mr. Farquharson was for over forty years minister of Selkirk, where he took an active share in the investigation of the flora of the Border counties. He received the degree of D.D. from the University of Aberdeen in recognition of his merits as a clergyman. He died in April, 1906.

George Gordon, the son of a minister in Elginshire, A.M. in 1819 (M.), LL.D. in 1859, studied Theology at King's College. In 1832 he became minister of Birnie, near Elgin; and here he spent fifty-seven years, until

his retirement from active service in 1889. He died in 1893, aged ninety-two. Of great ability, he was an exemplary clergyman, to whom his colleagues often looked for guidance in difficulties, and an ardent lover of the Natural Sciences and Archæology. He particularly devoted himself to the investigation of the "Province of Moray," as the district around Elginshire is called; and throughout his long life he did much to throw light on these studies in Moray, occasionally extending his researches to Ross-shire, Shetland and other districts. As early as 1827 he was referred to as an authority on the plants of the North of Scotland. In 1839 he published *Collectanea to the Flora of Moray*, the worth of which as a contribution to the topographical records of Scottish plants has been very fully acknowledged by H. C. Watson, no lax critic. The results of his researches into the fauna appeared in the form of numerous papers, some of considerable length, in the pages of the *Zoologist* and the *Scottish Naturalist*. These papers relate to most of the larger groups of animals. His studies in the Geology of Moray are probably more generally known than his other work, as he discovered the reptilian fossils of the red sandstones about Spynie and Lossiemouth, which disclosed a number of types new to palæontologists. These have been studied by Huxley, who named one *Hyperodapedon Gordoni*, and by Newton, who found among them very peculiar types of Dicynodontia, one of which he placed in a new genus, *Gordonia*. He also published a description of shell-mounds on the south shore of the Moray Firth, and a paper on the antiquities of Morayshire. He took a great share in forming the Elgin and Morayshire Literary and Scientific Association, and in originating the Elgin Museum; and to the latter he contributed most liberally of his personal labour, as well as by donations of valuable specimens.

John Malcolmson was in the class behind Dr. Gordon at Marischal College, but they were fellow-workers in their studies in the Geology of Morayshire for a time. Malcolmson did good geological work both in Scotland and in India, where he was in the medical service of the East India Company.

The *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, by the ministers of the respective parishes, published in 1845, affords proof that a knowledge of the Natural Sciences was becoming more general. In a good many of the accounts of the parishes the notes on the animals, plants and other natural or archæological objects are of distinct interest. In most cases these were

written by the clergymen; but in some it is explained that they were supplied by some one else, such as the schoolmaster or medical man of the parish. Dr. Gordon's *Collectanea* supplied the information for a good many of the parishes of Moray. Professor Dickie, in his *Botanist's Guide to the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardine*, bears testimony to how much assistance in its preparation he obtained from clergymen and other helpers scattered through the counties, some of whom had given similar aid to Dr. A. Murray for his *Northern Flora*, almost a generation previously. Among the names most prominent in these sources of information occur Drs. Farquharson and Gordon, already mentioned, along with Rev. John Abel, A.M. in 1841 (K.), minister of Forgue, in Aberdeenshire; Rev. George Gairdner (or Gardiner), A.M. in 1801 (M.), minister of Aberdour, in Aberdeenshire; Rev. Walter Gregor, A.M. in 1849, and LL.D., in 1885 (K.), schoolmaster at Macduff, and afterwards minister of Pitsligo, whose contributions to the study of the local fauna and folk-lore were still more extensive than to the local flora; Rev. John Minto, A.M. in 1829 (M.), for many years schoolmaster in Clatt, in Aberdeenshire; Rev. Andrew Todd, A.M. in 1817, and D.D. in 1858 (K.), for many years minister of Alvah, in Banffshire, and well acquainted with the flora of the vicinity of Banff; William Chrystal, A.M. in 1810 (M.), schoolmaster at Arbuthnott, in Kincardineshire, who supplied much information about the flora of central Kincardineshire; Dr. Lewis Stewart, A.M. in 1837 (M.), a surgeon in the army, who supplied information for Mortlach in Banffshire; James Barron, a farmer in Cluny, Aberdeenshire, who gave much aid to Professor Dickie as to the plants of various parts of Aberdeenshire; Alexander Murray, who occupied farms in different parts of Aberdeenshire, and whose aid is acknowledged by Professor MacGillivray in his work on the local Mollusca, as well as by Professor Dickie in his *Guide*; Andrew Fleming, son of Professor John Fleming, A.M. in 1838 (K.), who supplied information to Professor Dickie, and who afterwards entered the Indian Medical Service. Others also are mentioned in the *Guide*, such as "Dr. Stephen," who contributed very largely to the records for south Kincardineshire, as well as for Strachan in the valley of the Dee; and "Mr. R. Mackay," who is quoted for localities of alpine plants in Braemar. There is little doubt that both were students of Marischal College, though this is not certain, in absence of more full means of identification. "Dr. J. Smith," who supplied notes for various localities

near Aberdeen and in the valley of the Dee, was probably John Smith, A.M. in 1843 and M.D. in 1844 (M.), Fordyce Lecturer in 1847-52, who became Professor of Experimental Physics and Chemistry in the University of Sydney. Francis Adams, to whom Dickie often acknowledges his indebtedness in the *Guide*, took A.M. in 1813, and M.D. in 1856 (K.). He had a great reputation as a classical scholar, and had a peculiarly intimate knowledge of the works of Paulus Ægineta and other Greek writers on medical subjects. He translated some of these works for the Sydenham Society; and he contributed an appendix to Dr. A. Murray's *Northern Flora* under the title *Notes from the Ancients on Certain Indigenous Species*. He was the father of Dr. Andrew Leith Adams, the zoologist and traveller. Robert Dawson, A.M. in 1844 (M.), Schoolmaster of Cruden, on the east coast of Aberdeenshire, did good work in the study of the marine shells of the district, and published the results in several papers. Rev. George Davidson, A.M. in 1848 (K.), Minister of Logie-Coldstone in Aberdeenshire, made a special study of Diatomaceæ, particularly those in "kieselguhr".

Rev. James Keith, A.M. in 1845 (K.), and LL.D. in 1882, for a time Schoolmaster of Knockando, and afterwards for more than fifty years minister of Forres in Elginshire, was a man of the type of Rev. Dr. Gordon, though he began the study of the natural sciences later in life. He made important contributions to the records of the natural history of Moray, particularly in the groups that had not previously been carefully studied, such as mosses and fungi. Of the latter he discovered a number not previously found in Britain, several being new to science. The standard works on British fungi issued during the past thirty years bear frequent evidence to the value of his researches, which are commemorated by species that bear his name. He took a warm interest in the progress of the museum given to Forres by Dr. Hugh Falconer, and in the work of the Forres Field-club; and he did not spare himself in any labour that was for the public welfare.

BOTANIC GARDEN.—Probably the existence of botanic gardens in Edinburgh and elsewhere had roused the desire among lovers of plants in Aberdeen to have one here also before there is any actual record of such a wish having been felt; but the earliest effort to carry it into effect, of which a record exists, is found in 1780, in the minute-books of the two Universities

and of the Town Council of Aberdeen, which show that an application was made to these bodies by Rev. Robert Memis, an Episcopalian clergyman residing in Stonehaven, who had during the two previous years taught botanical classes in Aberdeen. His request was for assistance to enable him to cultivate about a quarter of an acre as a Botanic Garden; and grants were made to him for the purpose, amounting in all to £20. The experiment does not seem to have proved a success; at least it was soon abandoned. Although there are occasional references in the minutes of the Universities that show how the need of a garden was realised by a few of the professors, and particularly by Professor Ogilvie of King's College, who, in 1784, protested in vain against the alienation by feu of a part of the property of King's College, then as now peculiarly well suited for the purposes of a garden, the difficulties to be overcome were too great, and nothing could be spared from the revenues of the Universities for such a purpose.

For more than a century no apparent progress was made towards the provision of a garden, although during the nineteenth century Botany was continuously taught by lecturers until the union of the Universities in 1860 rendered it possible to institute a professorship of Botany. Fortunately until far on in the century there were numerous localities fairly rich in wild plants within an hour's walk of any part of Aberdeen, permitting of the botanical class making easy excursions to them. Thus the instruction naturally inclined to the study of plants in their natural surroundings, and to the principles of classification as exemplified in native plants, more than to those aspects of the science that require the equipment of laboratories and a garden. In the absence of the latter, Professor Dickie devoted part of his own garden to a collection of plants useful in supplying specimens of families, or of structures, not afforded by the wild flora; and his example was followed by his successor. But the provision thus made was necessarily insufficient, particularly in view of the increasing difficulty of conducting excursions to localities within a convenient distance, so many of the localities formerly available being no longer so, owing to the expansion of the city, to agricultural changes, golf courses, and other causes. Thus the excursions had to be made to more distant localities, requiring longer time, while the increasing number of engagements in the evenings and on Saturdays made it more difficult to obtain the necessary leisure for excursions.

The provision of a Botanic Garden had thus become a very desirable adjunct to the study of Botany. Professor Dickie's ill-health had prevented

him from being able to make any effort to obtain that provision. It thus naturally fell to his successor to make representations to the authorities of the University with regard to the need ; but, as of old, the resources of the University did not permit of undertaking to make such a provision, even to the extent of quarter of an acre.

However, a "Report on Wants of the University," originally drawn up in 1880 by a committee of the Senatus, and revised and re-issued by the Senatus in 1889, included, under the head of "External Improvements" ; " III. A Botanic Garden in connection with the University. The most favourable situation for such an establishment would be near King's College, in some of the as yet open undulating spaces lying to the westward from that building." But years passed, and the recommendation as to a garden seemed not likely to find a response ; while the need became greater, especially after the institution of degrees in Science by resolution of the Senatus in 1889, confirmed and regulated by an Ordinance of the Universities Commission in 1892.

In the minutes of the University Court, of date 8th December, 1896, is the following record: "There was read a letter from the Professor of Botany, of date 30th November, forwarding copies of a letter (printed) of same date addressed by him to the Court, urging the necessity for some provision being made for the practical teaching of Vegetable Physiology in such a way as to enable students to study growing plants, and to observe the effects on them of experiments or of varying treatment and environment, and recommending as suitable for the purpose the field to the west of the Manse of the Professor of Biblical Criticism, and at present attached thereto. After discussion, the Court, by a majority, agreed to this resolution: 'That the Court, while concurring in the desirability of having such a garden as that proposed by Professor Trail, regrets that it has not at present funds for the purpose.'"

In 1897 there was formed the Aberdeen University Endowment Association, for the purpose of assisting to fill the gaps that still existed in the educational equipment of the University, by directing public attention to these deficiencies, and by collecting funds for the provision of whatever could promote the efficiency of the University. The Board of Management of the Association prepared a statement of the more urgent wants of the University, based upon that issued by the Senatus, but modified to meet new conditions ; and in view of the resolution of the University Court

relative to the provision of a Botanic Garden that was given the second place in the scale of relative urgency, the first place being assigned to the endowment of the Chair of History, already in large part provided for under condition that rendered it necessary to complete the endowment without delay.

The statement of the Association having come under the notice of Miss Anne Hamilton Cruickshank, she expressed her wish to provide a Botanic Garden, in memory of her brother, Dr. Alexander Cruickshank, a distinguished graduate in Arts (1840) of Marischal College, and LL.D. of the University of Aberdeen, who had been keenly interested in the natural history of Scotland, as well as in the welfare of the University. In fulfilment of this wish, she conveyed by a deed of gift, dated 13th April, 1898, the sum of £15,000 to six Trustees, *viz.*, the Principal, the Professor of Botany, and the Professor of Mathematics in the University of Aberdeen, and their successors in office, along with three named by herself (P. J. Anderson, LL.B., David M. M. Milligan, A.M., and Joseph Ogilvie, LL.D.), to be administered for the purchase and equipment of the Cruickshank Botanic Garden, and for advancing the study of Botany in Aberdeen in such manner as the Trustees shall determine, the sum of £7,000 to be retained to provide an endowment towards carrying on the garden and for the other purposes of the Trust.

The first duty of the Trustees was to secure the best site for the garden; and after full consideration this was found in Old Aberdeen. A private school, known as the Gymnasium, distinguished during a number of years for its success in training boys for the Universities and for the public services, had not long before been given up as a school. The buildings were for sale; and the playground, extending to between three and four acres, was in temporary use as a football field, but could be had—partly on feu, partly on lease. The chief disadvantages were an absolutely flat surface, and a want of water except that obtainable from the town water-pipes; but the soil was suitable, the shelter as good as appeared anywhere obtainable, and the buildings could be adapted to afford accommodation for a herbarium, small library, museum and other rooms, suitable for a time at least to permit of advanced work in Botany being carried beyond the accommodation afforded in the Botanical Department of the University.

In accordance with expert advice, the Trustees resolved to lay out the ground for the growth of herbaceous plants, selected from among such as experience showed to be hardy under the conditions to which they must

be exposed in the garden, and as were desirable representatives of the more important families of plants, or as showed peculiarities of structure. The greater part of the space is given up to representatives from other lands; but a considerable extent is set aside for the growth of as complete a collection as possible of the wild plants of the North of Scotland. Unfortunately, a good many of these are very hard to grow in cultivation, or become so much altered in aspect as to be very unlike their condition in their natural environment; and the want of water precludes success with a considerable number of marsh and water plants. A part of the ground has been granted for the use of the Lecturers in the Agricultural School in the University. Various trees and shrubs have been planted, grown from seed or procured when two or three years old; but a considerable number of these, like a good many of the herbaceous plants, have not proved hardy in the garden. Very generous aid has been given from the great Botanic Gardens of Kew and Calcutta. It is hoped that in a few years the collections will include materials of very great value to students of Botany—systematic, economic and bionomic.

Progress was delayed at first by the necessity of thoroughly clearing the ground of weeds, which were very numerous and difficult to dislodge. The expense of the ground and buildings, and of the necessary alterations, made very strict economy necessary for a time and has prevented the fitting-up of the herbarium, library, museum and laboratories.

A very important addition to the resources of the garden was made when, in 1902, Mrs. Stephen Wilson bequeathed to the Trustees for the purpose of the trust the property of North Kimmundy, about ten miles to the north of Aberdeen. As a good deal has had to be expended on farm buildings, the revenue from this source has not yet become available, though likely to be so in part in the course of this year.

There is good cause to hope that the Cruickshank Botanic Garden, provided and equipped by private generosity, will be of very great value in the advancement of the study of Botany in Aberdeen. Already provided with resources that will very soon permit of efficient equipment for advanced instruction being provided, and research being carried on by those desirous to do so, there will still be room for benefactions towards the formation of a good library of reference, and other costly appliances that the rapid progress of the science demands; but there is good reason to anticipate that its future will be one of increasing usefulness and success.

JAMES W. H. TRAIL.

NEW TESTAMENT LEARNING IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

ON the eve of the Reformation, the Greek language, which had long been extinct in Western Europe, "rose from the grave with the New Testament in its hand". The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 had caused a great dispersion of Greek scholars by which the western nations benefited. In Italy, and ere long in France, Greek learning began to flourish. Early in the sixteenth century Erasmus learned Greek in Oxford and taught it in Cambridge, numbering among his pupils William Tyndale, the future translator and martyr. In 1515 while still at Cambridge Erasmus received a commission from the Basel printer Froben to produce an edition of the Greek New Testament, and, if possible, forestall the great edition of the Bible upon which the Spanish Cardinal Ximenes was known to be engaged. From a meagre supply of manuscripts, and, in one passage at least, translating back from the Vulgate into Greek, Erasmus hurriedly prepared his Greek New Testament which was ready to be issued from the press by 1st March, 1516. Four successive editions were afterwards prepared by him with considerable improvements, and it is his Greek text which, through the Textus Receptus, as Stephen's edition of 1550 came to be called, underlies our Authorised version of 1611. The labours of Erasmus in this field enabled Luther and Tyndale to go direct to the original for their translations of the New Testament.

Before the middle of the sixteenth century Greek had found its way into Scotland. In 1534 JOHN ERSKINE of Dun returning from abroad brought with him a Frenchman acquainted with Greek and settled him as a teacher of Greek in the Grammar School of Montrose. GEORGE WISHART, the martyr, whose home at Pitarrow in Kincardineshire was only some thirteen miles distant, and who, like Erskine, is said to have studied at King's College, taught Greek in the school in the capacity of assistant. It is said that he imported copies of the Greek Testament from the

Continent and distributed them among his pupils. On account of this he had to flee, and betook himself to England and the Continent, and then to Cambridge. About twenty years later Andrew Melville learned Greek in the Grammar School of Montrose. Greek, however, like Hebrew, was still under suspicion as being cultivated chiefly by heretics. George Buchanan,¹ whose Latin was held in such high esteem, had also a knowledge of Greek, but what he had he taught himself. Hector Boece, the first Principal of Aberdeen University, was a good Latinist and may have obtained a tincture of Greek seeing he was a correspondent of Erasmus and held him in great admiration. Of this, however, we cannot be sure, and the same uncertainty prevails as to John Vaus, one of his colleagues, whose *Rudimenta* was in use for students of Latin. That Greek early found admittance into the University is shown by the fact that James V. and his queen who visited it in 1541 were entertained among other things with "divers orations made in Greek, Latin and other languages". One of the earliest Greek inscriptions in Scotland is to be seen on a tomb within the ruined church of Kinkell, near Inverurie, and it may be taken as indicating the influence of the University. The inscription—*ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ὑποθανεῖν κέρδος* (Phil. i. 21)—is in memory of John Forbes of Ardmurdo, who died in 1592.² That the new learning was felt to be necessary in the newly founded Universities we can gather from the utterances of enlightened men before the Reformation. In 1540 Archibald Hay, afterwards Principal of the New College (St. Mary's), St. Andrews, is heard deploring the ignorance, negligence and hypocrisy of the unreformed clergy. "It will be of far more consequence," he says, in a panegyric addressed to Cardinal Beaton, "to procure teachers capable of instructing the youth in the three learned languages than to endow a rich but illiterate College."³ In 1543 an Act of the Scots Parliament was passed allowing the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be translated into the English or Scottish tongue and read by the people.

Meanwhile, the Reformation which we date from 1560 had reached Aberdeen. It is with Principal Alexander Arbuthnot that the reorganisa-

¹ Hume Brown, *Life of George Buchanan*, p. 13.

² Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen*, p. 56. On a tombstone in the churchyard of St. Cyrus and Ecclesgreig is an inscription of date 1662 to this effect: *τῷ νικῶντι δόσεται τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων κοινωνίαν*, a fact which I owe to Rev. R. Davidson, B.D., minister of the parish.

³ McCrie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 453.

tion of the University on the basis of the Reformation took place. In 1569, when he was minister of Logie-Buchan, he was appointed Principal. His ecclesiastical sympathies may be inferred from the fact that he was the intimate friend of Andrew Melville and his nephew James. "He was a man," says the latter, "of singular gifts of learning, wisdom, godliness and sweetness of nature." James Melville also pronounces him one of the "learnedest in Europe". It was through him that the powerful influence of Andrew Melville, the founder of Scottish Presbytery, told upon Aberdeen. In the *First Book of Discipline* which came from the hand of the leaders of the Scottish Reformation in 1561, approval had been given to the three Universities then in existence, and among the studies recommended were "Greek, Hebrew and Divinity". It had been the ideal of John Knox and the authors of the *First Book of Discipline* that in the more notable towns, especially the old cathedral cities, there should be a college, or secondary school, in which the languages should be taught by competent masters, bursaries being provided out of the revenues of old foundations to enable poor scholars to attend. And then the Universities with their professional studies would crown the goodly edifice of the educational system. It is well known how this noble ideal came short of realisation.

From 1576 to 1579 one of the earliest Universities Commissions was engaged in considering the condition of St. Andrews University. Of this Commission both George Buchanan, who had been Principal of St. Leonard's from 1566 to 1570, and Andrew Melville, Principal of St. Mary's, were members. The course of study laid down for St. Mary's, St. Andrews (set apart "allenary" for the study of theology), was specially noteworthy because of the prominence given to the sacred tongues. Professors were to "expone" the various books of Scripture as well as to read them in the original, comparing the Hebrew of the Old Testament with the Septuagint and the Chaldee paraphrases, and the Greek of the New Testament with the old Syriac translation.¹ Melville himself was Principal and Professor of Systematic Theology, having had a share in this work of University re-organisation scarcely less important than that which is ascribed to him in the establishment of Presbyterianism. The system which Melville endeavoured to introduce into St. Andrews was extended in course of

¹ Prof. A. F. Mitchell, D.D., *The Scottish Reformation*, Appendix A., p. 288. Cf. Hume Brown, *Life of George Buchanan*, p. 240, who points out the impracticability of such a course of study and its subsequent failure.

time to Glasgow, and through Arbuthnot, as we have indicated, was in some measure put in practice in Aberdeen. Greek was added to the curriculum. Aristotle, which up to the Reformation had been read from the Latin, was now to be taught "de Græco contextu". But the "Nova Fundatio" met with bitter opposition in Aberdeen, where the leaven of Prelacy lingered long; and there is little doubt that the founding of Marischal College in 1593 by the Earl of that name, who had imbibed the Protestant principles of the great French reformer and scholar, Theodore Beza, was prompted by the desire to have a college in Aberdeen on a thoroughly Protestant and Presbyterian foundation. When Marischal was founded, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac were included in the curriculum, clearly showing the purpose of the noble and cultured founder to promote the study of the Scriptures in the original tongues. In Marischal College besides the week-day lectures the reading of the Greek Testament was prescribed for Sundays—St. Luke's Gospel for the first class, the Acts of the Apostles for the second, the Epistle to the Romans for the third, and the Epistle to the Hebrews for the fourth. The foundation thus established by Earl Marischal received the approval of the General Assembly and of Parliament the same year.

Before the end of the sixteenth century great progress had been made in classical studies. Schools in which Greek was to be taught were established in many parts of the country. The most difficult Greek authors were now read in all the Universities. The best evidence of the progress of New Testament studies, along with other departments of Biblical learning, in Great Britain at this period, is King James's version of the Bible, completed in 1611. How competent these translators were may be seen from a perusal of their preface. In the seventeenth century, with some fluctuations, the standard of scholarship and New Testament learning was maintained, notwithstanding the prevalence of strife, both in the civil and the ecclesiastical sphere. That Aberdeen was pre-eminent in scholarship, and especially in theological learning, is vouched for by Clarendon in his *History*. In the great controversies of the time it became identified with cavalier politics and anti-Puritan sentiments in religion and Church government. Patrick Forbes of Corse, who became Bishop of Aberdeen in 1618, was also Chancellor of the University, and exercised a powerful influence upon its fortunes. The Aberdeen Doctors, including Bishop Patrick Forbes, author of a *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, his son, Dr. John Forbes, and

Dr. William Forbes, Principal of Marischal, who ultimately became Bishop of Edinburgh, and who had a wide and accurate acquaintance with patristic literature, formed a galaxy of theologians whose lustre shone brightly and far. They made their time an Augustan age in Theology, as Thomas Reid, George Campbell, James Beattie and their contemporaries made theirs an Augustan age in Philosophy a century later.

From 1647 to 1648 we have the minutes of a Commission which sat in Edinburgh and took cognisance of all the Universities. They furnish interesting details of the courses of study, and we can discern in them the position of Greek and New Testament learning. In King's College Greek Grammar, the greatest part of the Greek New Testament, the Epistle of Basil the Great, an oration of Isocrates and another of Demosthenes, and a book of Homer were the principal studies prescribed. In Marischal College the same classical writers were prescribed "with the hail New Testament". In the Old Laws of King's College, promulgated anew in 1641, and again by John Row, Principal from 1653 to 1661, we find Greek orations ordained to be spoken on Saturdays, and a rule established that Greek as well as Latin, French and Hebrew were to be used in conversation. In 1676 a visitation found that the knowledge of the Greek tongue had decayed in the Colleges since they had left off interpreting Aristotle's text, and required that in every class, once a week, in the forenoon, the students should interpret some good Greek author in their respective schools.

In 1690, the year of the Revolution Settlement, a general Commission of visitation was appointed by the Scots Parliament. It laboured for ten years, but its main purpose, to effect uniformity in the subjects of study in all the Universities, was left in 1700 as far from accomplished as ever. An injunction to assign to one of the Regents the special duty and designation of Professor of Greek was obeyed in King's College in 1700, but not in Marischal till 1717. In the Report of the Commission there are references to the study of Greek, and it is interesting to note that when the Masters of King's College were asked as to the propriety of "fixing a constant Professor of the Greek tongue," they answered that their neighbours in Marischal College tried the practice some years before but did not find the experiment a success. "Nor do we," they continue, "see any necessity of renewing it, it being more difficult for us to find men eminent in the knowledge of Philosophy than the Greek tongue."

Up till now, and for long after, the studies which are included under the designation of Biblical Criticism fell to the Professors of Divinity in the Colleges, who, as we may gather from the published works of later occupants of the Chair, did their best to overtake their proper subject, Systematic Theology, and also the Exegesis and Interpretation of the New Testament and even of the Old. The vital importance of the latter studies had been apparent to the Church since the Reformation, and was asserted from time to time by the General Assembly. In 1696 the General Assembly passed an "Act against atheistical opinions," and deplored the widespread prevalence of infidelity with a denial of "the certainty and authority of Scripture revelation," taking into consideration also the character and attainments of the ministry. In another Act dealing with this subject the same "General Assembly, considering how necessary it is that they who declare the oracles of God to others should themselves understand them in the original languages, do require that none be licensed to preach, or ordained to the ministry, unless they give good proof of their understanding the Greek and Hebrew; and the General Assembly recommend to all candidates for the ministry to study also the other Oriental languages, especially the Chaldaic and Syriac, so far as they can". That the means of instruction up to that standard existed in the Universities at that period we have no doubt, although it may be questioned whether they were largely taken advantage of, and whether many pursued them in their practical application to the study and interpretation of Holy Scripture.

Of the men who have achieved enduring fame in the first half of the eighteenth century in connection with Biblical studies, Aberdeen possesses one in the person of Alexander Cruden, compiler of the well-known *Concordance*. He was the son of Bailie Cruden, one of the magistrates of the city. His name appears in the list of students in Marischal College from 1713 to 1716, 1717 to 1718, and he graduated M.A. in 1721. During his course of study he gave attendance upon the lectures of Thomas Blackwell, the elder, Professor of Divinity, and later Principal of Marischal College. His mind having become deranged, he never settled down to a profession; and we hear of him first as a private tutor, then as a bookseller, and again as corrector for the press. His *Concordance*, completed in 1737, was dedicated to Queen Caroline, and has gone through a great number of editions. It has not yet been superseded,

although improvements have been made upon it in its later editions. He died in 1770, being found dead on his knees, and his memory is kept alive in the University by the Cruden Bursary.

From the time when Greek had begun to be taught in both Colleges as a preliminary to the philosophical course by "ane fixed Greek Professor," the most eminent was Thomas Blackwell, the younger. He was made Professor of Greek in Marischal College in 1723, and was raised to the Principalship in 1748, still retaining his Chair. His work entitled an *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* had a high reputation with his contemporaries, and he is spoken of as having revived the study of Greek literature in the North of Scotland. It was under him that George Campbell, James Beattie and Alexander Gerard laid the foundations of their scholarship and learning. It is notable as a proof of interest in New Testament learning that in 1746 the degree of D.D. was conferred by Marischal College upon Nathaniel Lardner, whose monumental work in ten volumes on the *Credibility of the Gospel History* was then attracting the attention of scholars. Blackwell was succeeded in the Greek Chair by William Kennedy, who entered upon his duties in 1758. It was in 1769, during his tenure of the Chair, that the Earl of Buchan, through Beattie, then Professor of Moral Philosophy, presented the Silver Pen to the Greek Class as a prize to be competed for every year. After long discontinuance the bestowal of this distinction was revived in 1901 at the instance of Professor Harrower. If we may take Beattie's own son as an example of the attainments of a good Greek scholar—he was the winner of the Silver Pen—we learn that during his course as a student he had read Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and a great part of Hesiod, the greatest part of Xenophon, the *Phædo* of Plato, six or seven books of Euclid, Arrian's *History of Alexander*, two plays of Sophocles, part of Herodotus and Plutarch, of the Septuagint and the New Testament, the *Ethics* and *Poetics* of Aristotle, Longinus, several of the Odes of Pindar, and other works—a very creditable profession, even taking into account his superior advantages and his undoubted precocity.¹

The mention of GEORGE CAMPBELL brings us to the greatest name in the history of Marischal College. Great as he is in philosophical power and acumen, he is not less eminent in scholarly attainments and Biblical

¹ Margaret Forbes, *Beattie and his Friends*, p. 224.

learning. His ripe and varied learning is seen in the famous *Dissertation on Miracles* with which he refuted David Hume, and also in his Sermons, of which that on *The Spirit of the Gospel, a Spirit neither of Superstition nor of Enthusiasm* and that on *The Success of the Gospel a Proof of its Truth*, are among the most notable. His less known but admirable lectures on *Pulpit Eloquence* and *The Pastoral Character* are distinguished by the same qualities. But he has left behind him works belonging directly to the field of Biblical Criticism. His *Translation of the Four Gospels with Preliminary Dissertations and Notes* in two volumes, entitles him to a place in the foremost rank of New Testament scholars. This work occupied his leisure to a late period of his life. From the days of his early ministry in the quiet parish of Banchory-Ternan to the days of his Principalship in Marischal College he was always working at it. "As far back as 1750," he says in his Preface, "soon after I had gotten the charge of a country parish, I formed the design of collecting such useful criticisms on the text of the New Testament as should either occur to my own observation, or as I should meet with in the course of my reading; particularly to take notice of such proposed alterations in the manner of translating the words of the original as appeared not only defensible in themselves but to yield a better meaning or at least to express the meaning with more perspicuity or energy." He then describes his procedure and mentions *Scholia*, which he added, giving the reasons of changes introduced. "*The Scholia*," he proceeds, "were indeed very brief, being intended only to remind me of the principal reasons on which my judgment of the different passages had been founded. But soon after, upon a change of circumstances and situation, having occasion to turn my thoughts more closely to Scriptural criticism than formerly, I entered into a minute examination of many points concerning which I had thrown together some hints in my collection." Thus the book grew upon his hands, and he could say, as Augustine said of one of his works: "*Juvenis inchoavi, senex edidi*," for it was not till 1789 that it was published, seven years before his death.

The work consists of twelve Preliminary Dissertations, and then the Translations of the Four Gospels separately, each preceded by a Preface containing matter of the nature of Introduction and followed by copious notes, grammatical, historical and exegetical, of the kind he had indicated in his general Preface. For the text of the New Testament he had before

him Mill's famous critical edition with valuable prolegomena, published in 1707, and Wetstein's New Testament, issued in two folio volumes, 1751 and 1752 distinguished not only by a complete critical apparatus but also by a wonderful collection, still drawn upon by commentators, of parallel passages and illustrative quotations from Classical and Rabbinical sources. He had also at his service besides the Vulgate Latin and other ancient versions, the Latin translations of Erasmus, Beza, Castalio, and Arias Montanus, while more than one French version were frequently in requisition. That he took account of the renderings of the earlier English translations, including the Geneva and the Rhemish, was only to be expected of such a conscientious worker. Attempts had been made at revision of the whole or of parts of King James's version before Principal Campbell's day. John Row, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1655, made proposals for a more perfect version of a very scholarly but too elaborate character, of which, however, nothing seems to have come. Specimens of such revision seem to have been in Dr. Campbell's hands serving in some instances as beacons of warning rather than examples for imitation.¹ With the works of Richard Simon, the father of the Higher Criticism, of J. D. Michaelis, and of J. A. Bengel, the prince of commentators, the *Dissertations and Notes* show intimate acquaintance. But his independence of mind is undoubted, and no one will contest the claim he makes for himself to be, in the words of the poet:—

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.

It is interesting to notice the principles with which he approaches the task of translation. In one of his Dissertations (Diss. xi., Part ii.) he gives his estimate of the Authorised version of 1611. He admits it to be one of the best of the versions produced so soon after the Reformation. But it brought imperfections with it from the times when it was executed, and especially, in Campbell's judgment, from the scholars of Geneva, and notably Beza (from whose last folio edition, 1598, King James's revisers would likely take their readings) to whose judgment too great deference

¹ Mention may be made of E. Harwood's *Liberal Translation of the New Testament*, London, 1768. Dr. Johnson opening it found the sublime yet simple words of the Evangelist, *Jesus wept*, translated, *And Jesus, the Saviour of the world, burst into a flood of tears*. He contemptuously threw the book aside, exclaiming "Puppy!" (see Lightfoot on *Revision*, p. xix.).

was paid. A larger spirit was now abroad, scholarship had advanced, progress had been made not only in the domain of literature, but also in that of antiquities and criticism. It seemed desirable to give effect to these in a fresh revision. Moreover, language was always undergoing change, and already there were archaic and obsolete expressions requiring to be changed. He was well aware that any one attempting a new translation was open to the charge of doing harm to religion. By appearing to discredit the casket in which the treasure was preserved, the treasure itself would seem of less esteem : by introducing questions as to the proper rendering of passages or words, a measure of uncertainty would be attributed to the whole Scripture revelation. Such charges have always been made when a new translation is spoken of. Principal Campbell meets them by pointing to the Latin translations of Erasmus, Beza and others ; to Wycliffe's translation before their day ; and even to the marginal renderings given as probable alternatives by King James's translators, all of which so far from being in the end prejudicial to the faith, had proved of advantage to it. "There is not," he says, "a topic which the present adversaries of an improved translation in English employ now, which was not with the same plausibility employed against Jerome's Latin translation, called the Vulgate, at present in universal use in the Latin Church, and which was not also employed against the English translation of James VI., that very version for which our adversaries on this article now so strenuously contend. On the other hand, there was not any plea which Jerome urged in support of his attempt, or which the English translators urged in support of theirs, that will not equally serve the purpose of any present or future well-meant attempt of the like kind, and consequently that does not strike against every measure which might effectually preclude any such attempt in time to come." ¹ In point of fact he anticipated the chief pleas put forward a generation ago by Archbishop Trench, Dean Alford, Bishops Lightfoot and Ellicott, and others in favour of Biblical revision, which led to the execution of the Revised version. Like these scholars, he was ready to alter and to improve the Authorised version wherever it should be found incorrect, inexact or insufficient. He takes exception at once to the practice of King James's translators in varying too freely the rendering of the same Greek word as a sin against lucidity ; he complains of the opposite fault, when they render Greek words clearly different in meaning by the

¹ *Works*, vol. iii., p. 29.

same English expression ; he regards it as desirable to define more accurately, and to express with greater precision titles of honour, proper names and technical terms ; and he points out quite a large number of expressions which even in his day had changed their meaning or become archaisms, such as *meat* for *food*, *coasts* for *territories*, *quick* for *living*, and many more. With a view to greater accuracy of rendering, he subjects a number of synonyms to a thorough and scholarly investigation, and this is among the most successful of his efforts at New Testament criticism. We cannot help admiring the facility in grasping the finer shades of meaning, and the skill in giving them suitable expression, which are natural to the trained metaphysician and the author of the *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. In one minute and yet notable particular, which shows the thoroughness of his critical investigations, he anticipated the revisers of 1881. He expresses strong dissatisfaction with the use King James's translators have made of italics to supply words not in the original for the sake of perspicuity or to accommodate the expression to the idiom of the English tongue. One of the express rules of the Revision Company was that all such words, printed in italics, as are plainly implied in the original, and necessary in the English, are to be printed in common type. There was one department of revision in which Principal Campbell was, by the necessity of circumstances, behind our Revisers—the department of textual alteration. The Textus Receptus was still the standard authority, and although he could consult the Alexandrine Codex, and several of the ancient versions, to correct its readings, he was not in a position to make many alterations. Yet he puts the doxology of the Lord's Prayer in brackets because of its omission in so many good critical authorities, and with reference to the last twelve verses of St. Mark he has a note exhibiting considerable critical judgment.

We have dwelt at some length upon the principles which Campbell followed in executing his translation of the four Gospels, because they show his aptitude for the discussion of critical questions and the fulness of his learning. The performance itself, however, decidedly disappoints expectations. The translation, notwithstanding the merit and excellence of occasional passages, cannot as a whole be pronounced a success. Despite the fact that he had submitted the work before publication to his friend and colleague, Beattie, for criticism and emendation, especially in the matter of style, and that Beattie gave him seventy or eighty quarto

pages of remarks and suggestions,¹ he fails conspicuously, when he deviates from King James's translation, to maintain the rhythm and refinement and simplicity of that incomparable version. Often, when greater precision has been sought after, the result is pedantic, and in other cases the deviation from the standard version is so abrupt that it jars upon the ear and sometimes offends the taste. Here are a few out of a multitude of examples that might be given: In Matt. ii. 6, for "Thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Juda," we read "Thou, Bethlehem, in the *Canton* of Juda"; in Matt. v. 3, for "Blessed are the poor in spirit," we read "Happy the poor who repine not"; in Matt. xviii. 35, for "So likewise shall My heavenly Father do also unto you," we read "Thus will My *Celestial* Father treat every one of you," a translation which Dr. Morison calls an outrage on good taste; in Mark x. 38, for "Can ye be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" we read "Can ye undergo an immersion like that which I must undergo?" in Luke xvii. 20, for "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation," we read "The reign of God is not ushered in with parade"; in John xxi. 5, for "Children, have ye any meat?" ("Children, have ye aught to eat?" *R.V.*) we read "My lads, have ye any victuals"? A very fair and able reviewer in the *Monthly Review*, 1790, after praising highly the *Dissertations*, expresses disappointment regarding the *Translation*. "We are compelled to add," he says, "that the instances of a partial improvement of the old version are comparatively few; that its simplicity and energy have been frequently injured without any change, or at least any material change, of sense. Colloquial and even vulgar expressions are sometimes substituted for others less dignified yet sufficiently plain; while, on the other hand, many passages are obscured by words derived from the Latin, and unintelligible to a great part of the common congregation; nor can we suppress our opinion that to readers of learning and taste the general effect of this translation will appear very inferior to that of our common version."

The *Translation* is disappointing, but the *Dissertations* exhibit a learning and a scholarship which have sufficed to rescue Principal Campbell's labours from oblivion. Of the *Dissertations* his colleague, Beattie, writing to Sir William Forbes, said that they were "really a treasure of theological learning, exact criticism, and sound divinity," adding that they had given him more information in regard to what may

¹ *Beattie and his Friends*, pp. 186, 190.

be called Scripture knowledge than all the other books he had read.¹ As it is upon the *Dissertations* that Campbell's reputation as a Biblical critic ultimately rests, it may be worth while to give some idea of their contents.

In the first Dissertation, on "The Language and Idiom of the New Testament," he discusses the questions which have been raised in recent times by Dr. Hatch in his *Essays in Biblical Greek*. There were scholars in Campbell's time who thought it beneath the dignity of the record of New Testament revelation to admit that St. Paul's style and that of other inspired writers was less classical than that of Plato, and who set down the deviations from classical models to Hebraisms or Syriacisms. Against this Campbell properly insists that Hellenistic Greek cannot strictly be denominated a separate language, or even dialect, when the term dialect is conceived to imply peculiarities of declension and conjugation. To understand properly the idioms of the New Testament, we must familiarise ourselves with the LXX, and not with it alone but with the spoken language of Palestine between the exile and the time of Christ, which has greatly influenced the Greek translation of the Old Testament and the New Testament also. Principal Campbell would have been one of the readiest to appreciate and welcome the work of Dalman and Deissmann, and others who have prosecuted just the kind of researches which he suggests, and to avail himself of the copious materials offered by the recently discovered papyri.

Throughout all the *Dissertations* there runs a clear and powerful apologetic vein. Out of the homely style of the New Testament writers he constructs a valuable argument. "The writings of the New Testament," he says, "carry in the very expression and idiom an intense and irresistible evidence of their authenticity. They are such as in respect of style could not have been written but by Jews, and hardly even by Jews superior in rank and education to those whose names they bear. And what greatly strengthens the argument is that under this homely garb we find the most exalted sentiments, the closest reasoning, the purest morality, and the sublimest doctrine."²

In the third Dissertation, which is remarkably fresh and able in its treatment of the style and manner of the Evangelists, we feel the hand of the author of the *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. He brings out with great acumen and with ample detail the characteristic of the sacred writers which we

¹ *Beattie and his Friends*, pp. 189, 190.

² Vol. iii., p. 43.

might call *reserve*, and which he describes as the absence from their narratives of the quality of style called *animation*. "The historians," he says, "speak of nothing, not even the most atrocious actions of our Lord's persecutors, with symptoms of emotion; no angry epithet or pathetic exclamation ever escapes them; not a word that betrays passion in the writer, or is calculated to excite the passions of the reader. In displaying the most gracious as well as most marvellous dispensation of Providence towards man, all is directed to mend his heart, nothing to move his pity or kindle his resentment. If these effects be also produced, they are manifestly the consequences of the naked exposition of the facts and not of any adventitious act in the writers, nay, not of any one term, not otherwise necessary, employed for the purpose." And in continuance of the same line of remark, he says: "Never could it be said of any preachers with more truth than of them, that they preached not themselves but Christ Jesus the Lord. Deeply impressed with their Master's instructions, and far from affecting to be called Rabbi, or to be honoured of men as fathers and teachers in things Divine, they never allowed themselves to forget that they had only one Father who is in heaven and only one Teacher, the Messiah. The unimpassioned, yet not unfeeling manner wherein they relate His cruel sufferings without letting one harsh or severe epithet escape them reflecting on the conduct of His enemies is as unexampled as it is inimitable, and forms an essential distinction between them and all who have either gone before or followed them, literate or illiterate, artful or artless, sceptical or fanatical. For if in the latter class, the illiterate, the artless and the fanatical, fury and hatred flame forth whenever opposition or contradiction presents them with an occasion, the former, the literate, the artful and the sceptical, are not less distinguishable for the supercilious and contemptuous manner in which they treat the opinions of religionists of all denominations. The manner of the Evangelists was equally removed from both. Add to this that, without making the least pretence to learning, they nowhere affect to depreciate it; but, on the contrary, show a readiness to pay all due regard to every useful talent or acquisition."¹ And here again he draws the conclusion that the Christian hypothesis that they spoke the truth and were under the influence of the Divine Spirit accounts for the fact and is the only hypothesis that does so.

His estimate of the early Christian Fathers well attests his sanity

¹ Vol. iii., p. 96.

and breadth of judgment. In the fourth Dissertation he introduces the subject. "The Fathers," he says, "are not entitled to our adoration, neither do they merit our contempt. If some of them are weak and credulous, others of them are both learned and judicious. In what depends purely on reason and argument, we ought to treat them with the same impartiality as we do the moderns, carefully weighing what is said, not who says it. In what depends on testimony, they are in every case wherein no particular passion can be suspected to have swayed them to be preferred before modern interpreters or annotators. . . . I do not see that we ought to confide in the verdict of the Fathers as judges, but that we ought to give them an impartial hearing as, in many cases, the only competent witnesses. And everybody must be sensible that the direct testimony of a plain man in a matter which comes within the sphere of his knowledge, is more to be regarded than the subtle conjectures of an able scholar who does not speak from knowledge but gives the conclusions he has drawn from his own precarious reasonings, or from those of others."¹ The Principal of Marischal College would have made short work of the sceptical critics who are ever on the outlook for difficulties and discrepancies, ambiguities and obscurities in the sacred writings. "If there has not been," he says, "such a profusion of criticism on the obscurities and ambiguities which occur in other authors, it is to be ascribed solely to this circumstance that what claims to be revelation awakens a closer attention and excites a more scrupulous examination than any other performance which, how valuable soever, is infinitely less interesting to mankind. Nor is there a single principle by which our knowledge of the import of sacred writ, especially in what relates to Jewish and Christian antiquities, could be overturned that would not equally involve all ancient literature in universal scepticism."

It would have been instructive to quote passages from his interesting discussion of the influence of inspiration upon the style of the Scripture writers, and similar subjects which he treats with his wonted acuteness. We can, however, only notice his treatment of New Testament synonyms which shows his scholarship and his feeling for minute shades of difference in words to the greatest advantage. In the discussion of such synonyms as *μετανοεῖν* and *μεταμέλεσθαι*, of *ἄγιος* and *ὅσιος*, of *κηρύσσειν*, *εὐαγγελίζειν*, *καταγγέλλειν* and *διδάσκειν* he proves himself as great a master of the

¹Vol. iii., pp. 102, 103.

study of words and as resourceful a New Testament scholar as Archbishop Trench whose *New Testament Synonyms* is a standard authority. Nothing could be finer or more scholarly than the treatment of ἄγιος and ὁσιος and their Hebrew conjugates which he follows through fifteen pages. One can hardly put aside the impression that Trench in his interesting discussion of the same words draws not only from the same sources as Campbell, but though he does not mention Campbell's name is indebted to the Dissertation in question.

His *Dissertations* will still repay perusal and cannot fail to evoke admiration of the industry and scholarship and acuteness of the writer. In its day his critical work was scarcely less esteemed than his philosophical, though it never attracted the same attention as his triumphant encounter with Hume. Dr. T. Hartwell Horne, whose *Introduction* was long regarded as the standard authority on the New Testament writings, pronounced upon Campbell's *Translation and Dissertations* the following judgment: "The extensive circulation of this valuable work which has placed the author high in the rank of Biblical critics, sufficiently attests the esteem in which it is held. Although his version has not altogether answered the expectations entertained of it, yet the notes which accompany it form an excellent philosophical commentary on the four Evangelists; and the Dissertations are a treasure of sacred criticism." That Principal Campbell's *Dissertations* were of value to thoughtful students long after their first publication may be noticed from biographical and other records. For example, Principal Story in his *Life of Dr. Robert Lee*, the first Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in Edinburgh University, quotes from his diary, while still only a student, an entry to the effect that he had derived information from Campbell's *Dissertations* which would enable him to peruse the Greek Testament, the Septuagint, and even the Hebrew Bible with great advantage. It is a tribute to the estimation in which his New Testament labours were held that the *Translation and Dissertations* went through seven editions between 1790 and 1840—the quotations given above being taken from the *Works of George Campbell, D.D., F.R.S.*, in six volumes, published in London, 1840.

The labours of Principal Campbell in the field of Biblical learning were continued with equal industry and scholarship, though with less distinction and success by his younger contemporary in King's College, Dr. GILBERT

GERARD. Gilbert Gerard was the distinguished son of a distinguished father, Dr. Alexander Gerard, Professor of Divinity, first in Marischal then in King's College, and one of the founders of the Philosophical Society, along with Thomas Reid and George Campbell. Whilst still minister of the English Reformed Church in Amsterdam Gilbert Gerard had been created D.D. of King's College, and in 1790 he was appointed Professor of Greek in King's College. On the death of his father in 1795 he was elected Professor of Divinity, and held the Chair till his death in 1815. As part of his Divinity course he was wont to deliver lectures on Biblical Criticism, to which then, and for long after, no Chair was appropriated. It was into this subject that he seems to have thrown his strength, and the fruit of his studies is preserved to us in a volume of *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*, the second edition of which was issued in 1808. Of his scholarship this work gives a very favourable impression. That he was equally at home in Greek and the Semitic tongues is clear from the lectures, which cover both the Old and New Testament. He had grasped the bearings of Textual Criticism and shows discrimination in his judgments upon various readings, noticing the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, the text of the Heavenly Witnesses in St. John's First Epistle, and other controverted readings. His chief authorities are Richard Simon, J. D. Michaelis (translated by Marsh, to whom the volume is dedicated), Lowth and Lightfoot, for Old Testament subjects, while for the New Testament he refers to Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, with Macknight and occasionally Campbell for the Gospels and Epistles. The work made the impression of great learning and sound scholarship upon his contemporaries, and it is favourably reviewed in the *Scots Magazine* for 1809. As "an attempt to reduce the general principles and rules of Sacred Criticism to a regular system," which was the author's purpose, it is highly meritorious, but the form in which he presents the subject, as heads of his class lectures, in numbered paragraphs reaching up to 1,253, leaves us with a dry and hard skeleton rather than a body of flesh and blood. His eminence as a Churchman may be gathered from the fact that he was one of his Majesty's Chaplains and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1803, as his father had been before him in 1764.

With the close of Dr. Gilbert Gerard's career we are brought down to the verge of the modern period, when men of note were growing into fame whom people of middle age still remember. In Marischal College Prin-

cial Campbell was succeeded in his Chair and in the Principalship by Dr. William Laurence Brown, who had studied in Holland and had held a Chair in the University of Utrecht, which made him a Doctor of Divinity. He was a formidable debater and a voluminous writer, but published nothing on Biblical Criticism.¹ His son, afterwards Dr. R. J. Brown, was minister of Drumblade till he was appointed to the Chair of Greek in Marischal, where he was known among his students as the "Dorian". He retired from his Chair at the fusion in 1860 and survived to 1872, having been Moderator of the Free Church in 1846. Principal W. L. Brown was followed in the Chair of Divinity by Dr. Black, then minister of Tarves, who was one of the deputation, including Rev. Dr. Keith of St. Cyrus, Rev. R. M. McCheyne of Dundee, and Rev. Dr. Andrew Bonar, appointed by the General Assembly in 1838 to visit the Jewish communities in the East, with a view to the establishment of a Jewish Mission. Dr. Black had contested the Chair of Divinity in King's College with Dr. Duncan Mearns, and had acquitted himself so well that the University bestowed upon him while still a probationer the Degree of D.D. He joined the Free Church at the Disruption in 1843 and was made Professor of Exegetics in the New College, Edinburgh. He was a man of remarkable linguistic acquirements, and it was said of him, and of his friend and latterly colleague, the well-known Rabbi Duncan, that the two of them together could have spoken their way to the great wall of China. At the Disruption Dr. W. R. Pirie became Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, in 1860 Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the United University, and in 1877 its Principal. In King's College Dr. Duncan Mearns succeeded Dr. Gerard as Professor of Divinity, and occupied the Chair till his death in 1852, his strength lying in the field of Christian Evidences. Rabbi Duncan, who was a student under him, has left a remarkable record of Dr. Mearns' teaching and influence. "Time was," he said, "when I was so sunk in atheism that once on seeing a horse I said to myself: 'There is no difference between that horse and me'. But Dr. Mearns brought me out of that, and I have never since doubted the existence of a personal, living God. But he convinced me besides of the truth of the Bible as a historical record. So I have come to believe in the Jewish

¹ For his powers in debate see his Speech delivered in the General Assembly on the question of the Settlement at Kingsbarns of Professor Arnot, D.D., of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews.

religion and in Christianity as the complement of it." Duncan was led on to the full acceptance of all the doctrines of grace, but he always named Mearns, David Brown (afterwards Professor and Principal in Aberdeen Free Church College), and Malan (the famous Cæsar Malan of Geneva), as the three men to whom he had been most indebted.¹

Professor Mearns was succeeded in the Chair of Divinity by his son-in-law, Dr. Robert Macpherson, then minister of Forres. Like Dr. Gilbert Gerard and Principal Campbell, he endeavoured to secure time from the more strictly theological subjects of his course for the critical interpretation of Scripture and for lectures on the New Testament Canon. The Epistle to the Romans was a book on which he lectured, and the volume, published after his death, on the *Resurrection of Jesus Christ* is sufficient voucher for his scholarship and his critical gifts. In this volume he deals with Baur, Strauss and Renan, whose works were at the time doing so much to unsettle the faith on the Continent and even in this country. Dr. Macpherson subjected, in particular, Strauss's *New Life of Jesus* to examination and refutation in a manner not unworthy of the traditions of Aberdeen scholarship and philosophy. In a Memoir prefixed to the volume and written by the late Principal P. C. Campbell, D.D., notice is taken of his work in this direction: "For several years," says the Memoir, "he devoted to Sacred Hermeneutics much more time and attention than is usually done by Theological Professors. As a Biblical scholar his attainments were of the highest order. His remarks in reference to the exercises of his students on the original text of the Hebrew Scriptures show how fully and successfully he had for himself investigated the meaning of important and difficult passages; and in familiarity with the text of the Greek New Testament and with all questions relative to the authenticity and criticism of its various parts, he had probably no superior in Scotland. While naturally led in this direction as a student and a teacher by his own turn of mind and by the academical traditions of Aberdeen, he was even more so by the consideration that such studies, at all times necessary to enable the friends of Revelation to determine its true import, have become in our day the chosen battlefield of its most able and popular opponents." After the institution in the University in 1860 of a separate Chair of Biblical Criticism, Dr. Macpherson restricted himself mainly to Systematic Theology, with a certain measure of regret it is believed, as his predilections

¹ *David Brown, D.D., LL.D.*, by Professor Blaikie, pp. 30 ff.

were distinctly in favour of criticism, and in particular, of New Testament Studies.

The Union of the Colleges in 1860 forms the starting-point of the modern history of the University. By the retirement of Dr. R. J. Brown in that year, Professor W. D. GEDDES became sole Professor of Greek in the United University. Appointed to the Greek Chair of King's College in 1855, at a time when Greek scholarship had fallen somewhat low, he at once communicated to it new life. His name, and that of Melvin, our great Latinist, will, for generations to come, be associated as the chief factors in the classical renaissance in the North. By the publication of his *Greek Grammar* and his edition of the *Phædo* of Plato, he stepped at once into the foremost rank of Greek scholars, and his gifts as a teacher of Greek awakened new enthusiasm for the study. During his thirty years tenure of the Chair he gave an impetus to the study of Greek in the North, which it had never known before, and which has not yet spent its force. While he opened up to his students new vistas into the poetry and philosophy of Greece, with Homer and Plato as the chief figures, he was a devout and accomplished New Testament scholar, and delighted to import into the study of the Greek tragedians, or of Plato, New Testament parallels, and illustrations from the Gospels or St. Paul. An incident of the closing days of his life is not unworthy of mention in this connection. Only two days before his death, early in February, 1900, he had attended in his capacity as Principal the concluding lecture of a series on Pastoral Theology delivered by the Rev. J. Stewart Wilson, D.D., of New Abbey, to the students of Divinity, and expressing his appreciation, and by way of encouragement to those who were looking forward to the work of the ministry, he referred to the words "God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind" (2 Tim. i. 7). They were, we believe, his last public utterance in the University, and they were the words of the text of Principal George Campbell's famous sermon, *The Spirit of the Gospel, a Spirit neither of Superstition nor of Enthusiasm*. To the scholarly ideals and eminent gifts of Sir William Geddes as Professor of Greek, New Testament Scholarship, as well as Classical Scholarship in the North will stand for long indebted.

As far back as 1826 a Universities Commission had reported that in order to afford a complete course of Divinity there should be in each of the Scottish Universities a Professorship of Systematic Theology, a Pro-

fessorship of Oriental Languages, a Professorship of Church History, and a Professorship of Biblical Criticism. No legislative enactment to carry out the finding of the Commission followed upon the report, and the desiderated Chairs of Biblical Criticism still tarried. In 1838 the General Assembly adopted an overture "Anent the importance of establishing and endowing a Professorship of Biblical Criticism," which was sent down to Presbyteries, and with the approbation of a majority of them enacted in 1839 into a standing law of the Church. The Act of Assembly ran as follows: "Whereas it is of the highest consequence to the character, influence and efficiency of the ministers of the Church that no branch of theological study should be neglected or superficially cultivated, and whereas there is not at present any sufficient security or provision for having the study of Biblical Criticism conducted as an essential part of the theological course in any of our Universities, the General Assembly direct that all practicable efforts shall be made for establishing a Professorship of that department of sacred learning in every one of the Universities of Scotland . . . and further the General Assembly enact and ordain that after the institution and endowment of such additional Chair for giving instruction in Biblical Criticism, all students of Divinity, in every University, shall be required to give regular attendance on the lectures and other exercises during two years of their attendance at the Divinity Hall". The time, however, was not favourable for the institution of new Chairs. The Ten Years' Conflict was running its course, and was to culminate in the Disruption of 1843. Notwithstanding, the movement for new Chairs was not altogether resultless. In 1846 a Chair of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities was instituted by the Crown in Edinburgh University, and the first incumbent, Dr. Robert Lee, who was also minister of Old Greyfriars, was appointed one of the three Deans of the Chapel Royal, the terms of the gift to him being "so long as he shall hold the office of Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh, and to his successors in office". For more than a decade nothing was done to give complete effect to recommendations strongly supported by academic and ecclesiastical authorities alike.

It was left to the Universities Commission, appointed under the Act of Parliament of 1858 amid many other important changes, to provide the lacking Chair. What the Commission of 1826 recommended as to all the Universities, the Act of 1858 rendered imperative as to the University

of Aberdeen, for it enacted that in the Faculty of Divinity there should be Professors of Systematic Theology, of Oriental Languages, of Church History, and of Biblical Criticism. But the Commissioners appointed under the Act held it to be most important that provision should be made for the establishment of the necessary Chair in the other Universities as well. In Edinburgh, as we have seen, a Chair of Biblical Criticism with adequate endowment was already provided. In St. Andrews the second of the two Professors of Divinity was to be made Professor of Biblical Criticism, and to be styled accordingly. In Glasgow and Aberdeen funds had to be found for the new Chair. In view of the difficulty of obtaining further grants of public money for such a purpose, the Commissioners fell back upon the precedent already set to them in Edinburgh and had recourse to the revenues of the Deanery of the Chapel Royal. This Deanery which, before the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, had been attached to the See of Dunblane, fell on that event to the Crown, and the revenues had been expended since that time in grants to three of the Crown Chaplains, who were commonly called Deans of the Chapel Royal, and divided the revenues equally among them. Besides Dr. Robert Lee, the Chaplains in 1858 were Principal Lee, of Edinburgh (who had been Professor of Moral Philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen, for the brief period of Session 1820-21), and Dr. Norman Macleod, of St. Columba, Glasgow, father of Dr. Norman Macleod, of the Barony. When the revenues which they received in equal proportions should be set free by the deaths of the present holders, they were to be disposed of as follows: One-third was to remain with the Chair of Biblical Criticism in Edinburgh University, in terms of the foundation of 1846; and the remaining two-thirds were to be applied to the Chair of Systematic Theology in Edinburgh, the Chair of Church History in St. Andrews, and the new Chairs of Biblical Criticism in Glasgow and Aberdeen, the incumbents of which were each to receive a sixth part of the entire revenues of the Deanery. By the death of the venerable Principal Lee the revenues of his Chaplaincy were available before the Report of the Commissioners was issued. In Aberdeen in addition to the sixth part of the Deanery revenues, a Parliamentary grant, formerly voted annually to the Principal, the emoluments of the Murray Chapel Lectureship, and the class fees, were to go to increase the emoluments of the Professor. By the Universities Act, the Crown was constituted patron, and in 1860 the

Rev. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, M.A., minister of the parish of Kilconquhar in Fife, was appointed the first Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen.¹

Professor Milligan has so recently passed away that little needs to be said to revive his memory in the University and in the Church of Scotland, of which he was so great an ornament. Born in Edinburgh in 1821, he grew up to manhood amid the plain living and high thinking of a Fifeshire manse, his father having become minister of Elie in 1832. He entered the University of St. Andrews at the age of fourteen, and graduated in Arts when just eighteen, after a College career of high promise. He studied Divinity partly in St. Andrews and partly in Edinburgh, just as the Ten Years' Conflict was coming to its crisis in the Disruption of 1843. In 1844 he was ordained to the ministry of the Church of Scotland in the parish of Cameron, whence he was translated in 1850 to the parish of Kilconquhar, both in the county of Fife. Having found it necessary from considerations of health to rest from parochial labour for a year, he went to Germany and took advantage of the leisure to attend the University of Hallé, laying there the foundation of that knowledge of German which proved of such service to him in his later studies. The faithful discharge of pastoral duty among an attached and devoted people, and the systematic prosecution of Biblical studies, formed an excellent preparation for the work of a Theological Chair. He had already written some scholarly articles for Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, and his appointment to a Chair in 1860 opened up to him a career which was in the highest degree congenial, and for which he was thoroughly equipped. In 1861 his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of D.D. He was an excellent Greek scholar, and in the University he encouraged the love and study of the Greek Testament by Sunday morning readings for students of all Faculties, which were greatly appreciated. Of Syriac he had also a working knowledge, acquired under Professor Roediger during a summer vacation in Germany.

Although his Chair was that of Biblical Criticism, Dr. Milligan confined himself to New Testament studies. In this he acted in accordance with the practice of the occupants of the new Chairs, with the solitary exception of Edinburgh, where the designation "Biblical Criticism and *Biblical Antiquities*" appears to require special attention to Old Testament

¹ For the above particulars, see Scottish Universities Commission Reports, 1858.

subjects as well. It was the time when Renan and Strauss were making their attacks upon the Christian faith and its records, and Dr. Milligan set himself with all the resources at his command to meet their assaults. The course mapped out for his class included a careful study of the Gospels and the other books of the New Testament, as far as time permitted, with the Canon of New Testament Scripture, and readings in the Apostolic Fathers from time to time. To Textual Criticism he gave attention at a time when it was by no means so prominent a study as it has since become. But the doctrinal and practical side of New Testament study was more in accordance with his bent of mind than the critical. This soon became manifest from papers which he contributed to the theological magazines, such as the *Journal of Sacred Literature* and the *Expositor*, as well as to other magazines like the *Contemporary Review*, the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, and the *Sunday Magazine*. When the revision of the Authorised version was determined upon, and the Convocation of Canterbury in 1870 invited scholars of other Communion to co-operate with members of its own body in its learned and responsible labours, Dr. Milligan was one of those summoned to the task, and naturally joined the New Testament Company. In this capacity he became associated with Bishop Ellicott, the Chairman of the New Testament Company, Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott, Professor Hort, Dr. W. F. Moulton, Professor Alexander Roberts, and other well-known scholars. Of his share in the work of revision, there are friendly notices in the recently published lives of Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort, and warm testimony has been borne to his helpfulness by Dr. Moulton and others who sat along with him in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster. The revised New Testament was issued in 1881, and in 1882, partly no doubt as a compliment on the completion of the work, Dr. Milligan was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. For the duties of this high office he was admirably fitted, by proved business aptitude as well as large experience in the Church Courts. The General Assembly had already recognised his gifts in this direction by choosing him as its Depute Clerk in 1875, and, on the death of Principal Tulloch, appointing him Principal Clerk in 1886.

He had now entered upon a career of literary activity which established his eminence as a Biblical scholar and added to the lustre of the University. In co-operation with the late Professor Roberts of St.

Andrews he published in 1873 a little book on *The Words of the New Testament*. To Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* he was a valued contributor. In 1875 he joined Dr. W. F. Moulton in a commentary on St. John's Gospel which was published in 1881. "He had as his message to the age," it has been said of him, "the interpretation of the beloved disciple. It was a true affinity of nature that attracted him to St. John." But it was by the series of works on *The Resurrection of Our Lord*, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord*, and *The Revelation of St. John* that he may be said to have really influenced theological progress in the nineteenth century. His work on *The Resurrection of Our Lord* (delivered as the Croall Lectures, 1879-80) has become a theological classic. Published in 1881 a second edition was called for in 1883 and a third in 1890. It attracted attention from the first, and especially in Anglican circles. The first three lectures of the volume are occupied with a presentation of the Nature and the Evidence of the Resurrection as a historical fact, and with a description of the theories propounded by opponents to account for the belief of it in the Early Church. The lectures are an excellent marshalling of the evidences for this vital and momentous fact. But it is the three further lectures that evidence so strikingly Dr. Milligan's power of deep and reverent thought, and his originality and freshness as a theologian. He strongly enforces the Scripture doctrine of the mystical union between Christ and His people. "This doctrine," he says, "of the union between the Lord Jesus Christ and His people is the central doctrine of the New Testament. It may well be doubted whether it is as much before the mind of the Church in our day as it ought to be. Our forefathers dwelt more upon it than we do. The mystical union, as they called it, held a far more prominent place in their thoughts than it holds in ours. We speak in popular language of justification, adoption and sanctification, together with the benefits that accompany or flow from them, as if these were several parts of a process by which we are brought near to Christ and in which we are united to Him. But that is not the order of things either in Scripture or in the standards of our own Church. They are not steps that lead to Him; they are deductions from what we have in Him."¹ He proceeds to show how from this union with the Risen Lord the Christian life derives its character and scope, its separation from the world, its consecration

¹ *The Resurrection of Our Lord*, p. 161.

to God, and its entrance upon the freedom wherewith Christ makes His people free, its nourishment and strength and its hope of immortality. In the last lecture he applies the conclusions he has reached to the Church and her mission to the world, setting forth the New Testament ideal of the Church in her unity and spirituality and world-wide scope with a persuasiveness which is convincing and attractive. "What the Church ought to possess," he says, "is a unity which the eye can see. If she is to be a witness to her Risen Lord, she must do more than talk of unity, more than console herself with the hope that the world will not forget the invisible bond by which it is pleaded that all her members are bound together into one. Visible unity in one form or another is an essential mark of faithfulness."¹ There is no doubt that if higher conceptions of the Church have come to prevail among us, and if the longing has become more keen for a unity which will bring to an end the ecclesiastical jealousies and strifes that have so long marred the fair face of our Scottish Christendom, the result is in no small degree due to Dr. Milligan's able, and spiritual, and convincing treatise. His work on *The Resurrection* was followed in 1886 by *The Revelation of St. John*, delivered as the Baird Lectures of the preceding year. This subject had occupied his interest and his thoughts ever since his visit to Berlin in 1865, where, through his intercourse with Professor Piper, he had become attracted to Christian Symbolism. It was the subject of frequent papers from his pen in *The Expositor* and other magazines, and in his "Commentary on the Apocalypse" in Schaff's *Commentary on the New Testament* (published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1883), he was able to investigate it still more thoroughly. Accordingly his lectures on *The Revelation of St. John* are a remarkably able and thorough piece of work, and conspicuously free from the extravagances of interpretation that mar so many expositions of this precious but difficult book of Holy Scripture. There is more than literary perception and exegetical ingenuity in Dr. Milligan's lectures; there are spiritual sympathy and insight going hand in hand with patient labour and discriminating scholarship to the fulfilment of their task. Although it has not attracted the same amount of attention as his book on *The Resurrection* his book on *The Revelation* is equally valuable as a contribution to Biblical scholarship and Biblical theology. On the same high plane of thought is his third work in this series—*The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord*—a second

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

course of Baird Lectures delivered in 1891. It is a continuation and extension of his previous studies, and is the natural sequel to his work on *The Resurrection* as well as the complete presentation of views which he had dealt with in a fragmentary way in theological magazines. Here again we find the same spiritual insight and the same practical aim of lifting up the actual life and thought and work and worship of the Church of the present day to a higher level and a closer conformity with the Risen Life and Heavenly Ministry of her exalted Lord. It is matter of regret that a further continuation of this line of studies and their application to the Epistle to the Hebrews were broken off by his death. He had already published in *The Expositor* and elsewhere special studies on difficult passages, and he was engaged with a commentary on the Epistle which was just approaching completion when the busy brain and hand were stayed by death. Besides the works we have already named we should mention his "Revelation" in *The Expositor's Bible*; his *Life of Elijah* in a useful series of "Bible Characters" published by Nisbet; and *Discussions on the Apocalypse*, being essays on the literary features of that book. His articles and papers in theological and other magazines are very numerous. He resigned his Chair in 1893, and had just taken up residence in Edinburgh when on 11th December, 1893, he passed to his rest. His last published paper was a notice of Professor Hort in *The Expository Times* early in 1893. In 1894 there was posthumously issued a volume entitled *The Resurrection of the Dead*, comprising articles he had previously published in *The Expositor* and elsewhere. He had lived a busy and in many ways a full life. He was honoured in the University in which he was for many years Secretary of Senatus, and in the Church which he served devotedly and which raised him to her highest offices. He left his mark upon theological learning in the North, and there are many ministers of the Church, and some occupying theological Chairs, who look back with gratitude and affection to their old professor who gave them a deep love of the New Testament and opened up to them its stores of spiritual nourishment and truth.¹

On the death of Dr. Milligan, the Rev. David Johnston, D.D., minister of Harray, in Orkney, was appointed to the Chair of Biblical Criticism. Dr. Johnston was not without scholarly attainments, but they lay rather in the Semitic field. Unfortunately his treatment of Biblical subjects

¹ For details reference has been made to an *In Memoriam* privately printed by the Aberdeen University Press, 1894.

awakened dissatisfaction among his students. The result was that the University authorities found it necessary to intervene and to provide a course of lectures on New Testament Exegesis superseding the prelections of Professor Johnston. During the Sessions from 1896 to 1899, by appointment of the University Court, the late Very Rev. Paton J. Gloag, D.D., previously of Galashiels, and now retired from the active duties of the pastorate, acted as Lecturer on Biblical Criticism. Dr. Gloag, who has recently passed away, was a ripe scholar and an able New Testament exegete, who had written valuable *Introductions* to the books of the New Testament and other works of merit, and his services were greatly appreciated by the students and acknowledged by the University authorities. Before the commencement of Session 1899-1900 Dr. Johnston had died, and the present Professor was appointed. Before his commission as Professor of Biblical Criticism was issued the University authorities considered the propriety of addressing the Secretary for Scotland with the suggestion that the new incumbent of the Chair should consider himself restricted to the department of New Testament Exegesis and Criticism. It was found, however, that such a change could not be effected in the designation of the Chair except by a new Ordinance, and the matter was left in the same position as before.

It would not be right to pass from the occupants of University Chairs without some reference to a Professor whose official field was Hebrew and the Old Testament, but whose studies embraced the New Testament also—Professor JOHN FORBES, LL.D., D.D. Dr. Forbes, in connection with the Old Testament Studies, in which he was a master, had accepted and applied to the Old, and the New as well, Bishop Lowth's discovery of *parallelism* in Hebrew poetry. He held that this characteristic pervades the New Testament, and when properly applied enables us to follow the connection and meaning of the Apostolic writers. In the Sermon on the Mount, and in other of our Lord's discourses, and in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, Dr. Forbes discovers this principle and shows how it lends impressiveness and beauty as well as perspicuity to many passages. In his works on *The Symmetrical Structure of Scripture* and his *Analytical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, he vindicates and applies the principle. As an aid to interpretation the principle has value, whether or not it has all the value attributed to it. Dr. Forbes shows himself in all his work both in the Old Testament and in the New a devout and

reverent student whose stores of erudition are inexhaustible, and whose conscientious labour is worthy of the highest praise.

We have now concluded our sketch as far as it concerns the occupants of University Chairs entrusted more or less directly with University Studies. It cannot, however, be regarded as complete without some notice of scholars, both within and outside the academic circle, whose labours in this field have reflected honour upon the University. Of scholars within the University who have contributed to the progress of New Testament learning we have already named the late Principal, Sir William D. Geddes, whose services to Classical Studies, and especially to the study of Greek, have also served the cause of New Testament Science. And Aberdeen University possesses in Professor W. M. RAMSAY, one of her own alumni, a scholar who has laid New Testament students everywhere under the deepest obligations. His learned labours we trust will be long continued, and therefore it is not necessary to enlarge upon them here. It is sufficient to say that in almost every department of New Testament study he has performed distinguished service. In the field of Textual Criticism he was one of the first, in his works on *The Church in the Roman Empire* and *St. Paul the Traveller*, to recognise the value of *Codex Bezae*; in Historical Criticism he has revolutionised the interpretation of some parts of the Acts of the Apostles and of St. Paul's Epistles by his advocacy of the South Galatian theory, in which his expert studies as a traveller and an archaeologist and a historian have enabled him to establish his position against scholars like Lightfoot and others almost beyond challenge; in Exegesis and Interpretation his *Historical Commentary on Galatians* and his *Letters to the Seven Churches* are works of permanent value. Of his more strictly scientific work in Archæology and Epigraphy this is hardly the place to speak, but its bearing upon the history and literature of the New Testament is known to all students of the early Christian centuries. It is matter of satisfaction to the many students of theology who are indebted to him that the University of Edinburgh has bestowed upon him, though a layman, the compliment, rare if not unparalleled in Scotland, of the Degree of Doctor of Divinity.

When we pass outside the strictly academic circle there are notable names of Aberdeen alumni well worthy of recognition here. We have mentioned the name of Dr. Black, who in 1816 contested, while still a probationer, the Chair of Divinity in King's College, and who filled that Chair

in Marischal from 1831 to 1843, when he joined the Free Church, and was appointed Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the New College, Edinburgh. Among his intimate friends whom we have already mentioned as coming under the influence of Professor Mearns was DAVID BROWN, afterwards Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, and latterly its Principal. He also had left the Church of Scotland at the Disruption, and in 1843 was chosen minister of Free St. James's in Glasgow. He had, as a student, proved himself specially interested in exegetical study, and had come under the fascination of that prince of commentators, John Albrecht Bengel. During his Glasgow ministry his studies bore fruit in two works—one on the *Second Advent*, and the other a *Commentary on the Gospels*. The former passed through seven editions, and has been truly pronounced by a competent authority, Professor J. Agar Beet, “a noble example of careful Biblical research”. The other, however, has been the chief foundation of his fame as a Biblical expositor. It forms part of a succinct commentary on the whole Bible, projected by Messrs. Collins & Sons, Glasgow, in which the late Rev. Dr. Jamieson, of St. Paul's, Glasgow, and Canon Fausset, of York, were his coadjutors. Dr. Brown had undertaken the whole New Testament, but had to restrict himself to the Gospels, the Acts and Romans. It is no reflection upon the other portions of the *Commentary* to say that Dr. Brown's part is the most popular and helpful of the whole. In Great Britain and America the *Commentary* had great vogue, and is still of value. In conciseness and point, in felicity of expression, and in fine exegetical tact, and in spiritual feeling, Dr. Brown's *Commentary* is ideal, having in it many of the qualities of his master in this department, Bengel. To the series of Bible Class Handbooks he later contributed an excellent study of *Romans*, and to Dr. Schaff's well-known *Commentary* he contributed an exposition of the Epistles to the Corinthians. When in 1857 there was a vacancy in the Chair of Exegesis in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, Dr. Brown was appointed, having Apologetics and Church History besides, as his subjects. His lectures on Exegesis were specially interesting, and he gave much attention both to Textual Criticism and Introduction. Dr. Robertson Nicoll, one of his students, has left it on record that “he was a great exegete in his way, competent in scholarship, well acquainted with relative literature, and always with a mind of his own. He had a fine perception of the spiritual, and the ardour of his devotional feeling gave life

and freshness to his teaching. He practically confined himself to the Gospels, and their story never seemed to lose its wonder for him." It was fitting that a scholar of Dr. Brown's gifts and eminence should be invited to become a member of the New Testament Revision Committee, and considering the distance and his time of life, he gave exemplary attendance at its sittings. In 1876 he became Principal of the College, and in 1885, at the age of 82, he was chosen Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly. To the end he remained a diligent student of Holy Scripture, and when in 1897, at the age of 94, he laid down his earthly burden, his eye was not dimmed nor his natural force abated.

It is natural to follow up the career of Principal David Brown with a notice of his successor, a modern scholar of the foremost rank, and a distinguished alumnus of the University, Principal STEWART D. F. SALMOND, D.D., who has very recently passed away. After a highly distinguished career at the University of Aberdeen, and theological studies in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, and in the University of Erlangen, Dr. Salmond acted for three years as University Assistant to Professor Geddes, where his accurate and extensive Greek scholarship made him an invaluable guide to students. On two different occasions afterwards he renewed his direct connection with the University, as Examiner in Classics and for the B.D. Degree respectively. In 1865 he was called to the charge of the Free Church of Barry, in Forfarshire, and there still maintaining his habits as a student, he translated the works of Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, and others of the Fathers, for Messrs. T. & T. Clark's Ante-Nicene Library, and for the valuable edition of Augustine by the same publishers he translated the Harmony of the Evangelists and other pieces. In 1876, on the advancement of Dr. David Brown to the Principalship, he was appointed Professor of Systematic Theology and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College. In 1883 he contributed the "Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter" to Schaff's *Commentary on the New Testament*, and in 1889 the "Commentary on the Epistle of St. Jude" to the *Pulpit Commentary*. In 1895 he published his Cunningham Lectures on *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, a massive treatise which at once became the standard work on the subject. In this volume he handles with ample scholarship and great fulness of knowledge the great ethnic beliefs on the subject and the Old Testament preparation for the full disclosure of the doctrine in Christ, and then proceeds to set forth Christ's

teaching, and that of St. Paul and the other Apostolic writers on this great theme, dealing in a concluding book with the doctrines of Annihilation and Conditional Immortality and other modern views. In 1904, shortly before he was laid down with his last illness, there appeared in the third volume of *The Expositor's Greek Testament* a Commentary by him on the Epistle to the Ephesians, which for exact scholarship, exegetical skill, and practical helpfulness, is worthy to rank with the best contributions to the valuable series to which it belongs. He was Editor of a series of Bible Class Primers, published by T. & T. Clark, to which he contributed several himself, and he was one of the Editors of the International Library of Theology promoted by the same publishers. He was for several years Editor of *The Critical Review*, which ceased to exist with his death, and in this capacity performed a great service to the world of Biblical scholarship. His contributions to Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* were numerous and all marked by the thoroughness and accuracy characteristic of the man. It happened as a matter of course that on the death of Principal David Brown in 1897 he stepped into the vacant office, and filled it with advantage to the highest interests of theological learning in the North. When he died in 1905 the University had to mourn the loss of one of her most scholarly, laborious and distinguished sons.

The labours of Professor Robertson Smith, one of the most brilliant sons of our northern Alma Mater, were specially associated with the Hebrew Chair in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, and fall to be noticed in connection with Old Testament studies. But he was also a New Testament scholar of no mean attainments, and articles on New Testament subjects like the "Epistle to the Hebrews" are to be found from his pen in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of which he was Editor-in-Chief.

There are two alumni of Aberdeen University whom it would be culpable to omit from a sketch like this, although their chief activity belonged to other spheres. These are the Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D., for many years Professor of Humanity in St. Andrews University, and Dr. JAMES DONALDSON, Principal of St. Andrews University. Before being colleagues in St. Andrews they were associated as Editors of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, which comprises some twenty-four volumes of translations of the Early Fathers, and which has been such a help to the study of the early Christian literature. Dr. Roberts entered the University

of Aberdeen as First Bursar, and left it Simpson Prizeman in Greek. He was for some time a minister of the Free Church, and occupied a charge in the Presbyterian Church of England, prosecuting New Testament studies, which bore fruit in his *Inquiry into the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel*, and his *Discussions on the Gospels*. His main contention in these acute and able volumes that Greek was the language spoken by our Lord has not commended itself to scholars. His scholarly gifts and attainments nevertheless pointed him out as worthy to be a member of the New Testament Revision Company, which he joined in 1870. In 1871 he was appointed Professor of Humanity in St. Andrews, an office which he filled till 1893, when he retired. Dr. Roberts died in 1903.

Principal Donaldson was a brilliant classical student in the University of Aberdeen and continued his studies at New College, London, and Berlin University. As Rector successively of Stirling High School and the Royal High School, Edinburgh, he increased his reputation as a scholar and an able teacher. He was Professor of Humanity in Aberdeen University from 1881 till 1886, when he was appointed Principal of St. Andrews. His *Critical History of Christian Literature from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council* is a work of the highest learning, but to the regret of scholars remains unfinished. His *Apostolical Fathers* is a work of very high quality and only enhances the regret that he has not been able to give us more. What he has accomplished in the way of literary output is marked by fine scholarship and keen critical insight, and we trust he may yet be spared to give something more to the world out of the resources of his classical and patristic learning.

As Professor Roberts and Principal Donaldson will be remembered for their work in connection with the Ante-Nicene Fathers, another pair of Aberdeen graduates will be remembered for monumental work on the *Dictionary of the Bible*, published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Rev. Dr. Hastings, of St. Cyrus, and Rev. Dr. Selbie, formerly of Maryculter, now of Aberdeen. The same two scholars collaborate in *The Expository Times*, of which Dr. Hastings is chief editor. In this connection it is a privilege to remember another accomplished editor who has reflected great honour upon his Alma Mater, Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, LL.D., whose conduct of *The Expositor*, and whose labours in connection with *The Expositor's Bible*, and more recently *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, have laid Biblical scholars under a deep debt of gratitude.

Among those who have gone forth from the University and done service to Biblical Science furth of Scotland, we may name Professor Gibb, of Westminster College, Cambridge ; Professor McInnes, of Sydney, New South Wales ; Professor Macnaughton, of Toronto, in the Canadian Dominion ; and Rev. Dr. Mackie, of Beyrout, whose *Bible Manners and Customs* and numerous articles in *Hastings' Dictionary* are of the greatest value. Of Aberdeen alumni who have contributed to the progress of New Testament studies at home we may name Rev. Dr. Peter Thomson, of Dunning, whose *Greek Tenses in the New Testament*, proceeding on Melancthon's principle that "Scripture cannot be understood theologically unless it be first understood grammatically," is a scholarly and conscientious piece of work ; Rev. George Ferries, D.D., of Cluny, whose able work on the *Growth of Christian Faith* is worthy of his reputation as a New Testament scholar, and Rev. Dr. George Milligan, of Caputh, who by his text-book on *The English Bible*, his *Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, and contributions to *The Expositor* has shown himself to have inherited the critical insight and expository gifts of his venerated father. There are, besides, throughout the country many occupants of manses belonging to the different communions who cultivate New Testament studies without caring to attract the attention of the world, giving their congregations the benefit of their scholarship and helping to maintain the high character of the Scottish clergy for sacred learning.

THOMAS NICOL.

THE FACULTY OF LAW.

IN this contribution to the Quatercentenary Studies it is proposed to indicate the ends which the Founder of our University intended the Faculty of Law to serve, to give a brief account of some of our early teachers, to commemorate a few out of the many *alumni* of our University who attained special distinction as jurists and statesmen, and to sketch, in outline, the varying fortunes and present state of the Faculty.

I. OUR FOUNDER.

To us, even more clearly than to his contemporaries, Lord Chancellor Elphinstone stands out as the most patriotic and far-sighted statesman of the century which lies between the wars for Scottish Independence and the Scottish Reformation. In that century the influences which preserved or revived civilisation on the Continent were brought into full play in Scotland. The channels of national life were deepened, multiplied and filled by the new intellectual spirit.

By the Universities more than by other institutions the new forces had been created, or co-ordinated, and brought to bear upon our national character. The Universities were closely related to the Church in origin, endowment and many common ends. But the University traced its pedigree to Athens, Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople. Its gates stood open to students of every rank, or condition or race. It gave universal instruction according to the knowledge of the time. It emancipated the mind from conformity to tradition, promoted research and discovery, and encouraged a freedom of opinion not elsewhere tolerated. Like the Church, the University awarded its honours to capacity, irrespective of birth or wealth, and its honours led to high place in Church and State. It trained the mind not so much for the "cloistered virtues" as for all the duties of civic society. Its best teachers aimed to make the

student feel himself the heir of ancient learning, to instruct him in the highest thoughts, to foster noble impulses, to set tried ideals of truth and wisdom before him that he might apply his knowledge and faculties to make the world better. Universities encouraged national sentiment, but they were also cosmopolitan. They were the "free cities" of the empire of mind. A citizen of one was a citizen of all, yet so more fully qualified to serve his nation as well as humanity. One main problem was the establishment of social order; in other words, how to subdue the powers of barbarism and disorder by the reign of law. This end had been most completely realised in the Universities of Italy and France. In them the study of law had grown and flourished. Law meant the knowledge and application of the two systems—Canon Law and Roman Law. Canon Law, which regulated the vast organisation of the Catholic Church and its relations with the State, had always been taught by the Church.

The energies of these Universities were devoted mainly to the renewed investigation of the Roman Law, named *par excellence* the Civil Law. This was due to many causes. Roman Law was the most coherent and equitable system of jural relations between man and man and man and the State. It was the only example of a body of law, gradually developed by experts in legal science, who were also men of affairs. It had governed an empire extending over three Continents, including men and customs of many races and distinct civilisations, and therefore united generality with elasticity. Its code of Commercial Law was, perhaps, the part of it most obviously needed. But it also supplied the elements of Constitutional Law, International Law, Public and Private, and of Comparative Jurisprudence. To some minds it was recommended by the defects which the edicts of the later Emperors had increased or introduced, its Imperial autocracy, its use of torture as a means of proof, its recognition of slavery, its requirements of orthodoxy as a test of civic capacity. But its qualities far outweighed these defects. It came to our ancestors as the precious legacy of the ancient world, the treasury of principles and rules by which new problems and new situations could be solved or faced, as the force, still vested with something of the Roman majesty, which had been more powerful than the sword in reducing disorder and barbarism. They proved that its study was a most effective organ of intellectual and ethical training. Law was presented not as an external, unmoral conformity to command, but as the realisation of justice in the State. It made

men thinkers that they might be judges and administrators and public men. Therefore the Universities treated its study not merely as a training for forensic or judicial occupations, but as a necessary part of a liberal education. Therefore the Universities moved into closer contact with all public, as well as professional life. This movement was most clearly marked in the Universities of France, with, for a time, the exception of Paris.

The French mind resembled the Roman as developed under Hellenic influences in many ways, mainly in that union of intellectual activity with practical utility which makes for all-round excellence. Less practical than the Englishman, less speculative than the German, the Frenchman appreciates both ideas and facts. He sees the power of knowledge to work results. As soon as he has got his ideas, he uses them as levers. In this point the affinity of the Scots mind with the French is most apparent. The Scotsman, perhaps because compounded of the same elements, in differing proportions, has this power to make ideas and facts work together, though with less ease and grace. Therefore the Scottish Universities, though founded on Italian models, developed after the example of the Universities of France.

These general considerations have been stated because Elphinstone seems the typical man in which this all-round excellence reached its highest growth and fruit. No man was more perfectly fitted by the various experiences of his life to comprehend the uses and functions of Universities in relation to the Church, the State and the community of nations. Vicar, official and bishop in the Church, advocate in France and Scotland, judge, arbiter, legislator and Lord Chancellor in Scotland, student and teacher of law in the Universities of Glasgow, Paris and Orleans, Dean and Rector of Glasgow University, man of letters, ambassador to England, France and Austria, he had seen and studied every phase and condition of intellectual and social life, its defects or diseases, and its remedies. Scotland needed such a man. The forces which made for barbarism were many and strong, often too strong for King, Church and Commons in combination. The higher nobility, by ignorance, selfishness and brute force, made good government all but impossible. Their ignorance was proverbial—worse than Turks. As feudal lords they waged private war at will, and defied the authority of King or Parliament: as feudal judges they violated justice with impunity. As counsellors of

State they were even more factious and turbulent than the nobility of Poland, and, with some striking exceptions, they were ready to despoil the Church and sell their country. As Major says, "they educated their children neither in letters nor in morals". Feudalism, resting on the privilege of birth and the right of the sword, was the enemy of rising civilisation, and the feudal lords were its effective standing army. Elphinstone saw that the deepest root of the evils was ignorance, not original sin. He combated them in many ways. He steadily pursued a policy of strengthening burghs, increasing the power of the Royal Courts, of multiplying the lesser landholders, and raising up a body of men learned in the law for the service of the State. One may instance a royal grant to a lad of Skye to enable him to study to be a learned lawyer. But his main policy was to oppose knowledge to ignorance and brute force. These lines can be traced in the statutes which we owe to his influence. One may instance Acts regulating the circuits and procedure of the Royal Courts of Justice; creating justices and sheriffs-depute for the Highlands and Islands; encouraging commerce and the construction of shipping; providing for the good government of burghs specially by enacting that the Provost, Bailies and other Magistrates be annually changed; enacting that strangers bringing in merchandise and articles of food should receive honourable treatment and speedy justice; making subfeuing of land lawful to any proprietor, spiritual or temporal; protecting tenants, mailers, and inhabitants of the King's lands against lords and gentlemen; prohibiting the taking in execution of any oxen, horse or other goods pertaining to the plough at the time of labouring the ground. Other legal reforms, such as limitation in time of summonses of error, the requiring that notaries should undergo examination before admission to office, space requires us to pass over.

But it is the special honour of Lord Chancellor Elphinstone that he conceived and placed on the statute-book his famous Act for Compulsory Higher Education (1494, c. 54): "It is statute and ordained through all the realm that all Barons and Freeholders, that are of substance, put their eldest sons and aires to the Schules, fra they be six or nine zeires of age, and till remaine at the Grammar Schules quhill they be competently founded and have perfite Latin: and thereafter to remain three zeirs at the Schules of Art and Jure swa that they may have knowledge and understanding of the Lawes; through the quhilks Justice may remain universally

throw all the Realme: swa that they that are Schireffs or Judges Ordinances under the King's Hienesse may have knowlege to do justice. . . . And quhat Baronne or Freeholder of Substance that haldis not his soun at the Schules as said is, havend na lauchful essoinzie, but failzies herein, fra knowlege may be gotten thereof, he sall pay to the King the summe of Twenty Pounds." In boldness and wisdom this statute remains without a parallel. The Church made its wise men into nobles; the Chancellor aimed at making nobles into wise men. Education would silently, but more effectively as time went on, do its reforming work; it would destroy the evils by destroying their causes.

It is no mere coincidence that in the same year he laid the foundation of King's College and University, "the Schule of Art and Jure". "Grammar Schules" already existed in Aberdeen and in many other burghs. The Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow supplied the needs of the southern provinces in Arts, Theology and Science, and partially in Law.

Many Scotsmen—for example, the famous John Major—opposed the multiplication of Universities. England was content with two; for the poorer, smaller Scotland one National University might well suffice. Elphinstone took a broader view. France had about twenty-five Universities; Italy nearly as many. These were not only political centres of gravity, but centres of light in their several provinces. Therefore he built the third fortress of Scotland's "Academic Quadrilateral," in the chief city north of the Tay, already distinguished by its schools, and convenient of access for the Highlands and Islands.

It is clear that he intended his University to be pre-eminently a School of Law, and for all Scotland. In the foundation of St. Andrews Canon Law only had been specified. Similarly at Glasgow Canon Law only had a recognised place. In both, however, the Roman Law was taught, but casually and intermittently. Therefore Aberdeen was founded as a *Studium Generale* in Canon and Civil Law and Jurisprudence, as well as in Theology, Medicine and the Liberal Arts. It was constituted with the rights and privileges of Bologna, the most democratic of student Universities, the oldest of the great Law Schools, and of Paris, the leading University in Arts, Canon Law and Theology. Of all its faculties Law was the strongest and best equipped. It had one chair of Canon Law, one of Civil Law (with

houses, glebes and salaries attached), and provisions for lecturers, students and bursars. The regulations, which were reduced to form in 1527, probably embodied his instructions. They enact that the Canonist shall read every reading day in his Doctor's dress in his Manse or the Chapel, after the manner of the First Regent in Paris, and that the Civilist shall similarly read, but after the manner of the Regents of the University of Orleans.

Orleans, the rival of Bologna, was at the end of the fifteenth century the most liberal and flourishing of the French Law Schools, though in the next generation eclipsed by the success of Alciatus and Cujas in the University of Bourges. Ten years' study was usually required for admission to the degree of Doctor of Laws. Elphinstone's establishment looks small beside Orleans, with its five chairs of Civil Law and its thousand students, not to say Bologna, with five times as many chairs and its many thousand students. But Elphinstone's establishment was not disproportioned to the number of students at Aberdeen, and as ample as any University in Britain could then show. And its position was strengthened by placing in the office of Principal and other leading posts men who had been thoroughly trained in the Civil Law. For many years the Faculty of Law prospered, gained a wide repute as a School of Law, and fulfilled its founder's intentions.

II. PROFESSORS IN THE FACULTY OF LAW.

Canonists.

1. ARTHUR BOECE, brother of the more famous Principal, afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court (1532). He was reputed, like his brother, an excellent Civilian. Ferrerius calls him "utriusque juris peritissimus". He taught Canon Law about 1520, and published *Excerpts from the Canon Law*.

2. JOHN LESLIE (1527-1596), the famous Bishop of Ross. He studied Theology, Greek and Hebrew at Paris, Civil and Canon Law at Poitiers and Toulouse. He graduated in Civil Law at Toulouse, in Canon Law at Paris, where he taught it for some time. In 1547 he was appointed a canon of Aberdeen, in 1554 official and Vicar-General of the diocese, in 1563 was created a Lord of Session, and in 1566 raised to the see of Ross. It is uncertain how long he held the Chair of Canon Law, probably between

1554 and 1563. In exile, he became, about 1579, Vicar-General of the diocese of Rouen, and it is said that he was made Bishop of Coutances some fourteen years later. Leslie's varied life is a great part of the history of Mary Queen of Scots from her accession to her execution. He was her devoted servant, ambassador and defender, first at York, then in every Court of Europe, constant in loyalty, making head with undaunted courage against every new reverse of fortune. Few public men shine so well where they stand in our Scottish annals as this learned man of letters and affairs, strenuous diplomatist and loyal friend. His religious meditations testify to his faith and piety: his letters and State papers on behalf of his mistress; his history of Scotland, sketched during his illegal imprisonment by Queen Elizabeth; and his treatises on Female Sovereignty and the Succession to the Throne of England testify to his intellectual powers and his mastery of Public Law.

The Scots seminaries which he founded at Paris and Douai are standing evidence that even in exile he did not forget his countrymen.

Civilians.

1. THOMAS NICOLSON, advocate, was elected to the chair in 1619. His identity is not clear. Probably he was the same person as the Commissary of Aberdeen, and Clerk of the General Assembly of the Church from 1597 to 1618. But he is sometimes identified with a younger Thomas Nicolson who, having sided with the Parliamentary party against King Charles I., was, in 1641, appointed "Procurator for the Estates of Parliament". The statute-book of 1649 records of the Procurator that "it pleased God to give him a lawful call to the place and office of His Majesty's Advocate by the Estates of Parliament," His Majesty not being consulted, for sufficient reasons, in succession to Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston. In July, 1650, it pleased His Majesty, then arrived at Falkland, to knight him after supper. He had been a zealous Protester, or extreme Covenanter, but perhaps inclined by his marriage with Lord Crimond's daughter to the moderate Royalist party, he had opposed their famous Remonstrance. But Cromwell's victory at Worcester displaced His Majesty's Advocate by Henry Whalley, Judge-Advocate of the English Army. Sir Thomas does not seem to have practised before the English judges. He died at Edinburgh on 15th

December, 1656, "to the grief of mony in this land," and leaving the reputation of having been "an excellent and judicious lawyer".

2. Sir GEORGE NICOLSON of Kemnay passed advocate in 1661, was member for Aberdeen City in 1661, and filled the chair from 1673 till 1681. The "salary was mean" and he seems to have lectured only once a week. In 1682, by the influence of Lord Aberdeen, he was raised to the Bench. He was reputed an able lawyer.

3. JAMES SCOUGAL, Lord Whithill, delivered his introductory lecture, "De Justitiâ et Jure," on 9th December, 1685. He was called to the Bar in 1687, held the offices of Commissary at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and was raised to the Bench in 1696. If the best judges are those who are least talked of, he must have been one of the best.

4. DAVID DALRYMPLE (1722(?)-1784), Lord Westhall. He was called to the Bar in 1743, appointed Sheriff-Depute of Aberdeen in 1748, filled the chair from 1761 to 1765, and was raised to the Bench in 1777. He was a hard-working and capable lawyer, but left no special mark on the law.

III. PROFESSORS OF LAW IN OTHER UNIVERSITIES.

During the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries the Universities of France, notably Orleans, Toulouse, Poitiers, and Bourges, drew students from all parts of Europe to their schools of law. The primacy in Legal Science had passed to France from Italy. The State and the leading cities encouraged legal studies by liberal endowments and privileges, by securing the most distinguished jurists as teachers, and by requiring the degree of Doctor of Laws as a condition of being admitted an advocate or appointed a judge. Of the many Scotsmen who resorted to the French Universities, not a few remained as professors. Two Aberdeen students may be taken as examples: Alexander Scot and William Barclay.

1. ALEXANDER SCOT (1560?-1615) was a native of Aberdeen, and a graduate of King's College. He studied theology at the University of Tournon. But, like other intellectual and ambitious young men, he was drawn to the University of Bourges by the reputation of Cujas. Cujas was the most brilliant and successful teacher of law, Roman and feudal.

By his application of historical methods of interpretation, especially his study of sources and his use of the Byzantine law and commentators,

by his critical labours to secure an accurate text, his lucid, orderly expositions of the true sense and relation of each text, and his mastery of jurisprudence as a science Cujas had revolutionised the study of Roman Law in France and Germany. He has never been surpassed as a commentator and interpreter: though no longer the oracle of universities and courts, his is still a name of high authority. That Alexander Scot became his favourite disciple and familiar friend is, of itself, conclusive proof of Scot's character and abilities. Scot took his degree *in utroque jure* at Bourges, and taught in the Faculty of Law. It is said that after 1590 he filled Cujas' chair. But his chief praise is that, with filial affection, he published (at Lyons, 1606) the earliest edition of his master's collected works, revised and supplemented from his notes of lectures, conversations and dictations.

To his legal attainments Alexander Scot added high classical scholarship. His Greek Grammar (1593) long continued to be a popular text-book in schools and universities. Lawyers remember him by his *Vocabularium utriusque juris* (1601), a book of great research and practical utility. It is interesting to notice that this book is dedicated to William Chisholm, Bishop of Vaison, and that Scot entitles himself a Scottish juriconsult. He also wrote *De Officio Judicis* and *De Judiciis*.

About 1606 he accepted an invitation to Carpentras, where he engaged in practice, and probably held some judicial office, during his later years. A contemporary epigram describes him as advocate of Carpentras "ornatissimus et eruditissimus".

2. WILLIAM BARCLAY (1546-1608), a cadet of the famous family of Barclay of Towie, was born in Aberdeen and educated at King's College. He studied law under Cujas at Valence and at Bourges. Cujas presided on the occasion of Barclay's being created Doctor of Laws. It is said that Barclay lectured on law at Bourges, Poitiers and Toulouse.

But his fame as a teacher is chiefly associated with the Universities of Pont-à-Mousson, in Lorraine, and Angers.

In Pont-à-Mousson, recently founded, of which his uncle, Edmond Hay was the first Rector, he began to read lectures on law in 1577 as sole Professor. When a Faculty of Law was formally instituted, he became principal Professor of Roman law, and in 1598 Dean of the Faculty. He was also appointed a Grand Councillor of the Duke of Lorraine, and Master of Requests or Chamberlain of his household.

But in consequence of some quarrel with the Jesuits, either regarding his precedence as head of the Faculty of Law, or because they endeavoured to induce his son (the author of the *Argenis*) to enter their Order, or perhaps because of his lively admiration for Henry IV. of France and his visits to the Court of France, he lost the Duke's favour, and resigned his chair with his other offices in 1603 and visited London. James I. and VI. received him with great favour, both as a learned jurist and as the advocate of royal power against George Buchanan and others. He offered him a seat in the Privy Council with great appointments on condition of his conforming to the Church of England. Barclay refused, though in poverty, to renounce his Catholic faith, and went to Paris to seek employment. A Chair of Law in the University of Angers was offered to him and accepted in 1604 on condition that he should rank as first Professor of Law and be bound to teach for five years only. His reputation filled the town with students, and he continued to discharge his duties with success and glory till his death. According to Menage it was his custom to proceed in state to his lectures, attended by servants, wearing a magnificent gown with a great gold chain and medallion round his neck. This chain and medallion were a gift from King James, and appear in the portrait of Barclay which hangs in the Lecture Hall of the Public Library at Nancy. He was a man of kindly disposition, generous to the poor, of irreproachable character, for a disputant of that time fair and moderate, and of a steadiness and constancy which Bayle thinks it is rare to find in Doctors.

Barclay's leading contribution to the literature of Roman law is his commentary *De Rebus Creditis et de Jurejurando* (Paris, 1605). But his reputation as a civilian has been overshadowed by his fame as a constitutional and political writer. In his work on *Royal Power* (Paris, 1600) dedicated to Henry IV., he had condemned with equal severity the Catholic Leaguers and the Calvinists, Boucher on the one side, Buchanan and Languet on the other: all extremes were wrong, and democracy the worse extreme. The revolt of the people against royal authority had served to ruin the Catholic faith in Scotland and the Protestant faith in France, and public peace in both. He was moved, like Burke, by the dangers of revolution, and thought that the prerogative required strengthening. But he is no absolutist, for he admits at least two cases in which revolt against a king is justifiable: when the king conspires to the injury of his kingdom or submits himself to a foreign prince.

Barclay's greatest work, the treatise on Papal power (*De Potestate Papae*) was published at London after his death (1609) and became the object of most vigorous assaults. In this treatise (1) he denied to the Pope any direct power over the temporal authority of kings and princes; he challenged even the "indirect power" for which Bellarmine contended and which Suarez approved; (2) boldly and precisely he affirmed that spiritual or ecclesiastical power and temporal or political power are absolutely separate and distinct. Neither ought to encroach upon the other. We may not agree with all his conclusions or applications, but the true principle by which to solve the problems which divided nearly every State in Europe against itself, and prolonged religious wars for more than a century, was clearly perceived by his keen intellect. His first proposition was approved by the Parliament of Paris which formally condemned Bellarmine's reply (1610), maintained by the Third Estate in the States-General of 1613, adopted in the famous Gallican Declaration of 1682, and warmly defended by Bossuet. It is now an accepted doctrine of public law, national and international. The second proposition has not yet secured equal acceptance except in Scotland and the United States. But it is of William Barclay rather than of Sir Harry Vane that we may justly say "The bounds of either sword to thee we owe". No one can study his portrait without receiving the impression of great intellectual keenness, high courage and nobility of nature. Terrasson reckoned him one of the two greatest jurists whom Scotland had produced.

One must content oneself with mention of some Aberdeen students who have filled chairs of law in British Universities.

3. WILLIAM FORBES (c. 1680-1746?), advocate, who was the first "Professor of the Laws" in the University of Glasgow after the Chair of Law was re-instituted and endowed by Queen Anne. He was presented to the chair in 1714, and for thirty-two years did good service in reviving the study of law. He wrote several books on legal subjects. His *Institutes of the Law of Scotland* are still consulted.

4. GEORGE MOIR (1800-1870) passed advocate in 1825, was Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh, Sheriff of Ross, 1835, afterwards of Stirling, and in 1864 was elected to the Chair of Scots Law in the University of Edinburgh. He was distinguished by wide scholarship, and a faculty of clear exposition of legal doctrines. A translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* and *Piccolomini*, and his *Lectures on Poetry and*

Romance testify to his rank as a scholar and critic, while his MS. lectures on law have enriched subsequent editions of text-books. Unhappily his tenure of the law chair was brief. He published nothing on law except his *Appellate Jurisdiction in Scotch Appeals*. His death was a severe loss to general and legal literature.

5. COSMO INNES (1798-1874), called to the Bar in 1822. Sheriff of Moray, Principal Clerk of the Court of Session, Professor of Constitutional Law and History in the University of Edinburgh from 1846 until his death. He was the most learned lawyer and historical antiquary of his century, and wrote or edited over thirty volumes.

6. WILLIAM A. HUNTER (1844-1898), graduated with honours in 1864, gained the Murray, Ferguson and Shaw Scholarships, was called to the English Bar in 1867, appointed in 1869 to the Chair of Roman Law, and in 1878 to the Chair of Jurisprudence, University College, London. His articles on Jurisprudence and his *Systematic and Historic Exposition of Roman Law* (2nd edition, 1885) placed him in the first rank of civilians and jurists, and Scotland will not forget the man who secured free elementary education.

IV. DISTINGUISHED JURISTS, JUDGES AND STATESMEN WHO WERE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

1. Sir JOHN SKENE of Curriehill (1549-1612) was educated at the Universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews. He completed his legal studies in France, probably at Bourges or Poitiers, and travelled in Norway, Denmark and Poland. He published *Epistles Ad Daniac Optimates*. In 1574-75 he lectured and acted as Regent at St. Andrews. He passed advocate in 1574, with a reputation for learning and industry, and quickly rose into practice. In 1589 he was conjoined in the office of Lord Advocate with David Macgill, who was more renowned as a determined pluralist and crafty politician than as a lawyer. Five years later he was appointed Clerk-Register and a judge of the Court of Session, it is said by the interest of his brother-in-law, Lord Blantyre. For some time he was one of the Octavians, the eight Lords who managed the King's affairs. He also took part in the abortive conferences for "a perfect union of the realms of Scotland and England" as one of the Commissioners for Scotland.

The King employed him while Lord Advocate in embassies to the Palgrave, the Duke of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandenburg. Sir James Melville had recommended him as "a good, true, stout man like a Dutchman," "acquainted with the conditions of the Germans" and able to "make them long harangues in Latin". These ambassadorial duties he "discharged with good credit". But Skene's reputation rests on a more solid foundation—his labour in revising, correcting and editing the ancient laws and statutes of Scotland. Between 1567 and 1593 four Commissions were appointed by Parliament to digest or codify the law. The first two came to nothing. Nothing came of the third, except a pension to Skene, granted in 1577, out of the revenues of Arbroath Abbey, for his services. Of the fourth he was a member, and, by his own assertion, the only working member. The code has not yet been made. But Skene turned his researches to profit. In 1598 he published a collection of Acts of Parliament, and a Law dictionary, entitled, in imitation of the title of the Pandects, *De Verborum Significatione*, which expounds the "terms and difficult words" occurring in the *Regiam Majestatem*, "with divers rules and commonplaces of the Laws". After other nine years of assiduous toil as in "an Augean stable," he presented to the Privy Council his great work containing the Laws of Malcolm II., the Four Books of *Regiam Majestatem*, the *Quoniam Attachiamenta*, and the Statutes of early Scottish Kings, "licked into shape as a cub by its dam". With true Aberdonian caution, he obtained an Act ordaining it to be printed at the expense of the judges and members of Parliament. Then he published two editions, one in English and the other in Latin, by which he cleared much money.

As Lord Hailes has hinted, Skene was more of an antiquary than a critic. He accepted the *Regiam Majestatem* somewhat too implicitly. That it is not an exposition of the ancient laws of Scotland, but an adaptation of Randolph de Glanville's treatise *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, was suggested by his contemporary Sir Thomas Craig, the most learned of Scottish lawyers, urged by Arthur Duck, and is now generally accepted. It is not necessary to adopt the extreme theory of its publication in Scotland as an artful design of Edward I. to palm it off upon the Scottish Parliament. Scots lawyers still read and profit by his Law dictionary, "a matter," as he says in his preface, "nocht pleasant in itself, nor treated be others of before". His plea that "absolute memory

and perfit knowledge, in na thing erroneous, is proper to God and not competent to man," may be conceded, without thinking as highly of his labours as the plea suggests that we ought to think.

The occasion of his death was "pitiful, and much regretted by all honest men". He had despatched his son James to Court with his resignation of office as Clerk-Register, but under express order not to deliver it to the King until assured of the succession. The astute Lord Advocate Hamilton, who wanted it for himself, had James Skene worked on "by politick wits" to present the resignation on condition of being made an Ordinary Lord of Session. When the "good, true and stout" old man learned how his purpose had been "circumvented by the simplicity or folly of his son," he turned his face to the wall, and died, like James V. at Falkland. As this simple young man became President of the Court of Session, he must have inherited his father's ability to profit by experience.

2. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE of Rosehaugh (1636-91). Few men have suffered from the energy of political and theological hatred more severely than Sir George Mackenzie. It is now, when the burning controversies of the seventeenth century have died down into ashes, possible to do justice to his qualities as a scholar, jurist and reformer of the law, to weigh the acts of his public life in fairer scales, and appreciate the constant loyalty with which, in good or evil fortune, he served the House of Stuart.

Dundee was the place of his birth and first education. At an early age he studied Classics, Philosophy and Law in the Universities of Aberdeen and of St. Andrews, in which his grandfather was Principal of St. Leonard's College. The full course of study in Roman Law and Jurisprudence he took at Bourges, where he remained for several years. In 1656 he was called to the Bar, under the Commonwealth, and re-admitted at the Restoration. In 1669 he entered Parliament as member for Ross-shire. For some time he acted as one of the Criminal Justices. In 1677 he became Lord Advocate and in 1682 Dean of Faculty of Advocates, the offices with which his name and acts are most closely connected.

He came to the Bar with a reputation for scholarship and independence of character.

His qualities as an advocate were soon put to the test. He was one of the counsel who defended the Earl of Argyle in April, 1661. The charge was treason. The Government were set on a conviction and forfeiture. Mackenzie's boldness of speech startled all who heard him.

He attacked with great acuteness the evidence led by the Lord Advocate, and illegally supplemented by private letters which General Monk had, to his great dishonour, despatched from London to be used against Argyle. There was neither legal nor sufficient proof of treason. Every one in Scotland, said Mackenzie, had been guilty of compliance with Cromwell, and therefore of treason, if Argyle was guilty. Without compliance no man could have preserved his estates, or kept his wife and children from starving, or secured his life against the snares laid in these troubled times. He hinted broadly, what every one knew, that the judges had been as deep in compliance as the accused. "What could be more unjust than to make Argyle suffer for frailty when ringleaders and malicious plotters went unpunished?" (This glanced at Lord Advocate Fletcher.) "My Lords," he solemnly warned them, "as law obliges you to absolve this noble person, so your interest should persuade you to it. What is now intended against him may be intended against you; and your sentence will make that a crime in all compliers which was before but an error and a frailty." I know of no parallel for courage and plain speech except Berryer's address to the French House of Peers in defence of Louis Napoleon, which strikes the same keynote. Mackenzie ran serious risk of being disbarred and prosecuted, but he turned censure aside with the remark that it was impossible to speak for a traitor without speaking treason.

Intrepid, ingenious and eloquent, Mackenzie quickly attained eminence in his profession. When he entered Parliament the same qualities made him one of its leading men. Probably his best-known legislative achievement is the Act introducing entails. But other incidents are of greater interest in the study of his political activity. In 1669 he moved an amendment to the Address, so far as it proposed appointment of a Commission to consider a Union of the Kingdoms. He objected that the nomination of Commissioners was left to the King, whereas union ought to be a national Act, and the nomination of Commissioners was the chief part of the treaty, as so much must be referred to their fidelity and conduct. On another occasion he showed that he did not fear even the overbearing Lauderdale. In debate on Lauderdale's Act for making merchants take an oath that they had paid duty on all their imported goods, Lauderdale urged that stealing the King's customs was a crime. "Then," said Mackenzie, "if it is a crime, no man can be forced to swear for it." Lauderdale swore he would have that "factious young man re-

moved from Parliament," but the wily Primrose secretly persuaded Lauderdale that an attempt to unseat Mackenzie would make the people jealous of some design to overturn their liberties which, as they believed, Mackenzie defended on all occasions. During the same session Mackenzie led the opposition to Lord Advocate Nisbet's Bill (1669, c. 11), which authorised trial and conviction of accused persons in their absence, and ratified the sentences of death illegally passed in absence against the Pentland Insurgents. He held it a dangerous innovation, and protested against "making snares in place of laws"; "while we study only to punish such as are traitors, let us not hazard the innocence of such as are loyal subjects," but the Bill passed, for the safety of the Lord Advocate and the judges whom he had persuaded. In 1674 Mackenzie prepared the letter to the King from the Royal Burghs, which complained of recent statutes, and prayed His Majesty to call a new Parliament. Lauderdale promptly had the Provosts of Glasgow and Aberdeen imprisoned, and fined, along with other magistrates, for this insult, as he regarded their action, but did not venture to proceed against Mackenzie.

In the Constitutional dispute between Parliament, the Bar and the Court of Session as to the Right of Appeal, Mackenzie took a prominent part. It was raised in *Callender v. Dunfermline*. Callender intimated an appeal to Parliament against the Court's decision on a point of procedure. The judges treated this as contempt of Court. Callender's counsel (of whom Sir George Lockhart was the senior and Mackenzie the junior) defended the right. The judges complained to the King, who ordered the advocates never even to mention appeals on pain of being forbidden to plead. The advocates declined to submit, and almost the whole Bar quitted Edinburgh; in fact boycotted the Court. Lockhart prepared the address of the Bar to the Privy Council. The Privy Council sent it on to the King with a declaration that it was seditious. Lord Advocate Nisbet hastened to prosecute the signatories. Mackenzie, believing that Lockhart was leaving him to face the storm alone, succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the Court and the Bar. His brethren were in danger of being martyrs by mistake. He urged that it was no dishonour to submit to the Prince, ceding being dishonourable only among equals. His action was such as might be expected from so convinced a supporter of royal prerogative. It gratified the King. Mackenzie was knighted, made a Privy Councillor, and declined the office of Lord Justice Clerk.

In 1677 Sir John Nisbet resigned office as Lord Advocate rather than face investigation into personal charges of collusion and fraud. Sir George Mackenzie was appointed his successor, after a keen contest with Lockhart, for whom, as a former lover, the Duchess of Lauderdale exerted her utmost influence.

Until after the Union the Lord Advocate had, merely in virtue of his office, little political power. In matters either of municipal or constitutional law, whether arising in Parliament or the Court of Session, he was specially charged with the duty of safeguarding and advancing the property, interests and prerogative of the Crown. As the public prosecutor he was invested with discretion all but unlimited in the investigation, prosecution and trial of crimes. The limit is notable. Against all such persons as the Privy Council desired should be prosecuted the Lord Advocate was, by a then recent statute, bound to proceed. Before touching on Mackenzie's conduct in office, his merit as a reformer of criminal law in favour of persons accused should be noticed. The Lord Advocates had framed or used the criminal law, both in procedure and substance, for the end and purpose of making condemnation certain, whenever desired by the Government. Before the Restoration the prisoner could not even cite witnesses for his defence. Mackenzie had introduced, while acting as a criminal judge, precepts of exculpation, granted by the justices to the accused which contained a warrant for citation. But by the Act of 1672 there was secured to all persons accused the right of citing witnesses for the defence, and receiving a list of the Crown witnesses before trial. In all prosecutions, except for treason and rebellion against the King, accused or his counsel were given the right of the last word. Mackenzie also gave or restored to the jury the right of electing their foreman or chancellor. And he began his official career as Lord Advocate by drawing up new regulations for criminal procedure, under which the Lord Advocate was tied to greater precision in statement of time and place in criminal indictments.

In his history and vindication (referred to below) he has defended his administration of criminal justice during the stormy years between 1677 and 1689 of conflict between the Crown and the Presbyterian party. This it is fair to keep in mind. Mackenzie was a convinced supporter of episcopacy and monarchy. He was a determined believer in the efficacy of resolute government to cope with disaffection and rebellion. Certainly

no Government, autocratic or democratic, has ever conceded to the governed a right to rebel or to murder magistrates, officials or soldiers. That Lord Advocate Mackenzie enforced severe and arbitrary laws is true: that he went beyond the law in any material point cannot be proved. Certainly he sometimes pressed for a conviction more keenly than would now be thought becoming, and urged legal pleas to the Court which accorded neither with reason nor with justice as they appear to us.

What Lord Advocate or Attorney-General in any period of our history can go free from this criticism? More than a century later the law officers of the Crown in England, Scotland and Ireland, in order to convict reformers, strained the law nearer to breaking-point than Mackenzie ever did. Tried by the average official standard, his acts are defensible: tried by the standard of his predecessors Fletcher and Nisbet, or his successors Dalrymple and Stewart even after the Revolution, his character and administration appear moderate and just.

Compared with some English law officers of the same period Lord Advocate Mackenzie acted honourably and humanely. By our modern standards some of his acts lie open to remark. In Sir Hugh Campbell's trial for treason (1684), he vehemently argued for a conviction, after his witnesses had broken down, and showed great temper when the jury asserted their right to be sole judges of the evidence and returned a verdict of "Not guilty". His conduct when in prosecuting Baillie of Jarviswoode for complicity in the Ryehouse Plot, he pressed, by special order of the Privy Council, charges which he owned that he had some time before said to the prisoner in private conversation that he did not credit, was censured at the time. He might have left the conduct of the prosecution to the Whig counsel who appeared along with him. To have resigned office, or to have refused to bring the evidence and arguments, which his official superiors ordered, before the tribunal which alone had the duty and responsibility of deciding upon them, would have been heroic, but in the seventeenth century unexampld. And one cannot but regret that he prosecuted simple religious women, such as Isobel Semple and Marion Harvey, though as the law stood they had committed technical treason. But one cannot disregard his defence that he acted from a sense of official duty, and within the law. And the facts that while Lord Advocate he more than once gave timely hints which enabled suspected persons to escape, for example, to his friend Lord Stair and to Stair's son, John Dalrymple his rival, and remained officially ignorant of James

Stewart's hiding-place in London, while personally discussing with him questions of Church Government, do some credit to his humanity.

His colleagues found him more conscientious than suited them. When Mackenzie doubted the dispensing power claimed by King James, Rothes, who had ousted Aberdeen and secretly turned Catholic, determined to find a more pliant Lord Advocate. Lord President Lockhart acted as Lord Advocate till the man was found. John Dalrymple, the Whig patriot, out of prison, returned to Edinburgh with a royal gift of £1,200 and the office of Lord Advocate. Dalrymple did his work with zest and thoroughness. It was Dalrymple who prosecuted D. and John Hardy merely for opposing the taking away of the laws against Popery. It was Dalrymple who, by the aid of envious brethren, tracked, arrested, brought to hasty trial and hastier execution, young Renwick, the most learned, pious and clear-sighted leader among the Covenanters, and the most lamented of all the victims of arbitrary power. But on one occasion Dalrymple was foiled by Sir George, who had again put on his gown as a private advocate. Lord Glasford had arranged to get the lands of the Glasford feuars, if the lands (and their lives) could be forfeited to the Crown. Dalrymple took the matter in hand. He arraigned some twenty of the feuars on the charges of having been at Bothwell Bridge, rendezvousing and resetting rebels. By threatening the Crown witnesses with a hanging if they failed to swear up to the charges, he imagined that he had made sure of a conviction. But Sir George, whom the prisoners had retained, tore Dalrymple's case into shreds, appealed to the jury with more than his wonted eloquence and won a verdict of "Not guilty".

When Dalrymple became Lord Justice Clerk on 17th February, 1688, Mackenzie resumed office until the Revolution broke out. In the Convention of Estates he led, with all his old courage, the scanty and disheartened Opposition. No part of his life does him greater honour. He made a gallant effort to save the Episcopal Church of Scotland, though he thought as little of the Bishops then in office as Claverhouse did. He remained in the Convention defending the King against Dalrymple, who had once more changed sides and was about to hold office as Lord Advocate of King William, and against other colleagues who had in like manner made sure of impunity and promotion. When, on 4th April, 1689, Dalrymple's resolution that James Stuart had forfeited the Crown of Scotland was carried, Mackenzie felt that his public life was ended. He retired to Oxford,

where he had many friends and congenial society. He spent his days in literary studies, and probably in revising his memoirs. On 8th October, 1691, in London, his life quietly ended.

From his political life one turns to his less contentious attainments in scholarship and literature.

In the sphere of law he did excellent work. *The Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal* (1678); *Observations on the Statutes* (1686); *Institutions of the Law of Scotland* (1684); *Essay on Forensic Eloquence and Collection of Pleadings* (1673); and his *Treatise on Heraldry and Precedency* (1680) are clearly arranged, written in a pleasant style, with great knowledge of comparative law and history, and contain many curious facts. His *Observations on the Statutes* are still a useful commentary, for example, on the statutory law of bankruptcy. The *Institutions*, though now cast into the shade by the more elaborate and scientific *Institutions* by Lord Stair, were the first and for a century the best exposition of the whole law of Scotland according to the method of Justinian. It "treats of terms and principles, leaving out nothing that is necessary, inserting nothing that is controverted": it lays down that the great principles of justice and equity are the same in all nations. In *Criminal Law* his large experience and authority entitled him to say that he wrote "to inform his countrymen and illuminate the law". As noted above, he had introduced many reforms. Capital punishment for simple theft he condemned as contrary to the law of God and to humanity. There is no proportion, he argues, between life and money: in theft the crime can be repaired: it is absurd that theft and murder which are not equal crimes should have equal punishments. But Mackenzie's opinion did not become law until Sir James Mackintosh and Romilly persuaded a British Parliament in the nineteenth century.

His exposition on the *Crime of Witchcraft* seems out of joint with his liberal opinions. Yet in 1678 most lawyers (except Cromwell's judges) and all theologians would have agreed with him against Wierus that "if we deny witchcraft, we must deny the truth of all history, ecclesiastical or secular". But he lays down that "of all crimes it requires . . . the most convincing probation," and he condemns "next to the witches themselves those cruel and too forward judges". Many accused of this crime confess to things impossible: "even the devil cannot make one solid body penetrate another," "nor can the devil transform one species into another," such

as an old woman into a cat. . Mackenzie's theory as to the mode in which images of clay or wax (still employed in amorous rivalries and ecclesiastical controversies in one part of Scotland) work their evil effects on the persons represented is admirably ingenious.

Those who think of him as the "Bloody Advocate" may note that he condemns arbitrariness as "most dreadful in matters criminal where life and fortune are equally exposed".

In discussing insanity, responsibility and punishment his views were also in advance of his times. Any degree of insanity which clouds the reason, though it does not destroy it, should be taken into account to "lessen and moderate" the punishment: an opinion now given effect to in practice. He strongly vindicated the Roman and Scots doctrine always rejected in England, that statutes are abrogated by desuetude. It is not just that people "who know law not so much by reading the books of statutes as by seeing the daily practice" should be prosecuted under old laws which have been disused and forgotten. Another doctrine of the Roman Law, received by Scots lawyers till overruled by English judges, he emphatically asserted. Decided cases or precedents do not make law. Judges are not bound except by laws, and none can make laws but Parliament. Decisions pass on less premeditation, with more bias from circumstances than laws. Judges should no more be "tied from altering their decisions than philosophers to continue in the errors of their youth". These few references may serve to show the value of Mackenzie's work on Criminal Law, as a record of advanced opinions, and a treasure house of incidents, facts and curious customs.

His *Observations on Precedency* and *On the Science of Heraldry* are read by antiquaries. Naturally he maintains the independence of the Crown of Scotland. Apropos of the origin of surnames, he informs us that Malcolm Canmore gave surnames to all his nobles, and how a Robertson got the name of Skene, with arms three dirk points, by having killed a wolf with only his dirk, in the forest of Stocket. His references to "slug-horns or *cris' de guerre*," and to employment of round tables and several doors as devices to avoid disputes of precedency may be taken as samples of the more interesting contents.

His *Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland*, and his defence of the royal prerogative against Buchanan, Milton and other writers, dedicated to the Universities of Scotland, are written with great vigour,

but modern historians would not regard them as exact or convincing. He begins with Fergus I., B.C. 330, and successfully ridicules Buchanan's theory of an original contract between Fergus and his subjects. The series of passages relating to Scotland which he gathered from many classic writers and Christian fathers, proves his wide reading. His constitutional proposition is that "Monarchs are absolute, deriving their royal authority immediately from God Almighty". But qualifications in cases of insanity, or alienation of the kingdom to strangers, or abdication, or acceptance of a limited constitution are admitted. The proof he finds in the statutes of Scotland (the recent arbitrary Acts in particular) and in the Civil Law (but mainly cites selections from the Novels of Justinian).

In the discourse concerning the three unions (or projects of union) between England and Scotland, he defines the "requisites of a perfect union" so as to exclude the case of England and Scotland. He apprehended danger to the law of Scotland,—with reason. He praises "that wonderful scholar Sir Francis Bacon". But English lawyers "ordinarily confine their studies within their own municipal laws"—a remark which still retains its point. Proceeding partly on Scottish experience of a common Parliament during the Commonwealth, he asks this question, not yet answered to Scottish satisfaction: "How can a Parliament of Great Britain *understand* to make laws for Scotland?" One does not now sympathise with his point on the difference of constitutions, that the King had an absolute supremacy in the Church of Scotland and more influence over the Parliament of Scotland: but his objection to appeals being allowed from the Supreme Court to the House of Lords has been justified by events.

His constitutional plea that a Parliament could have no right to demit or resign its powers, or extinguish itself, and therefore no right to consent to an incorporating union, was afterwards adopted and used with great effect in 1707 by Fletcher and other opponents of the union with England, and by Plunket and the independent Irish party in 1799 against the union of Great Britain with Ireland.

In the *Memoirs of Affairs of Scotland from the Restoration and Vindication of the Government of Charles II.*, posthumously published, Sir George Mackenzie makes his personal apology and a plausible defence of the arbitrary government of the King in Church and State. He rests the weight of his plea on the statutes passed by the Parliaments of the

Restoration; a plea technically valid, but ignoring the fact that these statutes were just the head and front of the grievances which brought about the Revolution. Some of his points are good. He comments on the greater severity of the laws of England, New England, and Sweden, and contrasts the ampler protection which the law of Scotland gave to an accused person (in great measure introduced by himself). That he ever threatened juries he denies, but (remembering Campbell's case) admits that he exercised his undoubted right of protesting for an assize of error. He affirms that torture, the reproach of the Scotch Privy Council, was never inflicted except against men proved to be personally guilty and in order to discover accomplices; that not one of a thousand capital sentences was executed; and that not six persons died except for being in actual rebellion or being proved guilty of assassination. Then he pertinently asks: "If any should rise in defence of Episcopacy and allege conscience, would the Presbyterian Government sustain that as a just defence?" But his assertion that the Civil Government "was never bigot" in King Charles' reign is rather daring, unless he means that no religious or ecclesiastical opinion was treated as in itself a crime, but was taken only as evidence or an overt act of sedition or treason. To do justice to Sir George Mackenzie one must look at his political acts and read his political works from his constitutional standpoint. His convictions and his duty "screwed up the royal prerogative" to the highest point of supremacy in all causes and over all persons, civil or ecclesiastical. To use a later phraseology, he was thoroughly Erastian and anti-Ultramontane. Like the Roman jurists, he regarded a theocracy, and *a fortiori* a Presbyterian theocracy, as inconsistent with the well-being, or even the existence, of the State. In the risings of the rigid Presbyterians he saw rebellions which aimed, not at freedom of conscience or toleration, but at a Presbyterian tyranny under forms substantially republican. He had seen in his youth a government by Presbytery which even Presbyterians found intolerable. From a higher standpoint we can now perceive that the battle did involve freedom of conscience, but the party which conquered at the Revolution never inscribed the rights of other persons' consciences on their banners.

Mackenzie's earlier works reflect his philosophical studies before he became an administrator of the law, and contain his opinions on religion and toleration. In the *Religio Stoici* he condemns persecution for opinions. Opinion is a pure act of the mind—to punish the body for the fault of the

soul is as unjust as to punish one relative for another. But he is ready to exact a certain external passive conformity to the religion of the State. "In things not necessary to salvation the laws of my country are my creed." He says of "Fanatics of all sets and sorts," by way of "friendly address," "When they have set the whole globe ablaze, this they term a new light". Some of his opinions must have seemed to rigid Presbyterians more deserving of the greater excommunication than his harshest official acts. "In religion, as in heraldry, the simpler the bearing be it is so much the purer and ancients." Churches "lace so strait, like coy maids, as to bring on a consumption," and "allow no wedding garment but of their own spinning". "Stand not some Episcopists and Presbyterians at greater distance than either do with Turks and Pagans?" "True religion and undefiled is to visit the widow and the fatherless, and the indictment drawn up against the condemned spirits shall be that when our Saviour's poor ones were hungered they did not feed them, and when they were naked they did not clothe them, without mentioning anything of their belief in matters of controversy or government."

In the *Essay on Reason* he ventures a definition of "bigotry," it consists in "laying too much stress upon any circumstantial point of religion, and making all other essential duties subordinate thereto". In other places he asks, in the spirit of Erasmus or of Sir Thomas More, "Why should we show so much violence in these things whereof we can show no certain evidence?" "Are we not ready to condemn to-day what yesterday was judged to be *jure divino*?" In a vein of humour he reflects that "the most infallible Churchmen, the most learned judges, the most zealous patriots must trust to Voting because they cannot to Reasoning". It must be admitted that Mackenzie, when he followed his classical masters in maintaining that it is easier to be virtuous than vicious, and that "men naturally love truth as the eyes do light," had no fear of the Westminster Confession, or even the Articles of the Episcopists, before his eyes, and had perhaps incomplete foresight into the entanglements of professional and official life. If he and his colleagues had laid to heart his admirable maxim that "Severity increases the number and zeal of bigots," the House of Stuart would never have forfeited the throne. One remark by Mackenzie on the historical origin of Presbytery, passed at the Bishop of St. Asaph's table, seems to have been understood too literally by Evelyn. Evelyn says the late Lord Advocate observed that Presbyterian dissent

was introduced by a Jesuit, who "began to pray extemporary," and died in Scotland, Evelyn cannot recollect where, and had on his monument, "*Rosa inter spinas*". This sounds like a piece of Mackenzie's humorous after-dinner table-talk. It is worth noting as the probable original of Lord Beaconsfield's theory that four Jesuits, in the nineteenth century, founded the United Presbyterian Church, which Mr. Cunninghame Graham, in Mackenzie's vein, has described as an obscure religious sect occasionally alluded to in the writings of the late R. L. Stevenson.

One word is due to Mackenzie's lighter literary work.

After the fashion of the day he indited poems in his youth. Some of them are sprinkled with conceits, in Dryden's first manner, for example, "Our Saviour's Picture". His paraphrase of the 104th Psalm may rank with similar efforts of Lord Bacon. Occasionally we find a line worthy of Dryden in his strength, such as "Friendship the wiser rival of vain love," and "Montrose, his country's glory and her shame". No one now reads his serious romance, *Arctina* (1660), though it has the merit of being the first novel in Scottish literature. One of his most popular works was the *Essay on Solitude in Praise of a Private Life exempt from Public Cares* (1666), answered by John Evelyn (1667) in his little book on *Public Employment and an Active Life preferred to Solitude*. Each seems to have been converted by the arguments of the other: in any case the controversy made them friends.

The style of Mackenzie's prose works, though not so terse or strong as that of Fletcher of Saltoun, differs little from the better-style English writers of the period. In style Mackenzie most resembles Sir William Temple.

In speeches he employed the old, or Court, Scots, which he calls "the Scottish idiom of the British tongue," and maintained its superiority for the purposes of forensic eloquence: "Our pronunciation is, like ourselves, fiery, abrupt, sprightly and bold," and the bending of our great wits "to study the law, the chief science in repute with us, hath much smoothed our language as to pleading".

In discussing the advocate's vocation he held up to his brethren the highest standard of professional learning: "An advocate without an excellent knowledge of jurisprudence is a soldier without arms". In his advice to them he follows Quintilian, sometimes qualified by his own experience, e.g.: "In cases where the pleader is young and the cause

unfavourable, the strongest arguments should be first used, in order to conciliate the judge". His own reported pleadings are more brief than one expects in forensic work. Two of his arguments (1) Whether a contract made by a minor who held himself out to the other party as major and swore not to revoke it, is nevertheless revokable on the ground of minority, and (2) Whether passive compliance in public rebellions is punishable as treason (his plea in Argyle's case), are fair examples of his reasoning and methods of debate.

With his own profession he was, and has continued, popular and admired. There was nothing mean or envious in his nature. He honoured his vocation and his brethren. His sketches of other leaders of the bar, from Nicolson, whom he had seen "only in his setting," to Lockhart, his most influential rival, are pithy and appreciative. Even the Whig, Sir John Lauder, characterised him as the "brightest Scotsman of his time". It is due to him to record that he did more for legal education than any Lord Advocate or any Dean of Faculty before or since. He began the movement, though he died before it succeeded, to institute a Faculty of Law in the University of Edinburgh. When Dean of Faculty he founded that noble Library of the Faculty of Advocates which is used as the National Library of Scotland, in the hope that lawyers and others might leave their books to increase it, and that many generations would profit by it to enlarge the study of law. His inaugural oration, pronounced in the very crisis of the Revolution, when he knew himself in danger of assassination, reveals and repeats his favourite studies. It discusses again the uses of the texts of the Civil Law, "happily saved from Tribonian," and, as became a student of Bourges, the methods introduced by Alciatus and Cujas. He impresses the value of the Paraphrase of Theophilus, and the study of the developments of law in the East after Justinian. He commends to his profession the studies, historical, critical and rhetorical, which are necessary to train and form the mind to jurisprudence, the *Scientia Imperatrix*.

What evil he did, rather compelled by the times than by his own nature, was interred even before his bones; the good he did lives after him, in many forms. One prefers to think of him as one whose private life was unstained by the vices of his age, whose public life was marked by energy, courage and loyalty, whom the great Voet, Huber and other jurists of Europe admired, whom great Universities, like Oxford and Bourges, praised and honoured, who bequeathed to his profession a great

tradition of independence, learning and eloquence, and whose character Dryden in one word expressed, "that noble wit of Scotland".

3. Sir GEORGE GORDON of Haddo, First Earl of Aberdeen (1637-1720), one of the most eminent *alumni* of King's College.

He was the second son of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, the famous Cavalier. The execution of his father, for what they called treason in virtue of a retrospective law, and the forfeiture of his father's property by the Covenanters, impressed upon him in youth the dangers of popular government and the evils of civil warfare. In 1659 he took his degree at King's College, and, with scarcely an interval, was appointed one of the Regents in succession to John Strachan. He professed Philosophy, and taught as Regent in the College until 1663, when he resigned in order to complete his studies for the legal profession. After taking the usual law classes at a Continental University, he passed advocate in 1668. Practice was not wanting, but it is said that, on his succession, by the death of his elder brother, to the family title and estates he ceased to take fees. Like other ambitious and energetic lawyers of his day, he united forensic with legislative duties. In 1669 he was elected to Parliament for the County of Aberdeen, and retained his seat for the next ten years. In 1681 he was one of the Lords of the Articles, the Standing Committee of Parliament which prepared legislation. In 1678 he entered the Privy Council, at the same time as Sir George Mackenzie. On 8th June, 1680, he took his seat as Lord Ordinary of the Court of Session, with the title of Lord Haddo. His judicial promotion was rapid. Lord Stair having refused to take the new test enacted by the Act of 1681, Sir George succeeded him as Lord President of the Court. In July, 1682, he was created Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and, a few months later, Earl of Aberdeen.

As a judge he had been successful and popular. In depth and variety of professional learning, in experience at the Bar and on the Bench, Lord Stair had no equal. But in sound common sense Sir George was not second even to Stair. In prompt despatch of business, one of the rarest of judicial qualities, in good, impartial administration of justice, a virtue even rarer and more desired in the seventeenth century, he excelled his colleagues, and perhaps the greater number of his successors in the Chair. These qualities commended him to men of all ranks and degrees, but they also made him enemies.

In the Privy Council, the centre of arbitrary power, Sir George, like

Lord Stair, took as small a part as his offices allowed. He kept within the law, but the limits of the law of the Privy Council enclosed a very ample space, and used his influence in favour of moderation. He was too honest for most of his colleagues, and the causes of his fall from office are as creditable to him as they are disgraceful to his successful rivals.

Lord Aberdeen had quarrelled with Queensberry as to the keeping of men in prison without trial. He had also opposed in Council a project which Queensberry had devised to bring money into the Treasury, and, subsequently, into his private purse. The project was that the Council should fine husbands for the neglect of their wives to attend their parish church. The statute requiring attendance had been obeyed by men, but their wives all stayed away. Perth warmly supported Queensberry's proposal; it would extirpate Presbyterians, or at least bring them to poverty. Lord Aberdeen as warmly opposed it on constitutional grounds. The project was clearly illegal and unjust. The Attendance Act made no one liable except for his own failure to attend. It sanctioned the infliction of heavy fines and corporal pains on noblemen, gentlemen, heritors, yeomen, tenants and burgesses. Under the Conventicle Act, men were expressly made liable for the transgressions of their wives or children in family who resorted to Conventicles to the extent of one-half the fines so incurred, because they had power to restrain them. But this Act neither required wives to attend church nor made their husbands answerable for their delicts. As the ladies had for years withdrawn, the fines which could, in Queensberry's view, be inflicted would make all the estates in the country lie at the mercy of the Council. The King was appealed to. Charles, who, to use the words of a Bishop, "all his life expressed as great neglect of women's consciences as regard for their persons," decided in favour of Perth and Queensberry. Lord Aberdeen had law and reason so plainly with him that, in 1685, the majority of the Council procured an Act of Parliament declaring that their procedure "in fining husbands for their wives' withdrawing from the Ordinances" was to be observed in all time coming, and expressly ratifying all their decrees and sentences. But all the more the "Junto" aimed to put him out. In 1684 they tried to proceed against him as Sheriff of Midlothian for neglect of duty in not stopping a Conventicle, but it turned out that the Conventicle had met in Tweeddale, beyond Aberdeen's jurisdiction.

One act of service to the King had swelled the ranks of Aberdeen's

enemies. Maitland of Hatton, now third Earl of Lauderdale, had freely used his office as Master of the Mint to put the King's money in his own pocket. The Lord Advocate had sued Lauderdale and other officers of the Mint for repayment. Lord Aberdeen, as President of the Court, had given judgment for £70,000. Some thought that "he carried on the Mint decree with an eye to get the benefit of it". The Lord Clerk Register inflamed Lauderdale by the hint that "they were his enemies whom he should see getting his pelf". The King sisted execution of the decree, and reduced the sum to £20,000, or a conveyance of certain estates to Aberdeen and Claverhouse. The matter was compromised after some unedifying negotiations and litigation. Claverhouse was alienated from Aberdeen by this dispute, or, if Colin Mackenzie told the truth, because Aberdeen had planned to make the intended bride of Claverhouse the third wife of Sir Ludovic Gordon. And among the higher nobility there had been "great envy at Aberdeen's advancement". The Marquis of Athol had been bitterly annoyed at being passed over for Chancellor.

Aberdeen relied on his friendship with the Duke of York. The Duke had saved his life in the wreck of the *Gloucester* by taking him into his own barge, along with the dog "Mumper". The Duke had helped to make him Lord Chancellor. When Viceroy of Scotland the Duke had in person laid before the Council the letters patent in favour of Aberdeen. With all his faults the Duke was constant in his friendships, and did not fail to defend Aberdeen against the coalition. Then the coalition played their trump card, a cash payment of £27,000 to the Duchess of Portsmouth, and won. Perth and Queensberry arrived in Edinburgh, "having carried out all their designs against Aberdeen". A word of the King's mistress had outweighed the loyal services of his ancestors, his father's sufferings, his own faithful discharge of his duties to the Crown, and had made Perth Lord Chancellor. His enemies did not "suffer so great a man to fall softly". They exerted their interest and malice to find pretexts for prosecuting him, but even John Dalrymple could make no discoveries, to the great displeasure of the treasurer. Lauderdale raised an action against him to have the decree in the Mint case and the compromise which followed formally set aside. This was done "to accumulate matter to blacken and sully Aberdeen's reputation". Lauderdale alleged that the other judges had been concussed by Aberdeen, and claimed to adduce them as witnesses. In point of fact, only Lauderdale's brother had opposed the

decree, even "the Lords who swore by his family" had not ventured to appear and dissent. While this action was being debated King Charles died, and the judges, remembering the new King's friendship, became more clear for Aberdeen. The action was stopped by an arbitrary command of James in March, 1686. But, in the debates in Parliament on the new Act regarding the Mint, Lord Aberdeen introduced a series of amendments to prevent speculation in future, exposed again Lauderdale's mal-administration, and maintained the justice of the Mint decree.

The published volume of letters received by Lord Aberdeen in his years of office as Lord President and Chancellor yields some interesting personal details.

The Duke of Hamilton thanks him for "justice and favour" in delaying a process against him. The Duchess of Lauderdale writes a long explanation of one of her cases in Court. Queensberry recommends the suit of a friend "to his favour and justice". The Earl Marischal wants a share of the fines, the Bishop of Edinburgh wants a treasury credit for £200, the Earl of Strathmore wants his pension continued, the Earl of Perth desires that a friend from Blair should be made a Lord of Session. Sir George Mackenzie's letters show the friendly footing on which he stood with Aberdeen—perhaps King's College counted for something.

The Chancellor had shown "extraordinary kindness" to Colin Mackenzie, Sir George's brother. Sir George had procured the Clerkship of Justiciary for Thomas Gordon, Writer to the Signet ("honest Thom Gordon"), and writes from the Justiciary Circuit to say that though he himself had not seen one dollar on the whole circuit, he had made up Thomas Gordon's losses another way "and legally too". Lord Fountainhall gives the explanation: Thomas Gordon, as clerk, "got much money for Acts of Caution," and "took the management of the Court mainly upon him". When the Chancellor fell, "honest Thom" had to pay the Duchess of Portsmouth to keep his office. In 1682 Sir George writes what pains he took to influence elections everywhere, to "hector such as speak ill of you," and to "assist honest men in all the elections both here and in the West". The Whig, Sir John Cochrane, offers Aberdeen a share in a syndicate to take up 70,000 acres of land in South Carolina, and adds that he has also reserved shares for any judges "who incline to come into the undertaking". Sir George Mackenzie suspected this as a

scheme to plant a colony of fanatics'. Sir John was then expecting to be served with an indictment for treason. The correspondence reveals no secrets and is more pleasant reading than some confidential correspondence of statesmen after the Revolution.

Lord Aberdeen retired from active political life after the new Act for regulating the Mint passed into law. In the Revolution he took no part. His love of peace and hatred of civil war, perhaps his dread of the evils of a second Restoration with James' then advisers, kept him back from joining Claverhouse. His constitutional principles and his memory of James' personal friendship did not permit him to acknowledge King William's title. He did not attend the Convention, and was not appointed as a Commissioner of Supply. His name does subsequently appear as a Commissioner, but is again omitted (in 1696), probably because he did not take the oath of allegiance. In Parliament he did not reappear until after Queen Anne's accession. In Queen Anne's first Parliament he took the oaths, and his seat, on 11th May, 1703. He seldom intervened in debate, but in judicial appeals to Parliament, and questions as to private Acts, his experience and knowledge of law gave great weight to his counsels. In the Cramond case, he pointed out that Parliament in its judicative capacity could pass no censure without first calling all parties concerned. He opposed the Whig proposal that quarrelling, or impugning, or endeavouring to alter or innovate the Claim of Right, or any article thereof, should be *treason* (a proposal which violated justice and liberty as outrageously as the worst Act on the statute-book). One observer describes him as he appeared in this Parliament, "the solidest statesman in Scotland," "a fine orator who speaks slow but strong". In the fiery Union debates he exercised a moderating influence. Probably he still felt the aversion to an incorporating Union which had led him to second Sir George Mackenzie's amendment in the Parliament of Charles II. But Union, however unpalatable to Scottish pride and patriotism, seemed to many the only alternative to separation and civil war. In the Lockhart papers it is said that he "turned tail to the Cavaliers" on the Duke of Hamilton's motion against an incorporating Union. He was induced to stay away from the decisive divisions. After the Union he lived on his own estates the quiet life of a country gentleman, till his death at Kellie in 1720. Strength, solidity, constitutional respect for law, honesty of purpose, great power of application to business, and a gift of grave, deliberative eloquence were the

qualities which raised him to eminence and maintained him in the confidence of the moderate men of all parties during his public career. In their address on his earldom, expressed with a simplicity and sincerity not usually associated with documents of the kind, the Town Council of Aberdeen crown their congratulations by the wish that his descendants might succeed him, "not only in honour and dignity, but in virtue which has, for many generations bygone, been the praise of your honourable family". No wish has ever been more amply fulfilled.

4. Sir FRANCIS GRANT of Cullen, Lord Cullen (1660-1726)—educated at Aberdeen—pursued the study of Law at Leyden under Voet, the most celebrated of Dutch Civilians, whose works are still of authority in Scotland and South Africa. He was called to the Bar about 1691. Both in jurisprudence and politics he held advanced liberal opinions. He enjoyed the friendship of Sir George Mackenzie, widely as they differed in politics. In the Convention of 1689 he distinguished himself in debate. He maintained by speech and writing that King James had, even on the rules of feudal law, forfeited the throne. On all public questions his breadth and foresight were remarkable. He opposed the restoration of patronage in the Church. Of the Union with England he was a distinguished and convinced supporter. At the Bar he was a persuasive and elegant speaker, much in request for appeals. His learning was great, and fixed on him the name of "the living library". No fault could be found with him even by the severe section of his party, except that he was "ambulatory in his judgment as to Church government," a matter on which contemporary Scotsmen had such fixed, if conflicting, opinions. But he made it a rule to give his professional services to clergymen of all denominations without a fee. His *Essays on Law, Religion and Education* are not unworthy of the friend of Mackenzie and the pupil of Voet. His Parliamentary services were rewarded by a baronetcy, and his professional eminence recognised by promotion to the Bench in 1709 as Lord Cullen. As a judge he was quick in perception, ready in citation of authority, and, like Coke, preferred to draw his law from the original sources. Perhaps he sometimes estimated its value by the depth of the well, not the purity of the draught.

5. DUNCAN FORBES of Culloden, Lord President, 1685-1747. It is with a sense of pleasure that one passes to consider a statesman and jurist who, in times scarcely less venal and arbitrary than the Restoration is

reputed to have been, raised himself to power, not by the arts which others used to rise, but by the excellence of a noble character and manly independence. His life spans a period of Scottish history thronged with stirring events. Born under Charles II., old enough to remember the death of Claverhouse, educated amidst the patriotic struggle against Union with England, active for peace, order and clemency through two rebellions, an energetic reformer, who saw and aided the growth of commerce and manufactures, he was for nearly thirty years a prime mover in all Scottish affairs in the direction of progress. The leading dates of his career may be given. He was born in 1685; called to the Bar in 1709; was member for the Inverness Burghs from 1722 to 1737; in 1725 became Lord Advocate; in 1737 Lord President of the Court of Session, and died in December, 1747.

The son of a family, not ancient, but which had been for three generations the head of the patriotic Liberals of the North, and was closely allied with the House of Argyle, he received his first education at the Parish School of Inverness. He next studied at Aberdeen University, then went to Edinburgh, where he attended Spottiswood's lectures on Law. He finished his student life at the University of Leyden. There he was thoroughly grounded in Jurisprudence and Roman Law, and acquired a good critical knowledge of Hebrew.

For some time after his call to the Bar, he seems to have been more busy in convivial and literary circles than in the Courts of Law. He was a king among good fellows, in the haunts of the Junior Bar or in the castles of Highland chieftains.

His genial, honest face, handsome figure, persuasive manners and natural sweetness of temper made him welcome. But he read more law and argued more cases than he sometimes got credit for; when great practice came, it did not find him unprepared. In seven years after his call to the Bar he was a busy man, and from that time he soon became one of the leaders of the Bar. In Appeal cases before the House of Lords he was the favourite and a most effective counsel until he quitted the Bar. His clients often became his friends for life. Even Lovat, who never outwitted him, felt as much regard for him as his nature allowed. The notorious Francis Charteris left him a large legacy and the life-rent of his country estate. In 1714-15 he threw his energy into politics. In the General Election of February, 1715, he gained his first political laurels.

The times were stirring, and for the Hanoverian dynasty ominous. The Tories were "never higher in their looks or hopes," "they counted on speedy invasion". His brother contested with success the County of Inverness as a Liberal and a supporter of Government. Duncan Forbes canvassed for him, spoke for him, made friends and gained influence. When the Rebellion of 1715 broke out, he worked even harder to dissuade the Northern clans from joining the Earl of Mar, and with great results. The Duke of Argyle and his brother, Lord Islay, recognised his capacity and services to Government. He became the Duke's legal adviser, and was marked for political office. When the Rebellion collapsed, largely because of the defection of the Inverness-shire clans, the cry in England was loud and furious for the most severe and cruel measures. Any one who suggested clemency was regarded by the King and London society as a secret Jacobite. Both Duncan Forbes and his brother were "ill-looked on" because they would not swell the cry. But the brothers were of stronger stuff. On 19th March, 1716, Duncan Forbes had qualified, he says "the Lord knows how," as Advocate Depute. He protested against the proposed measures of repression. Lord Advocate Dalrymple agreed with him, and presented a memorial to Government against forfeitures of the rebels, and suggested a pardon to all who were under age or had been compelled to come out. But to the English Cabinet this meant that "every rebel in Scotland was to escape". And the Solicitor-General (Stewart) and the Lord Justice Clerk pressed for speedy measures against rebels. Ultimately the Lord Advocate was forced into resignation. Duncan Forbes went on his way. He discouraged prosecutions of the rebels, he declined to prosecute except on signed informations, and not one seems to have been lodged. The Government, with an arbitrariness unsurpassed under the Restoration, illegally detained rebels in Edinburgh, then transferred them, by a greater stretch of arbitrary power, to England for trial—in Carlisle—where conviction could be depended on. Duncan Forbes was selected to appear for the Crown at Carlisle. He promptly wrote Lord Islay that he was determined to refuse that employment, and that no motive whatever would induce him to accept it. Islay advised him to "struggle thro' with it," but Forbes stood firm. The Lord Advocate went to a German Spa to avoid appearing, but Solicitor-General Stewart and the English Solicitor-General, with two other less scrupulous members of the Scots Bar, undertook the prosecution. Duncan Forbes did more

than refuse to act. He collected money among his friends, Whig and Tory, for the support and defence of the prisoners at Carlisle. The partisans of Government condemned him. But, as he said, "no law can hinder a Scotsman to wish that his countrymen, not hitherto condemned, should not be a derision to strangers, or perish for want of necessary defence or sustenance out of their own country". Against the whole policy of the Government he expressed himself strongly in an unsigned remonstrance addressed to Walpole. He said that the Rebellion was crushed, nearly every Scotsman was connected with some of the rebels and in favour of mercy: the Forfeiture Bill was a mistake: the Ministry had taken no pains to find out the real feeling in Scotland: they had dismissed from office the Duke of Argyle, moved by a parcel of fictions. The King's friends in Scotland began to fear that the nation had been devoted to destruction. There was no true and wise policy except indemnity and amnesty to all who shall surrender within a given time. But, instead of adopting this policy the English Government took a further step, which aroused keen feelings. They sent down to Scotland a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to try and find bills against the rebels who had escaped. It was prepared by the English Attorney-General; two English barristers were sent to conduct the prosecutions. But the Scottish Grand Juries refused (except at Cupar) to become accomplices of the Government. The Commission was even more of a blunder than an illegality. However he might stand with the Government, Duncan Forbes had gained the place in the hearts of his countrymen which he never lost. The Liberals of the Inverness Burghs invited him to contest the seat. After a petition he was declared duly elected. No one was better fitted to represent and rally the Northern Liberals. They had opposed by constitutional means the Government of the Restoration, they had stood by the Government of the Revolution, they had opposed the unfair clauses of the Act of Union, they supported the Hanoverian dynasty from principle. They were Liberals of a broader, more rational and more tolerant type than the Whig of the South and West.

In the House of Commons the member for Inverness became a power, partly by his courtesy, partly by his knowledge of affairs and effectiveness in debate, but mainly because all parties knew him for the "most uncorrupt person" in the country. What he said he meant, what he meant he adhered to. No majority ever was more venal and servile as that which kept

Walpole in power—most of its members received their ten guineas or more weekly. But one man had not “his price,” and voted for Government measures when he thought them right, but against them when he thought them wrong. This was not the way to promotion, yet in succession to Dundas (who twenty-two years later succeeded him as Lord President), he was appointed Lord Advocate.

He was scarcely settled in his seat when a fierce agitation broke out against the new tax on Scottish malt. In Glasgow the Excise officers did not dare to collect the duty: the mob destroyed the house of Campbell of Shawfield, who had supported the tax, and a dangerous riot followed. The Lord Advocate and General Wade went to Glasgow; the Lord Advocate held an inquiry into the conduct of the magistrates, and caused them to be apprehended for gross neglect of duty. The disturbances were suppressed. In Edinburgh the brewers combined to stop all brewing until this tax should be repealed. The Lord Advocate applied to the Court of Session. The brewers were ordered, on 31st July, to continue brewing enough to supply their customers till the following November, on pain of imprisonment, and after some resistance the brewers' strike collapsed. It showed that the new Lord Advocate was no more to be moved from his duty by popular agitation than by ministerial influence.

During his tenure of office he broke completely with some old and evil conceptions of the Lord Advocate's duties as Public Prosecutor. In his view and practice as Public Prosecutor his duties were partly judicial. His discretion in instituting prosecutions was not influenced by political considerations. No prosecution was instituted except after adequate inquiry and probable cause. No case was to be pressed unfairly against a prisoner. In this respect, except during the Tory reign of terror from 1794 to 1827, his predecessors have followed his example. Not only did he make the office of Lord Advocate honourable, but he increased its administrative and parliamentary importance. This change was due both to his personal qualities and to the abolition of the Secretaryship of State for Scotland. The Duke of Roxburgh, who had made this office “a nuisance,” as Forbes said, was dismissed, and no successor was appointed. Lord Islay (afterwards Duke of Argyle) continued to act as the unofficial and confidential adviser of the Cabinet in Scottish affairs. But Forbes possessed Islay's confidence, and so controlled all Scottish affairs. He became the Minister for Scotland as well as the legal adviser of the Crown. Unlike his

predecessors and some of his successors, he made a rule to attend regularly in Parliament. Since he "had the honour to serve the Crown," he writes that he "never was one day absent from Parliament," whatever calls he had from his private affairs to be in Edinburgh, Inverness or elsewhere.

The Jacobite districts of the Highlands, as no one knew better, were still dangerous. The Lord Advocate's remedy was not force. His policy was to open up the country by roads, to break up the military cohesion of the clan system, to introduce recruiting for the Imperial forces, to remove the permanent causes of disturbance or disaffection. Some parts of this policy he got carried out. General Wade made his famous roads connecting Fort William, Fort Augustus and Inverness with Perth and Stirling. The Lord Advocate personally visited the works and sent reports to London on their progress.

The most exciting incident during his tenure of office was the Porteous Riot. Captain Porteous had been sentenced to death in July, 1736, for ordering and personally taking part in firing on the crowd at Wilson's execution, but by powerful influence had been respited, and a pardon was expected. In September the Edinburgh mob broke his prison and lynched him, with general approval. No one would inform. The Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General, after an inquiry, had brought to trial two men, who were acquitted. The Government, or the English members of it, brought in their famous Bill of Pains and Penalties against the City of Edinburgh and the Lord Provost, abolishing the town guards of the city, taking away one of its gates, condemning (without trial) the Lord Provost to disability and imprisonment. It easily passed the House of Lords. In the Commons the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General spoke and voted against it. On the motion to go into Committee, the English Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, Walpole's henchmen, pressed the Bill vigorously and resolutely. The presidency of the Court of Session had just become vacant. Any other Lord Advocate would have voted with the Prime Minister, or, at best, abstained from voting. But Forbes replied to Walpole's English lawyers in the most telling (and the last) speech which he ever delivered in the House. He "spoke in the sincerity of his heart". "What motive could he have in what he had spoken but the discharge of his duty as a member of the House"; he declared that his conscience would ever afterwards have accused him had he not given his reasons against the Bill. The Government carried the motion, but in

Committee the Bill was reduced to disabling the Lord Provost and fining the city in reparation to Porteous' widow. Even in this state the motion to report it was only carried by the casting vote of the Chairman. It would have been lost had the Lord Chancellor not detained the Solicitor-General and Erskine of Grange before him in the House of Lords while the division was being taken.

Perhaps Walpole, in his secret heart, respected an honest man, perhaps he thought independence a quality fitter for a judge than for a Government official. For whatever reasons, the Lord Advocate was made Lord President of the Court. No man came to the chair with so great popularity and so general predictions of success. The Bar offered him special congratulations, and thanked him for his services as Lord Advocate. No man had better deserved his reputation. One can use no words of praise sufficient to express his character, as nearly perfect as human nature allows. Even the *Advocatus Diaboli* would be hard put to it to find a flaw. His life is as open before us as even the life of Sir Walter Scott. Yet the worst to be said against him is that the Jacobites disliked his policy of abolishing the clans' military power, and that the rigid Presbyterians (whose ideal Lord Advocate was "Wily Jamie," who made long prayers, and hanged a student for too advanced views in Biblical Criticism) recorded with horror that at Glasgow he shook hands, and whispered, with General Wade "in time of sermon".

In the Court his mastery was soon felt. In morals the judges had perhaps improved since the Revolution, but not in manners. They interrupted counsel, took sides, and wrangled with each other on the bench. The new Lord President, partly by the example of personal courtesy and attention, partly by strict impartiality, effected a change. He maintained the dignity of his high judicial office, as well as its traditions of legal learning and scholarship. He raised the standard of forensic as well as of judicial duty. It sometimes happened that papers signed, but not prepared by counsel, misrepresented the facts of the case. The President laid down the rule that counsel were responsible for whatever they signed.

Another abuse which needed, and still needs, reform—the accumulation of arrears of cases—he vigorously attacked. Lord Aberdeen's diligence had not been imitated by his successors. Lord President Forbes, on assuming office, directed rolls of the cases undecided at the end of the Summer Session to be made up and published. Some had been for ten or

twenty years in Court. Bentham's saying, that some judges instead of cleansing the Augean stable added to the heap, is not without justification. The President enacted that during the Winter Session these cases were to be heard in their order, and that no delays would be granted on pre-ence of counsel not attending or not being prepared. The effect was quickly seen. He wrote at the close of the Winter Session of 1740 to the Solicitor-General "that no cause ripe for judgment remained undetermined; none that within the rules of the Court could possibly have been decided remained over till the Summer term, a circumstance that had not happened within any man's memory". He meditated substantial reforms of the law, and tried to gain Lord Chancellor Hardwicke to support them. But Lord Hardwicke, with every expression of esteem "for an old friend" and of desire for the "improvement of the laws of your country," laid stress on the difficulties and obstacles to passing such Bills through Parliament.

For his classical and theological studies the President still found time. In 1732 he had published *Letters to a Bishop*, which ran through several editions, and in 1735 *Thoughts Regarding Religion*. Both these works were translated into French and enjoyed considerable reputation. One of his later and incomplete manuscripts was published after his death under the title of *Reflections on Incredulity* (1750). These works evidence his Hebrew learning, and his acquaintance with the controversies of the time, particularly the questions raised by Hutchison and Tindal. The style is clear and effective; sometimes it reminds one of a charge to a jury, or *Trials of the Witnesses*, *Trial of the Man of Sin*, by Dean Sherlock, and his imitators. One of the best passages in his works is his criticism of the theory which attributed a late origin to the Mosaic Law. His theology is reasonably orthodox, except his doubt as to the perpetuity of punishment.

Nor did he abate his interest in social and political questions. He continued an active correspondence on public affairs in Scotland, specially the state of the Highlands. Many years afterwards Lord Chatham boasted that he was the first minister who called the Highlanders from their mountains to the military service of the empire. If Lord Chatham has the merit of carrying out this policy, it is to Lord President Forbes that the merit of originating it rightfully belongs. In 1741, when war with Spain seemed imminent, after "revolving in his mind different schemes for reconciling the Highlander to Government," he proposed that

Government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders. They would serve gallantly against the enemy abroad, and be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home, and it would be impossible to raise another rebellion in the Highlands. Lord Islay laid these proposals before the Cabinet. The Cabinet rejected the "plan of the Scots Judge" in the superiority of a wisdom which was condemned by the event.

Within five years the Rebellion of 1745 suddenly broke out, taking the Government completely by surprise. The Lord President, at the first rumour of Prince Charles' invasion, started for Culloden. He used all his influence and resources to inspire the friends of Government, decide the wavering, and warn those who inclined to join the Prince's standard. The rout of General Cope at Prestonpans did not discourage him. "Almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit, provided with no means to prevent extreme folly except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation, and, if you will except Macleod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common-sense or courage," he did more effective service to the Government than their generals in preventing the spread of the insurrection.

The Government now adopted the President's plan of raising independent companies in the Highlands, and transmitted to him blank commissions. They neglected, though pressed by him again and again, to send arms and ammunition. They informed him that he might draw on the Treasury for the money needed. In their service he used all his own ready money, and borrowed as much as he could from his friends. When the Rebellion was over, he asked for money to repay these loans; repayment of his own money he was content to wait for. The Government dishonoured their assurance, and repaid nothing. They did not even thank him for his services. The reason of their conduct is more discreditable than the conduct. His offence was that he urged justice and clemency on the Ministry and on the King's favourite son, who introduced flogging into the British army, and in this campaign earned the name of "Butcher". Forbes spoke plainly to the Duke on the lawless acts committed by the English troops, even in peaceful parts of the country. The answer is historical. "The Laws of the Country, my Lord; I'll make a brigade give laws, by God." The "Butcher" was even better than his word. The atrocities imputed to Claverhouse were lawful and merciful in comparison.

After Culloden the "Butcher" had a number of wounded prisoners murdered in the courtyard of the President's house. The President remonstrated in vain. The Duke wrote to the King denouncing the President. To him the statesman who had more than all others saved the kingdom was "that old woman who talked to me about humanity". President Forbes returned to his judicial duties, and even continued to counsel the Government as to measures of pacification, the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, and to plead, as thirty years before, against penal laws. His health steadily grew worse; his doctors talked of some form of consumption, his friends knew that he was dying of a broken heart. On 10th December, 1747, to the profound grief of his countrymen, the end came.

Every tribute of public respect and affection was paid to his memory. No public man in Scotland has been so trusted and so honoured, or so lamented. The marble statue which, placed in the scene of his judicial life, shows him in act of administering justice, bears the dedication: "*Judici integerrimo, Civi optimo, priscae virtutis Viro*". One would but add the tribute of the poet: "Seldom has Scotland found a friend like thee".

6. JAMES BURNETT (1714-1799), Lord Monboddo, survives in the traditions of Edinburgh society and the comic literature of the Bar as the eccentric old lawyer, who had a beautiful daughter, and believed in the descent of man from a monkey. The gracious presence of the "Fair Burnett" will not fade away so long as Burns is read, and the theory which made her father a subject for ridicule in his own times may pass him down to posterity as a Darwinian before Darwin. But he has many other titles to be remembered by his University, his profession and his country.

He was born at Monboddo, in Kincardineshire, one of seventeen children. Monboddo, to which he ultimately succeeded, is called by Boswell "a wretched place, wild and naked, with a poor old house". But his Jacobite father had probably suffered for "being out" at Sheriffmuir, and certainly sold part of the estate to give this son "an education, the fruits of which," said Lord Monboddo in his old age, "I now enjoy, and make me happier than if he had left me a dukedom with the greatest fortune".

He was educated at King's and Marischal Colleges, where he chiefly applied himself to Greek under Principal Blackwell, and Philosophy under

Francis Skene; effectively, for in his eighty-fourth year he began a correspondence with Lord Chancellor Thurlow on Greek accents, and till his dying day championed Plato and Aristotle against Locke and Hume. From Aberdeen he went to Groningen, where for three years he studied Roman Law and Jurisprudence, and acquired a knowledge of the language and literature of France. In 1737 he was called to the Bar, welcomed by Lord President Forbes, and received into the literary set of Edinburgh. His shrewdness, learning and zeal for his clients brought him success at the Bar. Sometimes his zeal was not sufficiently tempered with discretion; for example, when, insisting on personally inspecting salmon cruives, which were in litigation, he fell into a deep pool, only to hear his client jest at "the young gentleman who wishes to get to the bottom of the question". As a counsel he is best known by the Douglas cause—the great Scots *cause célèbre* of the eighteenth century.

To his profession he did great service by his collection of decisions from 1737 to 1768. His analysis of long, involved pleadings is clear and brief; his criticisms of the judges' opinions and his notes on the development of legal doctrines are vigorous and keen, especially where any rule of the Roman law is concerned. One may instance his condemnation of arrestment to found jurisdiction—as "the invention of later and barbarous ages, altogether unknown to the Civil law," and his terse statement of the relation of the "lex loci" to the "lex fori" in questions of contract. In 1767 he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court, for no apparent reason except merit. During thirty years he administered justice to the lieges and criticism to his colleagues of the Bench. Like the late Lord Deas, he was a vigorous dissenter. Conscious of his acuteness and learning, he never dissembled his estimate of heads less amply furnished. He said with truth, if not with modesty, that he had forgotten much more than most men knew. As a judge he was characterised by mastery of legal principles and a spirit of equity.

One need not discuss why he took his seat at the clerks' table instead of on the Bench, possibly to allow of his slipping away to the Outer House. Some of his habits were sneered at as unbecoming the dignity of a judge; but what more humorous proof of his appreciation of judicial pomp and circumstance could be desired than his habit, when it rained, of sending home his wig in the solitary state of his sedan chair while he walked. No man was less epicurean, yet he crowned his wine with roses and

anointed himself with oil, for which he could give a better reason than simple imitation of the ancients. He loved society, and was a genial host. He loved the theatre so much that in his later years he twice proposed to the widow of David Garrick. His passion for baths, and his hatred of spirituous liquors, "bottled fire," met with no sympathy from his contemporaries.

The fourteen or fifteen tomes which contain the historical and scientific labours of his life, are somewhat too solid to suit the taste of modern readers. *The Origin and Progress of Language* (1773) and *Ancient Metaphysics* (1779), like Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary*, treat of all things human and divine with the copiousness of a Dutch commentator, but often with racy humour, and always in the spirit of a searcher after truth by the best scientific methods known to him.

Man he defines as a logical animal, capable of acquiring intellect and knowledge. He insists, against Locke, on the distinction between perception by the senses of the material and individual, and conception by the intellect of universals and of science. How could we understand a mathematical definition if we knew nothing beyond the perceptions of sense? Mind, as the particular immaterial idea in every several substance, is its principle of motion, of cohesion, and of identity. If identity consists in matter, no one substance, animal, vegetable or mineral, can be proved to be the same to-day that it was yesterday. He distinguishes four degrees or classes of mind—intellectual, animal, vegetable and elemental. One recognises the student of Plato by his affirmation that "Every planet is under the guidance of a particular mind". In the world-old problem of Freewill or Necessity, and Responsibility, Monboddo, both as a jurist and a philosopher, was keenly interested. He distinguishes (1) a material or mechanical necessity, and (2) the "necessity of intelligence," which determines the will to follow the most powerful motive or reason.

In anthropological science Monboddo was no "setter forth of paradoxes". He had got hold of the scientific method of investigation. He studied man as an animal. Man's structural similarity to other animals was a fact to be accounted for. In his *Ancient Metaphysics* he explains his theory of the gradual ascent by which man raised himself from the brute, and the struggle of early civilisations for life against wild beasts and the forces of nature. In the *Origin of Language* he traces man's ancestry to the orang-outang species. Articulate language had been gradually

evolved by man in different parts of the world, probably not from one original. Social organisation could, and did, exist without language. Like Plato and other ancient sages, he appeals to the societies of animals—of beavers and the “seacats of Kamskatcha, who practice the most difficult of human arts . . . government over females, in which most men have failed”.

His firm and broad conception of evolution included orders superior to man in power and intelligence. The heroes, demigods and daemons of classic antiquity were to him (if I may quote a witty phrase from Professor Walton) “as real and solid as sheriffs”. He prayed in aid of his theory of the missing links intermediate between the ape and man, the one-eyed Arimaspians of Herodotus, the Ethiopian women who bore their eyes in their breasts, for whom St. Augustine vouches, and even the 120,000 dog-headed Indians whom Ctesias reckoned up. He collected and summed up the evidence for mermaids: as testimony it is not easy to refute. Lieutenant Keoping’s account of the tailed men of Nicobar delighted him vastly. Linnæus, the foremost scientific man of the day, also believed it. *Quod homines volunt id facile credunt*. Keoping was not a liar, but merely short-sighted—the Nicobarians wore the tails of other animals. For the same reason, and to illustrate his theory of language, Lord Monboddo personally examined the “Wild Boy of Hanover” at Berkhamstead, and the “Fille Sauvage” at Paris, in the last case, as fitted judicial investigation, accompanied by his clerk.

Lord Monboddo disclaimed “what is called politics,” but he had most definite views on social problems which we have not yet solved. If he believed that men of family and birth were destined by God and Nature to govern their fellow creatures, he strenuously urged that rank and property have their duties and responsibilities. Agriculture he held the most natural and healthy of all occupations and most vital for the prosperity of the country. He lamented the decline of the lesser gentry, the buying up of small estates, the throwing together of small farms to make great ones, the decline in the number of yeomen and cottagers, “rusticorum mascula militum proles”. He denounced the “bothy” system which made it impossible for labourers to marry. The Highland clearances, then only beginning, the Highland landlords “who choose rather to have their lands inhabited by sheep than by men,” he indignantly condemned. For landlords to think it permissible to make the largest rent out of their land without regard to national consideration was wrong. He foresaw the

certain evils of congested towns and desolated fields which the neglect of their duty to the people by the landlords would inflict on the race and nation. He called for stringent agrarian laws to stop this unpatriotic and unnatural action.

What he preached he practised. It made him proud that his estate sustained more families than any other of similar size. One part of it yielded him only £100 annually, but supported in comfort 200 persons. One farmer rented at £30 had thirteen cottagers on his farm. His rents could be doubled by throwing small farms together, but neither he nor his father had ever disturbed even a cottager.

Probably his happiest days were spent at Monboddo—dwelling among his own people, hunting, carrying out agricultural improvements, better rotation of crops, and the new Norfolk plough. Once a year he rode up to London on horseback to pay his court to George III. King George, we know, could not abide “Scotch metaphysics” even from Dundas, but “Farmer George” talked of turnips and legs of mutton with “Farmer Burnett”. At Monboddo, Dr. Johnson and he debated whether the cockney shopkeeper or the noble savage led the better life. Burnett preferred the savage, and indeed sometimes seemed to regret the days when the inhabitants of the Mearns (*Maeatae*) had gone absolutely naked, and fed on uncooked vegetables.

Many of his criticisms the arch-arbitrator Time has sustained; others of his literary judgments, *e.g.*, on Gibbon, were as far wrong as Jeffrey upon Wordsworth; but as a skilled jurist, a ripe scholar, an original thinker and a liberal-minded patriot, he deserves to retain his place in any Scottish Temple of Fame. The essential quality of his life and thought may be summed up in his own words: “And, as we advance in Arts, Sciences and Philosophy we are always enlarging our system till at last we arrive to the knowledge of the greatest, as well as the most perfect of all systems and which may be called the System of Systems—I mean the System of the Universe. This knowledge we can never attain perfectly in this short life, but we may go a certain length; and, if we do so, I have no doubt but our knowledge shall be made perfect in the life to come.”

7. SYLVESTER DOUGLAS, Lord Glenbervie (1743-1823), was educated at the Universities of Aberdeen and Leyden, studied medicine and published a thesis at Leyden, but turned to law and was called to the English Bar in 1776, appointed King's Counsel in 1793, and in the same year

elected a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. His legal fame rests on his reports of Lord Mansfield's decisions, and his *History of the Cases of Controverted Elections, 15 & 16 Geo. III.* In 1794 he abandoned law for politics, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland and sat in the Irish Parliament. In 1795 he was returned to the British Parliament, where he sat, with a short interval, until 1806. His political advancement continued. In 1800 he was created Baron Glenbervie in the peerage of Ireland. Many high and lucrative offices fell to him, particularly the offices of Joint-Paymaster General, Surveyor-General of Woods and Forests, and Surveyor-General of the Land Revenue. He was an able administrator and effective debater. His most elaborate speech, delivered on 22nd April, 1799, in seconding Pitt's motion in favour of Union with Ireland, he thought worthy of separate publication. He was a good classical scholar and well acquainted with Italian literature. His edition of the *Lyric Poems of Major Mercer* (his brother-in-law, and a distinguished figure in Aberdeen society) (1806, 3rd edition), and his *Translation of the First Canto of Ricciardetto, with Introduction and Notes* (1822) are still read. From 1805 till 1813 he was Rector of King's College.

8. Sir WILLIAM GRANT, Master of the Rolls (1755-1832). The clan Grant numbers in its Book of honour eminent men of every profession, but none more distinguished than the great Master of the Rolls.

He was born on the banks of the Spey. His father, though descended from the Grants of Baldornie, earned his livelihood as a timber-floater on the estate of Rothiemurchus. An uncle, who had made his way in London as a merchant, impressed with the boy's capacity, resolved that he should not want a good education. William Grant was sent to the Grammar School of Elgin. From school he advanced to the University of Aberdeen. To perfect himself in Civil Law he went to Leyden. On his return he began to keep terms for his call to the English Bar. Before being called he sailed for Canada, in expectation of legal preferment, and arrived at Quebec in time to take part in its defence against Montgomery and Arnold. He exchanged his gown for a uniform, worked on the fortifications and commanded a corps of volunteers. When the enemy had been finally repulsed he took up the duties of Attorney-General of Canada. The laws of the colony were then in a state of chaos. No one knew how far the French law had been superseded by the Proclamation of 1763. For eight years the young Attorney-General laboured to reduce

the laws to order, with a success which he owed largely to his knowledge of the Civil Law, and which has preserved his memory in Canadian history. But when his work was completed he returned to England to test his powers in a larger sphere. He was called in 1787 and selected the Western Circuit. For two or three years he underwent the "law's delays" in providing for its children, but beguiled the time by entering with great zest into the "Circuit fooleries". Adam (afterwards Chief Commissioner of the Scottish Jury Court) told Sir Walter Scott how "the Chevalier Grant" talked of Circuit songs and pranks "with delight to his dying day". It is said that he despaired of success. Lord Brougham speaks of his "comparative obscurity," and of his "knowledge of law" as "scanty and not enlarged by practice" until he became Master of the Rolls. These phrases were probably intended to heighten the effect of his description how "his genius then shone forth with extraordinary lustre". But they do not correspond with the facts. By "knowledge of law" Lord Brougham really meant "knowledge of *case* law," as he acknowledges that "his familiarity with the *principles* of jurisprudence and his knowledge of *their* foundations" were ample. But in Grant's third and fourth years at the Bar he appeared as counsel in important cases before the House of Lords, and from 1792 onwards few advocates were so constantly employed in appeals, especially from Scotland. Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who knew a good reasoner when he heard him, predicted that the young man would one day replace him on the woolsack, a prediction which was only defeated by Lord Eldon's obstinate clinging to the seals for nearly thirty years. Lord Chancellor Loughborough, when he made Grant a King's Counsel, advised him that Chancery business best suited his ability. In the Chancery Court the Civil Law still retained its value. By that time he was well known, and the term of obscurity and despair overpast.

His opportunity had come through the Premier. Pitt, who had probably met him at the Union Club of the Western Circuit, invited him in 1790 to assist him in preparing his Bill for the Regulation of Canada. Pitt was so impressed by Grant's perspicuity and reasoning powers that he placed a seat at his disposal. Grant, with some misgiving, accepted, and in November, 1790, entered Parliament as member for Shaftesbury. Subsequently he sat for Windsor, and from 1796 till 1812 for the county of Banff. His professional promotion quickly followed on Parliamentary success. In 1792 he took silk; in 1793 was appointed Serjeant-at-Law

and one of the Welsh judges; in 1795 he became Solicitor-General to the Queen; in 1798 he was made Chief Justice of Chester, and in 1799 Solicitor-General for England. In 1801 he was promoted to the office of Master of the Rolls, with which his reputation as a jurist is chiefly associated. But the qualities which made him, in the opinion of the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, the greatest judge in English history, had not been hid in obscurity until then. Even the scanty notes of his arguments at the Bar, which remain in the Law Reports, sufficiently evince his clearness of view, closeness of reasoning, exact acquaintance with case law, English and Scottish, and his mastery of jurisprudence. His argument in the Thebuson case was regarded as a masterpiece. In the only criminal trial of interest which, as Solicitor-General, he conducted, along with the Attorney-General, the trial of Hadfield, his intended reply for the Crown was cut out by the intervention of the presiding judge, to the disappointment of the Bar, who eagerly waited for his answer to Erskine's elaborate defence of insanity.

In every duty and quality of a judge he surpassed even the expectations with which the Bar and the public had welcomed his promotion. On this opinions agreed. Some praised his learning, others admired more his powers of logical analysis and reasoning from first principles, some his skill in narrating facts and his sagacity in inference, others thought more of his style and diction, according to their several predilections. But his patience, courtesy and dignity, his quickness of decision, the way in which he made conscience of his work, were qualities which all appreciated. These were not exactly characteristic of the Court of Chancery. Nor did he forget his early military service, for he took command of a corps of volunteers, which was afterwards merged in the famous "Devil's Own".

As Mansfield and Hardwicke, Sir William Grant by his judgments not only explained and developed the law of England, but enriched general jurisprudence. He never "confined himself to English municipal law". His studies in Scottish and foreign law were not intermitted. It may be noticed that he was one of the first to appreciate Professor Bell's early study in the Mercantile Law of Scotland. He frequently cites Justinian's *Digest*, the modern Civilians, chiefly Voet and Pothier, the master of French lawyers. Sometimes he draws his illustrations from the law of Scotland. But always he is the master of authorities and precedents, not their servant. There are few departments of equity which do not bear

the stamp of his mind. One may refer to his opinions in cases of disputed vesting, and cases on the scope and execution of powers of appointment, on the ademption of legacies, on the degree of uncertainty which voids charitable legacies, cases on construction of documents, and on the admissibility of extrinsic evidence as an aid to interpretation. One example of his power of formulating legal maxims may be taken from *Gregory v. Parker*—"an agreement between A and B that B shall pay C creates a trust in favour of C enforceable in equity".

In a series of cases he laid down that sales of reversionary interests could be set aside for mere inadequacy of value, and that "acquiescence while the situation of distress continued went for nothing as a defence". "An expectant heir dealing for his expectancy is entitled to nearly as much protection as a person under incapacity to contract," and absence of fraud does not make the transaction valid. In a case on a sale of real property he reminded the Bar that "the buyer's right to a good title does not grow out of agreement but is given by law, though the purchaser may waive it".

He rigidly enforced the equitable duties of trustees. A trustee must not purchase trust property. That is buying from himself. The question is not whether the sale was at a fair price. The trustee, to take himself out of the rule, must show notice, full information and subsequent acquiescence.

In *Clayton's* case he formulated the rules by which the law applies indefinite payments. In *Featherstonehaugh v. Fenwick* he fixed principles of the Law of Partnership, which are now embodied in the Partnership Act. Indefinite partnerships are dissolved by notice; a partner continuing to trade with partnership assets must account for the profits; a lease clandestinely renewed by a partner in his own name is deemed a trust for the partnership, and therefore partnership property.

On questions of international law his opinions carry great authority. One may instance *Brodie v. Bain*, as to when an election is governed by the local territorial law; *Pottinger*, as to when the domicile of a child after the father's death follows the changes of the mother's domicile; *Stevens*, as to the date of vesting of the captor's right in prize, and the retrospective effect of condemnation; and *Beckford* (P.C.), as to the law of Jamaica.

If one had to select a single case to exemplify his judicial powers, the case of *Purcell v. Macnamara* is as good as any. The matter in issue was the validity of certain conveyances of property which the defendant had

induced two ladies to make in his favour, ostensibly in security of debts due by their brother. Even Lord Eldon had set the deeds aside as procured by an abuse of influence. But Macnamara, who was acquainted with Lord Chancellor Erskine, had obtained from him an order for a rehearing, and boasted that Erskine would overturn Eldon. He even invited his friends to come to witness his triumph. Fortunately for justice, the Master of the Rolls sat along with the Chancellor. Sir Samuel Romilly committed to his private diary a graphic description of the scene. Lord Erskine, during the argument, "with great rashness expressed a very strong opinion that the decree could not be supported. The Master of the Rolls, after his usual manner, remained perfectly silent." When the case had been fully heard, the Master of the Rolls convinced the Chancellor that to reverse or alter the decree was impossible. His delivered opinion is not merely a lucid and unanswerable vindication of the decision appealed from, but a valuable discussion of the criteria and effects of undue influence.

Sir William Grant retired from the Rolls on 23rd December, 1817, whilst still in the full vigour of his faculties. Sir Samuel Romilly recorded in his diary the extreme regret of all who practised in his Court, the great misfortune to the public, and his own intention, in consequence, to discontinue practice in the Rolls Court. The diary proceeds: "His eminent qualities as a judge, his patience, his impartiality, his despatch, and the masterly style in which his judgments were pronounced would at any time have entitled him to the highest praise; but his mode of administering justice appeared to the greater advantage by the contrast they afforded to the tardy and most unsatisfactory proceedings both of the Chancellor (Eldon) and the Vice-Chancellor (Plumer)". Nor did the Bar allow the occasion to pass. After the Master of the Rolls had delivered his last judgment, Sir Arthur Pigot, "the father of the Bar," gave voice to their unfeigned respect, their sense of the promptness and wisdom of his decisions, of his uninterrupted equanimity and patience, to their sincerest wishes that he might enjoy health and happiness in repose from the toils and anxieties of the judicial station to which he had added eminence and lustre. Sir William Grant, moved to tears, in a few words thanked the Bar for this and other marks of their kindness and respect—he "received their approbation with pleasure, and should ever remember it with gratitude". The Bar had his portrait painted by Lawrence, and placed in the Court where he had administered justice. Many judicial portraits, even

Mansfield's, portray chiefly judicial curls and scarlet millinery. In this portrait the accessories are not noticed, the man fixes and fills the eye.

Many other testimonies might be selected from contemporaries, legal historians, statesmen and leaders of the Bar. His Court had been frequented by the Bar as a school of law, which trained them to be profound as well as acute, to detect analogies as well as distinctions, and formed them to forensic eloquence. One young barrister wrote that "the manner of the present Master of the Rolls has given me the idea of an excellence which it may be practicable to acquire. There are secrets in the art of thinking as in all other arts—a maxim (of Leibnitz) which has perpetually recurred to me." Even a grave conveyancing counsel was raised to enthusiasm as he set down his recollections. "He spoke no more than just the thing he ought. But Sir William Grant did much more. In decomposing and analysing an immense mass of confused and contradictory matter, and forming clear and unquestionable results, the sight of his mind was infinite. . . . The whole was done with such admirable ease and simplicity that, while real judges felt its supreme excellence, the herd of hearers believed that they could have done the same. . . . The charm of his style was undecipherable: its effect on the hearers was that which Milton describes when he paints Adam listening to the Angel after the Angel had ceased to speak. Often and often has the reminiscence beheld the Bar listening at the close of a judgment given by Sir William with the same feeling of admiration at what they heard, and the same regret that it was heard no more." Let me place beside this description by the conveyancer a part of the fuller painting of the same scene by Lord Chancellor Brougham. After noting Grant's great quality for real, not affected, despatch of business, his power of steady and concentrated attention to the matter and arguments, and its effect in preventing repetitions, he presents the Rolls Court: "After a long and silent hearing, a hearing of all that could be urged by the counsel of every party, unbroken by a single word, and when the spectator of Sir William Grant (for he was not heard) might suppose that his mind was absent from a scene in which he took no apparent share, the debate was closed, the advocate's hour was passed, the parties were in silent expectation of the event, the hall no longer resounded with any voice—it seemed as if the affair of the day for the present was over, and the Court was to adjourn or call another cause. No! The judge's time had now arrived, and another

artist was to fill the scene. The great magistrate began to pronounce his judgment, and every eye and every ear was at length fixed on the bench. Forth came a strain of clear, unbroken fluency, disposing alike, in most luminous order, of all the facts and of all the arguments in the cause, reducing into clear and simple arrangement the most entangled masses of broken and conflicting statements, weighing each matter and disposing of each in succession, settling one doubt by a parenthetical remark, passing over another difficulty by a reason only more decisive that it was condensed, and giving out the whole impression of the case, in every material view, upon the judge's mind, with argument enough to show why he so thought and to prove him right, and without so much reasoning as to make you forget that it was a judgment you were hearing by overstepping the bounds which distinguish a judgment from a speech. . . . This perfection of judicial eloquence Sir William Grant attained, and its effect upon all listeners was as certain and as powerful as its merits were incontestable and exalted."

Sir William Grant did not retire in 1817 from all judicial work. He continued for some years to hear colonial appeals. It was proposed that he should be raised to the peerage that he might strengthen the House of Lords. But Lord Chancellor Eldon did not desire a colleague whose judicial qualities presented so striking a contrast to his own. Had Pitt lived, who picked out Grant as his father had picked out Wolfe, Lord Eldon might have been replaced by the Master of the Rolls, to the great advantage of litigants and of justice. Eldon, though unequalled in knowledge of forms and precedents, delayed and darkened whatever he touched. His doubts endlessly involved, his language which reached the depths of obscurity, procrastination for half a lifetime, made his Court a byword. Even his political chief was delighted that Eldon's "*darned Court*" was to be swept clean by Brougham. The austere and constitutional Lord Grey expressed with what pleasure he would "see Eldon hanged in his robes". In public Eldon paid to public opinion the homage of joining in the general respect to the Master of the Rolls, on his retirement, characteristically by "a doubt" whether the Rolls Court "would ever see a judge of greater ability and integrity". But in private he complained that when men of Grant's eminence talked, and sometimes judged, so quickly, "their conduct imposed great hardship on such a dull, slow, deliberating, plodding dog as I am".

One fact pointed the contrast in judicial efficiency. Lord Eldon happened to be ill for over a week in term-time. The Master of the Rolls sitting for him heard and decided all the cases ready for hearing. As one of the counsel said, the only remedy for clearing Eldon's arrears was that Eldon should stay away: "If he were only confined to his room for two terms, all the arrears of business (except in bankruptcy and lunacy, which the Master of the Rolls could not competently hear) would be entirely got rid off".

Happily Sir William Grant was not ambitious of either honours or wealth. He longed for rest and leisure to study. A peerage he had twice declined. He had even refused an increase of salary when the salaries of the other judges were raised in 1809. When the King asked him what increase he desired, he astounded His Majesty by replying, "none, as he was perfectly satisfied with what he had". This was his one unjudicial act.

All his tastes were simple. He enjoyed society, and could command the best. He excelled as a listener, which got him the names of "Equity Reserved" and "William the Silent," especially if Mackintosh were present. As Lord Teignmouth discovered, no man could talk to better purpose on poetry and literature. Sir Walter Scott enjoyed telling how Pitt and himself had succeeded in making Grant talk by remaining dumb and passing the claret quickly. While Master of the Rolls Sir William lived in three rooms on the ground floor of the Rolls House; there were some good rooms upstairs, but he had never been there, as he informed his successor. But many were welcomed with genial hospitality in these rooms. One of the Grants of Rothiemurchus in her old age still remembered how Sir William used to stand at the windows of his library and smile at her sisters and herself as they passed on Sundays to church.

When he retired completely from judicial duties he gave himself up to his favourite literary studies. With the best Greek and French authors he had been familiar from his youth up. Into his first speech in Parliament he had introduced an effective quotation from Demosthenes, which Fox turned against him. His judgment and speeches bear internal evidence as to the authors who influenced him. The style of Lord Stowell, in style his only rival among judges, is excellent but florid; it smacks of Cicero and D'Aguesseau. Sir William's style is severely Attic, founded on Demosthenes and Isæus, but in some degree fashioned by study of Pothier and of Cochin, the closest and most nervous reasoner among

French advocates. Among his favourite books, in literary leisure, first at Walthamstow then at Dawlish, he spent his later years. His friend Sir John Sinclair sent him his *Code of Longevity*, two precepts of which were matrimony and eight hours' sleep. By a good constitution and obedience to the second of these he reached his seventy-eighth year.

Though Sir William's eminence among lawyers and judges is rarer and more unquestioned, he also held a high place among statesmen and Parliamentary orators. No legislative measure bears his name. He was Conservative in general politics and in changes of municipal law. Like many great jurists he had a low opinion of statutory law. One phrase of his invention is often quoted, "The wisdom of our ancestors". Accordingly he opposed vehemently several suggested reforms, *e.g.*, Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill to make real property liable for personal debts. But he cordially supported the Bill to abolish capital punishment for small thefts; perhaps he remembered Sir George Mackenzie's opinion. Great advocates have been often great failures, sometimes great bores, in Parliament—Eldon and Erskine, for example. Sir William was neither. In Lord Brougham's opinion, no man, with the exception of Pitt, had ever greater personal influence with the House. "No speaker," he says, "was more easily listened to; none so difficult to answer." Fox said sharply to an interrupter, when about to reply to Grant, "Do you think it so very pleasant a thing to have to answer a speech like that?" One young Whig, who first heard Grant in 1805 on the Spanish question, wrote to his Edinburgh friends of that "extraordinary oration," "a masterpiece of his peculiar and miraculous manner, . . . done without a single note," "an hour and a half of syllogisms . . . so artfully clear that you think every successive inference unavoidable". He adds that this style was unsuited to the discussions of a political assembly. This criticism may be answered by Lord Brougham's more experienced estimate of Grant's speeches as "from first to last, throughout pure reason and the triumph of pure reason". This "rare excellence was no doubt limited in its sphere, there was no imagination, no vehemence, no declamation, no wit: but the sphere was the highest, and in that highest sphere its place was lofty. The understanding alone was addressed; the faculties that distinguish our nature were those over which the oratory of Sir William Grant asserted its control". One may doubt the accuracy of the negative part of this estimate: probably Lord Brougham was thinking of Grant's

speeches on constitutional law. There is ample evidence that he could appreciate wit, and himself be witty. Windham's phrase of a "*coup de main* in the Court of Chancery" convulsed him with laughter. Some of his comments on phases of the Parliamentary Inquiry into the Duke of York's relations with Mrs. Clark are sufficiently pungent. And not even in Brougham's own speeches can one find passages more vehement in declamation than Sir William Grant's reply to Grey and Whithead in the great debate in 1801 on the continuance of the war with France. They had urged the high price of bread as a reason for making peace. Sir William answered: "I wish to God that all the upper classes of life would display the same sober fortitude that has characterised the lower orders of the community. They have real and serious evils to struggle with and to endure. . . . But in spite of excitement and example the British people still retain their ancient characteristics. They have not yet been prevailed upon to clamour for the ruin and disgrace of their country under the vague and deceitful name of peace. They would not, I am persuaded, purchase relief from the distresses of the moment by the sacrifice of their country's honour. They would not consent to become tributaries to France, even if France should undertake to dole out to them a daily allowance of bread for the remainder of their lives. Propose that relief to them, on these terms, and I am certain they would refuse to sell, for a mess of pottage, the birthright of their independence."

It is pleasant to record that Sir William Grant was not without honour, political and academic, in his own country. Banff was proud to return him to Parliament: and he was elected Rector of Marischal College.

9. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH (1765-1832). Sir James Mackintosh united powers of mind and achieved successes which rarely meet together in the life and actions of one individual. He was an advocate, judge and professor of law, a statesman, publicist and orator, a literary critic, an historian and a philosopher. Yet in this variety there was no discord: all his faculties were informed with the same culture and catholicity of mind, and worked for the same ends, the investigation of truth and the advancement of civilisation.

His education began as soon as he could read, and he read whatever he could lay his hands on. Fortrose Academy was his school, and, long after, in Bombay he remembered his happy days and schoolfellows. He came to King's College with great stores of miscellaneous erudition. Languages, law, history, philosophy were his chief studies. His college

days are memorable by his intimate friendship with Robert Hall. They read Xenophon, Herodotus and Plato together: they discussed, in attic nights, problems of philosophy, theology and politics. Both formed their style by Virgil, Cicero and Racine, but Plato formed their minds, especially in ethics and politics. For example, Plato's view of punishment as corrective and reforming, not vindictive, influenced Mackintosh as a judge and politician. Mackintosh's powers of assimilating knowledge and of discerning first principles were already developed. In history, jurisprudence and ethics he had read extensively. French, Italian and German he knew sufficiently, but envied Leyden, "who did not know more than seventy languages". It may be true that he "never acquired the habit of vigorous and methodical industry".

He hesitated as to choice of a profession. He first selected medicine, in which he graduated in Edinburgh. But he liked its study more than its practice. Other forces drew him to active public life and to London society. The turning-point of his career was his undertaking to reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. His *Vindiciae Gallicae*, a defence of the French Revolution, published in 1791, at once gave him a name and rank among scholars and statesmen. He had ventured to take up the challenge of the most powerful and eloquent of political writers, with not unequal success. In vigour of thought, and even in style, his reply sustained comparison with the attack. In historical knowledge and insight into the causes and effects of political change, in advocacy of liberty and justice, the advantage has remained with the reply.

His prediction that the example of France would change the form of every despotic government, doubted so long, has since his death been fulfilled. "The Gothic governments of Europe have lived their time"—"their maturity is past, and symptoms of decrepitude are rapidly accumulating". This reply not only admitted Mackintosh to the society of the best men, it made Burke his friend. Some of his views on the prospects and results of the Revolution he afterwards qualified, but his judgment, twenty years after, was in essence unchanged: the Revolution was a destruction of great abuses, "executed with much violence, injustice and inhumanity," but "the destruction of abuse is in itself, and for so much, a good".

In 1795 he was called to the English Bar, a time when the general learning and culture of English lawyers had touched the lowest point. The younger men cared little for any knowledge not saleable in the market. But the Revolution had kindled many burning questions in

International and Public Law, involving its origin, sanctions, limits and authority. He proposed to deliver a course of lectures on the "Law of Nature and Nations" at Lincoln's Inn. The Attorney-General (afterwards Lord Eldon) and the Tory benchers refused him the use of the rooms; but the Premier (William Pitt) and the Lord Chancellor (Lord Loughborough) intervened in his favour. His introductory discourse became, and remains, a classic. It sketches the large plan of his lectures, including a discussion of the progress of law and a comparative view of the laws of Rome and of England. One may also note his definition of the law of nature and nations as the "science which teaches the rights and duties of men and states," and "includes the fundamental truths which apply to questions of morality, politics and municipal law," his description of liberty as security against wrong, and therefore the end of all government, his reasoned estimate of Grotius and Puffendorf, and his anticipation of the new lights on comparative and historical jurisprudence to be gained from recent researches in the East.

The lectures were attended not only by lawyers but by public men and students of history and philosophy. They constitute a new era in the study of law, as important as two generations later Sir Henry Maine's work on *Ancient Law* inaugurated.

It is said that his practice was not large. But he appeared in important cases, and in seven years he had reached an income of £1,200 a year. He was not run after: attorneys, as one observer said, do not think well of a man who is troubling his head about reforming abuses when he ought to be profiting by them. But his speech in defence of Jean Pettier (1803), a French refugee, against the charge of libel on Napoleon Buonaparte, then First Consul, reached the height of forensic eloquence. He "spoke as a minister of justice," pleading for a "defenceless, prosecuted exile"; he described the trial as the first of a long series of conflicts between the greatest power in the world and the only free press now remaining in Europe, the "still inviolate asylum of free discussion". He traced the history of the press in England, its connection with the national spirit of liberty, its vindication even against Cromwell by the courage and independence of English juries. Whatever fate England might be destined to meet, let them not violate the rights of hospitality, nor "tear from the altar the suppliant who claimed protection as the voluntary victim of loyalty and conscience". At the time this speech excited the highest admiration from the Bar and the Bench: Erskine, the leading advocate at

the Bar, described it as "powerful and wonderful": a later critic of Parliamentary and forensic eloquence (I think Edward Everett) doubted whether there was "any single speech in the English language that can be compared with it". Certainly it is the only speech in an English Court of Justice that was ever separately translated and read in Europe and America. Surely to carve a single perfect pillar in the temple of justice is more than to have bought or sold 10,000 beasts in its courts.

One proof of his reputation as a jurist is that the Emperor Alexander invited him to digest and codify the laws of Russia, an invitation which other employments compelled him to decline. In 1804 he was knighted and appointed Recorder of Bombay, and Judge of Admiralty. He left England with regret; how his friends felt his absence was best expressed by the young barrister who wrote that to Mackintosh "my obligations were of a far higher order than those even of the kindest hospitality. He has been an intellectual master to me, and has enlarged my prospects into the wide regions of moral speculation more than any other tutor I have ever had in the art of thinking. Had Mackintosh remained in England, I should have possessed ten years hence powers and views which are now beyond my reach."

In Bombay he was active, but not happy. He continued his studies, and added to them Sanscrit and Oriental History. He maintained a large correspondence, literary and political, which kept him in touch with men and events in Europe. His letters contain many acute observations on Indian affairs. He admired many qualities of the Mohammedans. He ridiculed, as effectively as Lord Curzon, the State-paper style of officials, "Ceremonial, stately, evasive".

Naturally he founded a Library and a Literary Society. In his opening address he reviewed the exertions of Halhed, Gladwen, Wilkins and Sir William Jones, and recommended the study of the Mineralogy and Botany of India, the collection of facts and statistics as part of political economy, and inquiry into native literature, arts, languages and authentic history. In his judicial duties he put in practice his theories of the true purpose of criminal law. He was opposed to capital punishment except in cases of deliberate murder, and on laying down his office congratulated the Grand Jury that in six years the death penalty had not been inflicted by his Court, and that there had been no diminution of security for property and life. At another time he declared that his ambition was to be "lawgiver of Botany Bay".

On his return from India in 1812 he entered Parliament as member for Nairn about the time when Sir William Grant quitted it. In Parliament he uniformly advocated measures of reform, and of justice in cases of individual wrong. He strongly supported Catholic emancipation. He defended and vindicated Lord Dundonald, a vindication which is now unquestioned. Along with Romilly he secured amendments on criminal law, in abolishing the death penalty for thefts, and prepared the way for more liberal measures. His speech on the state of the criminal law (1819) is still the most telling exposure of abuses worse than crimes, and exposition of principles which are now acknowledged. It persuaded the House against the Government. It may be noted that he was in favour of giving members to the Scottish Universities, which Lord Moncrieff effected, and of making Parliament Imperial in fact as well as name by introducing representatives of the Colonies. His speech on the Reform Bill of 1832 is one of the finest historical arguments in favour of extension of the franchise. To the argument that franchise was property, his reply is felicitous and cogent. If proprietors assented to the doctrine that political privilege was property, they must be prepared for the inevitable consequence that it is no more unlawful to violate their possessions than to resume a delegated trust. A niggardly reform he demonstrated was the most unsafe of all. It cannot conciliate, for it is founded in distrust. It practically admits an evil, yet will satisfy nobody.

If Sir James did not speak often, yet on every great question of constitutional or international law, he made a great speech. Some of his qualities militated against complete success as a Parliamentary debater. His mind was not partisan, and he had too many ideas. As Campbell, Wilberforce and others said, he was above his audience. But those who listened admired, and got hints which made the fortune of their own efforts. He had not, or would not use, the tremendous power of invective which made Brougham so feared by his opponents, but he persuaded or convinced the doubtful whom Brougham repelled. One may instance Brougham's motion for an address to the Crown regarding the trial and persecution to death of the missionary, Smith, by an illegal court-martial of Demerara. Mackintosh's speech is more finished and more weighty; for instance his demonstration that neither by the law of Holland nor of England (Demerara had both systems of law) could non-military persons be tried by court-martials, except in case of absolute necessity. Wilber-

force preferred Mackintosh to Brougham in that debate, "his speech was beautiful—teemed with ideas".

Indeed, all his speeches on questions of constitutional law or foreign policy contain treasures of political wisdom and foresight. Take him on the civil Government of Canada (1828), where he sums up the maxims of the "Policy of the great British Confederacy," "a full and efficient protection from all foreign influence : full permission to conduct the whole of their own internal affairs : compelling them to pay all the reasonable expenses of their own Government, and imposing no restrictions of any kind on the traffic and industry of the people". He praised the Canadian code, "which grew up under the auspices of the Parliament of Paris". Against the proposal to give the English minority a representation larger than their proportion, he said : "Are we to have an English Colony in Canada separated from the rest of the inhabitants, a favoured body with peculiar privileges ? Shall they have a sympathy with English sympathies and English interests ? And shall we deal out to Canada six hundred years of such miseries as we have dealt to Ireland ?" "Let our policy be to give all the King's subjects in Canada equal justice." In other speeches he protested against "our particularly objectionable guarantee" of the integrity of the Ottoman empire, the injustice of a policy which would "doom to perpetual barbarism and barrenness the Eastern and Southern shores of the Mediterranean". He "recoiled from riveting the Turkish yoke on the neck of the Christian natives of Asia Minor, of Mesopotamia, Syria and of Egypt". Such a guarantee would "shortly give rise to the very dangers against which it was intended to guard".

Of his speeches on foreign policy, the most elaborate was delivered in favour of the recognition of the states of South America. He did justice to the precision, circumspection and dignity of Canning's foreign policy, but he dealt with the principles which underlie the law of recognition of new states, and urged its immediate application. Independence existed in fact : governments of comparative stability were established. For Britain, the only anciently free state in the world, to refuse her moral aid to communities struggling for liberty would be unnatural.

In his speech against the annexation of the Republic of Genoa to the kingdom of Sardinia, he condemned its forcible transfer to a foreign and hated master as "an act by which the faith of Britain pledged to their independence had been forfeited, the fundamental principles of European policy shaken, and the odious claims of conquest stretched to an extent

unwarranted by a single precedent in the good times of Europe," by the dictatorship in Europe of the three military powers, the spoilers of Poland. This also is of permanent value as an exposition of accredited principles of public international law and the limits of the right of conquest. He pointed out that the system of "the balance of power" is properly defensive only: "to destroy independent nations in order to strengthen the balance of power is a most extravagant sacrifice of the end to the means".

Tried solely by the test of what political offices he filled, his political career might be called a failure. He lacked political ambition. His real ambition, never gratified, was to obtain a Chair of Moral Philosophy. As professor at Haileybury College (1818-24), he contrived, however, to teach philosophy in Law. There was no selfishness in his nature—no desire of power for its own sake—nothing of that "pushfulness" which in our day is the essence of statesmanship. When in 1830-31 the Whigs came into power it was generally expected that he would be offered high Cabinet rank. In 1827, during negotiations for a coalition, Canning, who regarded Mackintosh as "one of the foremost of his party," was ready to assign him high office. But Mackintosh was both too independent and too liberal for the Whigs. They treated him as they treated Burke. Many thought that he would be made Foreign Secretary: it was rumoured in America that he was to come to Washington as Ambassador, and Americans prepared to give a warm welcome to one who had always stood their friend, and whom they greatly admired. But as Mackintosh "was neither a tool of Brougham nor a relative of Grey," he was made only a Commissioner of India, an office which he had refused long before. Like Burke and Wilberforce, his Parliamentary praise rests not in titles or offices but in the reforms which his influence effected.

In history many of his papers, *e.g.*, his "Memoir of the Affairs of Holland," "Account of the Partition of Poland," "Essay on the Writings of Machiavel," "Sketch of Struensee's Administration," "Statement of Donna Maria's Claim to the Throne of Portugal," are of high authority. Some of his views on historical eras, now generally accepted, were then new. For example, he clearly saw that the Reformation was in substance no mere struggle for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances or for new definitions of theological dogmas, but a great revolt of intelligence against clerical and absolutist domination, "an emancipation," as he

expressed it, "of the human understanding under the appearance of a controversy about justification by faith".

Unhappily his only matured historical work is but a fragment. It appeared after his death under the title of a *History of the Revolution in England in 1688*, with the disadvantage of an ill-informed, insufficient and self-sufficient editor. Macaulay, then in Calcutta, who felt for Mackintosh gratitude and reverence, indignantly denounced the editor's imbecility and malevolence, adding that he was incompetent to serve Sir James Mackintosh in the capacity even of a corrector of the press. We owe to Macaulay's indignation one of his best articles, which includes a reasoned estimate of Sir James' qualifications and success as an historian (*Edinburgh Review*, July, 1835). He compares him with James Mill, Hallam and Charles Fox. Both Mill and Mackintosh, in their praise or censure, made allowance for the contemporary state of political science and political morality, discerned in the germ truths which were only fully developed in later times. Mill is severe, Sir James lenient. Hallam and Mackintosh alone of English historians are calm and impartial judges, not advocates. But Hallam is the hanging judge: Mackintosh likes rather too well a maiden assize. Mackintosh and Fox both "had one eminent qualification for writing history—they had spoken history, acted history, lived history". Sir James is as superior to Mr. Fox as a historian as Mr. Fox to Sir James as orator. "Mr. Fox wrote debates, Sir James Mackintosh spoke essays." This antithesis Macaulay develops. Though Sir James distinguished himself highly in Parliament, he "rather lectured than debated," "his proper place was his library, a circle of men of letters, or a Chair of Moral and Political Philosophy". Macaulay agrees that even his familiar talk showed the ripe fruits of study and meditation, and describes the style of the history as weighty, manly, unaffected, uniting the diligence, accuracy and judgment of Hallam to the vivacity and the colouring of Southey. Perhaps one may add that Macaulay was indebted to Mackintosh for many of his ideas, and also that Mackintosh may be read as a corrective to Macaulay's own history of the same period. Mackintosh had a faculty of wide vision and historic equity, which did not permit him to divide men sharply into Whig saints and Tory devils. He hated injustice and oppression as strongly as Macaulay, but he was both a more acute and a more just judge of character and of human nature. His literary criticisms are chiefly to be collected from his correspondence and occasional notices or essays. The best known

are his *Reviews of Roger's Poems* and of Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*.

In Moral Philosophy he was deservedly during his later years accounted "the first of living writers in the English language". His reputation began when he published his introductory discourse on the "Law of Nature and Nations". It was maintained by his conversation, and what was known of his lectures on Ethics and Jurisprudence at Haileybury College, and heightened by the publication (in 1828) of his dissertation on the "Progress of Ethical Philosophy," prefixed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (seventh edition). The exigencies of space compelled him to restrict its scope mainly to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and still more unfortunately, to British writers. His retrospects of ancient and of scholastic ethics are compressed into a few pages. No one was so qualified by reading and catholic judgment to survey the progress of philosophy on the Continent, but he could only notice Grotius, Fénelon, Bossuet, Leibnitz, Malebranche and Buffier, in their relation to British thought. To attempt an analysis is unnecessary. All Aberdeen students are familiar with it, either in the original or in the summary by Professor Bain in his *Mental and Moral Science*. The work was welcomed, except by the *doctrinaires* of Bentham's school. In most of the practicable legal reforms which Bentham advocated Mackintosh had agreed with him, and perhaps done more to secure them. But his criticism of Hobbes, Mandeville and Hume displeased them: they disliked his conviction of the subordination of positive law to ethics, his view of conscience, his limited acceptance of utility, and his historic disbelief that men could be made good by command, and that the enforcement of Bentham's code of law would bring in a social millenium.

Like Socrates and Dr. Johnson, Sir James Mackintosh delighted in conversation. He was a good listener and a brilliant talker. Those who moved in his circle, or even crossed it, agree that in society his ideas flowed most freely. His conversation charmed men of very opposite pursuits and characters and opinions. Among his friends he counted Burke, Pitt, Wilberforce, Canning, Sir William Grant, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir James Scarlett, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Brougham, Earl Russell, Sydney Smith, Rogers, Campbell, Lord Byron, Macaulay, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Chalmers, Madame de Staël, Schlegel, Villemain and Thiers. Coleridge thought he was too much of a "literary fencer," Dr. Parr disliked his "metaphysical head". Earl Russell was most impressed by his

learning, "available for serious or light matters". Certainly Mackintosh's knowledge was never, like Dr. Parr's, barrelled down in subterranean cellars of the mind. It was always on tap, and all were welcome to draw it off. Out of many testimonies take Wilberforce's private diary: "Mackintosh is a paragon of a companion," "sparkling like a firefly"; and again: "I drew the highest prize in the lottery. I sat by Sir James Mackintosh."

But little of his table-talk has survived. Homer was "the first ballad-writer". Shakespeare's superiority "consisted in his deep knowledge of human nature". Sir Walter Scott's poetry he thought doubtful to survive long. Spenser (whom Mackintosh loved because Spenser loved Virgil), out of compliment to Queen Elizabeth, gave all his beauties yellow hair. Hogarth was "master of the tragedy and comedy of low life". Horne Tooke he described almost severely as "corrupted by philology and disappointed ambition". Burke he called "the greatest philosopher in practice that the world ever knew". "Gibbon could have been cut out of a corner of Burke's mind without his missing it."

Among English statesmen he thought Sir Harry Vane not inferior in mind to Lord Bacon, and the first man to assert liberty of conscience. One of his political observations was at its date remarkable, regarding the growth of Prussia: "Prussia by mere science has become a military State". But these fragments give no better idea of what his conversation was than a few dried leaves can give of the living tree. He had no Boswell. One must rest content with the impression which it made on those who were privileged to enjoy it.

If one were to attempt an estimate of his position solely by what remains of his lectures, essays, speeches, dissertations, letters and table-talk, one might hesitate to place him on so high an eminence as did the best judges among his contemporaries. Madame de Staël and Lord Byron agreed that Mackintosh "was the first man in England". His works are an inadequate memorial of the influence and fame of the man. Whatever he said, in private or public, commanded a fit audience; whatever he wrote was eagerly read in Europe and America; every great measure which he advocated was carried, or advanced towards success. But those who had been delighted and inspired by his fine mind and true heart knew that in none of his works had he put forth his full strength, that these only half-revealed the profound scholar, the original thinker, the sincere reformer, the friend of humanity. Perhaps of all his friends Sydney Smith paid the truest tribute to his memory in saying that when he wished to think better of the world he thought of Mackintosh.

Of minor celebrities one may select :—

10. Sir WILLIAM MORISON (1741-90), who rose to be Chief Justice of the Bahamas.

11. The Hon. ALEXANDER ADDISON (1759-1807) who had a varied career. Educated at Marischal College, he was first schoolmaster at Aberlour, and afterwards assistant to the minister of Rothes. In 1785 he emigrated to Pennsylvania, and had some success as a preacher, but adopted the legal profession. He was admitted to the Bar of Washington County in 1787, and was appointed a judge four years later. He is locally celebrated as the author of a volume of law reports; and it is recorded in his epitaph that he was “an accomplished classical scholar, profoundly skilled in jurisprudence”.

12. ADAM THOM (1802-90) who was the first Recorder of Rupertsland, and at his death the Father of both Bench and Bar of Western Canada. He graduated at King's College in 1824, edited Canadian newspapers till 1837, when he was called to the Bar of Lower Canada. From 1839 till 1854 he filled the office of Recorder, or President of the Red River Court. He was the chief author of Lord Durham's famous Report which fixed the true principles of Colonial Government. Like many Aberdeen students, he studied Hebrew, and wrote *The Chronology of Prophecy*.

V. SKETCH OF SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF LAW FACULTY.

The other Faculties in the University have flourished and expanded; the development of the Faculty of Law has been arrested. The causes which checked its growth were partly common to all Universities—partly special, partly temporary, partly continuous.

Indirectly all Universities suffered by the Reformation. No doubt it created new Universities, and ultimately secured greater freedom of opinion. But its immediate, though partly unintended, effects were bad. No country purchased its benefits at so high a price as did Scotland. There was the disorder, deprivation and pillage inseparable from the violent breaking up of the old order. In Aberdeen and the North there was little enthusiasm for the new order. The abuses of the Catholic Church had been little felt in Aberdeen; its benefits were substantial and visible. It was easier to command the obstinate clerks of Aberdeen to ward than to convince them. Consequently this University was out of favour with

the new Government, and before Principal Arbuthnot's appointment almost deserted by students.

In both England and Scotland the study of law declined. The Canon Law had ceased to be of authority, except so far as incorporated with the law of the land. The Chair of Canon Law maintained a struggle for existence till shortly before the Revolution, when the struggle ceased, and the Faculty of Law was reduced to the single Chair of Roman Law. Roman Law did not advance in Scotland, though Principal Arbuthnot, himself a distinguished student of Cujas and writer on jurisprudence, maintained it in our University. In the next place the sources of further endowments were cut off. Bishops were abolished, and their revenues diverted. This was not the fault of John Knox. His educational ideal was nearly as high as Elphinstone's; he proposed that every Lord should live on his just rents, and the revenues of cathedrals be assigned to the Universities. But the nobles disposed of them. In the last place the Universities lost their international position. The bonds of fellowship between them were relaxed or broken. They also became less representative of the nation, and tended to sink into merely sectarian higher schools. This tendency, counteracted for a time, reached its height in Scotland during the reign of the Covenanters. In 1638 there was a serious attempt to abolish entirely the Faculties of Law and Medicine in this University. In 1641 it was enacted that no one who did not profess the orthodox religion according to the formula now received in the realm of Scotland should be received even as a student. This was a degree of barbarism surpassed only in Episcopal England. At this time Scottish Protestant students freely attended the Universities of Catholic France and Italy.

Aberdeen had reasons, both intellectual and financial, to thank God for Cromwell. During the Commonwealth and Restoration the University, including its law school, revived. It received and sent out many students. Sir Thomas Urquhart speaks to its prosperity. Arthur Duck, the learned Civilian, in his comprehensive work (1676) on the *Use and Authority of the Civil Law in the Kingdoms and States of Europe*, is silent as to Glasgow, notes as to St. Andrews that it maintained *one* Professor of Laws, but Aberdeen he calls a College of Jurists instituted for the teaching of the Civil Law. He also refers to the number of Scotsmen who studied or became professors in French Universities, "to the great renown of their nation".

The reviving fortunes of our law school were again depressed by the

Union with England and the contemporary foundation of the Faculty of Law in the University of Edinburgh. The Scottish Parliaments and Sovereigns took pride in the Universities. The British Parliament and the Hanoverian dynasty cared little for the English Universities, and for the Scottish Universities nothing at all. Edinburgh, as the seat of the Supreme Courts, naturally became, and must continue to be, the principal school of law in Scotland.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, King's College through the eighteenth century strove to maintain the ideals of Elphinstone. It educated men like Forbes, Monboddo, Grant and Mackintosh, who bore the stamp and likeness of their Founder. Nor did Marischal College neglect the study of law. The Regents (and sometimes the Civilist from King's College) gave lectures on Civil Law and Jurisprudence. In both the tradition that Civil Law ought to be pursued both as a part of general education as well as a special preparation for the legal profession had not quite lost its force. Principal Laurence Brown (1796-1832), clergyman and philosopher, had been also thoroughly educated in law under the Civilians of Utrecht.

In the earlier half of the nineteenth century, but for the exertions of the Society of Advocates, the Faculty of Law might have ceased to exist in Aberdeen, as it had ceased in St. Andrews and been suspended in Glasgow. The Society founded a lectureship in Conveyancing at Marischal College. But both Aberdeen and Glasgow Universities suffered from two erroneous ideas which widely prevailed—one, that Universities were chiefly useful as examining bodies, and therefore that any selected examiners could as well, or better, judge of professional qualifications; the other, that if any University instruction in law was expedient, Edinburgh sufficed for the needs of Scotland. Accordingly at the Union of the Colleges in 1860 the Lectureship on Conveyancing was suppressed, the lecturer became the substitute-professor and the sole teacher of law in the united University; and the University Commissioners continued the same policy. Parliament had in 1873 abolished the privileges of the legal bodies which required a University training as a condition of admission, and conferred the right of entrance into the legal profession (except the Bar) absolutely without requiring any University instruction or training either in Arts or in Law. In this way Parliament not only neglected, but positively discouraged, the study of law and reversed the soundest traditions of Scottish legal education.

The signs of the times are now more encouraging. Truer notions of

the uses and functions of Universities and of the connection of the legal profession with the service of the State find acceptance. We are going back to the old idea that the influence of lawyers in the State and the value of their service to the State depend on their scientific knowledge as well as practical training, and that University education is the true basis both of general culture and of special fitness for the professions. It is mainly to Professor Dove Wilson (1891-1901) that our University owes the regeneration of the Faculty of Law. He re-established the Lectureship of Conveyancing—he reintroduced the teaching of Roman Law, and gave the Faculty a standing in the University and before the public. This is a part of the general return to ancient standards and ideals which the last twenty years have witnessed. In Glasgow a new spirit has been infused into the teaching of law. In Oxford and Cambridge the law schools have renewed their youth. In the new English Universities, Liverpool, Manchester, North Wales, Faculties of Law have been founded, fairly equipped with teachers and libraries.

It is somewhat humbling to confess that, while the number of students of law now attending the University is somewhat greater than the number of students entered in all the Faculties for many years after 1494, our teaching staff and equipment are less than when the Faculty of Law was first founded. Compared with any Continental University, our resources and means of teaching are beggarly. Compared with American or Colonial Universities, for example with McGill University, in which the number of law students is nearly the same, they are sufficiently meagre. We teach indeed Scots Law, Conveyancing, Roman Law and Scots Procedure, but in General and Comparative Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, International Law, Public and Private, we can neither provide instruction or confer a degree. It is not the fault of the University, which counts the history and the institutes of Roman Law among the subjects for the Arts degree. It has done what it could to maintain its standards and ideals. From Parliament we can expect little. Our hope for the advancement of legal education, and the realising of our Founder's aims, rests mainly on the public spirit of the legal profession. In the fifteenth century educational reformers began with the higher education: in the nineteenth century elementary education has been firmly established: it remains for us of the twentieth century to bring both into co-ordination and fuller development.

N. J. D. KENNEDY.

FOUR CENTURIES OF MEDICINE IN ABERDEEN.

To appraise aright the history of Aberdeen as a School of Medicine through the long vista of four hundred years, the troublous character and changing conditions of the times, social, religious and political, should be kept in view, but cannot here be entered on. The events and names of the actors have been chronicled elsewhere; what here is essayed is, by a study of events and men, to gain some insight regarding the phases through which the University has passed, in its relation to Medicine, and the influences that have determined their character and features. To secure right perspective, the contemporary history of Medicine in other universities must occasionally be introduced.

It is unnecessary to repeat the oft-told tale of how there came to be two Colleges in Aberdeen—King's in the Old Town, founded 1505; and Marischal College in New Aberdeen. They were separate and distinct universities, each granting degrees. In King's, from the first, Medicine was represented, in somewhat embryonic form, by the office of "Mediciner," equivalent to a professorship of Medicine. In Marischal, though founded in 1593, no like provision was made until 1700. Thereafter the educational character of each was similar; the rivalry, however, proved more prejudicial than stimulating. In 1860, by Act of Parliament, the two were merged into one, and designated "The University of Aberdeen". Except where it is necessary to distinguish between them, it may be convenient to speak as if they had been always one, or use the name Aberdeen as implying both.

THROUGH THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

The year 1505, in which King's College was founded, saw also the "surregeanis and barbouris" of Edinburgh incorporated by "seal and cause," or charter from the Town Council. From this humble origin was

to develop the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, a body that has always taken a prominent part in medical education; but close on two hundred years had to pass before any system of instruction was organised other than that of apprenticeship to one of the members, "ilk ane instructing ithers," with, once a year, a demonstration in anatomy when a body could be procured. Such was the infancy of the "Art and Craft" of Surgery in Scotland.

In the same year, Bishop Elphinstone, by instituting the office of "Mediciner" in King's College, secured that Medicine should form an intrinsic part in the constitution of the University. This was the first university recognition of the subject in Great Britain. Cambridge followed in 1540, and Oxford in 1546; but during the same two centuries, King's College virtually stood alone in Scotland in assigning this intrinsic position to Medicine. The relation in this respect has not been understood and consequently has been misjudged.

In instituting the office the idea was not to found a medical school in the present-day sense—such an organisation began to develop only in the closing years of this period. The intention was, that in the *studium generale* then founded, facilities should be afforded for the study of medicine as a branch of scholastic learning. History shows that at this time it was not unusual for men of education to include physic among their literary and philosophical studies, even when there was no intention of adopting it as a profession; whilst, for those who were to practise the art, an acquaintance with the ancient writings was considered the best mental training, and the fittest means of perfecting technical knowledge otherwise acquired. King's College was to be a home for medicine, not a school. The science was to be cultivated as in the cloister, not on the hearth.

In those days a classical education was essential for the physician as well as the lawyer and the divine. All lectures were delivered in the Latin tongue; the prelections were mainly philosophical, and little more than "setting forth" the works of Hippocrates, Aristotle and other ancient writers. The spirit of the teaching is indicated to us in the Foundation Charter of Marischal College, where it is stated that, amongst other duties assigned to the Principal—there being no Mediciner in this College—"He shall also (after the eight acroamatic books which the third Regent will explain) set forth all the rest of Physiology from the Greek text of Aristotle, to which he shall add a short explanation of Anatomy". The term

Physiology here used—"Physiologiam" in the original—does not imply the restricted application of the word in modern times, but corresponds with the present terms Physics or Natural Philosophy: the mention of Anatomy, however, indicates that more was intended than these terms now include. Physiologia represented science generally, which, in all departments, was yet in a rudimentary state.

At this early period Aberdeen presents to our view the purely scholastic side of Medicine. The aim was to produce the scholar, not the practitioner; erudition, not craftsmanship. The instruction in medicine, so far as it went, was approached through and bound up with the course in Arts and Philosophy. There was a closer mutual relation between the Faculties then than now; it became weakened, however, and all but parted, as purely medical instruction developed. The University at this time resembled those of Oxford and Cambridge; in the other sister universities there was never the same close relation between Arts and Medicine. It may seem strange to find Medicine and Oriental Languages taught by the same man, or Mathematics linked with Physic: yet Greek, Latin and Arabic were the languages in which all medical knowledge was stored; and the systems of medicine that men strove to establish had a distinct mathematical trend.

In the two centuries following the foundation of King's College notwithstanding the ecclesiastic ferment of the times, a robust medical element pervaded Scottish society, and notably in Aberdeen; not merely by the presence of well-educated practitioners, but also by the frequency with which the study of medicine was conjoined with literary, linguistic and philosophical studies. Of the eminent men may be mentioned:—

ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT (1538-1583), first Protestant Principal of King's College (1569). Of him Archbishop Spottiswood, an opponent, says he was "Pleasant and jocund in conversation, in all sciences expert, a good poet, mathematician, philosopher, theologian, lawyer, and in medicine skilful".

GILBERT SKENE was the first Mediciner after the Reformation (1556). He went to Edinburgh (1575) and was appointed physician to the King (1581). He published a tract, printed in Edinburgh (1568), "De Peste—Ane breve description of the Pest," and others, published by the Bannatyne Club.

ROBERT STRALOCH, a contemporary with Skene, "Taught at Paris

with great reputation and afterwards exercised his profession at home" (Robertson).

DUNCAN LIDDEL of Pitmedden (155[?]-1613). He studied abroad and taught mathematics at Rostock and the University of Helmstadt. He was equally famed in medicine. His principal works were: *Disputationes Medicinales*, printed in 1605 at Helmstadt; *Ars Medica, succincte et perspicue explicata* (1608), and *De Febribus* (1610). The two latter were issued at Hamburg, and bore dedications to King James VI. and Henry, Prince of Wales, respectively. GILBERT JACK (1578-1628) was a pupil of Duncan Liddel, and probably was a student at Marischal College. He graduated in medicine, and in 1604 was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leyden. His book, entitled *Institutiones Medicæ*, was published at Leyden, 1624, reprinted 1631 and 1653.

ALEXANDER REID, M.D., brother of Thomas Reid, Latin Secretary to James VI., became a distinguished medical practitioner in London, and Physician to Charles I.; M.D. of Oxford by royal mandate, 1620. He published a Manual of Anatomy; a Treatise of Surgery, 1634; a work on Muscles, 1637. He died in 1680, and bequeathed his valuable library to Marischal College.

ROBERT MORRISON (1620-83) was Physician to Charles II. and Regius Professor of Botany in Oxford.

ARTHUR JOHNSTON of Caskieben (M.D. of Padua, 1610) was Rector of King's College, 1637; Physician in Ordinary to Charles I. Famous as a writer of Latin verse, rivalling George Buchanan. His brother, William Johnston, M.D., was Professor of Mathematics, 1626, and was said to have been "well seen both in mathematics and the medicine" (Gordon).

THE MEDICINER.

The duties of the Mediciner were not defined as were those of the other office-bearers. He was left free to lecture as he deemed fit, or even *not to lecture at all*. The holders of the office were men of good position and learning, generally practising as physicians in the town. Several were men of note and energy, not confined to medicine. Zeal varied however, then as now, and teaching being optional, some naturally preferred honour and leisure to the toil of the lecture. As early as 1636 the Mediciner, William Gordon, having, as he said, "exercised the students sufficientlie in the dis-

section of beasts," petitioned the Privy Council for the delivery of "executed malefactors, rebels and outlaws". A creditable fact, but the times were not ripe for such a development: it came to nothing. Dr. Patrick Dun held simultaneously the offices of Mediciner in King's (1619-1632) and Principal in Marischal College (1621-1649). In later years four members of the eminent family of the Gregorys were Mediciners at King's.

It seems strange in the present day that men should occupy the position of Professor of Medicine and not lecture. The peculiarity, however, was not confined to Aberdeen. Thus in Glasgow there was a nominal Professor of Physic for nine years (1637-1646), but nothing more was heard of medicine in the University until the chair was revived in 1714, and in 1719 a Professor of Anatomy conjoined with Botany was appointed. In his *Life of Dr. Cullen*, Prof. Thomson remarks: "It does not appear that the persons appointed to these offices had ever delivered any lectures upon the subjects they were respectively appointed to teach". Another writer says: "The examining and degree granting function was exercised for nearly half a century before the College used effectively its powers to teach".¹

Again, in Edinburgh in 1685 three eminent physicians were appointed by the Town Council to be "Professors of Medicine in the University," but "teaching was left optional". "They never lectured at all." The same thing occurred in the case of the first two Professors of Law.² These appointments were titular only, and were evidently made more in view of conferring degrees in the respective subjects than of teaching.

THE DOCTORATE OF MEDICINE.

In the seventeenth century the Doctorate in Medicine represented something very different from the M.D. of later times; a point to this day overlooked by the critics of Scottish Universities. There were then no systematic lectures, no set curriculum of professional studies; those who intended to become practitioners received their technical instruction by apprenticeship, and the lectures, when given, were expositions of ancient authorities and the systems of later writers.

The degree was not conferred at the end of the collegiate course.

¹ *Memorials of the Fac. of Phys. and Surg. of Glasgow.* By Alex. Duncan, B.A.

² *The Story of the University of Edinburgh.* By Sir A. Grant.

Students, then as now, prolonged their studies abroad, and frequently graduated there. Others engaged for some years in private practice, at home or abroad, or in the medical service of the army or navy. Having thus added practical experience to their theoretical training, and having proved themselves worthy, either by the status they had attained in society, or by examination before the faculty, it was open to them to obtain the degree of their Alma Mater.

The degree was the recognition by the University of general and professional attainments, however and wherever acquired. It was free from the notion of a licence to practise, superseding all such: it kept aloof from the pretensions and feuds of the surgeons and physicians: it did much to integrate physic and surgery by recognising that the chirurgian-apothecary, who had attained an honourable position in his calling, might be worthy of the degree equally with his brother physician who disdained to use the knife or the pestle and mortar. The *ad eundem* principle was more liberally exercised; and the degree not infrequently was conferred as an honorary distinction; a power still retained by Oxford and Cambridge, but now lost to Scotland.

Such was the broad concept of the degree-granting function entertained by all the Scottish Universities, until, in each, a definite medical school was formed.

So far as the records of Aberdeen Universities have been preserved, the earliest name mentioned as receiving the degree in King's, is that of "Dr. Joannes Glover, Londonensis," 15th May, 1654. It is interesting to note that he was B.A. of Harvard (1650). In Marischal College "there were probably no degrees granted till after 1700 and the appointment of a Professor of Medicine".

In Edinburgh University the first M.D. was David Cockburn, A.M., who graduated 14th May, 1705. There were fifteen graduates in Medicine prior to 1726, the date of the creation of a medical faculty in the University. In some cases the degree was conferred *ad eundem*, in some by *recommendation*, and *in absentia*, but in the greater number by examinations, which were conducted by the Royal College of Physicians.

In Glasgow University probably the first medical graduate was in 1703, an Englishman, and so late as 1720 a "Mr. Andrew Grahame was made doctor *in absentia*. There are also one or two entries recording that the degree had been bestowed on persons *who were not examined*."

In St. Andrews the celebrated Dr. John Arbuthnot appears to be the first doctor in physic created there, 11th September, 1696. He underwent examination, and the University long retained the custom of conferring degrees by examination alone, without residence.

Transformation.—Various influences, however, were soon to produce a change for better or for worse in the conception of the Doctorate. As the eighteenth century advanced, and the sciences were taking definite form, medical subjects became specialised. In Edinburgh and Glasgow chairs were instituted in the various departments, the medical faculties were strengthened by new members, and a definite curriculum of studies was formulated. In fine, organised schools of medicine were being developed, separate from and independent of the other faculties. Consequently, the ideas and customs regarding the degree underwent considerable modification.

The grounds on which it was granted became restricted. It was no longer conferred wholly *ad eundem* or for proficiency, however attained, but by examination on the particular curriculum of the school. It was taken at the completion of the university career by youths with but a bare theoretical knowledge of their profession. It thus assumed the nature of a "licence to practice," and entered into competition with the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons. And further, the pathway to higher professional status as indicated by the degree was closed to all who, in their youth, had not enjoyed the advantage of matriculating in a university. The changes here summarised belong properly to the next century (*iv.* p. 315).

THE TRANSITION PERIOD, 1700 TO 1860.

Towards the latter half of the period with which we have dealt various influences were gathering together, soon to manifest themselves in changes that mark the eighteenth century. The spirit of independent inquiry was springing up; men no longer were content to ruminate on the opinions of ancient authorities; they must investigate the phenomena of Nature for themselves. The ancillary subjects, Anatomy, Chemistry, Physiology were assuming scientific form, and were rich in promise. Men began to realise how inefficient were apprenticeships alone, and how inadequate were the prelections of but one professor to fit them to become physicians or surgeons.

It was not, however, the Universities that originated the onward movement. It came from without. The mode differed in Aberdeen from that in Edinburgh: it is interesting to contrast them.

Specialisation in teaching was the desideratum. This was supplied in Edinburgh by the energy and foresight of the College of Surgeons and of the College of Physicians. In 1697 an anatomical theatre was opened in the Surgeon's Hall and demonstrations given. Previous to this a summer course in Botany had been given. In 1720 the celebrated Alexander Monro (primus) began to lecture in the anatomical theatre, and in 1722, on petition to the Town Council as patrons, he was made Professor of Anatomy. After a short time the department was transferred to the University buildings. The same thing happened with other subjects. Theory of Medicine was taught by St. Clair, Practice of Medicine by Drs. Rutherford¹ and Innes, Chemistry by Dr. Plummer²—all members of the College of Physicians. On 9th February, 1726, these gentlemen applied to the Town Council to have their departments taught in the "Town's College," and were, at that date, constituted Professors of Medicine by the patrons of the University. On the same day Mr. Joseph Gibson was appointed Professor of Midwifery.

Thus a Faculty of Medicine within the University was constituted, and a foundation for a medical curriculum laid on a systematic, specialised and continuous course of study. No traditional ideas, no vested interests retarded the development.

The circumstances of Aberdeen were very different, and adverse to progress. It is necessary to note these to understand the tardy development of the medical school. To alter the organisation of an old established institution is a different matter from starting a new and unopposed one: and in this case the problem was complicated by the presence of two similarly constituted Universities, not on the best of terms. For two hundred years they had lived and moved in an atmosphere charged with mediæval ideas, philosophical and metaphysical more than scientific. The scholastic mind, strongly swayed by ecclesiastical influence, distrusted the progress of science, and fostered enervating contentment and dislike to change.

The century opened seemingly with promise. A Professorship of Medicine was instituted in Marischal College, but it was of the old nominal

¹ M.A., King's College, 1721.

² Originator of Plummer's pill.

type before described, with a perfunctory discharge of duties. The accession of the Gregory family, father and two sons, succeeding one another as Mediciner in King's College (1725-66), revived the dormant energy; but the effect was transient. Space does not here permit of the characterisation of these remarkable men, their eminence has been fully recognised. They were the first to lecture in English instead of Latin, an innovation that must have greatly enhanced their teaching. The youngest, John Gregory, who afterwards became Professor of Physic in Edinburgh (1766-73), published his introductory lectures on *The Duties and Qualifications of a Physician*, a book which well represents the high ideals of the profession of the time, and may in the present day be read with profit.

By this time the prejudicial effect of having "two Universities side by side, teaching the same subjects to a mere handful of students," began to be grievously felt. Nevertheless, efforts towards union, four times made in forty years (1747-87), proved unsuccessful. Each University retained its original constitution and arrangements—with mutual jealousy and distrust. The degree-granting function was liberally exercised by each, but the old scholastic features of the Colleges were no longer in accordance with the vigorous development of medical science. No attempt was made to adjust the organism to the changing ideas of the times: the day of titular professorships was gone, yet Medicine continued to be represented by a single professor, and he did not lecture. The fault lay in the personal interests of the teaching bodies; appointments were too strongly influenced by those holding office; the bias of kinship too often prevailed over that of merit.

In those days, as already noticed, the significance of an M.D. degree was different from what it afterwards became. It implied a higher professional status than that of the surgeon or the general practitioner, and was taken only by those who intended to practise as physicians. For this class only had the Universities existed in the past. The bulk of the profession did not seek a University degree, and were simply licensed to practise by one or other of the incorporate societies.

The educational requirements of each class of practitioners were then different. When, however, the Sciences developed, a knowledge of Anatomy, Chemistry and Physiology formed the professional equipment common to all. Provision had to be made for imparting separate instruc-

tion in each subject: apprenticeship and private reading were no longer sufficient. We have seen how in Edinburgh the necessary steps were taken; but in Aberdeen the University was callous, and there was no College of Surgeons to take the lead;—nevertheless, the germs of a medical school were there.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABERDEEN MEDICAL SCHOOL.

The presence of a University in a town has an attractive and mental stimulating influence. Considering the times, and the comparatively small population of Aberdeen, there seems to have always been a large proportion of physicians of the early cultured type, amongst whom there were men well qualified to teach. The Infirmary was opened in 1742—contemporaneous with the same movement in Edinburgh—later on the Dispensary was founded: two important elements in the making of a medical school.

There were also medical students, "fit though few". In 1789 twelve of their number formed themselves into a medical society¹ to make up by mutual help what was sadly deficient in the educational fare supplied them. The Universities were indifferent, but the young men were enthusiastic, earnest and determined. The society increased in numbers and in importance. It drew forth the latent teaching energy apart from the Colleges. Lecturers on scientific subjects were obtained from amongst the physicians: practical instruction was had at the Infirmary and Dispensary. Something approaching an extra-mural school was taking form: but each lecturer was acting in his private capacity, the movement lacked the stability and support of an incorporated faculty.

The quickening was slow in extending to the Universities. In 1793 a Chair of Chemistry had been founded in Marischal College, but the first Professor, Dr. George French, nominated in the will of the donor, and who held the post for forty years, was cantankerous and ill-disposed towards the Medical Society.

During the same time, 1793-1838, King's College was unfavourably situated by having as Mediciners the two Bannermans, father and son, who, during the forty-five years they severally held the Chair, never

¹This is still a flourishing association under the name of the "Aberdeen Medico-Chirurgical Society". The members, however, are no longer the students, but the medical men of the city and surrounding country.

lectured. Chemistry, however, was not neglected, but from 1817 was ably taught by Dr. Patrick Forbes, the Professor of Humanity. His lectures were largely attended by students in all the faculties, and by manufacturers in town. As teacher of Latin he was equally successful.

On the death of the younger Bannerman (1838), the post of Mediciner was filled in the following year by Dr. William Gregory, grandson of Dr. John Gregory, Mediciner (1755). Henceforth this venerable office became the Chair of Chemistry in King's. Dr. Gregory, in 1844, was appointed Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh.

Greater enterprise was manifested by Marischal College. In the same year (1793) Dr. William Livingston was appointed Professor of Medicine. He had previously shown much attention to the students; they elected him Honorary President of the Medical Society. The meetings were held in a hall placed by him at their disposal, and in his own house were kept their library and museum. He was an earnest worker in the Infirmary wards, and had delivered anatomical lectures to the students. He died in 1822, and was succeeded by Dr. Charles Skene in the Chair of Medicine. Previous to this, from 1802, Skene had been a Lecturer on Anatomy in Marischal College. In 1811 Dr. William Dyce was appointed Lecturer in Midwifery, in 1818 Dr. George Barclay on Surgery and Dr. William Henderson on *Materia Medica*.

A movement of much promise arose under this system of instituting Lectureships. They were not life appointments like the professors, and were in some instances limited to a short period of years. In 1818 a proposal was made and finally carried out to establish, by the appointment of Lecturers, a Medical School under the joint patronage and control of the two Universities. The Theory and Practice of Physic were reserved to the Professors of Medicine, "*should they at any time wish to give Courses of Lectures*, the choice of either subject lying with the Professor that first undertakes the duty of lecturing". "Should any of the Lecturers allow a Session to pass without giving a regular Course, his appointment is to be declared void" unless prevented by bad health or from other reasonable cause. A standing committee of each Faculty was appointed to superintend and promote the objects of the institution. The appointments by Marischal College, already mentioned, were confirmed by King's, and others were made till all the special subjects were represented.

This combined scheme continued until 1839, when a paltry quarrel was made the pretext to withdraw from an arrangement which jealousy and distrust had made unsatisfactory.

For twenty years after the rupture, till the union of the Colleges, each University pursued an independent course as regards teaching and granting degrees.

Teaching.—The position of Marischal College was more favourable than that of King's. The former possessed an active professor in Chemistry—Dr. Thomas Clark, and in Practice of Medicine—Dr. Mac-robin. In this year also (1839) Queen Victoria founded two new Chairs, and appointed Dr. Allen Thomson to be Regius Professor of Anatomy, and Dr. Pirrie Regius Professor of Surgery. Lecturers in the other branches of medicine were appointed by the Senatus.

In King's College there was still but one professor—the Mediciner—the office becoming with Dr. William Gregory the Chair of Chemistry; other subjects were represented by Lecturers. Two of these deserve special mention, for the influence each exerted on the reputation of the school. The name of the one is now almost unknown, Andrew Moir, the Lecturer on Anatomy. He was a devoted teacher, beloved by his students: his ability as an anatomist was recognised in Edinburgh and in London. He taught in a private dissecting room in St. Andrew Street. In those days Anatomy was a study fraught with dangers, when pursued with the energy of Andrew Moir. In 1831 the building where he worked was burned down by an infuriated mob. He died in 1844, "highly valued, and long remembered with tender regret by his friends, he was gentle and kindly, and far from the ruthless anatomist he was imagined to be".

The other name is Alexander Kilgour, the well-known Consultant in the north of Scotland, a great physician and able public-spirited man. In 1839 he was appointed Lecturer on Medicine in King's College, a post he resigned in 1849; but continued long to be a highly esteemed teacher of Clinical Medicine in the Royal Infirmary. Dr. John Brown, author of *Rab and his Friends*, called him "the Northern Sydenham". On the union of the Colleges he was for twelve years one of the General Council's Assessors in the University Court, and exercised a beneficial influence in all medical affairs.¹

¹ For a short and appreciative biographical sketch of Dr. Andrew Moir and Dr. Kilgour see Mrs. Rodger's book *Aberdeen Doctors*.

The Medical Degrees.—Towards the end of the eighteenth century Edinburgh had become the leading medical school in Great Britain. The influence of its University on the degree-granting function was predominant. From it sprang the changes in the character of the Doctorate of Medicine already described (*v. p.* 309). For two hundred years before this Aberdeen had been granting the degree, under very different conditions: to the northern mind, deeply imbued with old scholastic ideas, change was more difficult. A curriculum was drawn up, examinations were instituted, and for a time (1815-1840) an effort was made to retain the connection between the Faculties of Arts and Medicine by requiring all candidates to be Masters of Arts—not necessarily of Aberdeen—and to be not under twenty-five years of age. These conditions, however, proved too severe; so few candidates for the degree came forward that it became necessary to relax the regulations and bring them more in accordance with those of the other Universities. Later the same desire to maintain a high standard of preliminary education was shown by requiring the candidates for M.D. to pass an examination in *Greek* and *Logic* as well as in Latin. In 1840 another important step was taken by Marischal College: the University instituted the lower degree of Bachelor of Medicine, a modification that forty years later was introduced by Act of Parliament into the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. This movement was in the right direction, but it left the M.D. in a degraded position from which it has not yet recovered.

AFTER THE UNION 1860—.

The jealousies and bickerings of the Colleges were at last to end. From 1858 onwards, by various Acts of Parliament, the organisation of the Scottish Universities and medical education generally were brought into some degree of uniformity; and regulations regarding the curriculum of studies, examinations, and granting degrees were laid down in ordinances. King's and Marischal Colleges were welded in one, and on a new foundation arose the "University of Aberdeen," 15th September, 1860.

With the exception of Medical Jurisprudence, which had a recent and special foundation, the patronage of all the medical chairs was henceforth vested in the Crown: a beneficent change in the interests of the University. By retaining those already existing, and creating new ones in the subjects previously entrusted to Lecturers, a full Medical Faculty was formed, re-

presenting all the branches of Medicine according to the educational ideas of the time.¹

The test of a Medical School is not the number of its students, but the efficiency of its teaching and how far that is kept abreast with, and reflects the advance in medical science. Efficiency is not dependent solely on the teacher, the character of the taught is an important element. In this respect Aberdeen students have earned a good reputation; hard to live up to in the present day, when there is so much more ground to overtake; the value of the teaching again is shown in the honourable positions the graduates hold in all parts of the world. This would not be the case had the University not fulfilled the other condition, and kept her teaching up to the requirements of the day.

The reorganisation of the school coincided, in time, with what may be regarded as the dawn of modern medicine—the beginning of that wondrous development in medical science that has thrown so great a lustre over the latter half of the nineteenth century. Some idea of how great has been the corresponding advance in the amount and method of teaching, may be obtained by contrasting the conditions in the sixties with those of the present time.

At an early period Anatomy attained a preponderant place, which it still to some extent retains, out of proportion to other subjects. Except Chemistry, it was the only subject taught practically, and whose professor had an assistant: now a University Assistant is appointed to each chair, some have two or more, and by their aid, practical and tutorial classes are combined with the theoretical teaching.

In the early years Physiology, as then understood, could be taught simply by lectures, with a few diagrams, and an occasional microscopic slide: the term histology was only coming into use. For a quarter of a century now, every student with a microscope studies for himself the minute structure of the tissues; and experimentally becomes acquainted with the chemical and physical changes in the body: practical rooms and research laboratories have been equipped with delicate and expensive apparatus.

Pathology, as a distinct and scientific branch, did not then exist. It was treated in a manner by the several professors of Surgery, Practice

¹ For sketches of the members of the Medical Faculty of 1860, see Mr. P. J. Anderson's *Aurora Borealis*.

of Medicine and Physiology, in their ordinary course of instruction: a favourite introductory subject, largely discussed and differently handled by all three, used to be, "What is Inflammation?"

In 1882, by the munificence of Sir Erasmus Wilson, an Aberdeenshire man and eminent physician in London, a Chair of Pathology was founded. The Department, under the able and energetic professor, has grown with the development of the subject, and is now provided, by the earlier building extension, with large laboratories, practical rooms and museum: where there are carried on not only the training of the students and private research, but also the bacteriological work in connection with the Public Health Department of the City.

Like progress with the times has been made in all the other departments. The ancillary subjects, Chemistry, Botany, Natural History, have outgrown the narrower limits or requirements of a purely medical education and are now presented in the full University or scientific aspects of each. *Materia Medica* has changed, with the changed relations of the subject, from the old empirical Pharmacy, to the "Pharmacology and Therapeutics" of modern experiment and research. In Public Health there is an entirely new department, the growth of the last quarter of a century.

The rapid development in all these subjects has gradually brought about a change in the method of teaching. The lectures of to-day are very different from the prelections of twenty or even ten years ago. Demonstrations and practical work are interwoven with the vocal instruction. The hands and eyes equally with the ears are gateways of knowledge. There is much a student can acquire within a University that he cannot get after he has left. All this necessitates increased accommodation and equipment. Hence the various building extensions at Marischal College which from time to time have been in process for thirty years. If now it be thought that with the later additions the work is complete, it must be remembered that under the rapid development in every branch of medical science they do no more than barely meet the present necessities of the University.

The academic teaching within a University, however able it may be, cannot by itself constitute a School of Medicine. The three great divisions, Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery must extend beyond the University walls, into the field of practice provided by the hospitals and kindred in-

stitutions. These, with their staffs of physicians and surgeons, are essential components of the Medical School. It has taken long for Aberdeen to recognise this very evident consideration. It is doubtful whether the University as a body, or the Managers of the Hospitals yet fully realise its importance, not only to the University, but also in the interests of the hospitals, and the public at large.

Aberdeen is now well provided in this respect. The lately extended Royal Infirmary with its Medical, Surgical and Gynæcological wards, its Eye, Ear, and Throat, Skin and Electrical departments: the Dispensary and Vaccine Institution, the Maternity Hospital, the Children's Hospital, the Lunatic Asylum, the City Infectious Hospital, and the Ophthalmic Institution, fully meet all the requirements.

In each of these institutions courses of practical instruction are given. For the undergraduate the material is ample, the opportunities of gaining insight are not stinted, if he assiduously avails himself of them: to the indifferent the result would be to him the same were they fourfold greater.

Thus, in the course of years, by its University and its Hospitals, Aberdeen has organised a complete School of Medicine, venerable in its history of four hundred years, yet active and progressing with all the vigour of youth.

Floreat res Medica.

WM. STEPHENSON.

THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY EDUCATOR.

IT was natural enough that after the invention of printing the Scotsman who first employed the new art in publishing his own work should be the Aberdeen professor in a Continental University. He was no great rarity, for in the fifteenth century as in the twentieth the importance of the northern city depended mainly upon its reputation as an educational centre, and all the most enduring honour its name had earned was due to the peerless profession of teaching. Then, as now, her educated sons sought a wider scope for progress and ambition than their native soil afforded, and while the richly endowed Universities of England were generally closed to them, they resorted for higher education to those of France, their country's ancient ally. But it is not my intention to trace minutely the progress of learning in North-East Scotland from the depth of archaic method to the height of efficiency it has now attained. What I have undertaken in obedience to the will of the editor is to revive, in my own bookish way, the memories of some literary alumni of the University, whose works, creditable and useful in their day, and leaving an indelible impression upon intellectual growth, are now mostly forgotten, crowded out by improvement and change in the forward march whereon they merely marked advancing steps. Taught during the long generations preceding the union of our Universities by a succession of classical professors who could seldom impart more than the learning that they had themselves acquired to fit them for their office, pedagogue produced pedagogue; and although by native ability and energy our alumnus came to adorn all the learned professions and higher vocations of life, he was ever a teacher. In no better or loftier aspect can I deal with him, for with the teacher began in a far remote age, in some medieval seminary of which now no trace remains, the cultivation of the love of knowledge which has filled for centuries the throbbing heart of the Scottish nation.

As the literary history of Aberdeen commenced hundreds of years before the foundation of King's College, I may be excused for introducing a few names which properly belong to the academic institution alluded to by Hector Boece in his life of Bishop Elphinstone as existing before he assumed the reins of his principalship. My opening sentence refers to JAMES LIDDELL, from the diocese of Aberdeen, who graduated in Arts at Paris, and, in 1484, was elected to the important office of procurator of his nation, carrying with it a seat in the governing council of that ancient and justly famous University. Becoming a professor in one of its forty colleges, he published for the use of his students, about 1493, his *Tractatus conceptuum et signorum*, a guide to the literary disputations upon appointed theses which formed part of the academic course of the period. This, the earliest printed book by an Aberdeen author, was followed before 1497 by his *Ars obligatoria logicalis*, an elementary treatise on the science of logic. Another Aberdeen teacher who went to the Continent before Bishop Elphinstone's foundation began its work was GILBERT CRAB, laureated at Paris in 1503, and shortly afterwards advanced to a professorship in the faculty of Arts and a regency in the Burgundian College, one of the largest and wealthiest in the University. He later became a professor in the University of Bordeaux, where he died in 1522, at the early age of forty. He was a voluminous scholastic writer, his largest and most important work being an edition of the *Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, with commentary and notes, published at Lyons in 1517, one of the rarest of early printed books, the only copy known being in our University library.

Then, with Principal Hector Boece, comes Professor JOHN VAUS, poet and grammarian, to whom at present I shall only allude in passing as our earliest catechetical writer. From the day in 1522 when he first interrogated his class at King's College from his newly published *Rudimenta*, "How many declinationes of nownes is there?" and, receiving the answer "Five," proceeded to the further question, "Quhilk five?" until within years still recent, this method of pedagogic torture, involving every possible subject of instruction, has seldom lacked an exponent among our teaching alumni. Theophilus Stewart, his editor of 1553, upheld the system, and in 1581 JOHN CRAIG, the eminent Protestant reformer, set the example to our clerical alumni by *A Short Summe of the whole Catechism, wherein the question is proponed and answered in*

few wordes, for the greater ease of the commoun people and children, honouring his native city by its dedication "To the professors of Christis evangell at Newe Abirdene". The same path was followed in their publications by JOHN LEECH (1624) and DAVID WEDDERBURN (1637), so that, encouraged by such models and high authorities, the Aberdeen teacher in more modern days became mighty in catechetics, and the quantity he sent to the press will dumbfounder the man who attempts the compilation of a Bibliography of Catechism. Not one-fiftieth part of them can be mentioned here, but I am glad to palliate the matter in most cases by admitting his genius in other directions. His most daring venture was certainly achieved when ROBERT SMITH (M.A., 1683), schoolmaster, first of Glenshee, afterwards of Glamis, who in one of his rude rhymes describes himself—

Out of the Colledge Marischall,
One who baith Greek and Latin speaks,

actually did *The Assembly's Catechism in Metre*, and published it in 1729; a very rugged performance, but a most scarce and curious book even in the reprint of 1872.

Robert Burns, the poet, was taught orthography catechetically from a book which was popular in Scottish schools for more than half a century. I have not seen the first edition, and do not even know the year it was issued; but there is in the British Museum, *An English spelling book for the use of schools. In three parts. Part I. Treating of letters, syllables and monosyllables. Part II. Treating of Dissyllables and Polysyllables. Part III. Containing Observations, or pronunciation and orthography by way of question and answer . . .* By ARTHUR MASSON, M.A., [Mar. Coll., 1750] *Teacher of languages in Edinburgh. The third edition improved* (Edinburgh, 1761). This was the poet's primer, and its author must have continued improving it, for the fourteenth edition, printed by Morison of Perth (1794), contains a collection of Fables with woodcut illustrations, as does another published at Montrose (1814). Masson was the compiler of a *Collection* of reading lessons, of which the earliest edition I have seen is the eleventh (Edinburgh, 1788). "An' he war a wee thing better grunit in English—through Masson's Collection maybe"—was a commendatory remark by Jonathan Tawse to the goodwife of Clinkstyle when discussing the future education of Benjie Birse in *Johnny Gibb of Gushet-*

neuk, bringing its popularity in rural schools forward to 1843. He justified his title to teach languages by *Nouveau Recueil des pièces choisies . . . Par Arthur Masson, Maître des Arts et de Langue, devant en Edinbourg, actuellement en Aberdeen. Nouvelle édition* (Edinburgh and Aberdeen, 1782).

Very often the catechetic nature of the works was not discernible from their title-pages. ANDREW BAXTER (M.A., King's Coll., 1703) published *Matho, sive cosmotheoria puerilis* (2 vols., 1738), a catechetical dialogue of a severely learned type upon philosophical astronomy, the usual course being inverted by the pupil becoming interrogator. Upon opening the *Speculum Linguarum, or Greek made easy to scholars by an English Grammar only, neither tedious nor obscure*, by JOHN ENTICK (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1735), the author of many educational works, it is found to be a Catechism. But the principal writers employed no disguise. WILLIAM FORDYCE MAVOR, a native of New Deer (LL.D., Mar. Coll., 1789), one of the foremost elementary educationists and most successful authors of his time, wrote Catechisms of British Biography, of Health, of the History of Scotland, of General Knowledge, a Mother's Catechism, and a *Collection of Catechisms* (2 vols.), besides a large number of other useful works. For half a century his *System of Stenography* was the most popular; a *Collection of Voyages* which he published in 25 volumes was several times reprinted and is still esteemed, and of *Mavor's English Spelling* far more editions have been printed than of any other book in the language. At the present time editions are issued by ten different publishers of educational works in England, and an equal number in America. Its method has been long adopted on the Continent, and in India there is an edition in Gujarati and English. *Mavor's Primer* and his edition of the Eton Latin Grammar are also text-books in England to this day. JAMES MITCHELL (M.A., 1800, LL.D., 1823, King's Coll.) published in 1824 his *Universal Catechist*, a beautifully printed octavo volume, the questions in red, the answers in black, and well illustrated. It contains catechisms of thirty different subjects so wide in range as to embrace the British Constitution, the Civil Law, the Criminal Law, with golden rules for jurymen, the Histories of England, Greece, and Rome, Heraldry, and all the popular sciences. He wrote also several excellent schoolbooks, three dictionaries, a portable cyclopædia, and a fat little book six inches square and 740 pages thick, which we all know and shall cherish ever, *The Scotsman's library; being a collection of anecdotes and*

facts illustrative of Scotland and Scotsmen. Quite half of its contents relate to the northern and highland counties, so that it is especially interesting to us. Another Catechism-maker was WILLIAM RHIND (Mar. Coll., 1812-14), a Morayshire man, who must have been a kind of walking encyclopædia of everything. His catechisms were of Botany, of Zoology, and of the Natural History of the Earth, besides which he also wrote tourist guides, surgical and medical works, histories of India and China, books on geology and geography, and his magnum opus, a *History of the Vegetable Kingdom* (1840), the envy of all the professors of botany in Scotland, of which a new and profusely-illustrated edition, as big as a family Bible, was published only the other day. And now good-bye to Catechism; cast into the eternal dust-bin by the trained educator whose teaching is founded upon common sense.

Almost the only basis of European learning four hundred years ago was a knowledge of the Latin tongue, and the earliest allusion to its primary teaching in Scotland is found in Andrew Wyntoun's *Cronykil* (circ. 1400), and refers to the work by Ælius Donatus (circ. 354), popularly called the Donat. Before Donat could be displaced, as it was on the Continent, by the much improved elements of Despauterius (circ. 1500), the first of our eminent grammarians, JOHN VAUS, was teaching at King's College from the old rhyming *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, a thirteenth-century author upon whose writings he grounded his *Rudimenta puerorum in artem grammaticam*, the earliest grammar by a Scottish author, fully described in the bibliography prepared by our editor. Since his day the University has never been without a representative among grammarians, and many of them have been men of mark. At Leyden, in 1596, was published *Apparatus Latinae locutionis in usum studiosae juventutis . . . Auctore Alexandro Scot, Scoto, Aberdonensis academiae artium liberalium magistro . . .* of which several other editions are noted. This ALEXANDER SCOT was also the author of the famous Greek grammar, *Universa Grammatica Graeca* (Leyden, 1593), which completely superseded the "Institutes" of Nicholas Clenardus, passed through a large number of editions, and remained the text-book in Continental universities for a century. The book is a ponderous octavo of 1002 pages, with indices extending to 200 pages more; very different from the modest little *Greek Grammar* by Principal Geddes, from which Aberdeen boys imbibed their Hellenic first principles fifty years ago.

JOHN LEECH (M.A., King's Coll., 1614) published in London in 1624 *Rudimenta Grammatica*, dedicated to James Murray, viscount Annand, to whom he was tutor, a work which, so far as I can ascertain, was never used as a primer in Scotland, or reprinted. But several editions are known of *A Short introduction to Grammar* (1637), by DAVID WEDDERBURN, master of Aberdeen Grammar School, and one of the earliest graduates at Marischal College. Its popularity must have been considerable, for, so late as 1696, the Town Council of Edinburgh enacted that it should be the text-book in the High School. In 1701 WILLIAM SANDERS (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1659), who was successively under-master of Aberdeen Grammar School, professor of mathematics in St. Andrews University, and rector of Perth Grammar School, published at Edinburgh *Institutiones grammaticae succinctae ac faciles*, which had but small success. And it must be allowed that at the beginning of the eighteenth century Scotland's primers were behind the age, cramped by medieval methods. The country had been too greatly occupied, first with the drastic changes of the Protestant reformation, and afterwards in the long weary battle against priestcraft and kingcraft, to give due attention to systematic and practical progress in education. That a remedy was being sought by Latinists is evident from the publication of several suggestive works, of which a fair example is *Nova et artificiosa methodus docendi linguam Latinam*, by JOHN MONRO (M.A., King's Coll., 1672), professor of philosophy at St. Andrews, which was first published in 1687 and reached a third edition in 1711. But with security of the popular form of religious government came better days for teacher and student, and the greatest grammarian Scotland had ever produced. The *Rudiments of the Latin language*, by Thomas Ruddiman, keeper of the Advocates' Library, and sometime schoolmaster at Laurencekirk in the Mearns, was published at Edinburgh in 1714. Wedderburn was immediately ousted from Edinburgh High School, the popular appreciation of the new work rapidly became universal throughout Scotland, and for nearly one hundred and fifty years it was the standard text-book.

THOMAS RUDDIMAN, whose fame thus became national, was a Banffshire man, M.A. of King's Coll., 1694, and already well known as a classic editor and authority. He followed up his initial success with a larger and more advanced work, *Grammaticae Latinae Institutiones*, published in two parts—the first in 1725, the second in 1731. His labours as editor

included (1707) an edition of *De Animi Tranquillitate dialogus*, first published at Lyons (1543) by FLORENCE WILSON, a King's College graduate of the days when Boece was principal, an excellent scholar and teacher, who became rector of the Academia at Carpentras (1534); and a splendid edition of George Buchanan's *Opera Omnia* (2 vols., folio), published in 1715. Bishop Gavin Douglas' spirited version of Virgil's *Aeneid* in Scottish verse (London, 1553) had long been out of print, and in 1710 Ruddiman brought out his edition, enriching it with a glossary which is our earliest Scottish dictionary. His editions of *Ovid* (1723) and of *Livy* (4 vols., 1751) were highly esteemed, and have been frequently reprinted.

The success of the Rudiments caused numerous imitations, in which the obligation to superior genius was seldom acknowledged so openly as in *The Greek Rudiments after the Plan of Mr. Ruddiman . . .* (Edinburgh, 1754), the author of which, and of a *Treatise on Education*, published in 1743, was JAMES BARCLAY (Mar. Coll., 1722-26) of Dalkeith Academy. The rector of Montrose Grammar School, HUGH CHRISTIE (M.A., King's College, 1730), a worthy teacher whose local fame was of long endurance, published a *Grammar of the Latin Tongue* in 1758, and a *Primer* in 1760. JOHN MAIR (M.A., King's Coll., 1734), a native of Aberdeen who became rector of the Grammar School at Ayr, wrote in 1755 an *Introduction to Latin Syntax*, often reprinted, the *Tyro's Latin Dictionary*, and several other elementary educational works. GEORGE CHAPMAN (M.A., King's Coll., 1741; LL.D., Mar. Coll., 1786) wrote *An Abridgment of Mr. Ruddiman's Rudiments . . . and of his Latin Grammar*, which had reached its third edition in 1803, and also a *Treatise on Education* (1773), in which "the advantages of a classical education, the importance of Latin . . . and its usefulness in the attainment of the English language" are urged very much as that quaint old philologist Roger Ascham, the father of English prose, had done 220 years before in *The Scholemaster: the first booke teachyng the bryngyng up of youth, and the second booke teachyng the ready way to the Latin tong.* WILLIAM ANGUS (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1794; LL.D., 1841), schoolmaster in Glasgow, author of several successful educational works, published *A New System of English Grammar* in 1812; WILLIAM ALLEN (M.A., King's Coll., 1813) wrote *The Elements of English Grammar* (1813), and other primers; and JAMES TORRIE (King's Coll., 1806-08; M.D., 1823), who simultaneously taught school and studied

medicine in Aberdeen, published *The Latin Præceptor; or an essay intended to serve as a guide to learners in their Latin compositions* (Aberdeen, 1818), containing grammatical observations and rules in English. He afterwards became lecturer on the Institutes of Medicine in his Alma Mater.

But a whole century elapsed before Scotland produced a grammarian whose Latinity was comparable with the great Scottish classics, George Buchanan, Thomas Ruddiman and Arthur Johnston, with whom he is justly ranked in the memorial window of King's College library; JAMES MELVIN (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1813; LL.D., 1834), rector of Aberdeen Grammar School, author of *A Latin Grammar* (1824), containing English text explanatory of the Latin rules. The book does little justice to his great learning and celebrity as a teacher. He was the classical book-hunter who founded the fine library bearing his name which is now preserved in his Alma Mater, and his unexcelled knowledge and scholarship are exemplified in his frequent *marginalia* upon many of the books. His whole heart was in his art of teaching, and his life devoted to the arduous work of his large classes, duties which left him little time for authorship. His pupils honoured and loved him, and his reputation was extended by three small volumes of his famous Latin *Versions* and exercises published, one in Edinburgh in 1857 by Patrick Calder, the first bursar at Marischal College in 1838; another in 1873 by James Pirie (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1845), and the third in 1894, edited by Joseph Ogilvie (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1856; LL.D., 1889) and James Wilson Legge (M.A., King's Coll., 1855). A felicitous appreciation, rich in reminiscence, contributed by his most distinguished pupil, David Mather Masson (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1839; LL.D., 1864), the eminent historian, essayist and critic, to *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1863, was republished separately at Aberdeen in 1895. WILLIAM PYPER (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1815; LL.D., 1844), professor of Humanity at St. Andrews, published in 1843 a *Gradus ad Parnassum*, frequently reprinted and still a text-book. JAMES DONALDSON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1850; LL.D., 1865), Principal of St. Andrews University, is author of an excellent *Elementary Latin Grammar* and many other educational works; and GEORGE OGILVIE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1848; LL.D., 1873), who was headmaster of George Watson's College, Edinburgh, published *A New First Latin Course* in 1873. At the present time the well-known English grammatical works of ALEXANDER BAIN

(M.A., Mar. Coll., 1840), the eminent philosopher who was twice elected to the Lord Rectorship of the University, and of THOMAS MORRISON (M.A., King's Coll., 1847; LL.D., 1881), who was rector of the Free Church of Scotland Training College at Glasgow, uphold our traditions, and occupy in their several degrees the very highest rank as class-books, not in Scotland only, but wherever over the whole world the English language is taught.

I may here interpose the remark that first editions of successful school-books soon become rare. The two little fifteenth-century books by James Liddell are known only by copies preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. The four known editions of John Vaus' *Rudimenta* have been described elsewhere in this volume from unique copies, two of which have disappeared within the last half-century, and his edition of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Gallus is also represented by a single copy preserved in Aberdeen University library. Yet both works were text-books in Scotland for eighty years or more. Several editions of Wedderburn's *Grammar* are known by a few copies only, although it was in use until superseded by Ruddiman, whose *Rudiments* of 1714 is not likely to be discovered in the fourpenny-box at a bookstall, for I have seen it only in a public library. First editions of the popular primers of Masson, Mair or Mavor are quite unattainable, and the great mass of the unsuccessful or partly successful but now superseded school-books of former times are almost equally scarce. How many copies exist of *An Essay for illustrating the Roman poets. For the use of schools.* By THOS. JAFFRAY, M.A. [King's Coll., 1679]. *Printed by James Watson* (4to, Edinburgh, 1705), with its curious illustrative "Second Satire of Aulus Persius, grammatically construed and literally translated into Scots"? Or of the equally curious *System of Rhetoric in a method entirely new*, By JOHN STIRLING, M.A. [Mar. Coll., circ. 1710], and *Master of St. Andrews School in Holborn* (4to, London, 1736); said method being a rhythmic jingle in the "Thirty days hath September" style, only worse? Or even of *Delectus ex Aeliano Polyacno aliisque* by Francis Douglas (12mo, 1758), the earliest book printed in Greek text at Aberdeen?

When we pass from grammar to lexicography, wherein the Aberdeen philologist takes very high rank, it may interest the reader to record the result of a slight personal test. More than forty years ago curiosity prompted me to consult, for the English word of simple Latin derivation

“displenish,” the then newly published *Comprehensive English Dictionary* (1864, 8vo), by JOHN OGILVIE (M.A., 1828; LL.D., 1848, Mar. Coll.). None knew better than Dr. Ogilvie that Aberdeenshire had never been able to conduct its auctioneering efficiently without using the word, yet it is not in this dictionary. I could not consult his *Imperial Dictionary* (3 vols., 1850-55), of which the other is a condensation, because I did not possess it. But unsuccessfully I consulted the great folios of Dr. Samuel Johnson, in the beautiful reprint of 1830; N. Bailey, 2 vols., 3rd ed., 1737 (8vo); Dyche and Pardon, 1750 (8vo); JOHN ASH (LL.D., Mar. Coll., 1774), 2 vols, 1775 (8vo), a perfect treasury of obsolete words; and, I think, *Chambers'*, for which ANDREW FINDLATER (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1832; LL.D. 1864) was responsible. I had no more dictionaries of my own, but I had patience, and, when opportunity offered, unavailingly consulted others. At length the word turned up in the edition of *Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary* (vol. ii., 1880; 5 vols., 4to, 1879-87) edited by JOHN LONGMUIR (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1825; LL.D., King's Coll., 1858); again in *The Standard English Dictionary* of PETER AUSTIN NUTTALL (LL.D., King's Coll., 1822); and afterwards in *The Encyclopædic Dictionary* (vol. iii., 1884; 7 vols., 8vo, 1879, etc.) of ROBERT HUNTER (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1841; LL.D., 1883), the best work of reference to English words that has yet been completed.

These are but a few of our lexicographers, and each of them did much more literary work. Dr. John Ash kept school at Bristol, and besides other educational books, wrote an *Introduction to Bishop Lowth's English Grammar*, an excellent primer, which ran through a large number of editions. Dr. John Longmuir, the best authority on local dialect that Aberdeen ever had, was poet, antiquary, preacher, and an earnest apostle of temperance. Among the many books he published during his active career in Aberdeen are two editions of *Walker's Rhyming Dictionary*, with considerable improvements; an excellent *Guide to Dunottar Castle*; and *Speyside, its picturesque scenery and antiquities* (Aberdeen, 1860). Should any one desire to examine for himself an extraordinary example of how the same story may be told in ways entirely different, let him read Longmuir's account of the Gaick avalanche in *Speyside* and “The Yarn of the Black Officer,” spun from the same wool by Mr. Andrew Lang in *Angling Sketches* (London, 1891). Peter Austin Nuttall, long resident in Old Aberdeen, spent nearly the whole of his literary life in the

compilation of dictionaries. Of the dozen which were published, several have been repeatedly reissued, and his *Dictionary of Scientific Terms* is in particular a most exhaustive and useful work of reference. Andrew Findlater, after a few years spent in tuition, joined the publishing firm of W. & R. Chambers in the important position of editor and compiler of the educational literature issued in their name, many of the items being entirely his original work. The well-known *Information for the People* (2 vols.), *Encyclopædia* (10 vols.), besides several volumes of the *Educational Course*, owed most of their usefulness and popularity to his gifted mind. His *Language: the Physiology of Speech and Classification of Tongues*, is an example of his masterly condensation of a great subject into little space. Robert Hunter, besides the great work which I have mentioned, which is now passing through an extended and improved edition, wrote a *History of India* (1863), and the *Illustrated Bible Manual* (1894).

There were many other lexicographers and encyclopædists among the alumni. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (M.A., King's Coll., 1717), a successful teacher in London, produced *A Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary*, 1764. JOHN ENTICK (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1735) was the author of *The English Spelling Dictionary* and *The Student's Latin Dictionary* which have been often reprinted and are still issued from the London press. JAMES TYTLER (Mar. Coll., 1757-61) compiled three-fourths of the second edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* at sixteen shillings a week. This poor, ill-rewarded creature was poet, essayist, scientist, historian, politician, translator, journalist, printer, publisher and inventor of a cheap process of bleaching, a novel printing press and a balloon. John Kay etched his portrait, the balloon earned him only a nickname, and his advanced politics made him an outlaw, compelling him to end his days at Salem, Mass., where he founded a newspaper, conducting it till his death in 1803. Among his many works are *The Edinburgh geographical, historical and commercial grammar* (2 vols.), and a *System of Surgery* (3 vols., 1793). GEORGE GLEIG (M.A., King's Coll., 1773; LL.D., 1796) wrote a supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (3rd ed.) in two volumes, and made considerable contributions to following editions. BECKWITH DODWELL FREE (M.A., King's Coll., 1783), the translator of Dionysius into blank verse, wrote also a *New Spelling dictionary, and sure guide to the English language* (1808). WILLIAM MOORE JOHNSON (M.A., King's Coll., 1806) and THOMAS EXLEY (M.A., King's Coll., 1813) collaborated in

the *Imperial Encyclopædia* (4 vols., Lond., 1809-12). JOSEPH BOSWORTH (M.A., 1822; LL.D., 1838, Mar. Coll.), a philologist of extraordinary ability, compiled *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (1838) and *A Compendious Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary* (1848). He was the author of the famous *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, and of several works on the early history and literature of the English, Germanic and Scandinavian nations, and is considered a standard authority on the literary antiquities of Northern Europe.

Our alumnus is polyglot, for many different languages have enlisted his philological labour and skill. To begin with the glottology of Eden: WILLIAM SHAW (M.A., King's Coll., 1772) compiled the earliest *Gaelic dictionary* (2 vols., 4to), and an *Analysis of the Gaelic language* (4to, London, 1778). Among our other Gaelic scholars of note are JOHN MACPHERSON (M.A., 1728; D.D., 1761, King's Coll.); THOMAS LLEWELLYN (M.A., King's Coll., 1754); EWAN MACLACHLAN (M.A., King's Coll., 1800); THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN (M.A., King's Coll., 1833; LL.D., 1864); ALEXANDER STEWART (D.D., Mar. Coll., 1820), co-author of the *Elements of Gaelic Grammar* (Edinburgh, 1801), which is still the best text-book; and the names of many more are recorded in John Reid's *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica* (1832); and in Nigel MacNeill's *Literature of the Highlanders* (Inverness, 1892).

It was said of ALEXANDER NICOLL (Mar. Coll., 1805-08), professor of Hebrew at Oxford, that if he had travelled overland from Paris to Peking, he could have conversed in their own languages with all the villagers he met on the journey. His chief works were Catalogues of the Oriental MSS. preserved in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1812-21). JOHN ROBERTSON (Mar. Coll., 1710-14; M.D., King's Coll., 1730) wrote *The true and antient manner of reading Hebrew without points, and the whole art of the Hebrew versification deduced from it. Both laid down in so plain a way as to be easily learned in a few days* (London, 1747); a very curious book. JAMES ANDREW (M.A., 1792; LL.D., 1809), who in 1799 was parson at Monymusk, and ten years later principal of the East India Company's military academy at Woolwich, published a *Hebrew Dictionary and Grammar, without points; together with a complete list of such Chaldee words as occur in the Old Testament, and a brief sketch of Chaldee grammar* (London, 1823). He had previously published *A Key to Scripture Chronology, made by comparing Sacred History with Prophecy,*

and rendering the Bible consistent with itself (London, 1822), and his authorship was rewarded by election to the fellowship of the Royal Society.

Professor JOHN STUART BLACKIE (Mar. Coll., 1821-24), one of the most eminent Grecians our University has produced, was author of *Horae Hellenicae, Greek and English Dialogues, Homer and the Iliad* (4 vols.), and many other well-known works. He founded the Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh, and sang "Scots wha ha'e" from the platform on the top of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh. EDWARD MASSON (M.A., King's Coll., 1824), the Scottish Philhellene, a native of Laurencekirk, who was successively schoolmaster at Farnell; secretary to Lord Dundonald, High Admiral of Greece; professor of Greek at Belfast; and Attorney-General at Athens, became a prolific Philhellenic author, one of his most important works being *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ, or poetic translations, with an introduction on the condition and prospects, social, religious, and literary, of the Greek nation* (Edinburgh, 1852). Among the numerous works of JOHN STUART STUART-GLENNIE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1849), the historian of *Arthurian localities*, I note *Greek folk-songs from the Ottoman provinces of Northern Hellas* (London, 1888). The English translation of Callimachus in *Bohn's Classical Library* (originally published in London, 1793) was made by HENRY WILLIAM TYTLER (M.D., Mar. Coll., 1789), and was one of the earliest translations by a Scottish author from a Greek classic.

The languages of India have long been familiar to our alumni, who have filled her highest public offices, taught in her colleges, practised the learned professions in her cities, and officered her native troops. JOHN BAILLIE (King's Coll., 1784-87; LL.D., 1803), professor at Calcutta, was the author of Grammars of Persian, Arabic, and other Oriental tongues, and his successor MATTHEW LUMSDEN (Mar. Coll., 1789; LL.D., King's Coll., 1808) wrote a Persian Grammar (improved edition, 2 vols., 1810) of inestimable value to philologists; an Arabic Grammar (1813); and *Mooutukhub-ool-loghaut; or a Dictionary of Arabic words with a Persian translation* (1808). FORBES FALCONER (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1824; LL.D., King's Coll., 1849), professor of Oriental Languages in University College, London, was author of a Persian Grammar, of *Selections from the Bostan*, and editions of several Hindoo classics. Inspector-General Sir WILLIAM MACKENZIE (M.A., King's Coll., 1830; M.D., 1856), besides numerous professional writings, translated into Hindustani Gregory's *Practic of*

Physic and Thomson's *Conspectus of the British Pharmacopœia*, a good example which the many alumni in the Indian Medical service have not been slow to follow. JOHN HAY (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1833) translated the Scriptures into Telugu. JOHN MURRAY MITCHELL (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1833; LL.D., 1858) wrote *Letters to Indian Youth on the Evidences of Christianity*, of which there are editions in several of the Indian languages; and JAMES KENNEDY (M.A., King's Coll., 1838), missionary at Benares, translated many books of Scripture into Hindustani. The lamented WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH (M.A., 1865; LL.D., 1882), one of our most erudite Orientalists, edited and revised Wm. Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic language* (1896), and *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages* (1890).

Now that the European bicyclist is traversing its remotest corners, China is no longer the mysterious country of a century ago when our pioneer missionary, WILLIAM MILNE (Mar. Coll., 1806), began in his native Aberdeenshire to prepare for his life's work. He was one of the founders of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, where in collaboration with Dr. Robert Morrison he prepared the earliest Chinese translation of the Scriptures (1813). He also wrote in Chinese a *Life of Christ* (1814) and many other religious works. He opened a primary school, and was the first European to publish a periodical journal in Chinese—*The Examiner* (Malacca, 1821). His son, WILLIAM CHALMERS MILNE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1834), also became a Chinese missionary, and is the author of *Life in China* (London, 1858). DAVID COLLIE (King's Coll., 1817), Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, published in 1828 a school treatise on the Chinese classics. JOHN STRONACH (Mar. Coll., 1808) translated *Aesop's Fables* into Chinese (Singapore, 1843). JAMES LEGGE (M.A., King's Coll., 1835; LL.D., 1869), professor of Chinese at Oxford, was the greatest Sinologue that Europe has yet produced. Many of his books were published at Hong Kong and Shanghai, but his best work was done at Oxford, where he rendered many of the Chinese classics into English, his chief publication being a series of them with translation in seven volumes. Among the books which he prepared for class work in China is *A Lexilogue of English, Malay and Chinese* (1841). JOHN CHALMERS (M.A., King's Coll., 1848; LL.D., 1878) was a voluminous writer of useful Chinese class-books. His *English and Cantonese pocket dictionary*, first published in 1859, has run through many editions; he published also *The Chinese*

Phonetic Vocabulary in 1855, and *A Concise Khang-hai Chinese dictionary* (3 vols., 1868). WILLIAM MACGREGOR (M.A., King's Coll., 1857) published an Arithmetic in the vernacular of Amoy in 1882. DONALD MACIVER (M.A., 1875) dedicated "from far Cathay to the revered memory of Sir W. D. Geddes" his *English-Chinese dictionary, in the vernacular of the Hakka people* (Shanghai, 1905); and JAMES SCOTT (M.A., 1871) in the newly opened Kingdom of Corea publishes *The English-Corean Dictionary*, (Seoul, 1891), and a *Corean Grammar* in 1893.

Our ubiquitous teacher is well known in many parts of the continent of Africa. ALEXANDER ROBB (M.A., King's Coll., 1848; D.D., 1868), who endured the torrid heat of Old Calabar for a few years as a missionary, translated portions of Scripture into Efik, which were printed at Edinburgh for his mission, and is also the author of *The Gospel to the Africans*, of which several editions were published. The most extensive translator of Scripture into African languages is ROBERT LAWS (M.A., 1872; M.B., 1875; M.D., 1877; D.D., 1891), who has long been principal of the Livingstonia mission, and has published the Gospels in Tonga, Chinyanja, and other dialects. His life and work is the chief subject of a large, well written, illustrated volume by the Rev. James W. Jack, M.A., U. F. C. minister at Arngask, *Daybreak in Livingstonia* (Edinburgh, 1901). Another interesting account of missionary effort in Central Africa is *Among the wild Ngoni*, by WALTER ANGUS ELMSLIE (M.B., C.M., 1884), who has also published an *Introductory Grammar of the Ngoni (Zulu) language, as spoken in Mombera's country*, and *Notes on the Tumbuku language*, with separate "Tables of Concords and Paradigms of Verbs" in each (at the Belmont Press, Aberdeen, 1891). GEORGE HENRY (M.A., 1885; M.B., 1887), another member of the mission, published *A Grammar of Chinyanja* (Aberdeen, 1891) and *Zinyimbo za Mulungu* (Aberdeen, 1896), a collection of hymns in the same Central African dialect, with sol-fa music. ALEXANDER HETHERWICK (M.A., 1880; D.D., 1902), of the Blantyre mission, is the author of *A practical manual of the Nyanja language* (1901), containing grammar, exercises and vocabulary; and of a similar *Handbook of the Yao language* (2nd ed., 1902), in which the vocabulary is very copious. JAMES ROSE INNES (M.A., 1822; LL.D., 1840, King's Coll.) was Superintendent-General of the Government Education Department of the Cape of Good Hope, and

JOHN BREBNER (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1852; LL.D., 1893) was for many years Minister of Education of the Orange Free State at Bloemfontein.

Proficiency in the modern languages of Europe has always been common enough among our alumni, but the competition of alien teachers and publications having made it useless, they have seldom attempted the preparation of class-books, rather devoting their attention to translation, especially in recent times when the works of many French, German and Italian theologians and physicians have been translated by members of the clerical and medical professions, who have also contributed in these languages to the scientific periodicals of the respective countries. I shall name only a very few of the less known translators; JOHN CALDER (M.A., 1750; D.D., 1771, Mar. Coll.), a teacher and dissenting minister in London, who was for many years librarian of the Williams Library, translated Le Courrayer's *Last Sentiments on religion* (1787); SYLVESTER DOUGLAS (Lord Glenbervie) (M.A., King's Coll., 1765) translated from the Italian of Fortiguerra the *First Canto of Ricciardetto*, and published it in 1821 with an introductory history of the principal romantic, burlesque, and mock-heroic poets; JOHN MAVER, a Moray man who studied at King's College (1777-81), published a translation from the Spanish of Martinez de Zuñiga of *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands* (2 vols., London, 1814); WILLIAM JOHNSTON (M.A., King's Coll., 1793), while practising as a surgeon in London, published several translations from the German, Bartolomeo's *Voyages to the East Indies* (1800), two medical works by C. A. Struve (1801), and Sturm's *Morning Communings* (2 vols., 1823); WILLIAM MESTON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1807) published a translation of St. Pierre's *Harmonies of Nature* (3 vols., London, 1815); and GEORGE MOIR (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1817), wrote very readable translations of Schiller's *Wallenstein* (Edinburgh, 1827) and *Thirty Years' War* (2 vols., 1828).

Others among our educators have attained distinction by their writings on special subjects. ALEXANDER WRIGHT (M.A., King's Coll., 1728), writing master in Aberdeen, was the author of two arithmetical works with very lengthy title-pages. JAMES GORDON (M.A., King's Coll., 1812), "Master of the Public Commercial and Mathematical School, Aberdeen," published *The Elements of Arithmetic* (1831). ANDREW MACKAY (LL.D., Mar. Coll., 1786; King's Coll., 1795), teacher of Mathematics, Aberdeen, was the author of *The Commencement of the*

nineteenth century determined (Aberdeen, 1800), the perusal of which might have settled the doubts of the German Kaiser seven years ago; of articles on Navigation, Parallax, Projection of the Sphere, Shipbuilding, etc., in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (3rd ed.); and of several works on mathematics and navigation, the best of which, *The theory . . . of finding the latitude and longitude at sea* (2 vols., London, 1793) was repeatedly reprinted. MURDOCH DOWNIE (King's Coll., 1782-84), teacher of navigation, published in 1792 *A Marine Survey of the East Coast of Scotland*, and in 1801 *Observations upon the nature and properties of the atmosphere*. GEORGE INNES (King's Coll., 1819-21), who combined the profession of teacher of mathematics and navigation with the business of watchmaker and maker of mathematical instruments, in 1821 published the first of the series of *Tide Tables*, which have since, under one title or another, appeared annually at Aberdeen. He was the author of many contributions to scientific magazines, and issued *Meteorological Observations* annually for several years. Another meteorologist was ALEXANDER THOM (M.A., King's Coll., 1806), the author of a valuable *Treatise on Storms* (London, 1845). GEORGE GAULD (M.A., King's Coll., 1759) was the author of several West Indian Marine Surveys, and prepared Charts of the coasts of Cuba, published between 1773 and 1796, and frequently reprinted. ALEXANDER SKENE (M.A., King's Coll., 1838) was Surveyor-General of Victoria, and the author of a general map of that colony, and of several district maps published in Melbourne and frequently reprinted. ALEXANDER MACKAY (M.A., King's Coll., 1840; LL.D., 1865) made the science of geography his own, being widely known as the author of a system which has been greatly developed, and graded in separate volumes for the various stages of elementary and advanced classes, since he first published *A Manual of Modern Geography* in 1861. He was also the author of *Elements of Physiography* and *Elements of Astronomy*; of *Facts and Dates*, which is Haydn boiled down for the schoolboy; and other popular educational works. JOHN PRINGLE NICHOL (King's Coll., 1818-22; M.A., 1856), rector of Montrose Grammar School, afterwards professor of Astronomy in Glasgow University, did more than had previously been attempted to popularise this noble science by a remarkable series of excellent books. His *Views of the Architecture of the Heavens* and *Contemplations on the Solar System* appeared in 1838, *The Stellar Universe* in 1848, *The Planetary System* in

1851, and *A Cyclopædia of the Physical Sciences* in 1857. He was succeeded in the Chair at Glasgow by ROBERT GRANT (M.A., King's Coll., 1854; LL.D., 1865), author of the *History of Physical Astronomy* and editor of the publications of the Royal Astronomical Society. WILLIAM SPALDING (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1827), professor of Rhetoric at Edinburgh, and afterwards of Logic and Metaphysics at St. Andrews, a writer of encyclopædic variety, was the author of *The History of English Literature* (1852), which has been many times reprinted in this country and in America, and maintains its position as a class-book. The great writers on education and mental culture will doubtless be dealt with elsewhere in this volume, but of authors less known and not already mentioned I note JOHN GORDON (Archdeacon of Lincoln)—an Aberdeenshire man educated at one of our colleges but unidentifiable on the class lists because the name is more frequent than any other, and the friend of Dr. Beattie, who obtained him the degree of D.D. (Mar. Coll., 1764)—who was author of *Thoughts on the study of classical authors, the course of literature and the present plan of a learned education* (1762).

Some of our educators, especially those who obtained church preferment and a glebe, devoted their literary abilities to the scientific progress of agriculture. But our earliest writer on the subject was a very different character, and if you tried for a year you could never guess that the author of the anonymous *Treatise concerning the manner of the fallowing of ground, raising of grass seeds, etc.* (Edinburgh, 1724), was the famous Jacobite leader WILLIAM MACINTOSH of Borlum (M.A., King's Coll., 1677), who, as described in a Government proclamation of May, 1716, was "commonly called Brigadier Macintosh, a tall, raw-boned man about sixty years of age, fair complexioned, beetle browed, grey eyed, speaks broad Scotch." He was taken prisoner at the surrender of Preston in 1716, but escaped from Newgate jail on the day preceding that fixed for his trial. A reward of £1,200 offered for his recapture was never earned, and he took the field again and held a command at Glenshiel in 1719. He died on 7th January, 1743, aged 85, in Edinburgh Castle, where he had been imprisoned for many years. His brother Lachlan, who led the clan in 1716, was his class-fellow at King's College. JAMES ROBERTSON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1753) wrote a *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Inverness* (1812), to which JAMES MACLEAN (King's Coll., 1776) contributed *The Agriculture of Badenoch and Strathspey*. GEORGE SKENE

KEITH (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1770; D.D., 1803), author of *The Agriculture of Aberdeenshire* (1811), was an industrious and able writer on the subject, and also employed his pen on the political economy of his time and other useful educational topics. WILLIAM SINGER (Mar. Coll., 1779-83) wrote *The Agriculture of Dumfriesshire* (1812) and JAMES MACDONALD (M.A., King's Coll., 1789), *The Agriculture of the Hebrides* (1811). WILLIAM LEWIS RHAM (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1799) wrote a prize essay on *The Analysis of Soils*; the *Dictionary of the Farm* (1844), which has been frequently reprinted; and a *Cyclopadia of Practical Husbandry*. No man did more to educate the farmer in his science than THOMAS FRANCIS JAMIESON (Mar. Coll., 1843-46; LL.D., 1884), whose published works are very numerous. WILLIAM HAY (Mar. Coll., 1848-52), schoolmaster, Tillydesk, the inventor of improvements in stenography, was the author of several agricultural pamphlets; and WILLIAM MCCOMBIE (Mar. Coll., 1819-21) of Tillyfour, M.P., whose house glittered in every room with champion cups, prize medals, and other trophies of the Agricultural Exhibitions, was the author of *Cattle and Cattle Breeders*, which reached a third edition in 1875.

In his introduction to *Extracts from the Commonplace book of Andrew Melville, doctor and master in the Song School of Aberdeen, 1621-1640* (Aberdeen, 1899), Mr. William Walker has traced the history of the seminary from 1483 to its close in 1755, and has shown that long before it was founded music was a subject of instruction in the north of Scotland. One of its masters edited our earliest collection of *Cantus, Songs, and Fancies*, printed by John Forbes in 1662. To-day music, vocal and instrumental, is taught everywhere, and our teacher, who led the praise in country kirks for ages, is usually well educated in both theory and practice. Under the influence probably of his ancient education, he takes it either solemnly or jiggingly, adores the chorale and enjoys the strathspey, and is more generally addicted to the composition of schoolbooks and sermons than of musical harmonies. In *The Gold-Headed Cane*, however, we are told that the versatile Dr. JOHN ARBUTHNOT (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1685) wrote the music of an anthem "As pants the hart," in the collection of the Chapel Royal, St. James's; and I remember some years ago in a bookseller's shop in the ancient city of Exeter being shown a beautiful manuscript of 138 pages, with elaborately designed and decorated title-page, *A Collection of Scots Airs, with variations*,

for two violincellos. By David Young [Mar. Coll., 1722-26], *Writing Master in Aberdeen, 1753*; and have always regretted my inability to purchase it. GEORGE HOWIE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1778) published *A Collection of church tunes* (Aberdeen, 1798); and JOHN COWIE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1812), schoolmaster of Old Machar, was the author of *A Catechism of Music* (Aberdeen, 1824). ALEXANDER EWING (Mar. Coll., 1844-47) and ROBERT BROWN BORTHWICK (Mar. Coll., 1856) are well known as composers of church music.

It was fitting that the historian of the "Sang School" (for I think his modernisation of the name was a blunder) should also be the author of the invaluable *Bards of Bon-Accord* (Aberdeen, 1887), wherein the names of many of our poetical alumni are enshrined. The poetic art of Scotland began with glorious old JOHN BARBOUR, archdeacon of Aberdeen, born about 1330, whose clarion note of the nobility of national freedom, forgetful of the centuries, echoes as clearly to-day throughout his native land as when first struck in his patriotic ardour. *The Brus* is not known to have been printed earlier than 1571, but since then no poem of the period has been more frequently republished. JOHN CRAIG, the reformer, contributed metrical versions of fifteen psalms to the *Scottish Psalter* of 1564. ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT, Principal of King's College, was the author of *The miseries of a pure scholar* (1572), and two other pieces included by John Pinkerton, the antiquary, in *Ancient Scottish Poems* (2 vols.; 1786). JOHN JOHNSTON, a graduate of King's College who became professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, contributed laudatory Latin poems to Camden's *Britannia* (1586), and afterwards published several poetical volumes, of which the most notable are *Inscriptiones Historicae* (Amsterdam, 1602) and *Heroes ex historia Scotica* (Leyden, 1603). His principal poems, with those of other Scottish Latinists of the period, such as JOHN BARCLAY, THOMAS DEMPSTER, THOMAS REID, DAVID LEECH, and GEORGE STRACHAN, all Aberdeen University men, are accessible in *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1637), edited by Dr. ARTHUR JOHNSTON, our most eminent Latin poet, who, after graduating at King's College, taught in several continental universities. His best work, *Paraphrasis Poetica Psalmorum Davidis* (Aberdeen, 1637), has been often reprinted. A bibliography of his numerous writings by Col. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (M.A., Abdn., 1863; M.D., Edin., 1865) was privately printed at Aberdeen (1895), and reprinted in *Musa Latina*

Aberdonensis (two volumes of Arthur Johnston's poems, with translations by Principal William Duguid Geddes; New Spalding Club, 1892-95). WILLIAM BARCLAY, M.A. (of King's Coll.) and "Doctor of Physicke," who had long resided in France, during a visit of six years' duration to the scenes of his youth, published *Nepenthes, or the vertues of tobacco* (Edinburgh, 1614), an antidote in prose and verse to the King's Counterblaste; the locally interesting *Callirhoe* (Edinburgh, 1615), in praise of the "Well of Spa"; and *Sylvæ Tres* (Edinburgh, 1619). The latter volume contains the beautiful "Apobaterion," the author's "Last Farewell to Aberdeen," which it was my privilege to communicate to *Scottish Notes and Queries* after it had proved untraceable for two centuries. DAVID WEDDERBURN, the talented rector of the Grammar School, was an excellent Latin poet, author of *Abredonia atrata* (1620); of two small volumes of *Meditationes campestris* (1643-44), and of laudatory verses and epigrams to be found in almost every work of local authorship issued from the press of Edward Raban, Aberdeen's first printer. *The poetical works of the ingenious and learned William Meston, A.M.* [Mar. Coll., 1698], sometime professor of philosophy in the Marshal College of Aberdeen were collected and published in 1767. The greater part of his life was devoted to scholastic work, but he was an irreconcilable Jacobite, and his poems are political satires, always clever, often witty and sometimes coarse. GEORGE HACKET (King's Coll., 1709-11), another local Jacobite poet, who was schoolmaster of Rathen, became a fugitive from Government prosecution for his authorship of "Whirry Whigs awa'," a ballad which was very popular in the north. The name of his beautiful song "Logie o' Buchan," has been adopted as the title of a well-written novel, in which he is a principal character, by GAVIN GREIG (M.A., 1876), schoolmaster at Whitehill. The poetical *Life of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1729), was written by JOHN HARVEY (M.A., King's Coll., 1706), a schoolmaster in Edinburgh. There are numerous editions, and the poem is still popular throughout Scotland. ALEXANDER ROSS (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1718), schoolmaster at Lochlee, was the author of *The fortunate Shepherdess* (Aberdeen, 1768), a pastoral in the Mearns dialect which has passed through numerous editions. It is curious that a poetical address to Ross is the only example in print of a remarkable felicity in broad Scots versification by Dr. JAMES BEATTIE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1753), author of *The Minstrel* (1771). JOHN SKINNER (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1738),

schoolmaster of Monymusk, the celebrated author of "Tullochgorum," cultivated the muses for diversion during his long life as episcopal parson at Linshart, Longside. Controversialist, theologian, historian, as well as poet, he wrote in Latin with as much facility as in the Buchan dialect, a translation of *Christ's Kirk on the Green* being particularly excellent. A neat little edition of his *Scottish Poems*, with an appreciative memoir, was published (1859) by Sir HUGH GILZEAN REID (LL.D., 1897) in his early journalistic days at Peterhead. WILLIAM CRUDEN (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1743), after being schoolmaster at Montrose, became minister at Logiepert, and published *Hymns on a variety of divine subjects* (Aberdeen, 1761). He was afterwards a popular pulpit orator in London, and author of several religious works. WILLIAM ANDERSON (Mar. Coll., 1753), schoolmaster of Kirriemuir, was the author of *The piper o' Peebles* (1793) and of other poems. JAMES MACPHERSON (Mar. Coll., 1754-55; King's Coll., 1756-57), schoolmaster at Ruthven, attained a marvellous success and created an unprecedented literary controversy by the publication of *Fragments of ancient poetry collected in the highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse language* (Edinburgh, 1760), followed by *Fingal, an ancient epic poem in six books, composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal* (1761); and *Temora* (1763). Collected together as *The Poems of Ossian*, the editions became more numerous than the varied opinions upon the authenticity of the account of their origin, and they were translated into every literary language of Europe. Macpherson's *Life and Letters*, published by Mr. Thomas Bailey Saunders in 1894, contains a very fair history and estimate of the controversy. ROBERT ALVES (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1766), who was schoolmaster successively at Deskford, Banff and Edinburgh, wrote *Time, an elegy, by a student of Marischal College* (Aberdeen, 1766), and several other volumes of verse. WILLIAM CAMERON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1770), minister of Kirknewton, the author of several hymns of great merit, published two volumes of poems (1780 and 1813); and JOHN MCGILVRAY (M.A., King's Coll., 1770), master of the grammar school of Lostwithiel, in Cornwall, published a volume of poems in 1787. Few who join in the Scottish version of the triumphal song of Christmas, "To us a Child of hope is born," know that it was composed by a Highland hymnologist, JOHN MORISON (M.A., King's Coll., 1771), in the old manse of Canisbay, a bleak Caithness-shire parish, containing a single spot of universal fame—John o' Groat's House—who was the author of the Scottish

Paraphrases, Nos. 19, 21, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 35. CHARLES KEITH (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1779) wrote *Farmer's Ha'*, a Scots poem. By a student of Marischal College (Aberdeen, 1776), and "An address in Scotch on the decay of that language," in *Poems chiefly in the Scottish language*, by ANDREW SHIRREFFS (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1783), whose *Jamic and Bess* (Aberdeen, 1787) had already earned him some local fame as a rhymist. When *Farmer's Ha'* next appeared in print (Edinburgh, 1794), it was accompanied by a new poem of similar character, *The Hairst Rig*, by GEORGE ROBERTSON, author of *Agriculture of the Mcarns* (1808), and the two have since been published together in many editions and enjoyed great popularity in the rural districts. JAMES NORVALL (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1783) wrote *The Generous Chief: a tragedy, as it was acted at the new theatre, Montrose* (Aberdeen, 1792). WILLIAM ROBERTSON (M.A., King's Coll., 1804) wrote, with other poems, the fine ballad of *The baron of Gartly*. FRANCIS ADAMS (M.A., King's Coll., 1813), the eminent translator of the medical works of Hippocrates and of Paulus Aegineta, was the author of *Arundines Devae, or poetical translations on a new principle* (Aberdeen, 1853), which was much praised for a Latin Version of Gray's *Elegy*. JOHN CAMERON (King's Coll., 1813-17) wrote the amusing *Monks of Grange and Tam of Ruthven* (1849); and THOMAS GORDON TORRY-ANDERSON (Mar. Coll., 1819-23) left us the beautiful song of *The Araby Maid*. JOHN MARSHALL (King's Coll., 1824-26; Mar. Coll., 1826-27) before leaving college published *The Robbers, and other poems* (Aberdeen, 1825). NORVAL CLYNE (M.A., King's Coll., 1835) was the author of *Ballads and Lays from Scottish History* (1844), and other volumes of verse, and of a controversial tract on *The romantic Scottish ballads* (1859). PATRICK BUCHAN (Mar. Coll., 1826-30), son of the Peterhead balladist, was a fluent writer in the Doric, a contributor to *Whistle Binkie*, the famous Glasgow Collection of songs by living bards, and the author of *The Guidman o' Inglismill* (1873). JOHN OGILVIE, the lexicographer, contributed several exceptionally good imitations of Horace and Virgil in the Buchan dialect to *The Aberdeen Magazine* (1831-32), which were collected and published, with a biographical sketch of their author, by Dr. Joseph Ogilvie (Aberdeen, 1902). The historic ballads of JOHN STUART BLACKIE interspersed through many published volumes of his verse are well known; and those who enjoyed the privilege of social intercourse with the famous old patriot can never forget the characteristic vigour with

which he rendered his own soul-stirring song of Jenny Geddes and the three-legged stool of St. Giles. From distant Canada, DUNCAN ANDERSON (M.A., King's Coll., 1848) sends a volume of sweet *Lays of Canada* (Montreal, 1890), and one of prose, *Scottish Folk-lore, or Reminiscences of Aberdeenshire* (New York, 1895), sadly reminding us of those who carried the eerie legends of our depopulated Highland glens to the land of their adoption. I do not claim for any of all those the transcendent genius of George Gordon, lord Byron, who passed some of his early years under the shadow of old Marischal College, and bore with him to the inevitable south ineffaceable memories of Auld Langsyne,

The Dee, the Don, Balgounie's brig's black wall ;

but I can justly unite to the names of GEORGE MACDONALD (M.A., King's Coll., 1845 ; LL.D., 1868), and WALTER CHALMERS SMITH (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1841 ; LL.D., 1876), whose many poetic writings are read and admired wherever the English language is known, the remark that the art which John Barbour introduced five hundred years ago has reached in their work the highest point of excellence to which our alumnus has attained, and entitled them to high rank among the poets of the nineteenth century.

Dr. George Macdonald also enjoyed wide fame as a novelist, and his *Alec Forbes of Howglen*, *David Elginbrod*, *Robert Falconer*, *Malcolm*, and several other stories, possess a distinct local interest with occasional glimpses of student life. Among our other novelists are TOBIAS SMOLLETT (M.D., Mar. Coll., 1750), author of the best translations of *Don Quixote* and *Gil Blas*, whose *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle* are classics ; HELENUS SCOTT (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1777 ; M.D., 1805), author of the clever and amusing *Adventures of a Roper* (London, 1782) ; ROBERT MACKENZIE DANIEL (Mar. Coll., 1832), author of *The Scottish Heiress* (1843), and several other novels popular in their day ; JAMES MACLAREN COBBAN, a Gilcomston man, who received most of his college education in London, and followed the frequent routine of teacher, minister and journalist, author of *Sir Ralph's Secret* (1892), *The Angel of the Covenant*, a story of Aberdeen in the days of Montrose (1898), and many other well-written and popular tales ; and WILLIAM GORDON STABLES (Mar. Coll., 1854-57 ; M.D., 1862), a well-known and popular contributor to all the juvenile magazines in the world, the most prolific writer of light and instructive fiction for girls and boys that the English language ever

knew, whose novels are so numerous that years ago he must have found as much difficulty in inventing new titles as in weaving fresh narratives.

In 1886 the University conferred upon WILLIAM ALEXANDER, the self-taught editor of *The Aberdeen Free Press*, the well-deserved honorary degree of LL.D. His chief work, a masterly example of the broad Buchan dialect, *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk in the parish of Pyketillim, with glimpses of the parish politics about A.D. 1843* (Aberdeen, 1871), is the most realistic and powerful delineation of the character and pursuits of Aberdeenshire rural life that has ever been penned, and in the *édition de luxe*, with etchings after Sir George Reid, LL.D., published in Edinburgh (1880), is one of the most valuable and artistic books we possess. He also wrote *Sketches of life among my ain folk* (1875); *Notes and sketches of Northern rural life in the eighteenth century* (1877), an important history of archaic agricultural methods now almost forgotten, and several other works. But much of his literary labour is still only to be found in the pages of newspapers and serial publications, and it is surprising that no collected edition of what is worth preserving has yet been made, and that the interesting history of his life and work has not been published for the emulation and encouragement of the youth of his native county.

Every man who can read now reads the newspaper, and as it is a great power in education, our alumni abound in the ranks of the gentlemen of the fourth estate, who may fitly be called the educators of manhood. Our first journalist was PATRICK COPLAND, one of the earliest graduates of Marischal College, and founder of its divinity chair, author of *A Second Courante of Newes from the East Indies, . . . printed the 18th February, 1622*. Doubtless there had been a *First Courante*, and there may have been others which have not been preserved, but the real pioneer of the newspaper in Scotland was that excellent printer of Edinburgh, JAMES WATSON, born in Aberdeen in 1664, and probably the Mar. Coll. student of 1680-84, author of a *History of Printing*, who founded the *Edinburgh Gazette* in 1699, published twice a week at the price of one penny. THOMAS RUDDIMAN, the Grammarian, began to print the *Caledonian Mercury* in 1720. DAVID HENRY, born in Aberdeenshire in 1710, who studied at Mar. Coll. for a year or two in the third decade of the eighteenth century, became the partner in London of Edward Cave, conducted *The Gentleman's Magazine* for more than fifty years, and established newspapers at Reading and at Winchester. He was the author of *The Com-*

plete *English Farmer* (1772), and of *An historical account of all the Voyages round the world performed by English Navigators* (6 vols., 1774-86). JAMES PERRY (Mar. Coll., 1769) founded the modern method of quick reporting, *The Morning Chronicle* and *The European Magazine*, and had for his partner and co-editor JAMES GRAY (M.A., King's Coll., 1780). WILLIAM GRAY (Mar. Coll., 1777-81) went to Canada and established the *Montreal Herald*, of which he was proprietor and editor for many years. DAVID CHALMERS (Mar. Coll., 1791-94) long conducted *The Aberdeen Journal*, the first newspaper north of the Forth, founded by his grandfather, James Chalmers, in 1748. JOHN BOOTH (Mar. Coll., 1784-87) established in 1806 and edited *The Aberdeen Chronicle*, the second northern newspaper, precursor of *The Aberdeen Herald* and *Free Press*. JOHN SCOTT (Mar. Coll., 1796-99), editor of *The Champion* newspaper and of *The London Magazine*, was the author of *A Visit to Paris in 1814* (London, 1815), five editions; and *Paris Revisited in 1815, including a walk over the field of battle at Waterloo* (London, 1816). Thackeray, in *The Newcomes*, says: "We bought Scott's *Visit to Paris* and *Paris Revisited*, and read them in the diligence. They are famous good reading". THOMAS BARCLAY (M.A., King's Coll., 1812; D.D., 1849), who in early life was a parliamentary reporter on the staff of *The Times*, became principal of the University of Glasgow. GEORGE PIRIE (King's Coll., 1813-15) emigrated to Canada and became proprietor and editor of *The Guelph Herald*. JOSEPH PROVAN (M.A., King's Coll., 1815) was proprietor and editor of a newspaper at Macclesfield. JOHN RAMSAY (M.A., King's Coll., 1817) was long editor of *The Aberdeen Journal*, and a volume of his collected writings, illustrated by Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A. (LL.D., 1892), is a local book of meritorious interest. He was succeeded in the editorship by WILLIAM FORSYTH, who matriculated at King's Coll. in 1835, the poet of *The Midnight Meetin' in Defence of Marischal College*, one of the sweetest lyrists that ever sang in "the silver city by the sea". JAMES THOMSON (Mar. Coll., 1819-21) was for a year the editor of *The Banffshire Journal* when it commenced its successful career in 1845. His successor, ALEXANDER RAMSAY, one of the ablest journalists Scotland has produced, was honoured with the degree of LL.D. by the University in 1895. JAMES BRUCE (M.A., King's Coll., 1827), a journalist of superior literary merit, trained in the office of *The Aberdeen Constitutional*, edited successively *The Fifeshire Herald*, *Madras Athenæum*, *Newcastle Chronicle*

and *Belfast Northern Whig*, and was author of *The Black Calendar of Aberdeen*, a chronicle for the most part of shocking crimes committed in the name of the cruel laws which degraded justice in "the good old times," of *Eminent Men of Fife*, *The Aberdeen Pulpit and Universities*, and other historical works. CHARLES MACWATT (M.A., King's Coll., 1829) was long proprietor and editor of *The Nairnshire Mirror*. JOHN CONNON (M.A., King's Coll., 1837), editor of *The Fife Herald*, afterwards a journalist in London, studied for the bar, which he passed at Middle Temple in 1858, and became a judge at Bombay. JOHN SMITH (M.A., King's Coll., 1840; LL.D., 1854), editor of *The Glasgow Examiner*, was the author of many works on social science, and of three volumes of well-written sketches of *Our Scottish Clergy*. GEORGE DAWSON, who matriculated at Marischal College, 1837, became editor of *The Birmingham Morning News*, but was much better known as a platform orator of great power on advanced political and social sciences. WILLIAM REID (M.A., King's Coll., 1845), editor of *The British Herald* and of the widely circulated *British Messenger*, was author of numberless religious tracts and leaflets issued for a long series of years from the Stirling press. ANDREW HALLIDAY DUFF (Mar. Coll., 1844-46), a London journalist who was for many years correspondent of *The Aberdeen Free Press*, one of the few successful dramatic writers we can claim, will be long remembered as the author of *Every Day Papers* (2 vols., 1864), *Sunnyside Papers* and *Town and Country* (1866), four volumes of choice essays which embody delightful reminiscences of the city of Aberdeen and much of the country northward to Inverness including his native Strathisla. Especially interesting are the college memories awakened when, after years of absence during which the Union of the universities had been effected, he returned from London to the Broadgate to mourn over his Alma Mater left desolate by the removal of the scarlet gowns to the Aulton. But the spirit of humour and fun characteristic of all his work ripples over in the next page as he recalls Professor Blackie's comic tale of the highland student accused of desecrating his gown by wearing it while he perambulated the streets with a barrow, crying "tatties"; a charge which, it is needless to say, was denied, although the hawking of potatoes was admitted. JOHN FORBES ROBERTSON (Mar. Coll., 1838-40), for many years a well-known art critic connected with various influential journals in the metropolis, was author of *The great painters of Christendom* (1878). GEORGE

MURRAY (Mar. Coll., 1844-46), schoolmaster at Inverkeithing and at Bannockburn, whose first publication was *Islaford and other poems* (Aberdeen, 1845), seven years later, under the pseudonym of "James Bolivar Manson," wrote *The Bible in school; a vindication of the Scotch system of education*. Thereafter he became journalist, editing in succession *The Stirling Observer*, *The Newcastle Daily Express*, and *The Daily Review*, Edinburgh. PETER BAYNE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1850; LL.D., 1879), after editing *The Glasgow Commonwealth*, succeeded Hugh Miller in the editorship of *The Witness* and became his biographer. Removing to London, he edited *The Dial* and *The Weekly Review*, contributing largely also to the principal magazines. Poet, dramatist, essayist, controversialist and historian, he published many works highly esteemed in this country and in America. Dr. Bayne's successor as editor of *The Witness* was JAMES AITKEN WYLIE (Mar. Coll., 1823-26; LL.D., 1855), the historian of Protestantism, and author of many religious histories. ALEXANDER INNES SHAND (M.A., King's Coll., 1851), a leader writer and travelling correspondent to *The Times*, wrote *Fortune's Wheel* and other novels, books of travel, a volume of reminiscence, biographies, and works in general literature. DAVID GRANT (Mar. Coll., 1850-52), a schoolmaster, became editor of *The Sheffield Post*, but is best known as the poet of *Metrical Tales* (1880), and *Lays and Legends of the North* (1884). JAMES HALL WILSON, the city missionary, an extensive contributor to the local journals and magazines, found time to improve his education by attending classes at Marischal College (1852-54), and wrote *Ragged Kirks and how to fill them* and many kindred works. ARCHIBALD FORBES (King's Coll., 1853-55; LL.D., 1884), the famous war correspondent of *The Daily News*, wrote *Soldiering and scribbling; Barracks, bivouacs and battles; Memories and studies of war and peace*; biographies of Sir Henry Havelock, Lord Clyde, and Napoleon III., and other books full of fighting and warlike adventure fascinatingly written. WILLIAM ALEXANDER HUNTER (M.A., 1864; LL.D., 1882) edited *The Weekly Dispatch* for many years, and was the author of two books on Roman Law, and M.P. for Aberdeen.

Art was well advanced in northern Scotland four hundred years ago, as is shown by *Notes on the Chapel, Crown, and other ancient buildings of King's College, Aberdeen* (1889), by NORMAN MACPHERSON (M.A., King's Coll., 1838; LL.D., 1865), professor of Scots law in Edinburgh

University. In the succeeding century the progress of the pictorial art received a powerful incentive by the success of the Aberdonian George Jamesone, the earliest British portrait painter of note. But it was not to be taught the principles of architecture or of painting that young men entered our colleges, though some of our alumni through inborn genius distinguished themselves in both. JAMES GIBBS (Mar. Coll., 1696-1700), the eminent architect of the Radcliffe Library at Oxford and the churches of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and St. Mary-le-Strand, London, and St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, was author of three published works on architecture, and of a translation from the Latin of Jerome Osorio's *History of the Portuguese* (2 vols., London, 1752). COLIN MORISON (M.A., King's Coll., 1752), a painter and art virtuoso at Rome, where he died in 1810, bequeathed by will to his Alma Mater his extensive collection of paintings by the old Italian masters. But it was confiscated by the French military authorities, and not one item of the legacy ever reached the University. JOSEPH FORSYTH (M.A., King's Coll., 1779), for many years a successful schoolmaster in London, and characterised by Lord Byron as "an accomplished traveller, of extraordinary capacity, extensive erudition, and refined taste," wrote one of the best books on Italy that have yet been published, *Remarks on antiquities, arts and letters during an excursion in Italy in the years 1802 and 1803* (London, 1813). It is almost our only "prison book," the author having had the misfortune to be captured at Marseilles on his homeward journey in 1803, and miserably confined in French military jails for ten years; his only solace was the writing of his great work. ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON (Mar. Coll., 1785-86) long pursued in New York the profession of portrait painter and teacher of the art. Many of the leaders of the revolution, including General Washington, sat to him, and his portraits are now of great value. An interesting account of him is accessible in *The Century Magazine* for May, 1890. His younger brother, ANDREW ROBERTSON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1794), was successful as an artist in London, where he was miniature painter to the royal family. ARCHIBALD SIMPSON (Mar. Coll., 1803) was the architect of Marischal College; and his native city owes much to his correct taste and classic conceptions. BARRON GRAHAM of Morphee (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1809) acquired some note as a portrait painter. GEORGE MONRO (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1822), sheriff of Linlithgow, actively promoted the study of art in Edinburgh, and wrote *Scottish art and its*

national encouragement (1846). JOHN SMITH MEMES (M.A., 1822; LL.D., 1825, King's Coll.) wrote *Memoirs of Canova, with a historical view of modern sculpture* (Edinburgh, 1825), and a *History of Sculpture, Painting, etc.* (1837), both works of considerable merit. WILLIAM DYCE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1823), R.A., was the author of a *Theory of the fine arts* (London, 1844), and other professional works, and painter of several of the frescoes which adorn the corridors of the Houses of Parliament. ROBERT KERR (Mar. Coll., 1836), professor of domestic architecture in King's College, London, wrote *The gentleman's house* (1864), often reprinted; and JOHN FORBES WHITE (M.A., 1848; LL.D., 1886), the art critic, and biographer of George Paul Chalmers, R.S.A., frequently employed his facile pen for the cultivation of art in the home. THOMAS DAVIDSON (M.A., King's Coll., 1860), rector of Old Aberdeen Grammar School, removed first to England, and then to the United States, where he held educational appointments in St. Louis and in Cambridge, Mass. He travelled much in Italy and Greece, studying art and the philosophy of education, and became one of the most brilliant philosophical and educational writers our University has produced. He wrote several important works on art: *A short account of the Niobe group* (1875); *The Parthenon Frieze and other essays* (1882); *The place of Art in education* (1885); *Aristotle, and ancient educational ideas* (1892); *The education of the Greek people, and its influence on human thought* (1895); and *A history of education* (1900). His fame and reputation in America were very great, but he has been sadly forgotten in Aberdeen.

Dr. JOHN ARBUTHNOT (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1685), the brightest of the famous wits of Queen Anne's reign, who gave and fixed everlastingly upon the typical Englishman the nickname "John Bull," entitled one of his satirical books *Law is a bottomless pit* (London, 1712), and the Aberdeen teacher has been chary of entering the legal profession unless specially trained by the Civilist. The roll of alumni who became great and famous lawyers and judges is long and honourable, but it is outside my instructions, and I have only to record here the names of a few who, in other lands, drifted out of the scholastic into the legal profession. There was JOHN HENRY (King's Coll., 1720-24), who went out to America, and after teaching school with more or less success, became president of the County Court at Hanover, in the colony of Virginia, and was the father of the famous revolutionary orator, Patrick—

Henry, the forest-born Demosthenes
Whose thunder shook the Philip of the seas.

ALEXANDER ADDISON, a native of Keith (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1777), after being schoolmaster of Aberlour, emigrated to the United States, taught school, studied law, and became president of the Court of Common Pleas of Pennsylvania, and author of several volumes of Reports mentioned in *Allibone's Dictionary*. ADAM THOM (M.A., 1824; LL.D., 1840, King's Coll.), after holding appointments as teacher at Udney Academy and at Woolwich, where he published *The complete gradus* (1832), went to Canada, became a journalist at Montreal, passed for the Canadian bar, was appointed first recorder of Rupertsland, and was the author of several works on legal and political subjects, and of *An Account of Sir George Simpson's Voyage round the world* (2 vols., 1847).

The honorarium of the Aberdeen teacher in his own country before the Victorian period was generally extremely disproportionate to the importance and extent of his qualifications and labours. His natural ambition to become a preacher induced him frequently to qualify himself for the pulpit, and large numbers did obtain church preferment. To become a university professor was his highest aspiration, but the openings were so few that it was seldom gratified. The great majority settled down quietly to scholastic duties, endeavouring to eke out the slender salary and fees by the cultivation of the garden, and, in the towns, by private tuition and whatever clerical work was obtainable. A few were more resourceful, and it was to increase his paltry income as parochial schoolmaster that GEORGE BISSET (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1783), in 1786, kept student boarders, and thus founded the locally celebrated Academy at Udney. At his death, in 1812, he was succeeded by his son, JAMES BISSET (Mar. Coll., 1808; M.A., 1839; D.D., 1850), then only seventeen years of age, whose ability and energy enabled him to maintain the high character of the establishment. They educated many of our notable alumni, and Professor SAMUEL TRAIL (M.A., King's Coll., 1825; LL.D., 1847; D.D., 1852), Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM (Mar. Coll., 1819), WILLIAM FASKEN (M.A., King's Coll., 1811; M.D., 1819), WILLIAM LESLIE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1832) of Warthill, M.P. for Aberdeenshire; Dr. JOSEPH ROBERTSON (Mar. Coll., 1822-25), the antiquary; and JOHN MILNE (M.A., King's Coll., 1826; LL.D., 1849), Principal of Dollar Institution, are examples of the class of student who passed from the Academy direct to

the University. It was in poverty of emolument that JAMES WELSH (M.A., King's Coll., 1807), a teacher and mathematician of much ability, in 1817, wrote an elementary treatise on Algebra, manufactured with his own hands many of the types and diagram blocks required, set up the whole, passed the sheets through some kind of press, bound them together, and sold the complete book in his father's humble cottage in Black Bull Close, Brechin. He was the author of other elementary books on arithmetic and geography, and after many years devoted to teaching became minister of New Deer. ALEXANDER MALCOLM (M.A., Mar. Coll., circ. 1709), an Aberdonian, who became teacher of the Writing School in 1723, at an annual salary of £20, had published in Edinburgh in 1721 *A treatise of Musick, speculative, practical, and historical*, which remained a standard work until the appearance of the *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), by Sir John Hawkins, who describes it as "one of the most valuable treatises on the subject of theoretical and practical music to be found in any of the modern languages". In 1730, he published in London *A New System of Arithmetick, both theoretical and practical* (4to), dedicated to his patrons the Lord Provost and Town Council of Aberdeen, of which the late Professor Augustus de Morgan says in his bibliography of arithmetical books (1847), that "it is one of the most extensive and erudite books of the last century". In 1731 there followed his *Treatise of Book-keeping in the Italian method* (4to), the best book on the subject until the beginning of the nineteenth century. So this poor but highly gifted alumnus, author of the standards of his time on three important educational subjects, spent the best of his days teaching arithmetic, mathematics and penmanship in a little school-room in the Back Wynd of Aberdeen, for £20 a year. His books were successful, and he removed to London, as so many of our best alumni had done before his time, and, to their substantial advantage, will always do. He afterwards went to America, and died in Maryland in 1763. Let me record here, to recall how extensive the usefulness and influence of those London Aberdonians of bygone days must have been, the names and status and principal works of a few of the best of them.

GEORGE CHARLES (M.A., 1721; LL.D., 1741, Mar. Coll.), master of St. Paul's School; SAMUEL PATRICK (M.A., 1738; LL.D., 1739, Mar. Coll.), master of Charterhouse and translator of Terence; WILLIAM ROSE (M.A., King's Coll., 1740; LL.D., Mar. Coll., 1781, King's Coll., 1783),

founder of the academy at Chiswick and translator of Sallust, a noted bibliomaniac whose huge library came to the hammer in 1787; WILLIAM GARROW (M.A., King's Coll., 1741), a schoolmaster in North London, father of Sir William Garrow, Attorney-General of England and a baron of the court of exchequer; JOHN BLAIR (LL.D., Mar. Coll., 1751), a mathematical teacher and subsequently Prebendary of Westminster, author of the celebrated *Chronological Tables* and of a *History of the Rise and Progress of Geography*; ALEXANDER GRANT (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1765), principal of Henley Grammar School and author of many educational works; JOHN GREIG (Mar. Coll., 1765-69), author, among other books, of *The Young Ladies' Arithmetic* (1798), of which there are many editions; JOHN ADAMS (M.A., King's Coll., 1768), founder of Putney School, author of school histories of Great Britain, France and Spain, of the noted Latin primer *Lectiones Selectae* and many other popular schoolbooks; ALEXANDER CROMBIE, (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1778; LL.D., 1794), a teacher of the highest renown, who established academies at Highgate and Greenwich; the author of many successful schoolbooks, whose *Treatise on English Etymology and Syntax* (1802), and *Gymnasium sive symbola critica* (2 vols., 1812), rank among the most instructive educational works we possess, and are still text-books; CHARLES BURNEY (M.A., 1781; LL.D., 1792, King's Coll.), who kept school at Greenwich and afterwards succeeded William Rose, his father-in-law, at Chiswick, was the best Greek scholar of his time, and author of several very learned works, is remembered also for a severity of discipline resembling that of the celebrated stalwart flogger, Dr. Keate, Headmaster of Eton; and it is said that he charged the parents in his quarterly accounts for birch-rods worn out in the corporal chastisement of his pupils; WILLIAM GLENNIE (LL.D., King's Coll., 1806), a very able teacher, who founded the Academy at Dulwich, to which Lord Byron was sent on his removal from the Grammar School at Aberdeen. OLINTIUS GREGORY (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1806), the eminent mathematician, was professor at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and wrote books on mathematics, astronomy, natural philosophy and mechanics. GEORGE BROWN (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1808; LL.D., 1844), who founded academies at Liverpool and at Brompton, wrote, in addition to several schoolbooks, *The Scottish Ecclesiastical Register* for the years 1842 and 1843, so critical in the history of the kirk; ALEXANDER IRVINE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1808), a very creditable botanical author, was founder of a well-known school at

Chelsea. AENEAS MCINTYRE (King's Coll., 1807-13; LL.D., 1825) founded the Hackney Academy, and was father of Aeneas John McIntyre, Q.C., M.P. for Worcester; CHARLES BRADLEY (M.A., King's Coll., 1809), author of *Grammatical Questions* and other educational works; EDWARD VALPY (M.A., King's Coll., 1809), a distinguished scholar who was latterly headmaster of the Grammar School at Norwich, author of *Elegantiae Latinae* (4th edition, 1814), and other excellent school-books; ALEXANDER COWIE (M.A., King's Coll., 1821), founder of the St. John's Wood Academy, author of *Questions on Crombie's Gymnasium* and other school-books; ALEXANDER JAMIESON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1821; LL.D., 1823), who founded the Hoxton Academy, and wrote grammars of logic and of Rhetoric and other educational works; an able and intelligent teacher who, foreseeing the approaching demand for technical instruction, published *Mechanics for Practical Men* (4th edition, 1845), which Dr. Birkbeck, the founder of Mechanics' Institutes, pronounced "a great mechanical treasury". Jamieson's Academy is now a mission hall, but the area of his labours became a busy hive of mechanical industry amid which the Shoreditch Technical Institute has for many years been one of the most successful technological schools in the metropolis. When you visit London and stroll along the Thames Embankment, fail not to devote a few moments to the enigmatical hieroglyphics of Cleopatra's Needle, the monument of a long departed civilisation and of the well-earned fame of the Aberdeen alumnus, Sir JAMES ERASMUS WILSON, a native of Huntly, partly educated at King's College, by whose patriotic zeal and munificence this fine monolith was dug from the sands at Alexandria where it had lain prostrate for many centuries, and erected upon its present site in 1879. He was the highest authority and an able teacher in the branch of medical science to which he devoted himself, a patient and skilful investigator and author of many well-known works on Dermatology.

From the list of London schoolmasters of former days and many other names which I am here reviving, it will be observed that a large proportion enjoyed the distinction of the honorary degree of LL.D., conferred by Alma Mater in recognition of their conspicuous ability as educationists. The University of Aberdeen, beyond all others, is the Teacher's University, and one of the most laudable traditions she can boast is this spontaneous encouragement of the educator she has trained. When his name and degree were entered in her records, and she sent him forth

in youth equipped with her diploma in arts, she held that her duty by him was not finished, but only suspended. His future career outside her walls thenceforward became full of the heartiest interest to her senatus, whose members, constantly appreciative of especial merit in the alumnus they had taught, were ready to reward it with the only addition the University could make to his honours. The traditional usage has won the universal approval of the people in the North of Scotland, who cherish an honest pride in the scholastic successes of their sons; and there has always been more rejoicing in Aberdeen over an alumnus so honoured, than over ninety and nine men of titled rank, political demigods, learned savants, musty antiquaries, or military heroes unconnected with the University who condescended to accept her dignities. With my knowledge of the teaching alumni of the past upon whom the honour was conferred, I can justly assert that no example exists of the degree being awarded without being fully earned, and that there is no recorded instance of the distinction being subsequently tarnished. It is therefore to be hoped that in the future the ancient practice will be generously maintained and extended. The literary profession of journalism may possibly claim with justice a greater share in the academic honour of the future, for in the past it has undoubtedly been overlooked, probably because so many journalists of local origin have achieved high eminence without the valuable aids of University education.

Many of our teaching alumni went to America where their work is still recalled with high appreciation. PATRICK COPLAND, to whom I have already referred, taught a grammar school in Virginia, and founded Henrico College, the second university of America. JAMES BLAIR, a Banffshire man who matriculated at Marischal College in 1667, went to Virginia in 1685, where he obtained the office of Commissary in 1689. He was the author of several published works, and founder of William and Mary College. In 1693 he became its first president, and enjoyed the office for fifty years, dying at a very advanced age in 1743. WILLIAM SMITH (King's Coll., 1743-47; D.D., 1759), after a few years spent in teaching at Aberdeen and London, followed his profession in New York, where he attracted the notice of Benjamin Franklin, by the publication of a scheme of university education familiar to him at Aberdeen. He proceeded to Philadelphia, where he founded, in 1754, the College which many years afterwards blossomed into the University of Pennsylvania, and was its first provost.

He was a noted orator and teacher, a voluminous author and acquired great public influence. Leaving Philadelphia in 1780 for Chesterton, he there instituted the seminary which is now Washington College. PETER WILSON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1765), classical professor of Columbia University, New York, wrote several works on Greek and Latin prosody, and published useful school editions of several classics. JOHN STRACHAN (M.A., King's Coll., 1797; D.D., 1811), schoolmaster at Dunino and Kettle, became a minister of the episcopal church in Canada, and first Bishop of Toronto. He was a great educationist and founder of Trinity University, Toronto. JOHN MCCALLUM (M.A., King's Coll., 1832) taught schools at Peterhead and at Hampstead, became an episcopal clergyman in Hudson's Bay Territory and founded St. John's College, Rupertsland. CHARLES GORDON GLASS, from Birse (M.A., King's Coll., 1836), a Presbyterian minister in New Brunswick and Canada was the author of a *Treatise on Education*. HENRY HOPPER MILES (M.A., King's Coll., 1839; LL.D., 1863), for many years professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Bishop's College, Lennoxville, was appointed secretary of the department of public instruction in Canada, and was the author of *The History of Canada under the French Régime*, and of the school histories of Canada now in use in the elementary education of the Dominion both French and English; and DONALD MACRAE (M.A., King's Coll., 1851), the principal of Morren College, Quebec, was one of the most advanced educationists in Canada.

A new page in the history of the Aberdeen educator abroad which was opened quite recently and is hardly yet completed, may appropriately be mentioned here. Half a century ago, in an old edition of the *Biographie Universelle*, Dr. Joseph Robertson came upon a notice of "Farwharson," Professor of Mathematics at St. Petersburg, previously at Aberdeen, who introduced the use of Arabic numerals into Russia, founded the Ecole de Marine there, and died in 1739. No more than this could he gather from the brief biography, but the surname was so purely Aberdonic that he made a note for further inquiries, which he did not live long enough to pursue. I copied the note ten years ago, and made some investigations at the British Museum which rather increased the perplexities, leading me to form the opinion that the Russian professor was a military engineer who assisted in the fortification of Cronstadt, and that his name was as likely to be Fergusson, for the misspellings were extraordinary. But the obscurities surrounding the

matter have now disappeared, for, happily, at the suggestion of our editor, the research was enthusiastically continued in the Russian metropolis itself by Mr. William Sharpe Wilson (M.A. 1884), Lecturer in English in the University there, who has successfully brought to light the creditable career of a lost alumnus, HENRY FARQUHARSON (Mar. Col., 1691-95), who, for a year or two after finishing the Arts course, was Liddell Mathematical tutor in the college. How he made the acquaintance of Peter the Great while that enterprising monarch worked in the Deptford shipbuilding yard has not yet been discovered, but when the Czar left England in 1698 to quell the rebellion of the Strelitz he took Henry Farquharson with him. At St. Petersburg Farquharson founded the École de Marine, and an official minute of 1737, in the reign of the Empress Anne, states that "it was he who first introduced the study of mathematics into Russia, and there is hardly a single Russian subject in the fleet of Her Imperial Majesty, from the highest to the lowest, but has been taught navigation by him". He published in Russian many books on the sciences which he taught. The research is still being pursued, and in the meantime local genealogists are already endeavouring to discover to what family of Farquharsons he belonged, the prename Henry seeming to indicate almost inevitably the house of Allargue.

The educator is well represented both directly and indirectly upon the list of benefactors of the University. Generosity and good nature are almost invariable characteristics of the Scottish dominie, and in the absence of near relatives the little he had to leave was often bequeathed to benefit the poor scholar. When fortune favoured the pursuit of his profession far from his youthful home his bequest became munificent, and there is no more notable example of direct endowment than that of JOHN SIMPSON (M.A., King's Coll., 1779; LL.D., 1820), a native of Keith, who became a successful teacher in the city of Worcester, and in addition to a gift of £500 for the repair of King's College in 1819 founded in 1838 the Greek and Mathematical prizes which have since been the most coveted honours of academic scholarship at Aberdeen, and have encouraged several successful wranglers to pursue the higher education at the University of Cambridge. An early instance of the indirect influence of the educator in procuring benefactions for Alma Mater brings us again into contact with Patrick Copland who, in 1618, while serving in the East Indies as chaplain on the English ship *Royal James*, attended the death-

bed of Dr. DAVID CHAMBERLAINE, the ship's surgeon, and shortly afterwards wrote the quaint letter "to the Towne and Council of Abirdeen," intimating the deceased's bequest of fifty Jacobus pieces of gold to Marischal College, which is printed in the *Fasti* (i., 183). The benefactor was the son of a French refugee, Peter Chamberlaine, surgeon to Anne, queen of James I., and to Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I., whose curious family history has been skilfully gathered by an Aberdeen alumnus, JAMES HOBSON AVELING (M.D., Mar. Coll., 1857), in *The Chamberlains and the Midwifery Forceps: Memorials of the family, and an essay on the invention* (London, 1882). David Chamberlaine's only sister, Esther, was the wife of THOMAS CARGILL, Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School, and it is manifest from Copland's correspondence that he was partly educated there, and at the college, before entering the University of Leyden in 1613. He was again in Aberdeen in 1616, when he was admitted a burghess of the city. His father's professional connection with the Royal family was influential enough to secure him the important appointment of surgeon on the largest vessel of the English navy, which he unhappily did not long enjoy. His bequest was added to Patrick Copland's for the endowment of the Divinity Chair.

Among our educators are a few authors of superior merit, whose work should not fail to be recorded in a memorial volume. In 1691 the religious world of London was profoundly impressed by the publication of *The life of God in the soul of man*, by HENRY SCUGALL (M.A., King's Coll., 1668; D.D., 1674), professor of divinity, one of the most remarkable books of devotion in the language. A cousin of Scougall, JOHN COCKBURN (M.A., King's Coll., 1671), who was minister successively at Udney, Old Deer, Ormiston, Amsterdam, and North Holt, Middlesex, was a prolific writer of religious works, and the author of the curious and erudite *History of Duels* (London, 1720). ALEXANDER CRUDEN (Mar. Coll., 1713), who became a bookseller in London, compiled *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (1738), one of the most valuable books of reference in existence, indispensable to all Biblical students in every language, a work in which no material deficiency has ever been discovered, for the latest and most improved of its numerous editions remains much as it came from his own hands. ADAM CLARKE (M.A., King's Coll., 1807), a very voluminous writer, is the author of a Bibliographical Dictionary (8 vols., 1802-06), *The succession of Sacred Literature* (1807), and an edition of the Bible

with valuable commentary and critical notes (8 vols., 1810-26), a marvellous monument of extensive reading and industrious research. Sheriff GEORGE MOIR (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1817) is the author of the excellent volume of *Table Talk* (Edinburgh, 1827), containing selections of the choicest continental ana, and of *Magic and Witchcraft* (London, 1852). JAMES ANDERSON (Mar. Coll., 1825-27), the "Auld Licht" minister of Kirriemuir, was the author of *The Martyrs of the Bass*; *The Ladies of the Covenant*; *The Ladies of the Reformation* (2 vols.); and *Memorable Women of the Puritan Times*, a series of biographical histories which still maintain considerable popularity.

Several of them are authors of works which may be classed as literary curiosities, and sometimes the educator himself was an eccentric genius. During 1833 and several subsequent years there issued from the local press a satirical periodical entitled, *The Aberdeen Shaver*, whose contributors little suspected the pre-existence of the censorious "*Κουρευς ἀποξυρος*: id est Tonsor ad cutem rasmus; qui . . . ex Ingoldstadiana Tonstrina Britannos tondendi ergo emissus; sed . . . ipse . . . rasmus et . . . remissus. Opera A[lexandri] R[ossaei], *Tonsoris Aberdonensis*" (London, 1627). This Alexander Ross was an early graduate of Marischal College, who became head master of King Edward VI. Free Grammar School at Southampton, and private chaplain to King Charles I. His razor was of keenest edge, for he was the most combative dominie, one of the cleverest Latin scholars, and the most voluminous Scottish author of the seventeenth century. He not only fought the Shaver of Ingoldstadt, but with more vigorous impetuosity than solid wisdom he thundered against the astronomers Galileo and Copernicus in Latin by *Commentum de terrae motu circulari* in 1634, and in English by *The new planet no planet, or the Earth no wandering star except in the wandering heads of Galileans* in 1640. Although his Holiness had supported him against the new astronomy, he attacked the Pope by *Papa perstrictus (echo) ictus*; corrected the "vulgar errors" of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* by *Medicus Medicatus: or the physician's religion cured*; and Sir Kenelm Digby's opinions about the body, and Benedict Spinoza's theory of the soul were ridiculed and confuted by *The Philosopher's Touchstone*, all in 1645; while the philosophical works of Thomas Hobbes were in hot water when *Leviathan drawn out with a hook* appeared in 1653. Royalist and Churchman, he fought Roundheads and Puritans in writings numerous

and books various to the end of his days; and in *Πανσεβεια: or a View of all religions in the world* (London, 1653), he tore asunder the heresies of every time and clime. He wrote educational works, books on divinity, philosophy, history, public policy, translations from the Latin of important continental theologians, and few men of his time composed better Latin verse, his *Virgilii evangelisantis Christianus* (London, 1638), being in some respects the most remarkable performance of a period rich in classical poets. But he was behind his age, and his books are now merely curiosities of conservative opinion. Long after he was dead his name became immortalised by the couplet with which Samuel Butler begins the second canto of *Hudibras*:—

There was an ancient sage philosopher
That had read Alexander Ross over.

Addison, in *Spectator*, No. 50, remarks that “these lines are more frequently quoted than the finest flashes of wit in the whole poem, for the jingle of the double rhyme has something in it that tickles the ear”. The philosopher, who, in the next two lines,

Swore the world, as he could prove,
Was made of fighting and of love,

may have been Empedocles, who lived 2000 years before Ross, an anachronism to increase the fun; but just as likely the witty author had in his mind another of our alumni, Sir THOMAS URQUHART of Cromarty (King's Coll., 1622), one of the most singular characters of his age, whose authorship embraces the curious *Discovery of a most exquisite jewel . . . found in the Kennel of Worcester Streets after the fight* (1652); and a “true pedigree,” tracing his family tree all the way up to Adam and Eve. Like Alexander Ross, he was fond of giving Greek titles to his books, and possessed high abilities and accomplishments with the additional advantage of a mind enlarged by foreign travel. But he also supported the losing side, and, forfeiting his estate to the Commonwealth, suffered great poverty and privation, dying, it is said, in a fit of uncontrollable laughter on receiving the news of the restoration in 1660. His fame rests upon his admirable translation of Rabelais (London, 1653-59), which completely caught the spirit and humour of the original, and is never likely to be superseded.

The *View of all Religions* was the most successful of the many books of Alexander Ross, and singularly enough two other deservedly popular works of kindred character were written by alumni. JOHN EVANS (M.A., King's Coll., 1790), the founder of an academy at Islington, was the author of *A Brief Sketch of the Several Denominations into which the Christian World is Divided* (London, 1794), a work which, commending itself to Christians generally by its conspicuous impartiality and generosity, became immediately successful, and passed through a vast number of editions in this country and in America; and ROBERT ADAM (M.A., King's Coll., 1791) wrote *The Religious World Displayed* (1806), a comprehensive and well-compiled book, extended to three volumes in 1809 and repeatedly republished.

A strange episode in the university history, possessing a curious literature of its own and wider results than are generally known, arose from the heterodoxy of several students who joined the Quaker dissent in the sixth decade of the seventeenth century. Its most influential leaders were Provost ALEXANDER JAFFRAY of Kingswells (Mar. Coll., 1630-34), representative of the city in Cromwell's Parliament, and author of the interesting *Diary* published in 1833; Colonel DAVID BARCLAY of Ury (King's Coll., 1626-30), the hero of Whittier's stirring ballad and father of Robert Barclay the Apologist; and Baillie ALEXANDER SKENE of Newtyle (Mar. Coll., 1637-41), author of the *Succinct Survey*. Its principal local authors among the alumni were JOHN ROBERTSON of Kinmuck (Mar. Coll., 1668); JOHN COWIE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1669); ROBERT SANDILANDS (Mar. Coll., 1672); ALEXANDER SEATON (King's Coll., 1672-74), and GEORGE KEITH (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1658); the last named a voluminous and powerful writer, who soon removed to England where he established the boarding school for the sons of Friends, which long flourished near Theobalds in Hertfordshire. A subsequent residence of many years in America made him acquainted with the horrors of negro slavery, which he was the earliest British author to denounce. The much prolonged Abolition movement made little stir in Aberdeen, which need cause no surprise, for the negro was unknown; and so late as 1765 an old lady, suddenly meeting a genuine live specimen of the ebony African in Netherkirkgate, was startled to such a degree that she raised both her hands in the air, exclaiming: "Hech, sirs, what canna be made for the penny!" When it did acquire strength two of our alumni were in the front rank of literary

abolitionists: JAMES RAMSAY (M.A., King's Coll., 1753), whose *Essay on the Treatment of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (1784) was often reprinted, and JAMES STEPHEN (Mar. Coll., 1755-57), whose three convincing works, *War in Disguise*, *The Dangers of the Country* and *New Reasons for Abolishing the Slave Trade*, had a wide circulation and overpowering influence in the earliest decades of last century. An interesting account of this writer and of the notable Aberdeenshire family to which he belonged will be found in *The Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen*, by his brother Leslie Stephen (London, 1895).

Among other curiosities are the various writings, now extremely rare, of WILLIAM DAVIDSON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1617), the eminent Alchemist, which were chiefly published in Paris and Dantzic; of ROBERT FERGUSON, the Plotter (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1654), author of *A History of all the Mobs, Tumults and Insurrections in Great Britain* (London, 1715); and of ROBERT CALDER (M.A., King's Coll., 1678), who under the pseudonym of "Jacob Curate" was undoubtedly the author of *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed* (London, 1692), the cleverest of his many satirical and controversial works. JAMES CLARK (M.A., King's Coll., 1689), Minister of the Tron Kirk, Glasgow, was bold enough to administer *A Just Reprimand to Daniel Defoe*, now a scarce little pamphlet. WILLIAM HARPER (Mar. Coll., 1704-08), episcopal parson at Leith, in his old age published *A Collection of Songs* (Edin., 1762), of which only a few copies were sold. But some years afterwards an enterprising London bookseller bought the remainder, cut out the title-pages and reissued the book as *The Buck's Bottle Companion* (Lond., 1775), disposing of the whole edition in two days. The historian of good liquor was Dr. ALEXANDER HENDERSON (Mar. Coll., 1794-97) of Caskieben, whose beautiful quarto *History of Ancient and Modern Wines* (London, 1824) is a valuable and expensive book. Another curious book which was translated into several languages is *The History of Health* (1760), by JAMES MACKENZIE (Mar. Coll., 1708-12; M.D., King's Coll., 1719). So recently as 1865 ALEXANDER H. GRANT (Mar. Coll., 1848-51), writing under the *nom de plume* of "Frank Seafield" published *The Literature and Curiosities of Dreams*, an exceptionally interesting book, in 2 volumes, which has already become scarce.

But not in all the books I have noted can you learn half that is good to know of the multitude of educators the University has enabled to carry

forth the torch of civilisation. From recently published volumes of records there can be gathered all that it has been possible to discover of University affairs and the names and academical degrees of her sons for 400 years, but hardly anything at all besides. Their published biographies, autobiographies and volumes of special and general reminiscence form an abundant store well garnished with impressions of student life and incident, sprinkled often with memories of professors and lecturers and fellow-students, than which nothing can be more entertaining and instructive, or more illustrative of the good effects of the training and education they received. The stories of many of the earlier men are told by DAVID IRVING (LL.D., Mar. Coll., 1808), in his *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, (2 vols., Edin., 1804), and *Lives of Scottish Writers* (2 vols., 1839); by JAMES BRUCE (M.A., King's Coll., 1827), in his *Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen* (1841); in the *Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections: Divines of the North-East of Scotland*, edited with a valuable historical introduction by ROBERT LIPPE (Mar. Coll., 1851-56; LL.D., 1895) for the New Spalding Club (1890); and by JAMES STARK (D.D., 1895), in *The Lights of the North* (Aberdeen, 1896). Principal Sir William Duguid Geddes wrote a notable memoir of Dr. Arthur Johnston, the poet, with an introduction and historical notes in *Musa Latina Aberdonensis*, for the New Spalding Club (2 vols., 1892-95). JOHN DUNN (Mar. Coll., 1830-32) wrote a biography of GEORGE GORDON (M.A., King's Coll., 1659; regent, 1660-63), first earl of Aberdeen, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, for the Spalding Club (1851). A Memoir of Sir PATRICK DUN (Mar. Coll., 1658-62), the Aberdeen doctor who founded a great hospital in Dublin, was published in 1866. There is a good account of college life in GIDEON GUTHRIE, a monograph written from 1712 to 1730, edited by Miss C. E. Guthrie Wright (Edinburgh, 1900). He was M.A. (Mar. Coll., 1685), non-jurist minister at Glenmuick, Fetteresso, Brechin and Edinburgh, and nominated Bishop of Brechin by the old Pretender during his short visit to Scotland. GEORGE CHALMERS (King's Coll., 1757) gave us in 1794 *The Life of Thomas Ruddiman* (M.A., King's Coll., 1694), containing not only his college adventures and subsequent history, but many particulars of WALTER GOODAL (King's Coll., 1723-27), the historian, and other contemporaries, an account of the origin and rise of Scottish newspapers and a store of literary historical notes. A very interesting life of ALEXANDER ROSS

(M.A., Mar. Coll., 1718), with a sketch of Glenesk and an account of his inedited works, is in Dr. John Longmuir's edition of *Helenore* (Edinburgh, 1866). Professor William Knight's *Lord Monboddo and some of his Contemporaries* (London, 1900) is a very readable history of JAMES BURNETT (King's Coll., 1728-32), the metaphysician who wrote the *Origin and Progress of Language* (6 vols., Edinburgh, 1773-92), which is unhappily marred by a good many inaccuracies. The *Diary of the Rev. JOHN MILL* (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1732), minister of Dunrossness (1740-1803), published by the Scottish History Society in 1889, contains the interesting domestic memories of his long life, with stories of his school and college days at Aberdeen. The *Life of JAMES FORDYCE* (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1737), whose graceful elocution and polished pulpit oratory earned him great popularity in London, and who was the author of many successful books, has been frequently published, the edition of 1823 being the best. WILLIAM WALKER (M.A., King's Coll., 1840; LL.D., 1885) has written excellent biographies of JOHN SKINNER (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1738), Dean of Aberdeen and author of *Tullochgorum*; and of his son, JOHN SKINNER (Mar. Coll., 1757-61), the eminent Bishop of Aberdeen and primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The best biography of WILLIAM SMITH (King's Coll., 1743-47; D.D., 1759) is by Horace Wemyss Smith (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1879-80). JOHN MORRISON DAVIDSON (1860-63), in his book *Concerning the Four Predecessors of Henry George* (London, 1899), gives precedence to a biography of WILLIAM OGILVIE, M.A., 1759, and professor of Humanity in King's College, author of the now esteemed *Essay on Property in Land* (London, 1782). DAVID LOW (Mar. Coll., 1783-86), Bishop of Ross, Moray and Argyle, is the subject of a memoir published in London (1855). *The Autobiography and Services of Sir JAMES MACGRIGOR*, Bart. (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1788; M.D., 1804), in whose honour the fine obelisk which stood for many years in the quadrangle of Marischal College was erected, was published in London in 1861.

Ministers and Men in the Far North, by the Rev. ALEX. AULD, Olig (Wick, 1868), contains historical notes on the ecclesiastical history of Caithness, with biographies of ALEXANDER GUNN (M.A., King's Coll., 1797), minister of Watten; JOHN MUNRO (M.A., King's Coll., 1801), minister of Halkirk; and several others. A similar work, *Biographies of Highland Clergymen* (Inverness, 1889), contains memoirs of ALEXANDER ROSE (M.A., King's Coll., 1791), and about a dozen other noted Gaelic

preachers, chiefly graduates of King's College. *The Apostle of the North* (London, 1866) is a memoir of JOHN MACDONALD (M.A., King's Coll., 1801), minister of Urquhart, by the Rev. JOHN KENNEDY of Dingwall (M.A., King's Coll., 1840; D.D., 1873), the noted author of *The days of the Fathers in Ross-shire*. In his *Life and Times of the late GEORGE DAVIDSON* [M.A., King's Coll., 1809], *Latheron* (Edinburgh, 1875), the Rev. ALEXANDER MACKAY (M.A., King's Coll., 1840; LL.D., 1865) has contrived to introduce a good deal of Grammar School and College lore extending over a wide period. A very remarkable educator, JOHN DUNCAN (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1814; LL.D., 1840), professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in New College, Edinburgh, is commemorated by a well-written biography (Edinburgh, 1872) by DAVID BROWN (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1821; D.D., 1872; LL.D., 1895); by Dr. Moody Stuart's *Recollections* (1872); and by the *Colloquia peripatetica* of Professor WILLIAM KNIGHT (1870), the last a more than ordinarily good book, which has been repeatedly reprinted. Dr. DAVID BROWN, who was for many years principal of the Free Church College, and a familiar figure in Aberdeen, is the subject of an excellent biography, with many University notes by Professor William Garden Blaikie (London, 1898). The life of the Rev. JAMES ROBERTSON of Ellon (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1820; D.D., 1843), professor of Divinity and Church History in Edinburgh University, the founder of the endowment Scheme for the extension of the Scottish Church, a powerful personality whose history as student, schoolmaster, minister, and professor is well narrated by Professor A. H. Charteris, was published in 1863. *Memorials of CHARLES CALDER MACKINTOSH* [M.A., King's Coll., 1821], *with a sketch of the religious history of the Northern Highlands*, by WILLIAM TAYLOR (M.A., King's Coll., 1834), is an exceedingly interesting volume. A *Memoir of the late Rev. JOHN MACDONALD* (King's Coll., 1821-26), by the Rev. JOHN MACKAY (M.A., King's Coll., 1838), with much other university matter contains an account of his first year's expenses at college. HORATIUS BONAR (D.D., King's Coll., 1853) wrote the *Life of the Rev. JOHN MILNE* [M.A., Mar. Coll., 1825] of *Perth* (London, 1869); Professor GEORGE SMEATON, the *Memoir of ALEXANDER THOMSON* [M.A., Mar. Coll., 1826; LL.D., 1855] of *Banchory* (Edin., 1869); and a *Memoir of another alumnus, ANDREW GRAY* (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1824), who worked side by side with them and many of their University contemporaries in the evolution of the Free Church of Scotland, was written by the

famous Free Church leader Dr. ROBERT S. CANDLISH, and will be found prefixed to *Gospel Contrasts and Parallels*, a posthumous volume of Gray's sermons (Edinburgh, 1862). The *Memoir of ALEXANDER EWING, D.C.L., Bishop of Argyll and the Isles* (Mar. Coll., 1828-30), containing notices also of his brother, JOHN AIKEN EWING, vicar of West Mill, Herts., who was in the same class at college (Lond., 1879), is replete with allusions to northern life and memories of their relatives connected with the University. STEWART CLARK; *one of Nature's noblemen* (London, 1898), is a biography of the King's College bajan of 1829, a surgeon in the Indian medical service, with some curious stories of Aberdeen and Upper Deeside. ISLAY BURNS (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1835; D.D., 1864), professor of Theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow, wrote the memoir of his brother, WILLIAM CHALMERS BURNS (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1834), missionary in China, published in London (1870). Biographies exceptionally meriting attention are those of Professor DAVID THOMSON (M.A., King's Coll., 1845) (Abdn., 1894); of JAMES CLERK MAXWELL, professor of Natural Philosophy (Mar. Coll., 1856-60) (Lond., 1882); and of Professor WILLIAM MINTO (M.A., 1865), in *Literature of the Georgian Era* (Edin., 1894).

Besides individual biographies there are many books of personal recollections or University gatherings that I would not be without, some of them written by able men quite unconnected with the University. How intimately we are concerned with the opinions and conversation of Dr. Samuel Johnson and his friend James Boswell on their visit to Aberdeen, its Universities and literati, in 1774, and their associations with our alumni, whom they met in the wilds of the Northern Highlands and the storm-beaten Hebrides. The intelligent account of the Universities in Francis Douglas' *General Description of the East Coast of Scotland* (Paisley, 1772), but more accessible in the reprint (Abdn., 1826), is well worth perusal. And in the lighter vein some of the alumni have enriched our literature with priceless pages of college reminiscence such as we find in the *Personal Memoirs of PRYSE LOCKHART GORDON* (King's Coll., 1776-78), 2 vols.; and in *Random Records*, by GEORGE COLMAN the Younger (King's Coll., 1781-83), 2 vols., both works published in London (1830). *Memorabilia Domestica: or Parish Life in the North of Scotland*, by DONALD SAGE (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1808) (Wick, 1889), is one of the best volumes of college reminiscence, and the most interesting picture in existence of manse life in the Highlands. *Oor ain folk* (Edin., 1893), by James Inglis,

minister of public instruction in the legislature of New South Wales, is a charming biographical sketch of the life and family history of his father, ROBERT INGLIS, (M.A., King's Coll., 1821), schoolmaster at Lochlee and subsequently Free Church minister of Edzell, and of his uncle, DAVID INGLIS (King's Coll., 1817-21), a surgeon and farmer at Gleneffock, Lochlee, a book rich in college anecdote, full of youthful adventure and enjoyment, and of the love of the beautiful Highland country between Montrose and Upper Deeside. The same writer also gave us *The Humour of the Scot* (Edin., 1894), whence many more similarly interesting local anecdotes and sketches may be gleaned; and his father was the author of *Memorials of the Disruption in Edzell and Lochlee*, privately printed (1872). Similarly interesting works, redolent of the flavour of University life, are WILLIAM PAUL'S (M.A., King's Coll., 1822; D.D., 1853) *Past and Present of Aberdeenshire, or reminiscences of seventy years* (Abdn., 1881); and Howard Angus Kennedy's memoirs of his uncle, PROFESSOR BLACKIE, *his sayings and doings* (1895), and *Old Highland Days*, the reminiscences of his father, Dr. JOHN KENNEDY (M.A., King's Coll., 1843; D.D., 1872). Such also are *An Echo of the olden time from the North of Scotland* (1874), by WALTER GREGOR (M.A., King's Coll., 1849; LL.D., 1895), a philologist and antiquary of much distinction; the vivid picture of Aberdeen University life by Sir HUGH GILZEAN REID in *Past and Present* (Edin., 1871); and WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE [M.A., Mar. Coll., 1837; LL.D., 1871], *an Autobiography: recollections of a busy life* (London, 1901), a volume largely reminiscent of college experiences well told by a highly gifted litterateur with an excellent memory and strong local patriotism. *Old Aberdeenshire ministers and their people*, by JOHN DAVIDSON (M.A., Mar. Coll., 1838; D.D., 1877) (Aberdeen, 1895); the industrious historian of *Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch*; and *Aberdeen and its folk, by a Son of Bon-Accord in America* (JAMES RIDDELL, Mar. Coll., 1830-33) (Abdn., 1868), are both books of similar interest. A graphic account of the home life at Balta Sound, Unst, and school days of two Marischal College students is given in *The home of a Naturalist* (Lond., 1888), by BIOT EDMONSTON (Mar. Coll., 1846-50), and in *The Young Shetlander*, being the life and letters of THOMAS EDMONDSTON (Mar. Coll., 1844-45), naturalist on H.M.S. *Herald* (Edin., 1868), author of *A Flora of Shetland* (Abdn., 1845), written when he was only nineteen, the most precocious scientific work by an Aberdeen student that I am acquainted with.

ROBERT HARVEY SMITH (M.A., King's Coll., 1852), before he entered college, was the founder of the Mutual Improvement Societies which influenced many young men of good parts to seek higher education in the University, a story which is well told in his remarkable book *An Aberdeenshire Village Propaganda forty years ago* (Edin., 1889). Other phases of the propaganda will be found in *Memorials of James Henderson, M.D.*, Muir of Rhyndie, the self-educated medical missionary to China (Lond., 1867); in Mr. John Bulloch's *Memorials of the First Congregational Church in Aberdeen* (1898); in *The Missionar Kirk of Huntly*, by ROBERT TROUP (M.A., King's Coll., 1847) (1901); and in the biography of *James Macdonell, Journalist* (Lond., 1890), by WILLIAM ROBERTSON NICOLL (M.A., 1870; LL.D., 1890). JOHN RUSSELL (M.A., King's Coll., 1853), in his *Three Years in Shetland* (Paisley, 1887), has produced one of the most entertaining narratives of a country minister's experiences, touching a wide range of subjects, that I know, and it includes notes of his life as teacher before he went to Ultima Thule. *The Life at a Northern University* (Gw., 1874), by NEIL NATHANIEL MACLEAN (M.A., King's Coll., 1859), is almost entirely founded on college events, and in the new edition by WILLIAM KEITH LEASK (M.A., 1877) is one of the most desirable University books.

And what have I been doing here but reviving past memories—bringing together the men of old times, when the world seemed but half astir, and those of this age of electricity, when literature circles the globe at lightning speed; men of the past who went far away and never came back, others who plodded along in the dear old country, and those who to-day have the world before them? Mine is but a scanty gathering from the great crowd, for this volume could not contain half the story of the Aberdeen University educator. But such as it is, when we consider what a distant little provincial city Aberdeen was even a single century ago, the record is somewhat wonderful, certainly honourable, and, in the great aggregate, justly proud and glorious. Our modestly endowed university has trained a greater number of distinguished teachers than the three other Scottish universities put together. To each of these universities she has supplied many more professors than they together have given her. As it was four centuries ago, so to-day her teachers flourish in Continental cities; and all over England and America, in the vast empire of India, and in the great colonies and dependencies which conquest and discovery have added to the dominions of the crown, they are continually met with

in the higher ranks of educationists, while in their own country they are most frequently selected to fill coveted positions in the government department of public instruction. Truly then, as the educator is the greatest civiliser, her share in the civilisation of the world has been far beyond all proportion to her academic importance.

When my list of names is perused how manifest it becomes that in worldly estimation the educator has generally occupied a comparatively humble position in life; and it is unhappily true that until recently his social status was so much below his merit that the Scottish people, which must chiefly thank him for its high reputation among the nations of the world, might well blush at the very mention of it. The professions of divinity, law and medicine, which but for him would have been groping in barbaric darkness, worshipping the fetish, crushing justice and right beneath might, practising the enchantments of demonology, look down upon him, forsooth, for no other apparent reason except that the education they have acquired from him enables them to earn more money than he can. Aye, there's the gross shame of it; for ages we denied him fair emolument; and even to-day he receives from us far too little in both reward and honour. Not that the possession of accumulated wealth could make him more worthy of respect and admiration than does his honest toil for the advancement of knowledge. DUNCAN DUNBAR (King's Coll., 1816-18), a great and prosperous shipowner in London who died a millionaire in 1862, ignored his indebtedness to education, founded no bursary for the poor student, no endowment for teacher or school, and never even gave a book to the library of his Alma Mater. So the pride and glory of his hoard perished with him. But the honour and reputation of our humblest educator time can never destroy, for the effect of his labours is boundless and everlasting; and, although none of his works esteemed as standards to-day may be class-books a century hence, yet they will none the less be cherished in the history of culture, and he will live in them, immortal in the literature of education.

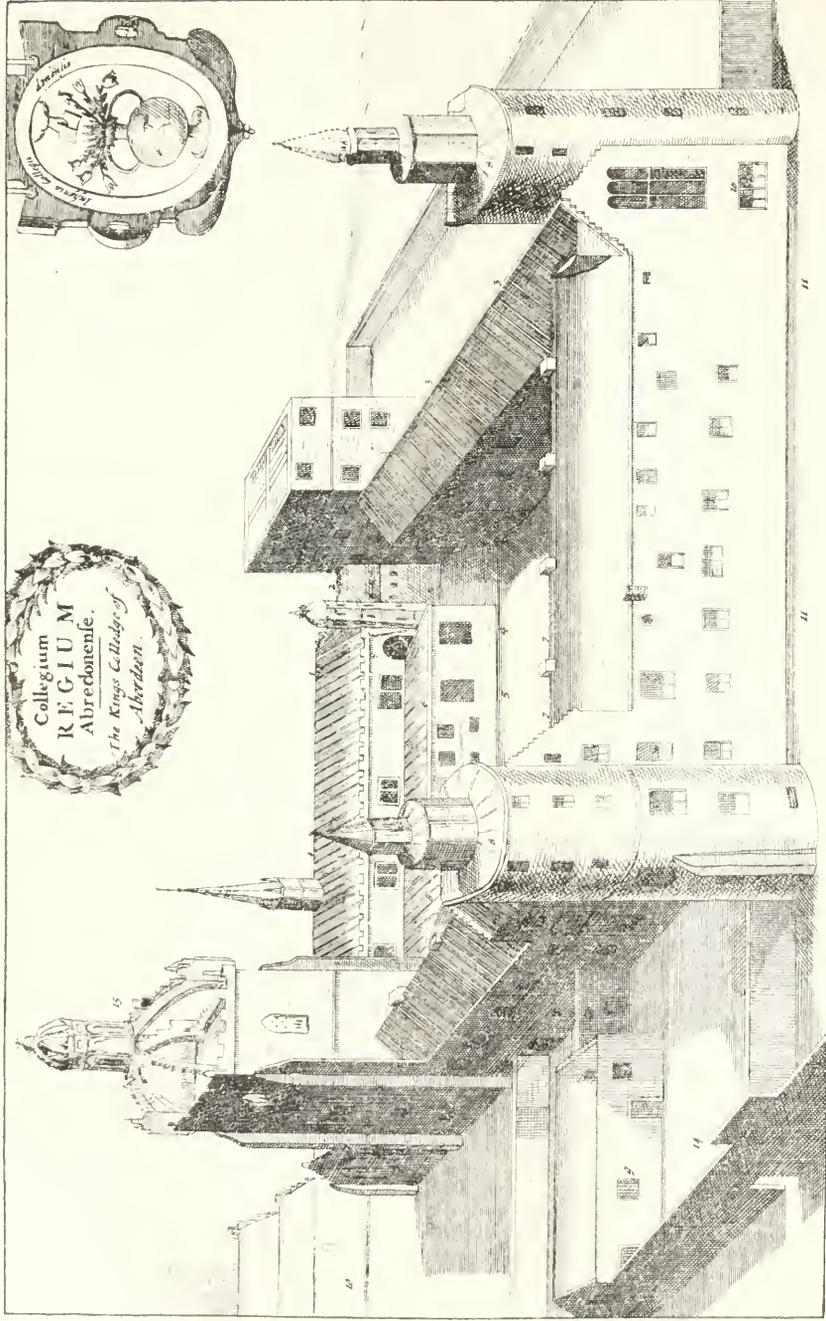
A patriotic munificence in the disposal of commercial earnings unprecedented in the world's history, wisely guided by intimate acquaintance with the aspirations of the humbler ranks of Scottish respectability, has now raised the student of slender means from surroundings of privation which too often beset with hidden cares and miseries his struggles for learning in the past, while his opportunities of gaining prizes and honours

have abundantly increased. But for the inestimable services of the teacher prizes are unknown, and the reward is often so inadequate, or so inequitably distributed, that his home is too frequently the field of a contest with straitened circumstances. The chief honour conferred upon him is the unctuous pleasure of seeing his successes recorded in the local newspaper, a form of public gratitude which may swell his head but does not expand his pocket. To every calling but his, success brings rewards. The prosperity of his late pupil, the village merchant and bank agent, is recognised by exaltation to the magisterial bench, but who ever heard of such acknowledgement of the teacher's still higher qualifications? I suggest that, for his encouragement and elevation, larger endowments are required on the useful lines of the Dick Bequest, and that they should be available, not only to masters of public schools, but to every teacher who submits his students to the public examinations of the universities and government services. Whatever his grade or status, the ascertained results of his teaching should be amply and specially rewarded, for salaries and fees can never be sufficient payment for really meritorious scholastic work. I may not live to see the day when a broader and more generous treatment of the educator shall bless my native land, but I feel assured that long before the university celebrates another centenary, no annalist will be able to declare that the worldly circumstances of almost every teacher he has known have been below the general level of men in other professions, or that the orphaned children of a talented schoolmaster whose ill-rewarded exertions brought him to an early grave, have been allowed to drift through comparative indigence into a lower plane of social life.

Thus ends the pleasant task whose accomplishment would have been impossible but for the inspiration of the volumes of our educators ranged around me. They have been gathered from Grammar School days, and such knowledge as I have acquired I owe to them; and I cannot open one of them without feeling that its voice is dearer to me because its author loved Don and Dee and Benachie; the bloom of heather, whin and broom; the breath of pine woods and fragrant birches, of bog myrtle and the briar bush in the kailyard; the granite grey; Balgownie's brig, Aulton towers and crown, St. Nicholas' steeple with the long past memory of auld Lowrie's curfew, and that his motto was

BON-ACCORD.

J. F. KELLAS JOHNSTONE.



Places of the Kings Colledge.

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| 1. The Church. | 9. the Grammar-Schoole. | 13. Entry to the Gate. |
| 2. The New Worke | 10. the Churchyard | 14. Grammar-Schooll cloffe |
| 3. The grate Wall | 11. Part of the Garden. | 15. the Greate Steeple |
| 4. The second Scovle | 12. Part of the Streete | 16. the Window of ye great Scovle under the Colledge hall. |
| | 13. 4. 7. a. Part of the Cloffe of Courtyard. | |

THE BUILDINGS.

KING'S COLLEGE, 1500-1900.

MARISCHAL COLLEGE, 1593-1893.

THE observant visitor in the City of Aberdeen (if, in these days, there be any such) must be impressed by the contrast between the streets and their names. The streets are blatantly new, four square to every wind, mercilessly regular in the interval from doorway to window, handsome with the mid-Victorian handsomeness for which the kindest word of a later generation is "substantial"; their granite always defiant of that golden stain of time wherein Mr. Ruskin taught us to look for the real light and colour and preciousness of architecture. The names, on the other hand, speak of men and things that long preceded Gothic revivals and the ravages of "restorations". We hear of Blackfriars and Greyfriars, of Windmills and Woolmanhills, of the Kirk-gate and the Green. When we leave the long new street which commemorated the Union with Ireland a century ago, and turn into the narrow way which seemed a Broadgate in days gone by, and follow the old road to the Aulton, we find ourselves amid "ghosts of speech". They are *voces et praterea nihil*, at all events while we are still within the ancient boundary of the City of Aberdeen. The Gallowgate, relieved of all the grim associations of its name, has also been shorn of the last of the houses of the great which gave some element of pathos to its squalor; if any sacred building crowns the Holy Mount, it is of yesterday, and we have to pass along a "crescent" before we reach the Spital, long since robbed of the house of St. Peter and daily despoiled by monstrous tenements. Even from the College Bounds, the name of which recalls far distant memories of a University jurisdiction, the very existence of which has passed into oblivion, the red tiles, on which the winter sun shone while the red gowns passed along in rapid succession, have almost

disappeared, and lend no more enchantment to the graceful curve which is bounded by the quaint towers of the Powis Gateway.

To the returned wanderer who crosses the Howe o' the Spital (the home of the North Wind), there is a dearer and more memorable landmark than the Powis Gate. It is, as one of our own poets has said, a "vision wondrous fair" which the eye expects ;

A calm and changeless Minster 'Town
An ever-changing sea

form the setting of memory's jewel. To every son of King's it is the Crown that vivifies and represents the distant (or, it may be, the near) past, which the whole scene recalls : until he light on that stately outline, the Spital wanderer is restless and unsatisfied. The bells which find their home under the Crown are sometimes said to call back all her exiles before they die. Their sound has certainly gone throughout the earth ; the vision of the Crown to the ends of the world.

It is, says the chronicler, "a most curious and statelie work of hewin and corned stones, representing to the view of all beholders a brave pourtrait of the royale diademe". Two other such towers stood on Scottish soil :¹ one still adorns the High Street of Edinburgh ; the other added an additional charm to the Linlithgow of Mary Stuart, and perished under the last George. All three were probably the work of the family of Franche or French, three generations of whom are to be ranked among the great builders of mediæval Scotland. One of them, possibly the artist who designed the Crown of King's, lies buried in an aisle of St. Machar. The Aberdeen Crown is sterner and simpler than her Edinburgh sister ; plain arches arise from a buttressed tower and meet under a royal crown which rests on their keystones ; the pinnacles which adorn it are simple and almost severe. We do not now look on it quite as it came from the builder's hands. Within a little over a century it required serious repairs (1620), and scarcely had these been completed, when a wild February gale in 1633 blew it down, "whereby both the roofes of tymber and lead and other adjacent works were pitifullie crushed, and that Royall crown loosed". A great Bishop ruled Aberdeen under Charles I., and to the efforts of Patrick Forbes, supported by the College itself and by the City of Aberdeen, we owe its restoration. The builder to whom the work was entrusted

¹ There is another and older example at Newcastle.

has left his name carved on the keystone on the west side of the great arch of the Crown, thus escaping the fate of those "which have no memorial, who are perished as though they had never been".

The tower thus nobly crowned is the Campanile of the College Chapel, which occupies the north side of the quadrangle. When William Elphinstone, the saintly prelate to whom the north-eastern corner of Scotland owes more than to any other single man, obtained from Pope and King permission and ratification for his double foundation of a University and a College in Old Aberdeen, he made it his first business to secure as his teachers men fitted to train their fellows for the service of God in Church and State. He intended to create, and he did create, an institution which should be, above all else, a body of teachers and pupils. When he had obtained the services of the distinguished scholar from whom Shakespeare was to learn the legend of "Macbeth," Elphinstone next determined to build a worthy home for his masters and students, and he began by the erection of a House of God. Boece and his colleagues and their first pupils could seek a place of abode in some cottage in the High Street, or might find entertainment among the hospitable dignitaries in the Chanonry. What arrangements Elphinstone made we do not know: that he made some provision no one who knows his character can doubt. These things might be left for future settlement. But the College of St. Mary in the Nativity must have a noble house in which to worship God and do honour to Our Lady, under whose special protection the Society was placed. The dedication name was lost years before the time came when a painting of the Virgin in the Chapel organ-screen was described as "a portrait of some woman, naebody kens wha, whilk is a thing most intolerable in the Kirk of a College". Why the name of St. Mary perished almost immediately at Aberdeen, as, a hundred years before, it had perished among the scholars of Wykeham's New College at Oxford, is a mystery. That King James IV. gave Elphinstone's foundation his patronage and support is true; but his predecessors had similarly encouraged Glasgow and St. Andrews. If one may hazard a conjecture, it would be that the Crown suggested the name. It was the first building in Scotland to rest under the shadow of a royal crown, and doubtless it became known popularly as "the King's College" long before the time when the College of St. Mary disappears from formal documents. Professor Davidson has drawn my attention to a passage in Boece's *Bishops of Aberdeen* (ed. Moir, p. 117),

in which Boece asserts that Elphinstone, "modestiae causa," wished the College to be called "regale". The analogy of King's College, Cambridge (Collegium Regale), makes it probable that we are to translate this as "King's" and not merely "royal". If this is so, the name "King's College" must have been used colloquially almost from the beginning, as Boece's book was printed in 1522. Not for twenty years afterwards do we find the expression in a formal charter, and even then both names are inserted "regale collegium B. V. M. in Nativitate". What Boece meant by saying that the Founder desired the College to be so called "modestiae causa" is a mystery. Possibly there was a popular tendency to call it colloquially the Bishop's College, and Elphinstone loyally insisted that, if it was not to be called St. Mary's, it should be known as "King's".

The date of the Chapel is accurately known from the inscription outside the west door:—

**Per serenissimum illustrissimum et invictissimum J. J. V.
R. quarto nonas Aprilis anno millesimo et quingentesimo hoc
insigne collegium latomi inceperunt edificare.**

The Chapel is one long building, divided by a rood-screen into Chancel and Nave; it possesses neither aisle nor transept, and it terminates in a triangular apse. Of two small towers which originally adorned it, one, at the east end, has disappeared, leaving only some traces of a staircase upon the outer wall; the other, a graceful spire in the centre of the roof, is associated with the name of King Charles (I.?), whose cipher it bears. It is sometimes said to have been built by that monarch, or by his son, but as we know that it required substantial repairs in 1638, it is probable that the cipher was added at that date, when it was also engraved on the lead of the roof. There is no reason for believing that the "little steeple" is not as old as the rest of the building. The west and north sides of the chapel have suffered little, if any, change, save from time and weather. The west window has, fortunately, been preserved intact, although only a few fragments remain of Elphinstone's original glass. It is a round-headed window of four lights, with rich cusped tracery, rare in Scotland, and an inspiration from Flemish architecture led the builder to obtain an unusual effect by making the central mullion run straight up to the top, bisecting the arch. A somewhat similar round-headed window fills one of the bays on the north side; other four bays are filled with pointed

windows, in each of which has been restored the distinctive feature of the bisection of the arch by the central mullion ; in the sixth bay is the doorway through which the bodies of early members of the College were carried to their last resting-place in the now forgotten graveyard outside. Traces of change are more evident on the east and south sides of the Chapel. The east window has entirely disappeared. In 1620 orders were given to destroy its tracery, and fill the space with glass ; we do not know that this was ever done, but, in 1658, a building known as the " Timber Muses " was built against the east end, finally closing up the window. No attempt was made to restore it either in 1873 or in 1891. The two narrow windows in the apse have lost their original tracery. One of them was closed up in 1715, and when it was reopened in 1823, both (and the nearest window in the south side) were filled with light mullions with wooden mouldings. These have since been removed, and a heavier stone tracery inserted.

The south side of the Chapel presents an obvious contrast to the rest of the building, in being largely covered with granite, the permanent memorial of a long and varied history. The first change in the south wall was made by Bishop Stewart (Chancellor, 1532-45). He built out a library and jewel-house, extending into the quadrangle. A small doorway in the interior of the south wall represents the entrance into this treasure-house. The library had fallen into a state of decay by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was replaced in 1724-25 by the munificent Dr. James Fraser, of Chelsea, whom we shall meet later on. Dr. Fraser's Library was on the first floor, and the ground floor was occupied by a number of " Schools " or classrooms. There is a tradition that this second library was destroyed by fire somewhere about the year 1773. This tradition is so explicit that it is scarcely possible to doubt the existence of a fire ; yet it depends solely on the evidence of one revered and distinguished son of King's, and finds no confirmation either in the Minutes of the Senatus or in the *Aberdeen Journal* of the period. The story shall be told in his own words by Professor Norman Macpherson, of Edinburgh, whose grandfather, Dr. Roderick Macleod, was for sixty-eight years an official of the College, and fifteen years its Principal, and whose father was over sixty years a Professor. His recollections can thus go back, with the help of one intermediary, to the appointment of Roderick Macleod as a regent in 1749, and he has embodied them, with much

recondite information, in his *Notes on the Chapel and Ancient Buildings of King's College*, to which all subsequent inquirers must owe great obligations:—

“I heard of this [fire] from my father,” says Professor Macpherson, “in reply to my asking how the north side of the Chapel came to be of fresh-looking granite, while there were embedded in it a number of ancient coats of arms evidently of much more ancient date, and carved in sandstone. He told me there had been a library there, which had been burnt, and that when this happened the chapel wall required new support, and was then cased and buttressed with granite as we now see it; and that the old coats of arms had been nearly all on the walls of the library, and having escaped the fire, were, along with some others, inserted in the new granite work. I have heard my mother tell of this burning. She had the story from her father, Principal Macleod, and said that it took place during his connection with the University. I do not recollect any date being mentioned. The professor who was ‘hebdomadar’ for the week, and so in charge of the buildings, had, one afternoon, after the students’ dinner at which he had, *ex officio*, presided, put his hand on some wainscoting, and finding it very hot, suspected fire, and caused some of the lining of the room where he was to be torn down, when fire burst out, and there was barely time to save the books of the library by throwing them into the nave of the Chapel.”

The Senatus Minutes of the period show clearly enough that the occurrence of a fire was not the original cause of the destruction of Fraser’s Library. The College was at this time occupied with great plans for rebuilding, and schemes for enlarging the College and for building manses for the professors were under consideration. On the 7th April, 1773, a Committee recommended that manses should be immediately erected. “And that these may be built at as little expence to the Fund as possible [they] agree that the west end of the College Chappel be immediately fitted up for a Library out of the Fund belonging to the Library, that so the present Library and Schools being taken down, the materials of them may be employed in building the said Manses.” This resolution was confirmed on the 6th May by the College. At what date the fire occurred is unknown; but the language of the Minutes clearly indicates that the step was adopted as part of a great scheme of building. Fortunately, only a portion of this scheme was carried out. A very elaborate

plan, made by Adam, was too expensive to be seriously considered. It provided for the erection of a large building "in the modern taste," projecting from the line of the west end of the Chapel to the street, in strictly classical style, and adorned with a portico supported on Doric pillars. Money was not so easily raised in the eighteenth century as it is to-day, and the blessing of poverty prevented not only this enormity, but a perhaps still more hideous abomination, for another existing plan shows a porter's lodge built on the south side of the Crown Tower, uniform with the west end of the Chapel. The available funds, however, sufficed only for the erection of the two detached manses, now assigned to the Chairs of Greek and Mathematics.

The interior of the Chapel has, of course, been subject to many varied changes. Its most distinctive feature has, fortunately, been preserved, the noble screen of richly carved oak, which Elphinstone probably brought from abroad, and which is worthy to be compared with the work in St. George's Chapel at Windsor or in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster. The *miserere* seats¹ have all disappeared from the stalls (Calvinism had no use for *misereres*), and the back panels are all new. But the stalls with their exquisite canopies remain, and the great doorway into the Antechapel. Professor Norman Macpherson, with the help of an inventory of 1542, has conjecturally reconstructed the interior of the Chapel in pre-Reformation times, and to his book we refer the reader for details. At the eve of the Reformation it contained three altars; the high altar, surmounted by a great painting, the altar of the Blessed Sacrament in the north side, and, in the south, an altar of St. Catherine, erected by the executors of Principal Boece. In front of the high altar was the now rifled tomb of the Founder. The blue marble slab still remains; but the statue has vanished, although pious imagination can reconstruct "the tomb of the Founder, on the upper part of which rests his effigy, robed in his pontificals, with two angels holding candlesticks by his head, and two servants at his feet bearing an inscription graven in brass. In the lower portion are, on the South, the three Theological Virtues and Contemplation, and on the North, the Cardinal Virtues with their distinctive symbols, on the East and West sides of the Founder are insignia borne by angels." Mediæval Scotland was not rich in holy lives—lived, at all events, in the sight of men. William Elphinstone was a saint and a statesman. To his

¹ Some of them remain in the subsellia.

wisdom and his munificence thousands of Scotsmen have owed the richness and the fulness of their lives. We have eaten of his bounty, and have left his resting-place desolate. The strong common sense of which we boast has stigmatized as weak sentimentalism any effort to do honour to his name. It is true that there are higher and greater ways of indicating our reverence and gratitude than a restoration of his tomb; but to do this would not necessarily involve leaving the other undone. The superstition that reverence and gratitude can only exist when no outward or visible sign whatsoever is made of their existence, has gone far to kill reverence and gratitude. That the tomb of William Elphinstone remains to-day as it was left by the sacrilegious robbers who (possibly, but by no means certainly, in the name of religion) despoiled it of the beauty with which it had been adorned by the loving hands of the first King's College men, is a humiliating thought in this year of rejoicing.

Two pulpits have been placed in the chapel since the Reformation. One of these (now used as the pulpit) is a restoration of a pulpit placed in St. Machar's Cathedral by Bishop Stewart, in the middle of the sixteenth century, and partially destroyed by a number of Covenanters in 1640, led by Principal Guild, of King's College, who "ordained our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, his armes to be hewn out of the foir front of the pulpit". It was given to the College in the early part of the nineteenth century. The other pulpit, now occupied by the Principal, is the throne or seat of Bishop Patrick Forbes, who used the Chapel as his Synod-house. It still remains where he placed it, in the centre of the apse, and its base, at one time used for Bishop Stewart's pulpit, has now been restored to it.

How or when the Chapel was robbed of its ornaments, its jewels and robes, its paintings and brass, its marble pavements and coloured hangings, we do not know. It survived the first ravages of the Reformation, when Principal Anderson armed the students and defended the College, and it probably suffered more in the course of the seventeenth than in the sixteenth century. It suffered again in the eighteenth century, from neglect and disuse. Religious services within its walls fell into abeyance, and it was used only for graduation ceremonies, for meetings of the Synod of Aberdeen, and when the body of a dead professor lay on the Founder's tomb before being carried out to burial. It escaped the greatest danger of all in connection with the Building Scheme in 1773, to which we have already referred. What actually happened then was that the nave was

fitted up as a library. The walls were covered with book-shelves, and a doorway was made into the Crown Tower. But the College had before them a plan for using the nave partly as a library and partly for lecture-rooms. Mr. Adam suggested making three "schools" on the ground floor, and placing a floor for the library on the level of the west window. "All these schools are intended to be lighted from the North and the walls must be slapped for three windows as well as for one door to the South. There can be no access to the library but by an outer stair in the College Court." A chimney was to be inserted in the roof, beside the little spire. Fortunately, accommodation for lecture-rooms was found elsewhere, but the record of the deliberations betrays no suggestion that æsthetic considerations influenced the decision.

Early in the nineteenth century, the hand of the restorer was at work. In 1823 the Murray legacy, for sermons in the College Chapel, became available; the "College loft" in St. Machar's was abandoned, and the Chapel was again used for the religious worship of the Society. In view of this, the Chapel was "restored" by the destruction of the altar steps, and the introduction of pews. Five large paintings of Scripture scenes (now in the Ante-chapel) were removed from the hall and hung on the Chapel walls. In 1873, when the books had been removed from the nave to the new Library, the oak screen was removed further to the west, thus enlarging the Chapel. Some beautiful carved oak, forming an ambone and a gallery between nave and choir, were recklessly thrown away, as much about the same time an equally ruthless restorer banished the carvings from the Chapel of Winchester College. More fortunate than Winchester, King's College was able, twenty years later, to find a place of repentance in H.M. Office of Works, and part of the carved work returned to find a site in the Chapel. This last renovation restored some of the waste places of former generations. The chancel steps were replaced; the floor was made damp-proof and adorned with heraldic designs; the roof was painted as part of a great scheme of colouring; an organ took the place of that which had escaped the Reformers to fall before the Covenanters. All this and more was done with taste and reverence, under the wise and skilful hands of the late Principal (Sir W. D. Geddes) and Sir Rowand Anderson. No attempt, however, was made to deal with the problem of the east window or to restore the Founder's tomb. Want of money rendered this probably the best course in the circumstances, but an

unfortunate step was taken when new carved stalls were made for the Principal and Professors round the apse. This arrangement had been adopted in 1823, but, in 1891-92, it might well have been abandoned, and the dignitaries of the University might have returned to their historical seats in the stalls of the great screen. That Bishop Forbes placed his seat in the apse for an entirely different purpose was no real reason why a defiance of history, for which the excuse of ignorance might perhaps have been made in 1825, should continue in the wider knowledge of to-day. The stall prepared by the Founder for the Principal may, perhaps, some day be occupied by the Principal.

Of the remainder of the original buildings of King's College we know but little. On the east side of the quadrangle stood the Great Hall, with the Public School underneath—probably the work of the Founder himself. Its oak roof (alcoved like that of the Chapel) was destroyed early in the nineteenth century, but the Hall itself remained till the mid-Victorians fell upon it in 1860 and ruthlessly destroyed it. Its beautiful mullioned windows may be descried in the well-known engraving dated about 1820. "Of all the oak in which it was so rich," says Professor Macpherson, "there exists but one fragment, transferred to the Chapel—a representation of the Founder's arms." The Public School had been spoiled in 1773 by its division into lecture-rooms (the device which saved the Chapel at that date), but both Hall and Public School would have been jealously preserved in an age less barbarous than the sixties. The same remark applies to the buildings which occupied the south side of the quadrangle. This site was apparently not built on by the Founder, who left the completion of his work to Bishop Dunbar. That great Bishop erected a row of domestic buildings, of which the painting ascribed to Jameson gives us some slight conception, and of which the Eastern Tower still remains. We have a few details about the rooms—the Principal's chamber beautifully panelled and adorned with paintings and hangings and "ane chandelier of brass with the ymage of Our Lady and sex flouris". Each dormitory had its name—given from the planets and constellations, Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury, Venus, the Ram, the Bull, and so forth. Within these rooms lived all the members of the College, masters and students, with the exception of the Humanist, the Mediciner, and the Canonist. Bishop Dunbar's buildings were found to be in a sad state of decay about 1720, and Dr. James Fraser, of Chelsea, who rebuilt the Library and Schools on the opposite side of the quadrangle—a son of King's

whom none has surpassed in loyalty and affection—offered to erect new buildings on the south side. Fortunately, Dunbar's Eastern Tower was spared; its spire, which was blown down by a gale in 1715, has never been restored, but the "Ivy Tower" remains, and adds a beauty to the College, although its significance has been somewhat destroyed in recent years by a pavilion and servant's house. Fraser has been less fortunate than Dunbar. His Library was destroyed in 1773; his domestic building in 1860. Its most notable feature was a cloister-like piazza which ran along its whole length. The ground floor contained two classrooms, and the remaining space was devoted to living-rooms for students and professors. After Collegiate residence died out, about a century ago, the students' rooms became disused, save, for some years in the fifties, by the Professor of Oriental Languages, usually known as "Hebrew Scott". The east attic, known as "the Lobby," had long been used for dancing, and the west end continued to be occupied as a manse by one of the regents. Professor Macpherson recollects two or three students living within the College walls;¹ and he can recall the low, humble house of the Oeconomus, and the great arched chimney of the kitchen. "In the court between it and the Hall was a draw-well, and in it an eel—no one could say how old."

One other building of respectable age requires to be mentioned—the Square Tower—which by a recent confusion of ideas has come to be known as Cromwell's Tower. It was commenced in 1658, in order to provide increased accommodation for students. Scotland was then under General Monk, and he and a number of his officers gave some assistance to the Puritan Principal, Row. It was completed, under different auspices, after the Restoration, and it came to possess a billiard-room as well as chambers and schools. Of early nineteenth-century additions, the less said the better. The least objectionable is an addition to the Square Tower (1825), containing an interior staircase. The most infelicitous is Archibald Simpson's west front. This side of the quadrangle does not seem to have been utilised by Elphinstone or Dunbar, except for the Chapel and Towers. Jameson's painting shows a small building, just outside, called the Grammar School. Apart from this school, which disappeared at some unknown date, the site continued to be unoccupied, and escaped Adam's dome and Doric pillars

¹ Residence ceased to be compulsory in 1775, and died out, as a recognised arrangement, in Session 1824-25. The students whom Professor Macpherson recollects must have obtained private leave to occupy some of the disused rooms.

in 1773; but in 1825 Simpson built his Renaissance front, to pay for which the College sold most of its bells. It fails to harmonise with Elphinstone's Gothic, and sadly spoils the effect of the southern side of the Crown Tower. Scarcely less unfortunate is the dull and commonplace row of lecture-rooms of 1860, which occupy the south and west sides, and which equally fail to harmonise with the beauty which is a legacy from the past. The only recent work on which the eye can rest with any satisfaction is the Library, built on the site of the ancient kitchen and extending eastward for some 200 feet. It is a long and lofty hall, with double transepts, commenced in 1870 and completed in 1885. The whole effect is impressive; no library in Scotland is so magnificently housed. Standing in the corridor beside the bust of a distinguished young graduate who fell with Cavagnari at Cabul in 1879, and looking up the long line of books to the Melvin window, one can feel that here, if nowhere else in Old Aberdeen, modern art has done its best to keep from spoiling "ancient worth".

Of Elphinstone's extra-mural buildings one stone remains—the coat of arms of the Founder—which, with the remnant of an old gateway, is built into the wall of the Humanity manse, and which used to give the house the name of "The Sign of the Mitre". The Snow Church, served, according to Elphinstone's plan, by the Canonist, has entirely disappeared, and on the site of the Canonist's manse is a house (now attached to the Chair of Church History) dating from the year 1860. The Mediciner's manse was rebuilt in 1842 for Dr. Gregory, and now belongs to the Chair of Biblical Criticism. The very memory of the quaint old houses is dying out, with the memory of the vanished type of Scots professor who inhabited them, and they can be recalled to-day only by such an old-world drawing as that which preserves the likeness of the old Canonist's manse, in which Thomas Reid lived his simple life at Aberdeen and wrote a book that men yet read, and in which Sub-Principal Macpherson reared the sons who, like not a few of their fellows, were to help to keep India under the wearer of the Imperial diadem whose "brave pourtrait" cast its shade over the playground of their boyhood.

When we turn from King's to Marischal, we find ourselves on different ground. Never was there a Founder who combined stricter economy with his piety than the Keith, to whom Carlyle was grateful for allowing Scotsmen to cultivate the Muses on a little oatmeal. There is no evidence that he contributed out of his patrimony any sum to the foundation of the

College; he contented himself with securing for it part of the lands of which he and his fellow-robbers were despoiling the Church. In a similar spirit, he provided for the accommodation of his Society, by obtaining for them from the Town Council such parts of the monastery of the Greyfriars as had been spared in the outrages which accompanied the Reformation. The unfortunate Friars had resigned their property into the hands of the magistrates in 1559, and this gift was sanctioned by the Crown after the deposition of Queen Mary, the Town Council undertaking to use the building as a hospital. This promise they did not fulfil, and in 1587 King James gave it to the Earl of Huntly, from whom it again passed, two years later, into the hands of the Town Council. This flotsam and jetsam of a building served as the Marischal College of Aberdeen for nearly a hundred years, and in some room in it Dugald Dalgetty "filled a place at the bursar's table, when if you did not move your jaws as fast as a pair of castanets, you were very unlikely to get anything to put between them". Not one stone of the building thus acquired is known to exist to-day. The ancient Church of the Greyfriars, in which the College worshipped, was a beautiful example of Scoto-Gothic, built in freestone by a distinguished architect, Alexander Galloway, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, it was the property of the Town Council, not of the College, and that body almost immediately permitted the erection of ugly houses to obscure its buttressed side; in 1769, under the pretext of an intention to open up the entrance to the College, they destroyed twenty feet of it, and added a hideous aisle projecting into the quadrangle; in connection with the Building Scheme of 1889, they completed their work by destroying the church altogether, and building its noble east window into a new granite structure. The architect produced a beautiful design incorporating the church in the new College; the family who have been by far the most generous benefactors Marischal College has ever known attempted to use an influence which they might reasonably be supposed to possess; but neither a sense of beauty nor a sense of gratitude nor the half-hearted and inconsistent pleading of the University Court availed to save the last pre-Reformation building in Aberdeen from a Town Council of Goths and Vandals, worthy successors of the culprits who were guilty of the equally wanton destruction of the beautiful East Church¹ some seventy years before. The all-

¹ Some portions of the East Church, fortunately, remain.

important consideration was the erection of a granite edifice with which they have finally closed the quadrangle which they proposed to open up.

Of the original College there remains a single stone, added by the Founder himself. It is an inscription with the famous motto: **They haif said. Qubat say they? Lat thame say**—supposed to have been placed there by the Earl as an answer to the critics who commented adversely on his spoliation of the Abbey of Deer. The original College seems never to have been adequate for the demands made upon it; in 1633, for instance, the Town Council ordered a house at the back of the College to be fitted up with beds for the students who were formerly lodged in the Town House. It was probably from this cause that Collegiate residence was never compulsory at Marischal College, except for Bursars. In 1639 Spalding records a fire which destroyed the east quarter of the College: "However, it was shortly bigged up again, yet taken for a visitation from God," he remarks. His rival historian, Gordon, mentions that the fire was first noticed by some sailors, who landed and gave the alarm. "A quarter of the edifice was burned," he adds, "which was all the loss, except of some few books, either embezzled or purloined, or by the trepidation of the crowding multitude, thrown into a deep well, which stands in the College yard; which books the magistrates of the city had given orders to carry out of the Library, which was next to the burning, and had it once taken fire, would have defaced the best Library that ever the north parts of Scotland saw."

After the Restoration it became apparent that the buildings must be entirely replaced, and steps were taken as early as 1660 to collect money for the purpose. Appeals were made to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and to Eton, all of which responded with subscriptions, as did also exiled Scotsmen living in the Baltic ports. A representative was sent in person to Oxford and Eton: it is interesting to note that his travelling expenses were £5 6s. 3d.; his living expenses (at 2s. 6d. a day), £32 12s. 6d.; and a horse stolen at Oxford is valued at £9 0s. 4d. No beginning appears to have been made till 1682, when Principal Paterson entered enthusiastically into the scheme; the process of raising money was slow, and the building seems to have gone on spasmodically, as money or stones were received. The Scottish Parliament contributed the stipends of some vacant churches, and the Convention of Royal Burghs gave £1,200 Scots, in consideration of which the Senatus entertained the Commissioners

to "two pounds of coarse biscuit and six ounce of fine biscuit, five pounds of rough almonds, five pounds of raisins, three pints of claret, a chopin of ale, a pint of Canary, seven pints of ale, white loaves, pipes and tobacco". Professor Knight, to whose laborious investigations, preserved in numerous notes¹ in his clear and careful handwriting, the historians of Marischal College will always owe a debt of gratitude, has left on record some details about these buildings. "The interior furnishings," he says, "were long postponed. The Hall, in particular, lay for many years without windows: several of these were erected and adorned by graduates on leaving College." The inadequate provision made by the Founder hampered Marischal College throughout its whole separate existence until it was united with the richer sister Foundation, whose resources have long since been drained by the demands of science. It must probably have been some individual benefactor who gave the Heraldic Roof which adorned the old Hall, and which was needlessly destroyed when the College was rebuilt in the nineteenth century. In spite of grinding poverty, the College made a noble effort to extend its building between 1738 and 1741, and added to the seventeenth-century erection a south wing which contained some schools and dwelling-rooms for regents and students. The architect, Adam, remarks that the lodgings for the masters need not be extensive, "as by the Foundation Charter no women can be admitted into the College". It is perhaps possible to infer from this that there were as yet no married regents resident within the walls; and it is clear that Collegiate residence of students, though never compulsory, had not yet quite died out. But, before long, houses for married regents were made, as at King's College; and, by the middle of the 18th century, students had entirely ceased to reside within the walls.

The last change which it falls to us to record is the building of what is still known to some survivors of an earlier generation as the new Marischal College. The changes of the early nineteenth century and the increase in the number of students rendered the old buildings unsuitable, and as early as 1818 a proposal was made to rebuild on another site; but it was not till 1834 that the work was actually commenced. Two new sites were considered—one in Belmont Street, and the other extending from the Denburn Bridge to Crown Street. Finally, it was decided to retain the old site, and two alternative designs by Archibald Simpson were sub-

¹These MSS. are partly in the possession of the University Library and partly in that of his daughter, Miss Knight, who has been good enough to give the author access to them.

mitted—"a Gothic and a Grecian". The Minutes record that the Gothic design was preferred, and in September, 1836, the then existing College was given over to the contractors. The plain building, its central wing surmounted by a clock, its severe and regular south wing, its northern block relieved by a turret staircase leading to an observatory which had been established there in 1795—all these are fast fading out of human memory, and can be recalled only by a few representations on canvas or steel engraving. They seem to have made but little appeal to emotion, and they have never been enshrined in prose or verse, although Professor Masson, in unveiling the Burns Statue in Aberdeen in 1892, paid them a tribute of affectionate allegiance. Surely, he thought, there never were such stars as Professor Cruickshank used to show him from the top of the old Marischal College. In 1838 Dr. Glennie, the last professor to reside in the College, abandoned the northern wing to the contractor, and then quickly followed the end of a not very auld sang. Dr. Glennie was the successor of Beattie in the Chair of Moral Philosophy, and he had occupied for some twenty years the quaint rooms of the irregular old house. One of his grandchildren, Miss Knight, who witnessed from the window of his drawing-room the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new College on the 18th October, 1837, has lived to see the completion of the Extension Scheme in 1906. Archibald Simpson's somewhat plain and severe building—not, however, entirely lacking in impressiveness—was finished in 1844, and in view of the £200,000 recently expended, it is interesting to note that the original structure cost about £30,000. Want of money prevented any effort to open up Simpson's work to the public gaze, and the old gateway, dating from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, survived to be associated with the College memories of later generations. Some additions were made to the buildings of Marischal College between 1860 and 1889, as the growth of scientific teaching demanded increased space for laboratory and lecture-room, but the outward aspect of Marischal College was scarcely changed between the rebuilding in the thirties and the great Extension Scheme of the nineties, the completion of which we are now engaged in celebrating. We are probably right in regarding the year 1505-6 as the date of the establishment of regular Collegiate residence and discipline at King's College, and it is, thus, a happy coincidence that we can associate our pride in a distinguished past with our hopes for a prosperous future.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

COLLECTIONS TOWARDS A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF ABERDEEN, 1522-1906.

ACADEMIC bibliography has for its sphere all printed matter that illustrates either :—

- i. The history and development of a University as a corporate body ; or
- ii. The literary activity of the University's sons and daughters.

In accord with the title of this volume, the Aberdeen Collections here attempted deal only with the first of these two divisions. The other—far wider in extent—forms part of a scheme that has been for some years on the programme of the New Spalding Club.

This chapter in our quatercentenary volume was suggested, and its preparation was greatly helped, by the existence of a bibliographical work of unusual excellence, the late Mr. J. P. Edmond's *Aberdeen Printers, 1620-1736*, which supplies information as to the whereabouts of many of the rarer Aberdeen books. Following Mr. Edmond, I have recognised a distinction between the books printed before and after 1736: "that date in a measure separating the antiquarian from the commercial periods in the history of Aberdeen printing". For the earlier books, which may claim, apart from their subject matter, a certain purely typographical interest, I have given fairly full transcripts of titlepages and collations of contents. For the later, only the essential parts of the titlepage have been reproduced, according to the recognised methods of cataloguing modern books: omissions being indicated by the insertion of dots (. . .), and the printer's name being noted, if of Aberdeen. In both classes I have endeavoured to see the volumes myself. The greater number are in the Aberdeen University Library; but the Advocates' Library, the Signet Library, the Edinburgh and Glasgow University Libraries, the Mitchell Library, the Haigh Hall Library, the Aberdeen United Free Church College and Townhouse and Public Libraries, and the Kirkwall Bibliothek

have all been put under contribution and I gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of their respective librarians. Mr. Kellas Johnstone has kindly examined for me several volumes in the British Museum, and Mr. Falconer Madan has supplied descriptions of a group of Aberdeen theses preserved in the Bodleian Library.

It will be seen that in dealing with the earlier books I have adopted the method used by Mr. Madan in his *Early Oxford Press*. Thus an attempt is made to distinguish the capitals and lower case letters, the roman and italic founts, of the titlepage. The size of type used in the text is stated. The recto and verso of a leaf are indicated by the "superior" letters *r* and *v*: C5^v standing for the verso of the fifth leaf of the sheet whose signature is C, while C5 includes both recto and verso. The title, unless otherwise described, is on the recto of the first leaf of the first sheet, and every page to which no contents are assigned is blank. The absence of vertical bars shows that the book has not been specially examined.

My list—which appropriately begins with the account of the founding of the University, written by its first principal—is confessedly tentative and incomplete, and I shall be grateful for having my attention called to books or pamphlets overlooked. I should, however, explain that, in order to keep the list within bounds, certain classes of books have been intentionally excluded. Such are: works on general history, even though containing incidentally much matter directly bearing on the Aberdeen Universities, *e.g.*, Spalding's *Troubles* or Wodrow's *Collections*; works of reference like the *Dictionary of National Biography* or Hew Scott's *Fasti*; professorial text-books, unless explicitly issued for use in Aberdeen University classes.

I am indebted for various suggestions or for valuable help in proof-revision to Mr. A. W. Robertson, to Mr. Kellas Johnstone, to the Rev. Stephen Ree, to Mr. W. Keith Leask, and to my assistant, Miss M. S. Best.

P. J. ANDERSON.

PART I., 1522-1736.

1522.

Boece, Hector. EPISCOPO | rum Murthlaceñ. & Aberdoneñ. Per He- | ctorem Boetium Vitæ. [Device no. 1 of Badius—all within arched border.]

[*Colophon*] Impressa sunt hæc prelo Ascensiano Ad Idus | Maias Anno Salutis. M.D.XXII. | Deo Gratia.

4°. 7 in. A-E⁸ = xxxviii + [2] leaves, pica roman. Title; A2, dedication to Bishop Gavin Dunbar; A3-E6, Episcoporum vitæ; E7r, Catalogus; E7v, three sets of elegiac verses—Dominus Guilhelmus Elphynstonus Aberdoneñ. Episcopus & Collegii scholasti-

corū illic institutor ac patronus, collegium suum alloquitur (10 lines),—Respondet Collegium (6 lines),—Ioannes Vaus in laudem huius operis & Authoris (6 lines),—Colophon; E8 blank.

For Boece, the first principal, see *Off. and Grad. of King's Coll.* p. 23, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* His *Vitæ* contains a detailed estimate of Bishop Elphinstone and an account of the founding by him in Old Aberdeen of the College afterwards styled King's College. The work was reprinted by the Bannatyne Club (60 copies) in 1825, and by the New Spalding Club (with a translation by James Moir, LL.D.) in 1894. A metrical translation of the portion dealing with Elphinstone, written by Alexander Garden in 1619, was printed by the Hunterian Club in 1878.

Vaus, John. † IN PRIMAM † | Doctrinalis Alexandrini de nominum ac verborū | declinationibus, atq; formationibus partem, Ab Io | doco Badio Ascensio recognitam, Magistri Ioānis | Vaus, natione Scoti & percelebris Abredonenfiū | academiæ grammatici: commentarii ab eodē Ascen | fio itidem recogniti atq; impressi. [Device no. 1 of Badius.] . . .

[*Colophon*] Sub prelo Ascensiano Ad Idus Martias MDXXII.

4°. 8 in. a-m⁸ = [96] leaves, pica and small pica roman. Title: verso, Iodocus Badius Ascensius studiosus Abredonensis Academiæ philosophis salutem . . . ; a2, Ioannes Vaus artium bonarum professor

studiosus Aberdonensium gymnasii nuper feliciter instituti scholasticis salutem . . . ; a3-m7r, Text, colophon at foot of last page; m7v-8r, Robbertus Gra Aberdonensis studiosae iuuentuti inibi commoranti salutem. . . .

The copy in Aberdeen University Library has lost the lower part of the title. An added piece of paper has the MS. note in the handwriting of Professor John Ker (*infra*, 1725): "Impr. Paris. 1522. Liber Coll. Regii Aberdonen. iterum compactus ac deauratus impensis Ioannis Ker Graecarum Litterarum Professoris in Academia Regia". The margins are covered with notes, apparently in the handwriting of Vaus. No other copy is known to survive (Reichling's *Bibliography* of Alexander de Villa-Dei; Renouard's *Bibliography* of Badius). The letters from Badius, Vaus, and Gray (regent and mediciner: *Off. and Grad.* 35, 50) are reprinted in Delisle's *Fosse Bade et Jean Vaus* (1896, *infra*).

Vaus, John. Rudimenta puerorum in artem grammaticam per Joannem Vaus Scotum. Paris, Badius Ascensius, 1522.

Vaus was humanist at King's College (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) A copy of this, the first edition of his *Rudimenta*, was in the possession of David Laing, and was sold at Sotheby's, 12th December, 1879, but has not been traced. Copious extracts from that copy are printed in James Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland* (Lond. 1876), pp. 51-56.

1531.

Vaus, John. RVDIMENTA | PVERORVM IN ARTEM GRAMMA- | TICAM per Joannem Vaus Scotum: ex variis collecta: in | quibus tres præcipui sunt libelli. | ¶ Primus de Octo partibus orationis fere ex Donato. | Secundus de earundem partium interpretatione lingua | vernacula. | ¶ Tertius, de vulgari Scotis eruditione, continens in se | quinque capita. | ¶ Primum, De Declinationibus nominum, præmissa La- | tinarum literarū diuisione pro frequentibus necessariis. | ¶ Secundum, De Formatione temporum omnium modorum. | ¶ Tertium, De Concordantiis grammaticalibus. | ¶ Quartum, De Resolutione grammaticali, breuissima | de constructione oratoria, adiecta appendice. | ¶ Quintum, De Regimine omnium partium orationis | in generali. | ¶ Quartus itidem lingua Scotica seorsum additur libellus, continens Interrogatiunculas de exactiore nominū | & verborū regimine, vna cum regulis, quæ a pueris ob | facilitatem aureæ vocantur: præmissis etiam ad rem ip- | sam attinentibus nominū & verborum diuisionibus.

[*Colophon*] Hæc Rudimenta Grammatices impressa sunt rur- | sus prelo Iodoci Badii Ascensii Scoticæ linguæ | imperiti: proinde si quid in ea erratum | est, minus est mirandum. Finem | autem acceperunt VIII. | Calend. Nouemb. 1531.

4°. 8 in. aa-ff⁸, gg-hh⁶ = [60] leaves, pica roman except where noted. Title; verso, ¶ Titulus in cruce Domini Hebraice, Græce & Latine . . . ; aaz-cc7, Libellus primus ex Donato (aa8v-bb1 in gothic); cc8-hh4, Libellus II, de partiū oratiōis interpretatiōe ling. vern. . . . QWhat is ane orisone? ane

richt ordinatione of dictionis to signify ony thing . . . (in gothic); hh5r, ¶ Ad candidum Scoticæ nationis lectorem, qui grāmatics basin non iecerit Iacobi Bachalaurei Carmen paraneticum (22 elegiac lines); hh5v, Errata; hh6r, device no. 2 of Badius, and Colophon.

The portions printed in gothic are mainly in Scots. This is a revised edition of the issue of 1522. These works by Vaus are given here partly as the first textbooks printed for Aberdeen students, and partly because the only copy of each now known is preserved in Aberdeen University Library. See Mr. Kellas Johnstone on Vaus, *Scottish N. and Q.* xii. 125.

1553.

Vaus, John. RVDIMENTA ARTIS GRAM- | maticæ per IO. VAUS SCOTVM selecta, | & in duo diuisa. | Prima pars dat literarum, syllabarum, & dictionum prima | libamina partim latine, partim vulgi lingua tradita. | Secunda, docet usum dictionum, ad orationes congruas sta | tuendas, secundum septendecim congruitatis formulas: | vnde omnis grammaticæ artis oratio dependet. | [Device of Masselin] | PARISIIS, | Ex officina Roberti Maffelin. | 1553.

4°. 8 in. aa-dd⁴. ee¹, A-D¹ = [52] leaves, pica and small pica roman. Title: verso, ¶ Titulus in cruce Domini . . . ; aa2-cc7, Libellus primus ex Donato; cc8-ee4^r, Libellus I [*sic*] de partium orationis . . . ; A1-3^r, Lib. I; A3^v-D1, Lib. II; D2-3^r, Statuta et leges ludi literarii grammati-

corum Aberdonensium; D3^v, Nomina numeralia; D 4^r, Alexander Skeyne iuventuti Aberdonensi Grammatices studiosae S. . . ; D4^v, Io. Ferrerii Ped. hexastichon ad lectorem . . . Lutetiae Excudebat Robertus Masselin, in monte D. Stephani ad insigne Palmae. 1553.

From Ferrerius' verses we learn that this third edition was brought out by Vaus' successor, Theophilus Stewart (*Off. and Grad.* 45), to whom the contents of sheets A-D seem to be due.

"Vausius haec primum dederat vestigia ponè
Theophilus sequitur: doctus uterque Vale."

[Only known copy in Aberd. Univ. Library. The 'Statuta et leges' are reproduced in *Spald. Misc.* v. 397-402.]

1566.

Vaus, John. Rudimenta artis grammaticæ per Jo. Vaus Scotum selecta. Edinburgi, excudebat Robertus Lekpreuik. Anno Do. 1566.

Not seen. Apparently a fourth edition (McCrie's *Knox*, 1855, p. 3 u.).

1593.

Cargill, Thomas. "Verse in Latin in commendatioune of my Lord Marischeall for erecking the new College in Aberdeen."

Not seen. Printed for the Aberdeen Town Council in 1593 (*Accounts*), and cited in Ogston's *Oratio funebris*, 1623 (*N. and Q.* 7, i. 129). Cargill was master of the Grammar School.

1614.

Gray, Gilbert. ORATIO FUNEBRIS | IN MEMORIAM | CL. VIRI DVNCANI LIDDELI | MEDICINÆ DOCTORIS ET | MATHEMATVM PROFESSO- | RIS CELEBR- | RIMI. | SCRIPTA ET PRONVNCIATA | à | GILBERTO GRAYO Gymnafiarcha Acade- | miæ novæ Abredoniæ, Decemb. 23. | ANNO 1613. | CUI ACCESSERVNT ET | alia Eulogia. | [A. Hart's device] | Excudebat Andreas Hart bibliopola | ANNO DOM. 1614.

4°. 7½ in. A-C¹, D² = [14] leaves. Title; verso, dedication to George Earl Marischal, his son William, and the provost, baillies and council of Aberdeen; A2-C1^r, "Oratio" in pica roman; C1^v, blank;

C2, memorial Latin verses; C3-D2, "Apotheosis" in verse, small pica italic, signed "David Wedderburnus, Scholæ Abredonensis Moderator".

For Duncan Liddel, the benefactor of Marischal College, see under 1790 *infra*, also *Fasti Acad. Marisc.* i. 120-148, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Gray was the second principal, *Fasti*, ii. 27. No copy is known of Raban's 1623 print of his *Oratio de illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus*, reprinted in 1708 by Mackenzie, *Lives of Scots Writers*, i. xxi. For David Wedderburn see *Coll. Aberd. and Bff.* 60-66, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The verses by Wedderburn are included in *Delit. Poet. Scot.* ii. 549-557. The only known copy of the *Oratio funebris* bears the autograph of Patrick Dun, fifth principal, 1621-49.

1616.

Aedie, Andrew. Marischal College theses. Edinburgh.

4°. 7½ in. A-D¹. Pp. [32]. [Title wanting in copy examined]; A2-3, Dedication 'Alexandro Forbosio [sic], Tolquhonie Commarcho juniori Patrono & Mecenati nostro,' signed by seven candidates (*Fasti Acad. Marisc.* ii. 191); A4-D4r, Theses gen-

erales, logicae, ethicae, physicae, sphaericae; D4r ends with device of Andro Hart; D4v blank except border. Types: small pica and long primer, roman, italic, Greek; within borders.

Aedie was principal of Mar. Coll., 1616-19 (*Fasti*, ii. 28, 587) and as such taught the magistrand class. Buchanan uses the spelling Forbosius.

Kirkwall Bibliothek.

1620.

Forbes, John. [Woodcut] DISPVTATIONES | THEOLOGICÆ, DVÆ, | HABITÆ
IN LV- | CLYTA ABERDONENSI A- | CADEMIA IN MAGNO AV- | DITORIO COLLEGII RE-
| GII MENSE FEBRV- | RIO ANNO 1620. | *Pro publica SS. Theologie professione.*
| *Respondente* | IOANNE FORBESIO. | [Woodcut] | EDINBVRGI, | *Excudebat*
Andreas Hart. | ANNO 1620.

4°. 7 in. [A]-C¹. Pp. [4] + 1-18 + [2]. Title; A2r, Copy of proclamation, printed Dec. 1619, inviting candidates; pp. 1-10, Disputatio De Libero Arbitrio in 17

theses; pp. 11-17, Disputatio De Sacramentis in 12 theses in small pica roman; pp. 16-18, Approbatio Synodica.

John Forbes, second son of Bishop Patrick Forbes, was the first occupant of the chair of Divinity founded by his father.

1622.

Lunan, Alexander. THESES | PHILOSOPHICÆ, | Quas adiutorio numinis
Adolescentes | Pro Magisterii Gradu, | *In publico Academicæ Regiæ Aberdonensis*
afce- | terio 10. Kalen. Auguf. i. 22 Iulii, 1622. | *Horis pomeridianis sustinebunt.*
| PRAESIDE ALEXANDRO LVNANO | - | *Nomina Propugnatorum.* | [Nine names.
(*Off. and Grad.* 183)] | - | [Woodcut] | ABERDONIS, | *Excudebat Eduardus*
Rabanus, | Vniverfitatis Typographus. | ANNO DOMINI 1622.

4°. 7 in. []¹ + A-B¹, C³. Pp. [24]. Title; on verso Dedication to Bishop Patrick Forbes; A-C3r, Theses (generales, logicae, morales, physicae, astronomicae) in long

primer italic within borders; C3v blank; C4 seems to have been utilised as the title leaf.

Lunan was M.A. King's Coll., 1615; humanist, regent, 1618-25; min. Monymusk, Kintore (*Off. and Grad.* 46, 54, 180). Bishop Patrick Forbes was chancellor, 1618-35.

1623.

Forbes, William. POSITIONES | ALIQVOT | LOGICÆ, ETHI- | CÆ, PHYSICÆ,
METAPHYSI- | CÆ, SPHERICÆ: | Ex clarissimorum Philofopho- | rum Gazophylaciis

| Hinc inde depromptæ, ad veritatem limandam in publica | diatriba, ultro
citroque eventilandæ, quas Σὶν Θεῶν | ACADEMIAE REGIAE ABERDONENSIS | *alumni,*
cum laurea hac vice emittendi, | *postrid. Idus Iulii, propugna-* | bunt, Horis solitis.
| *PRÆSIDE* | D. GVLIELMO FORBESIO, | S. | - | [Greek motto and woodcut] |
ABERDONIIS, | EXCVDEBAT EDVARDVS RABANVS, | ANNO DOMINI 1623.

4°. 7 in. Title + A-B⁴, [C1]. Pp. [20]. | (*Off. and Grad.* 183); A2-C1r, Potitiones
Title; verso to A1v, Dedication to Manes of | [*sic*] in long primer italic; C1v blank.
Bishop Elphinstone signed by 12 candidates

William Forbes was M.A. King's Coll., 1611; humanist, regent, sub-principal, 1613-23;
min. Mortlach.

Marischal, George, fifth Earl. LACHRYMAE | ACADEMIÆ MARISCHALLANÆ,
| *SVBOBITVM* | Mœcenatis, & Fundatoris sui | munificentissimi: | *Nobilissimi, &*
Illustriissimi | GEORGH, | COMITIS MARISCHALLI, | DOMINI DE KEITH | *ET ALTRE*
&c. | Obiit v. April. Anno Domini MDCXXIII. | *Ætatis vero LXX.* | [Ornament] |
ABREDONIAE, | EXCVDEBAT EDVARDVS RABANVS, | ANNO DOMINI 1623.

4°. 7 in. [], A-B⁴, C¹. Pp. [2] + Andrew Massie, James Sibbald; Greek verses
18. Title, borders at top and bottom: Pp. by William Wedderburn; English verses by
1-18, Latin verses (in small pica roman) by William Guild: C2 seems to be utilised for
David Wedderburn, William Wedderburn, title leaf.

David Wedderburn was master of the Grammar School and lecturer on humanity (*Fasti*,
i. 154, 185, ii. 63; *Coll. Abd. and Bff.* 60); his younger brother William was professor of
Greek (*Fasti*, ii. 33, 190, 588); Andrew Massie, professor of logic (*ibid.* 33, 189, 587); James
Sibbald, professor of natural philosophy, *infra*; William Guild was minister of King Edward,
infra, 1649.

Signet Library.

Ogston, William. ORATIO FVNEBRIS, | In obitum maximi virorum |
GEORGH | MARISCHALLI COMITIS, | *D. Keith & Altre, &c.* | ACADEMIÆ MARIS-
CHALLANÆ, ABRE- | *DONLE FVNDATORIS ET ME-* | COENATIS MVNIFICENTISSIMI,
| Scripta, et pronunciata | A | GVLIELMO OGSTONO PHILOSOPHIÆ | MORALIS
IBIDEM PROFESSORE, | In auditorio publico. quinto ab exequis die Iun. xxx. |
Anno Domini, 1623. | [Motto and woodcut] | *ABREDONLE,* | EXCVDEBAT
EDVARDVS RABANVS, | ACADEMIÆ TYPOGRAPHVS. 1623. | - | .

4°. 7 in. A-B⁴, C². Pp. 20. Title, | Marischallanæ Cancellario dignissimo," and
woodcut at top: on verso Dedication to | the provost and council of Aberdeen: pp.
William, Earl Marischal, 'patrono et mece- | 3-20, Oratio in small pica roman.
nati,' Bishop Patrick Forbes "Academiae

William Ogston bajan at King's Coll., 1602, probably M.A. Mar. Coll., 1608, regent
1619-3—(at first professor of moral philosophy, afterwards of logic), when he became min.
Hailes, D.D. 16—. Patrick Forbes was chancellor of King's Coll. (*Roll of Alumni*, 2; *Fasti*,
ii. 33, 188, 588; *Off. and Grad.* 1).

Sibbald, James. ASSERTIONES | PHILOSOPHICAE, | Quas Aufpice | DEO
OPT. MAX. | *PRÆSIDE* | D. IACOBO SIBBALDO, | Adolescentes Magisterii Candidati
in | *ACADEMIA MARESCALLANA,* | Die Vicefimo secundo Iulii propugnabunt, |
Ab Aurora ad Meridiem. | [Greek motto and woodcut of Scottish arms] | ABRE-
DONLE, | *Excudebat Edwardus Rabanus,* | ANNO 1623.

4°. A-B⁴. Pp. [16]. Title: on verso Greek and Latin verses by William Wedderburn; A2-3. Dedication to Provost George Nicolson and the four bailies, signed by ten candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 199); A4-B4, Theses (logicae, morales, physicae, sphaericae) in long primer italic; within woodcut borders.

Sibbald, M.A. Mar. Coll., 1618, B.D. King's Coll., 1627, D.D., 16—, was first holder of the office of fourth regent and professor of natural philosophy 1620 to 1626, when he became one of the ministers of Aberdeen (*Fasti*, ii. 33, 194, 588; *S. N. and Q.* 2, vii. 167); one of the "Aberdeen Doctors," *infra* 1638, **Covenant**.

1624.

Forbes, John. THESES | PHILOSOPHICÆ, | Quas DEO Aſpice, | Adolſcentes, è Celeberrima ACADEMIA | REGIA ABERDONENSI, hac vice | cum laurea emittendi: In publico ACADEMIAE auditorio ad xix. diem | *Iulii*, 1614, à meridie in vesp̄eram *ſuſtinebunt.* | PRAESIDE IOANNE FORBESIO. | [Motto and woodcut of Scottish arms] ABERDONIIS, | *Excudebat Edvardus Rabanus,* | ANNO DOMINI 1624.

4°. 7 in. ¶¹², A-C⁴. Pp. [28]. Title; verso to ¶² Dedication to Alexander Gordon, younger of Clunay, signed by eight candidates | (*Off. and Grad.* 183); A-C, Theses (logicae, morales, physicae, metaphysicae) in long primer italic; within borders.

John Forbes, M.A., 1610, was regent 1617-162— when he became min. Auchterless. (*Off. and Grad.* 54, 179, 314).

1625.

Leslie, William. PROPOSITIONES | & | PROBLEMATA PHILOSOPHICA, | De quibus | V. F. D. O. M. | In publico Academiae Regiae Aberdonensis | Acroaterio ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ ΠΕΙΡΑΣΤΙΚΗ instituetur, | *A. D.* iv KAL. SEXT. *Horis pomeri-* | *nis, Anno 1625.* | Respondentibus Magisterii Philofophici candidatis, | PRAESIDE GUL. LESLAEO. | - | [Quotation and woodcut] | ABERDONIIS, | *E Typographo Edvardi Rabani,* | ACADEMIÆ & VRBIS TYPOGRAPHI, | ANNO SAL. 1625.

4°. 7 in. ¶¹⁴, A-B⁴, C². Pp. [8] + 20. ¶¹ blank; ¶² Title; verso to ¶⁴, Dedication to Alexander, eldest son of Arthur "Comitis à Forbes," signed by eight candidates (*Fasti*, 183); pp. 1-20 Propositiones (logicae, ethicae, physicae, astronomicae) in small pica roman; within borders. C2 is marked C3.

William Leslie, M.A., 1615, B.D., 1627, D.D., 16—, humanist, regent, subprincipal, principal; deposed 1639 (*Off. and Grad.* 26, 40, 46, 54, 98, 109, 180, 314); one of the "Aberdeen Doctors"; *infra* 1638, **Covenant**.

Sibbald, James. THESES | PHILOSOPHICAE, | Quas DEO Opt. Max. | aufpice, | SVB PRÆSIDIO IACOBI SIBBALDI, | Adolſcentes Magiſterii Candidati, in ACADEMIA | MARESCALLANA, Die viceſimo Iulii | *propugnabunt, ab Aurora ad Meridicm.* | [Woodcut of Aberdeen arms] | ABERDONIÆ, | EXCUDEBAT EDVARDUS RABANUS, | *Anno Domini 1625.*

4°. 7 in. []² + A-B⁴. Pp. [20]. Title; on verso and next leaf, Dedication to Provost Paul Menzies, Dr. William Forbes "rectori magnifico," and William Guild, signed by eleven candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 201); A-B⁴, Theses (logicae, ethicae, physicae, metaphysicae) in long primer italic; within borders. *Bollician*.

1626.

Lundie, John. Theses logicæ præside J. Lundæo, Aberdoniis, 1626.

Lundie was M.A. King's Coll., 1622; regent there, 1625-28; humanist till his death. (*Off. and Grad.* 46, 54, 183, 314). The title is from David Laing's *Sale Cat.* (1879), ii. 222. It is not transcribed in Joseph Robertson's *Biogr. Abred.* (See *infra* under 1634, Leech.)

Sibbald, James. THESES | PHILOSOPHICAE, | Quas propitio numine, | SVB PRÆSIDIO IACOBI SIBBALDI, | Adolescentes Magisterii Candidati in | ACADEMIA MARESCHALLANA, | Probugnabunt [*sic*] ab Aurora in Meridiem die Vicefimo | primo Iulij, ANNO DOMINI, 1626. | [Woodcut of Aberdeen arms] ABREDONIÆ, | Excudebat Edvardus Rabanus, | ANNO 1626.

4°. 7½ in. A², B¹, C². Pp. 16. Title; on verso and pp. 3, 4, Dedication to William, Earl Keith (afterwards seventh Earl Marischal), signed by eight candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 202); pp. 5-16, Theses (logicæ, ethicæ, physicae, metaphysicae) in long primer italic; within borders. C₂ is misprinted B₂. *Bodleian.*

1627.

Baron, Robert. DISPVATIO | THEOLOGICA, | De formali objecto Fidei, | Hoc est, De sacrae Scripturae Divina, & Cano- | nica Authoritate, | *Quam DEO benigne favente,* | ROBERTUS BARONIUS, ECCLESIASTES | ABREDONENSIS, & in ACADEMIA MARESCHAL- | LANA S.S. T. PROFESSOR, | *Pro S.S. Theologie Doctoratu consequendo,* | Ad placidam & piam collationem, mutuaque exercitationem, | in ACADEMIA REGIA ABREDONENSI proponet, | Die XXX, Iulij, Anno 1627. | PRAESIDE | *Clarissimo, & Doctissimo Viro,* D. IOHANNE FORBESIO, | S.S. Theologia Doctore & Professore dignissimo. | [Woodcut] | ABREDONIÆ, | *Excudebat EDVARDVS RABANVS,* | CUM PRIVILEGIO, ANNO 1627.

4°. 7½ in. A², A-E⁴, F². Pp. [4] + 1-43 + [1] (pp. 2, 3, 42, 43 misprinted 4, 5, 40, 33). Title; verso, Dedication to Provost Paul Menzies, the Town Council, and Mr. Peter Copland, founder of the chair of theology; pp. [3, 4] Latin verses to Baron by Dr. William Johnston, M.D., and address "Lectori Christiano" by Baron; pp. 1-43, Disputatio in small pica roman and long primer italic within borders.

Baron was M.A. St. And., 1613, and regent there; afterwards min. Keith, Greyfriars (Aberd.), and professor of Divinity, Mar. Coll., 1625-39; one of the "Aberdeen Doctors" (*Fasti*, ii. 51; *Off. and Grad.* 98). Mr. J. P. Edmond's entry under date 1630 (*Aberd. Print.* p. 32) appears to arise from a misreading of Laing's *Cat.* For Copland see *Fasti*, i. 159-178; *S. N. and Q.* v. 1, vii. 107, ix. 9, 2nd s. ii. 32.

Leslie, William. VINDICLÆ | THEOLO- | GICAE | PRO | PERSEVERANTIA SANCTORVM | *In Gratia Salvifica,* | Quas | AUSPICE CHRISTO IMMANUEL, PRÆSIDE | REVERENDO & CLARISSIMO VIRO | D. IOANNE FORBESIO SS. THEOLOGIE | Doctore & professore publico longè meritissimo, | IN ANTIQVA & INCLYTA ACADEMIA | REGIA ABERDONENSI | Publicè ventilandas proponit | A.D. IV NON. AVG. 1627. | GULIELMUS LESLÆVS COLLEGI | REGII SVB-PRIMARIVS, | PRO SS. THEOL. BACCALAV- REATV. | [Quotation and device] | ABERDONIÆ, EXCUDIT EDVADRVS [*sic*] RABANVS. 1627.

4°. 7½ in. A¹. Pp. 8. Title; verso, Dedication to Bishop Patrick Forbes; pp. 3-8, Vindicia, in long primer italic; within woodcut borders.

British Museum.

Lundie, John. Theses logicæ præside J. Lundæo. Aberdoniis, 1627.

Like 1626 **Lundie** this title is from David Laing's *Sale Cat.* ii. 222: not transcribed in *Biogr. Abred.*

Scrogie, Alexander. DE IMPERFECTIONE | SANCTORVM | IN HAC VITA | THESES THEOLOGICÆ. | De quibus DEO benigne annuente, Christiana | & publica instituetur σπουδαισιν, in vetusta | ACADEMIA ABERDONENSI, | 31. Iulii, Anno 1627. | PRO S.S. THEOLOGIAE DOCTORATU. | PRÆSIDE IOANNE FORBESIO, S. THEOL. | Doct. & publico in eadem Professore. | Respondentis partes tuente M. ALEXANDRO SCROGÆO, | Verbi DEI Ministro, in Cathedrali ECCLE- | SIA ABERDONENSI | [Quotation and woodcut] | ABERDONIÆ, | EXCUBEAT EDVARDUS RABANUS. | Cum Privilegio. Anno 1627.

4°. 7 in. A¹. Pp. 8. Title; pp. [2]-8, | Theses in small pica roman within borders.

According to Hew Scott (*F. E. S.* iii. 54), Scrogie had been a regent before 1603; min. Skene, Drumoak, Aberdeen; rector of King's Coll., 1636; one of the "Aberdeen Doctors" (*Off. and Grad.* 9, 97). Mr. J. P. Edmond's entry under date 1629 (*Aberd. Print.* 32) appears to arise from a misreading of Laing's *Cat.*

Seton, John. THESES | PHILOSOPHICAE, | Quas auspice ac propitio | D. O. M. | IOANNE SETONO PRÆSIDE, | Adolescentes laureæ Magistralis candidati, | IN ACADEMIA MARESCHALLANA, | Die [20] Iulii, Anno 1627. | In publico Philosophantium | confessu propugnabunt. | AB AURORA AD MERIDIEM. | [Quotation] ABERDONIÆ, | EXCUBEAT EDVARDUS RABANUS. | Cum Privilegio. Anno 1627.

4°. 7½ in. ¶², A⁴, B². Pp. 16. Title; verso blank; ¶², Dedication to Thomas Fraser, younger of Strichen, "patrono ac mecænatu nostro munificentissimo," signed by | twelve candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 203); pp. 7-17 (AIV is numbered 8), Theses (logicæ, ethicæ, physicæ, metaphysicæ) in long primer italic; within borders.

John Seton, M.A., 1616, succeeded Sibbald as Professor of Natural Philosophy. 1626; minister of Kemnay, 1641 (*Fasti*, ii. 34, 191, 518); died 24 April, 1666.

Bodleian.

Sibbald, James. THESES THEOLOGICAE, | DE PRIMATV B. PETRI, Quas propitio numine, | PRÆSIDE IOANNE FORBESIO, | S. S. Theologiæ Doctore & publico | ejusdem in veteri ACADEMIA ABRE- | DONENSI PROFESSORE; | Ibidem pro S. S. Theologiæ Bacchalaureatu consequendo | propugnabit IACOBI SIBBALDI'S, | ECCLESIASTIAS ABREDONENSIS: | Kal. Augusti, ab Aurora in Meridiem. | [Device] ABERDONIÆ, | Excudit Edvardus Rabanus, Cum Privilegio, Anno 1627.

4°. 7¾ in. A¹. Pp. 8. Title: verso, | 3-8, Theses in long primer italic; within Dedication to Bishop Patrick Forbes; pp. | woodcut borders.

British Museum.

1629.

Strachan, Andrew. PROPOSITIONES | & | PROBLEMATTA PHILOSOPHICA | DE QUIBUS A. P. D. O. M. | Publica & solennis σιζήτησις instituetur, | Ad diem vice- | simum Iulii, | Horis pomeridianis. | In publico Academiæ Regiæ Aberdonensis auditorio; | Respondentibus Magisterii Philofophici Candidatis. | PRÆSIDE ANDREA STRACHANO. | [Quotation and device] | ABERDONIÆ, | EXCUBEAT EDVARDUS RABANUS | Anno Domini 1629.

4°. 7½ in. Title only (Bagford col- | lands. lection); verso, Dedication to James Sandi-

British Museum.

1630.

Seton, John. THESES | PHILOSOPHICAE, | Quas DEI Opt. Max. | ductu & auspiciis, | IOANNE SETONO PRÆSIDE, | Adolescentes Magisterii Candidati, in ACADEMIA | MARESCHALLANA, die xxiiij. Iulij, | ANNO DOMINI 1630. | *In Clarissimorum Philosophorum Confessu*, | Propugnabunt, ab Aurora ad Meridiem. | [Quotation] | *ABERDONIÆ*, | EXCUBEAT EDVARDVS RABANUS, | ANNO 1630. | *CVM PRIVILEGIO*.

4°. 7½ in. a², b⁴, c². Pp. 12 + [4]. Title; on verso and pp. 3, 4, Dedication to Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, "mæcenati ac patrono nostro," not signed by candi-

dates; pp. 5-12, and c (not paged) Theses (logicae, ethicae, physicae, metaphysicae) in long primer italic; within borders.

Bodleian.

1631.

Chambers, David. DAVIDIS | CAMERARII | SCOTI | DE SCOTORVM FORTITUDINE, | Doctrina, & Pietate, ac de ortu & progressu hæresis | in Regnis Scotiae & Angliæ. | LIBRI QVATVOR. | *NYC PRIMUM IN LICEM EDITI*. | [Device] | PARISIIS. | Sumptibus PETRI BAILLET, viâ Iacobæâ, | sub Gallo & Leone repente. | M.DC.XXX.I. | *CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS*.

4°. 8½ in. []¹⁰, A-Nn⁴, Oo². Pp. [20] + 288 + [4]. Title; pp. [5-9], Dedication to Charles I.; pp. [11-20], Index; pp.

1-12, Introductio; pp. 13-283, Text in small pica roman; pp. [289-292] Index capitum, Errata.

Chambers was an alumnus of King's College, and gives, pp. 56-9, the earliest account of the discipline of the University (quoted in *Coll. Aberd. and Banff*, pp. 211-14). The book has been wrongly attributed to David Chambers, Lord Ormond.

Lundie, John. ORATIO | eucharistica | & | ENCOMIASTICA, | In benevolos Vniverſitatis Aberdonen- | fis Benefactores, Fautores, & Patronos; | A IOANNE LUNDEO, Humaniorum Litera- | rum •Professore. | HABITA xxvij. Iul. 1631. | [Text and woodcut] *ABERDONIIS*, | Excudebat Edwardus Rabanus, 1631.

4°. 7½ in. A-C⁴ (C^{3v} is marked A⁴). Pp. 23 + [1]. A^{1r} is wanting: A^{2r} Title; pp. 5-14 Oratio in pica roman; pp. 15-17 (marked 11) address to Dr. Alexander Reid signed by twelve alumni (Alexander Garden, Norman Leslie, Adam Gordon, Robert Brown, James Rait, William Campbell,

Patrick Watt, Alexander Reid, William Reid, Robert Donaldson, William Chalmers, Thomas Ross); pp. 18-23 Latin verses to the same by Professor David Leech, Gilbert Middleton, William Lauder, and Robert Brown, students.

For Alexander Reid, see *Fasti*, ii. 226, 234; also Strachan's *Panegyricus* (1631) and Smith's *Oratio* (1702). Among those commemorated by Lundie are James IV., Bishops Elphinstone, Dunbar and Stuart, James VI., Robert Maitland, Principals Arbuthnot and Stuart, Bishop Patrick Forbes, John Forbes of Corse, James and John Watt.

— Theses theologicae Joannis Lundæi, sub præsidio Joannis Forbesii. Aberdoniæ, E. Rabanus, 1631.

Like 1626 **Lundie** this title is from D. Laing's *Sale Cat.* i. 1281.

Seton, John. THESAE | PHILOSOPHICAE, | Quas Aufpice ac Propitio | D. O. M. | Adolefcentis Magisterii Candidati, in ACADEMIA | MARISCHALLANA, die [] Iulii, ANNO 1631. | *Publice propugnabunt, ab aurora ad meridiem PRÆSIDE IOANNE SETONO.* | - | [Quotation and woodcut] | ABERDONIÆ, | Excudebat Edwardus Rabanus. 1631.

4°. 7 in. A-E². Pp. [5]+6-16+[4]. Title; verso blank; pp. [3, 4], Dedication to the memory of Aristotle signed by eleven candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 205); pp. [5]-[20], Theses (logicae, ethicae, physicae, metaphysicae) in long primer italic within borders.

Strachan, Andrew. PANEGYRI- | CVS INAVGVRALIS, | Quo Autores, Vindices, & Evergetæ Il- | *lustris Vniverfitatis Aberdonensis* | Iustis elogiis ornabantur: | *Publicè dictus in Auditorio Maximo COLLEGII REGII ejusdem* | VNIVERSITATIS, 7. Kal. Sextil, Anno 1630. | *Quo Die Candidati Magisterii in PHILOSOPHIA & Ar-* | *tibus ad gradum illum promovebantur.* | Huic adjecta est Coronis, Laudes exhibens Viri Clarissimi D. | D. ALEXANDRI RHÆDI, Doctoris Medicinæ Ex- | *cellentiff. recentis benefactoris munificentiff.* | - | [Motto and woodcut.] | ABER- | DONIIS, | Excudebat Edwardus Rabanus, | *Anno Domini* 1631.

4°. 7½ in. A-E⁴, F². Pp. 39 + [3]. Title, top and bottom woodcuts: verso to p. 4, Dedication to Bishop Patrick Forbes "Universitatis Aberdonensis amplissimo cancellario et instauratori," signed "Andreas Strachanus, physiolog. et inferiorum mathe-
matur professor": pp. 5-31 (pp. 17, 20, 21, 24 marked 25, 28, 29, 32), Panegyricus inauguralis in pica roman: pp. 31-41, Ad orationem . . . habitam . . . 4 Kal. Sextil. Anno 1631 . . . Coronis . . . : p. 42 Greek verses to Alexander Reid.

Andrew Strachan, D.D., 1634, regent, 1621-34, professor of divinity, 1634-35 (*Off. and Grad.* 55, 68, 98, 315). Among those commemorated in the *Panegyricus* are Bishops Elphinstone, Dunbar, Stuart, Patrick Forbes, and William Forbes; Principals Arbuthnot and Anderson; James Sandilands, John Forbes; the physicians Arthur and William Johnston, Patrick Dun, and William Gordon.

— SCHEDIASMATA | PHILOSOPHICA, | De quibus A. P. D. O. M. | Publica & solennis συζήσις instituetur | 15. Kalend. Sextil. horis pomeridianis, | In publico auditorio Academiæ Regiæ Aberdonensis; *Respondentibus Magisterii Philofophici Candidatis.* | PRÆSIDE ANDREA STRACHANO. | [Quotation and woodcut] | ABERDONIIS, | *Excudebat Edwardus Rabanus*, 1631. | CVM PRIVILEGIO.

4°. 7 in. One leaf ÷ A², B-D⁴, E³. Pp. [6]+1-36. Title; verso and A1-2, Dedication to George Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, signed by twelve candidates (*Off. and Grad.* 185); pp. 1-30 (p. 29 is mispaged 23), Theses (generales, logicae, morales, physicae, de mathematicis inferioribus, metaphysicae) in long primer italic within borders; E⁴ apparently utilised for Title leaf.

1633.

Leech, David. POSITIONES NONNULLÆ | PHILOSOPHICAE, | Quas Spiritu Sancto Præsidi, | Ingenui aliquot Adolefcentes UNIVERSITATIS ABREDONENSIS Alumni, curriculum | *Philofophicum Emensi*, Et hac vice cum Laureâ emittendi, in Acroaterio | Collegii Regii Maximo; | *Ad [] diem Iulij, horis pomeridianis, pro virili propugnabunt.* | - | DAVIDE LEOCHÆO συζήσιον moderante. | - | [Greek motto and woodcut] | ABREDONIÆ, | Excudebat Edwardus Rabanus, 1633.

4°. 7 in. A³, B-E². Pp. [3] + 6-24, as if a leaf had preceded title. Title; verso blank: pp. [5]-8, Dedication to Alexander Reid, M.D., signed by fifteen candidates | (*Off. and Grad.* 185); pp. 9-24, Theses (logicae, morales, physicae, metaphysicae) in long primer roman and small pica italic, within borders.

David Leech, M.A., 1624, was regent (professor of Greek) and subprincipal, 1627-38, when he became min. Ellon, Kem ray. (*Off. and Grad.* 40, 54, 183, 315; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

1634.

Leech, David. Positiones nonnullae logicae et philosophicae quarum σί-ζητησις περιπετυκη D. D. O. M. instituetur in acroaterio Abredonensis Academiae maximo ad [16] diem Iulii horis antemeridianis, respondentibus aliquot adole- centibus curriculum philosophicum emensis et hac vice cum laurea emittendis. Preside Davide Leochæo. Aberdoniis, excudebat Edwardus Rabanus, 1634.

4°. Pp. 20 (but incomplete). Dedic- | signed by sixteen candidates (*Off. and Grad.* tion to Alexander Brodie, younger of Brodie, | 186).

Brodie seems to have entered King's College in 1632 (*Roll of Alumni*, 11). The title, as given above, was transcribed by Joseph Robertson (MS. *Biographia Abredonensis*, in Aberd. Univ. Library, ii. 293) from a copy in the possession of David Laing. It was sold in 1879 (*Laing's Sale Cat.* ii. 222), but has not been traced.

Seton, John. THESES | PHILOSOPHICAE, | Quas Auspice & Propitio | D. O. M. | *Adolcentes Magisterii candidati*, | IN ACADEMIA MARESCHALLANA, | Die [18] Iulii, ANNO 1634. | *In publico Clarissimorum Philosophorum Confessu pro-* | *pugnabunt, ab aurora ad meridiem.* | PRÆSIDE IOANNE SETONO. | [Quota- tion] | ABERDONLE, | Excudebat Edwardus Rabanus, 1634.

4°. 7½ in. a-c² + [?] Pp. [12] + ? Title; | dates (*Fasti*, ii. 206); b-c, Theses (logicae, ar^v-2^v, Dedication to William, eldest son of | physicae) in long primer italic; within Earl Marischal (afterwards seventh Earl: a | borders. [Imperfect, wanting all after c²]. tertian in 1633/34), signed by fifteen candi-

"Olim Graeciae oculus Athenae," says Professor Seton in his Dedication, "Scotiae hodie nostra benignitate Aberdonia: nusquam enim ingeniorum felicior proventus, doctrinae uberior seges, eruditissimos Mareschallanae Academiae filios, vivos, mortuorumque manes, illustria Europae lumina testatur".

Bodleian.

Strachan, Andrew. VINDICLÆ CULTUS DIVINI, | ceu | PROPOSITIONES quædam | THEOLOGICÆ, | De natura & objecto cultus Religiosi, | Quibus accef- ferunt, appendicis locò, Propositiones | *pauculae de orationibus viventium pro de- functis* | Quas auspice D. O. M. cujus res hic geri- | tur & σελήτησιον moderante Venerabili & Cla- | riss. Viro D.D. ROBERTO BARONIO, | S.S. Theol. Doctore, ejusdemque Pro- | fessore meritiff. & Facultatis Theo- | logicæ Decano, | Pro S.S. Theol. professione, ejusdemque Docturâ, | tuebitur ANDREAS STRACHANUS Presbyter, | *ad diem penultimum Decemb. Anno 1634.* | *ab aurora ad vesperam, in auditorio Theolog.* | ACADEMIÆ REGIÆ | ABERDONENSIS | [Woodcut] | ABER- DONLE, | *Imprimebat Edwardus Rabanus, 1634.*

4°. 7 in. [A]-C². Pp. 12. Title; o.1 | Forbes; pp. 4-12, Propositiones in small verso and p. 3, Dedication to Bishop Patrick | pica roman, within borders.

1635.

Forbes, Patrick. FUNERALS | OF A RIGHT REVE- | REND FATHER IN GOD | PATRICK FORBES | OF CORSE, BISHOP | OF ABERDENE [sic]. | τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις | REVE- RENDISSIMI IN CHRISTO PATRIS, | PATRICII FORBESII A CORSE, | EPISCOPI ABERDONIENSIS, | TVMVLVS. *A multu omnium ordinum collachrymantibus | variegato opere exornatus.* | [Quotations, and ornament] | ABERDENE, | Imprinted by Edward Raban, 1635.

4°. 7½ in. ¶-¶¶¶, ¶¶¶¶², A-HHH¹. Pp. [20] + 429 + [1], and portrait. Title on ¶2r.

A very full collation with notes of printers' blunders will be found in Edmond's *Aberdeen Printers*, p. 54. The work was reprinted in 1845, *infra*. Among the contributors were the six "Aberdeen Doctors"; and the professors John Lundie, John Seton, David Leech, Alexander Garden, John Ray. Bishop Forbes was Chancellor of the College and in a sense its second founder.

Gordon, John. CONFESSIO FIDEI, | In duobus Capitibus, | DE ECCLESIA, | & | REALI PRÆSENTIA IN EV- | CHARISTLÆ SACRAMENTO. | Propofita ad difputandum in ACADE- | MIA REGIA ABERDONENSI, | Die 21. Menfis Septemb. 1635. | A | M. IOANNE GORDONO, ECCLE- | SIASTE ELGINENSI, | Pro gradu doctoratus in SS. Theologia. | *Hanc Disputationem moderante Viro Ornatif- | mo [sic] ac doctiffimo,* | Dn. ALEXANDRO SCROGÆO, | SS. Theol. Doctore Celeberrimo; | *Olim Præceptore meo dilectiffimo, | nunc Promotore exoptato.* | - | [Quotation and woodcut] | ABERDONLE, | IMPRIMEBAT EDWARDVS RABANVS. 1635.

4°. 7 in. ¶³ A-D², E¹. Pp. [6] + 1-18. Title; verso blank; ¶2-3r, Dedication to William Gordon, M.D.; ¶3v, Latin verses | by David Wedderburn; pp. 1-18, Theses in long primer italic; within borders.

John Gordon was M.A. King's Coll., 1618 (*Off. and Grad.* pp. 98, 181); min. Kirk-michael, Drainie, Elgin. William Gordon was M.A., 1605; mediciner, 1632-40 (pp. 35, 175).

Leech, David. Positiones nonnullæ philosophicæ quarum συζήτησις περι- ρασκεῖ A. D. O. M. instituetur in acroaterio Academïæ Regiæ Abredon. maximo ad [] diem Iulii horis antemeridianis respondentibus aliquot adolescentibus curriculum philosophicum emensis et hac vice cum laurea emittendis. Præside Davide Leochæo. Aberdoniis, imprimebat Edwardus Rabanus, anno domini 1635.

4°. Pp. 24. Dedication to Adam Bellenden, bishop of Aberdeen, Chancellor; | and John Forbes of Corse, Rector; signed by eleven students (*Off. and Grad.* 186).

Title taken (as for 1634) from Joseph Robertson's *Biogr. Abred.* ii. 295: Laing's *Sale Cat.* ii. 222.

Marischal, William, sixth Earl. LACHRYMÆ | ACADEMIÆ MARESCHAL- LANÆ | IN OBITU | ILLUSTRISSIMI | COMITIS MARESCHALLI, | WILHELMI, | NOBILIS- SIMÆ KETHORVM | FAMILIÆ PRINCIPIS, | D. à KETH & ALTRE, &c. | Patroni ac Mecænatîs fui munificentiffimi, | *Qui obiit die 28 Octob. Anno Domini, 1635.* | *Ætatis verò 50.* | [Ornament] | ABERDONLE, | Imprimebat Edwardus Rabanus, | Anno 1635.

4°. 7 in. []^l, A-C², D¹. Pp. [20: probably cropped off]. Title, borders at top and bottom: A-D, Latin verses (in pica roman) by Arthur Johnston, David Wedder-

burn, John Ray, William Aidie, William Blackhall, Robert Downie; Greek verses by William Aidie: D2 seems to be utilised for title leaf.

Ray (*infra*, 1643) signs as professor of moral philosophy; Aidie (M.A. 1625; *Fasti*, ii. 34, 201, 588) as professor of Greek; Blackhall (M.A. 1631; *Fasti*, ii. 34, 205, 588) as professor of logic; Downie (M.A. King's Coll., 1623; *Off. and Grad.* 183) as librarian (*Fasti*, ii. 71).

Signet Library.

1636.

Leech, David. Positiones nonnullæ philosophicæ quarum συζήτησις περιπαση A. D. O. M. instituetur in acroaterio Acad. Regiæ Aberdon. ad [] diem Iulii horis antemeridianis, respondentibus aliquot adolescentibus curriculum philosophicum emensis et hac vice cum laurea emittendis. Præside Davide Leochæo. [Woodcut of College arms.] Aberdoniæ, imprimebat Edwardus Rabanus Anglus, almæ Academicæ Typographus, 1636.

4°. Pp. 32. Dedication to Sir Henry Goodrick, of Ribston, bart., signed by four-

teen candidates (*Off. and Grad.* ii. 186). Goodrick's son John had entered King's College in 1635; a John Goodrick appears also in 1673 (*Roll of Alumni*, 12, 35). Title taken, as for 1634, from Joseph Robertson's *Biogr. Abred.* ii. 301; Laing's *Sale Cat.* ii. 222.

1637.

Broad, William. BONVM FACTVM. | DE HYDROPE | THESESES, | Quas, | D. T. O. M. F. | Sub Rectoratu Magnifici & Clarissimi Viri, | D. ARTVRI IONSTONI, Medici Regii. | Ex decreto & autoritate facultatis Medicæ, in | celeberrima Academia Aberdonensi Regia. | pro consequendis in sacra Medicina doct- | raliibus Privilegiis. | PRÆSIDE PATRICIO DVNÆO, M.D. | & Facultatis Medicæ Decano. | Publicè discutendas proponit GVLIELMVS | BROAD, Berwicensis. | Ad primum diem Iulii, 1637. Loco consueto. | BONA VERBA DICITE. | [Woodcut] | ABERDONIÆ, | Imprimebat Edwardus Rabanus | Anno ut supra dictum.

4°. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. []^l + B-C² + []^r. Pp. [12]. Title, top and bottom borders; on verso, Dedication to Robert, Earl of Roxburgh; B, C, Theses in pica roman; []^r

Latin verses by Arthur Johnston and D[avid] W[edderburn]. Only pages 8, 9 are numbered.

Glasg. Univ.

Leech, David. PHILOSOPHIA ILLACHRYMANS, | Hoc est, | QUERELA PHILOSOPHÆ, | Et PHILOSOPHORVM SCOTORVM, (præsertim vero | *Borcalium*) oratoricè expressa, | Publicè habita in Auditorio Maximo Collegii | Regii Aberdonensis 26 die Iulii, 1637; | Quo die Adolefcentes nonnulli, Magisterii Candidati, | curriculum Philosophicum emens, & cum Lau- | reâ emittendi, Philosophici examinis | rigorem sustinebant, In solenni Clarissimorum Virorum confessu. | Perorante DAVIDE LEOCHÆO, Philosophiæ | Professore, & συζητησεως Philosophicæ Mod- | rature ordinario, dicti Collegii Subprimario. | [Quotation and woodcut border] | ABERDONIÆ | IMPRIMEBAT EDWARDUS RABANUS, | Almæ Academicæ Typographus. 1637. | [Woodcut border.]

4°. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. A-G², H¹. Pp. [30]. Title: verso, Dedication in verse to George Marquis of Huntly; A2-H1 Philosophia, etc.,

in pica roman; at end eight lines of verse addressed to the author by D[avid] W[edderburn].

British Museum.

Leech, David. King's College theses.

Joseph Robertson describes (*Biogr. Abred.* ii. 317) an imperfect copy of the Theses of 1637 in the possession of David Laing. "The part which remains consists of the 4 concluding pages of the 'Epist. Nuncupat.,' and of 24 pages of Theses. These are Theses logicae (8); Theses morales (4), to which are added 'Aphorisma politicum' and 'Aphorisma economicum'; Theses physicae (7). It is subscribed by seven students" [whose names identify the year: *Off. and Grad.* 187. The sixth is Jacobus Sharpius, the future archbishop.] The fragment is not mentioned in Laing's *Sale Cat.* ii. 222.

Seton, John. THESES | PHILOSOPHICÆ, | Quas Auspice & Propitio | D. O. M. | Adolescentes, Magisterii Candidati, | *In Academia Marefchallana,* | Die [21] Iulii, Anno 1637. | In publico Clariffimorum Philosophorum | *Confessu propugnabunt, Ab auroa* | *ad meridiem.* | *PRÆSIDE IOANNE SETONO.* | [Greek quotation] | *ABREDONLE.* | Imprimebat Edwardus Rabanns [*sic*], 1637.

4°. 7½ in. []¹ + α - δ² + []¹. Pp. [20]. Title; verso blank; second and third leaves, Dedication to Provost Alexander Jaffray "Mæcenati suo munificentissimo,"

signed by seventeen candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 208); β to recto of single leaf, Theses (logicae, ethicae, physicae, metaphysicae) in long primer italic; within borders; verso blank. *Bodleian.*

1638.

Covenant. GENERALL | DEMANDS, | Concerning the Late COVENANT; | Propounded by the MINISTERS and Professors | of DIVINITIE in ABERDENE: | To some Reverend Brethren, who came thither to | *recommend the Late Covenant to Them, and to* | those who are committed to their Charge: | Together | With the ANSWERES of those Reverend | Brethren to the sayd DEMANDS: | As also | The REPLYES of the forefayd MINISTERS | and Professors to their ANSWERES. | - | [Texts and device] | ABERDENE, | *Printed by EDWARD RABAN,* 1638.

4°. 7 in. A-L². Pp. 44. Title with | Demands in small pica roman. Aberdeen arms on verso: pp. 3-44, General

The six "Aberdeen Doctors" who signed the Demands were John Forbes of Corse, professor of divinity, King's Coll.; Alexander Scrogie, minister at Old Aberdeen; William Lesley, principal of King's Coll.; Robert Baron, professor of divinity, Marischal Coll.; James Sibbald and Alexander Ross, ministers at Aberdeen. The Covenanters were Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andrew Cant. They had arrived in Aberdeen in July and the above edition was printed in that month.

The volume was twice reprinted in the same year, by Robert Young in Edinburgh, and by H.M. Printer, really printed at Young's London office.

— THE | ANSWERES | OF SOME BRETHREN | *OF THE MINITSERIE* [*sic*] | TO | THE REPLYES OF | The Ministers and Professours | *of Divinitie in Aberdene,* concerning the late covenant | [Text between type ornaments] | Printed in ABERDENE, by | *Edward Raban,* 1638.

4°. 7 in. A-D⁴, E², with four leaves, *4, inserted between A1 and A2. Pp. 36 + [8]. Title, type borders at top and bottom: on

verso, To the Christian reader: pp. 3-36. Answeres, in small pica roman; the inserted leaves, What did proceed from our pens. . .

The Answeres were printed on August 14, the signatories being Henderson and Dickson. There is another Aberdeen edition of same date (A-I², pp. 36), with the misprint on the Title corrected, and without the inserted leaves (copy in British Museum).

Covenant. DUPLYES | Of the MINISTERS & PRO- | FESSORS OF ABERDENE, | TO | *The second ANSWERES of some* | REVEREND BRETHREN, | *Concerning* | The LATE COVENANT. | - | [Texts and Raban's device] | *Printed in Aberdene, by Edw. Raban, 1638.*

4°. 7 in. A-KK², LL. Pp. 133+[1]. Reader: pp. 6-133, Duplyes, in small pica
Title, double lines at top and bottom; City roman: p. [134], Some Escapes in printing.
arms on verso: pp. 3-5, To the Unpartial

The Duplyes were printed in September. There is an Edinburgh edition of "The Answers . . . also Duplies" printed by Robert Young (London office) in 1638 (A-I⁴, D-P⁴, R³). The General Demands, Answers, and Duplies were reprinted in one volume by John Forbes, Aberdeen, in 1662 (A-T²); also with an additional title-page dated 1663.

Leech, David. Theses philosophicae, de quibus A. D. O. M. in publico Academiae Regiae Aberdon. acroaterio διατριβη περιεστικη instituatur die [] Julii anno 1638 respondentibus magisterii philosophici candidatis. Praeside Davide Leochaeo. [Woodcut of College arms.] Aberdoniae, imprimebat Edwardus Rabanus.

4°. Pp. 24. Hebrew types used. Dedi- faculty of Theology, subscribed by fourteen
cation to Dr. William Guild, dean of the candidates (*Roll of Alumni*, 12).

Guild was a student at Marischal College in 1605, had D.D. [from ?] between 1633 and 1635; rector, 1639-44; principal, 1640-51, when he was ejected by Cromwell's colonels (*Fasti*, i. 223, 228, ii. 11, 187; *Off. and Grad.* 10, 26). Title taken, as for 1634, from Joseph Robertson's *Biogr. Abred.* ii. 297; *Laing's Sale Cat.* ii. 222.

1642.

Theses. Marischal College.

Not seen. Payment of 12 lib. to Edward Rabine for printing (*Burgh Accounts*, 1641/42).

1643.

Decanus, Samuel. Positiones nonnullae physiologicae de coelo quas divino faventi numine sub presidio clarissimi atque doctissimi viri M. Patricii Gordonii, sacratoris philosophiae in inelyta Academia Aberdonensi Regia professoris solertissimi publicae disquisitionis praeli die [] M. Jul. publicum solenne periculum subsequenti commissas in maximo Academiae dictae auditorio propugnare nititur Samuel Decanus Bohemus. Abredoniae, imprimebat Edv. Rabanus 1643.

4°. Pp. 16. Dedicated to Zbiqueus à Guild, rector of the College; Jacobus Myleus
Goray Goraysky, territorii Chalmensis cas- P.L.C., Ecclesiae Belzycianae antistes;
tellanus; Georgius Rzeczyzca Rzeczyzky, Stephanus Suellicius, Ginnasii Belzycensis
Georgius á Kona Slupeaceky, capitanei; Dr. rector.

The name of Samuel Decanus is among those appended to Patrick Gordon's *Theses*, *infra*. Title taken, like 1634 **Leech**, from Joseph Robertson's *Biogr. Abred.* ii. 305; *Laing's Sale Cat.* ii. 222.

Gordon, Patrick. Theses philosophicae, quas A. P. D. O. M. adolescentes magisterii candidati in auditorio publico Academiae Regiae Universitatis Aberdonensis Carolinae, ad xiv Julii, horis antemeridianis anno 1643 sustinebunt. Praeside Pat. Gordonio. Aberdoniis, imprimebat Edvardus Rabanus, Universitatis et urbis typographus.

4°. Pp. 20. Dedication to George Marquis of Huntly, subscribed by fifteen candidates (Roll of Alumni, 13).

Lord Huntly had been elected Chancellor on 6th Jan., 1643. Patrick Gordon, M.A., 1633, was regent, 1640-50; afterwards civilist, humanist, and professor of Hebrew (*Off. and Grad.* 4, 32, 47, 53, 73, 186, 315). Title taken, like 1634 **Leech**, from Joseph Robertson's *Biogr. Abred.* ii. 304; Laing's *Sale Cat.* ii. 222.

Ray, John. THESES | PHILOSOPHICÆ, | *Quas auspice & propitio D. O. M.* | Adolescentes Magisterii Candidati, In | ACADEMIA MARESCHALLANA, | *Die* [17] | *Julii, Anno 1643.* | In Publico Doctissimorum Virorum Confessu Pro- | pugnant, ab Aurora ad meridiem. | - | PRÆSIDE IOANNE RAYO. | - | [Quotation and woodcut] | *Abredoniæ, imprimebat E; Rabanus.*

4°. 7in. []³, A-B², Ct. Pp. [16] | by eight candidates (*Fasti*, iii. 211); pp. within borders. Title; verso blank; pp. [3]- [7]-[16], Theses (logicae, ethicae, physicae, metaphysicae) in long primer italic; C2 [6], Dedication to Ludovic, eldest son of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, signed | apparently utilised for title leaf.

John Ray, M.A., 1625, was regent, 1632-48 (*Fasti*, ii. 34, 201, 588).

Theological Faculty. DE PACE | Inter | EVANGELICOS | procuranda, | Eminentiorum in | Ecclesia Scoticana Theo- | logorum SENTEN- | tiæ, | à | *Reverendissimo in Christo Patre & Domino, Domino* | JOHANNE SPOTSWODO | Archiepiscopo Sanct-Andreano, | totius Scotiæ Primæ, &c. | JOHANNI | DURÆO Scoto com- | municatæ, | In | *Judicio Facultatis Theologicæ Aberdoniensis* | & | *Parænesi Edinburgensæ* : | Quæ ad aliorum studia in hîc meditationi- | bus confirmanda, publici juris fiunt. | - | FRANCOFURTI | Typis MICHÆLIS KOCHII | Anno 1643.

8°. 6 in. A-E³. Pp. 80. Title | iensis, in long primer roman: Pp. 55-80, within double lines: Pp. 3-54, Judicium | Andreae Ramsæ paraenesis irenica. Facultatis Theologicæ Academiæ Aberdon-

The Judicium is dated at Aberdeen, 20th Feb., 1637, and signed by John Forbes of Corse, Robert Baron, Alexander Scrogie, James Sibbald, Alexander Ross and William Leslie, "S.S. Theologiæ professores aliique facultatis ejusdem in Academia Aberdoniensi doctores".

1645.

Theses. Marischal College.

Not seen. Payment of 10 lib. to Eduard Raban for printing (*Burgh Accounts*, 1644/45).

1649.

Guild, William. ISAGOGE | CATECHETICA; | Explicationi Dogmatum | Theologicorum plenio- | ri prævia. | *In gratiam juventutis, in Univerfitate* | *Illustri Aberdonensi, & præcipuè in* | *inçlyta ejusdē Academia Regia.* | [Device] | ABERDONIÆ, | Imprimebat Edvardus Rabanus, 1649.

8°. 5½ in. A-C³, []¹. Pp. 48 + [2]. | 3, 4, Dedication to Sir John Gordon of Title, type borders at top and bottom; on Haddo, bart.; pp. 5-48, Isagoge, in small verso Device of King's Coll. Library; pp. | pica roman; p. [49] Errata.

Edinb. Univ.

Middleton, Alexander. . . . nni Gord . . . quiti aurato, D. de Haddo . . . ilectissimo quondam condiscipul . . . nunc vero Maecenati plurimum col . . . hasce philosophicas quas A. D. O. M. ingenui aliquot . . . o Universitatis Aberdonensis curriculum philosophicum emensi et hac vic . . . in publico philosophantium cons . . . propugnaturi ad diem 2 Julii 1649 hori . . . præsidi Alexandro Middletono, DD. CC.Q [Names of eighteen candidates, *Roll of Alumni*, 15]. Aberdonia, imprimebat Edwardu . . .

From "fragments found in the binding of a copy of Andro Hart's Bible, 24 May, 1837. J. R." (*Biogr. Abred.* iii. 233). Alexander Middleton, M.A., 1630, was regent, sub-principal, principal, 1634-8† (*Off. and Grad.* 27, 41, 55, 185, 315). John Gordon of Haddo joined the class of 1645, but was not a "candidate".

1650.

Cant, Andrew. Marischal College theses.

Not seen. Payment of £6 13s. 4d. to James Brown for printing. (*Burgh Accounts*, 1849-50.)

1654.

Cant, Andrew. THESES ET PROBLEMATA | PHILOSOPHICA | Quæ, Athenæi Marefchallani Alumni, | *laureâ triumphali hæc vice condecorandi*, | pridie Eidus Quintileis, A. P. D. O. M. | publicè propugnabunt, horis | & loco folitis. | ARBITRO ANDREA CANTEO. | [Quotation] | *ABREDONIIS*, | E Typographæo Jacobi Brouni, Academiæ | & Urbis Typothetæ An. Ær. Christi 1654.

4°. 7½ in. A⁴, B-O², [?]. Pp. [8] + 217; pp. 1-47, Theses (logicæ, ethicæ, 1-53 + [1]. Title; verso blank; A2-4, Dedicatio to Anna Maria a Schurman, Utrecht, physica, mathematica, metaphysica); pp. 47-53, Centuria problematum philosophi- signed by twenty candidates (*Fasti*, ii. corum, in pica roman.

Andrew Cant, son of the famous Andrew, entered Marischal College in 1640, and was a regent 1649-59 (*Fasti*, ii. 35, 212, 589); Principal of Edinburgh University, 1675-85.

Bodleian.

1656.

Forbes, Robert. THESES | PHILOSOPHICAE, | QUAS AUSPICE & PROPITIO | D. O. M. | Adolescentes laureæ Magisterialis | CANDIDATI | In inclyta Abredonensi acade- | miâ MARESCHALLANÂ | 8. *Id. Jul.* | publicè propugnabunt, | horis & loco folitis. | Arbitro ROBERTO FORBESIO. | [Quotation] | *ABREDONIIS*, | E Typographæo JACOBI BROUN, | Urbis & Academiæ Typothetæ. | Anno 1656.

4°. 7 in. [?], A⁴, B². Pp. [4] + 12. Title; on verso and next leaf, Dedication to Provost George Morison, signed by seventeen candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 219); pp. 1 [sig. A2 instead of A1]—12, Theses (logicæ, morales, physica, metaphysica, mathematica), in small pica roman.

Robert Forbes was M.A. King's Coll., 1643; regent at Marischal Coll., 1648-63; regent at King's Coll., 1663-87, and last canonist there (*Off. and Grad.* 30, 57, 188, 316; *Fasti*, ii. 35, 589).

Kirkwall Bibliothek.

1657.

Whyte, Alexander. THESES | PHILOSOPHICAE | Quas, Athenæi Marefchallani Magi- | sterii Candidati, quadriennale curriculū emenfi, | Laureâ Triumphali hac vice condecorandi IX. *Calen-* | *das* QUINTILEIS A. P. D. O. M. publice propugnabunt | horis & loco solitis. Præfide ALEXANDRO | QUHYTEO. | [Quotations] | ABREDONIS | E Typographæo JACOBI BROUN Urbis | & Academiæ Typothetæ, Ann. Ær. Christi, | 1657.

4°. 7½ in. []¹, A-K². Pp. [8] + 40. Title; verso blank; pp. [3]-[7], Dedication to Magistrates of Aberdeen, "Patronis suis universis virtutum honestamentis decorissimis, instructissimis, consummatissimis," signed by

fifteen candidates, including Bishop Gilbert Burnet and James Gregory, the astronomer (*Fasti*, ii. 220); p. [8] blank; pp. 1-40, Theses (logicæ, morales, physicæ, mathematicæ, metaphysicæ) in pica roman.

Alexander White entered Marischal College in 1646, and was a regent from 1650 or 1651 till his death, 20 Aug., 1662 (*Fasti*, ii. 36, 213, 589).

Bodleian.

1658.

Cant, Andrew. THESES | PHILOPHICAE [*sic*] | Quas A. P. D. O. M. Athenæi Ma- | refchallani Alumni, Laureâ triumphali hac vice | condecorandi, ad Jul. 9 horis & loco fo- | litis, publicè propugnabunt | ARBITRO ANDREA CANTÆO | [Quotations and woodcut] | ABERDONIS | E Typographæo JACOBI BROUN Urbis & Aca- | demie Typothetæ, An. Ær. CHRISTI 1658.

4°. 7½ in. []², A-P¹, Q¹. Pp. [6] + 121 + [1]. Title; pp. [3]-[6], Dedication to William, seventh Earl Marischal, signed

by twenty-three candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 222); pp. 1-121, Theses in small pica roman.

These Theses supply the amplest extant treatment of the subjects forming the seventeenth century curriculum in the Scottish Universities.

1659.

Douglas, William. ACADEMIARVM VINDICLÆ | In quibus | Novantium præjudicia contra Academiâs etiâ | Reformatas averruncantur, earundemque Institutio | recta proponitur. | - | Authore GVIL. DOWGLASIO S. S. Theo- | logiæ PROFESSORE in Academia Regia *Aberdonenfi* | - | [Quotations and device] | Aberdoniæ, | Excudebat *Jacobus Brunus* Urbis et Acad. Typographus. | Anno Dom. MDCLIX.

4°. 7 in. []⁷, A-M², N¹. Pp. [14] + 50. Pp. [1-3] blank; p. [4], Device of King's Coll. Library and Latin verses; p. [5], Title; pp. [6-14], Dedication to the

principal and professors of King's College, followed by verses in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; pp. 1-50, Oratio, in small pica roman.

Douglas was M.A., 1619, minister of Forgue, professor of divinity, 1643-66 (*Off. and Grad.* 69, 182). The Oratio was delivered in the Theological Hall, 19th Nov., 1658. The Dedication has some account of the foundation of the King's College, and a description of the buildings.

Meldrum, George. THESES PHILOSOPHICAE | Quas posuerunt *Adolescentes*, Laureæ | Magisterialis, CANDIDATI, in inclyta Univerſita- | tis *Abredonenſis*, Academia Mareſchallana, | et *A. P. D. O. M.* ad *Junij* 2[4] horis | et loco ſolitis, publicè propugna- | bunt. | Præſide Georgio Meldrumio. | [Quotations] | *Abredoniis* | E Typographæo *Jacobi Broun* Urbis et Academiae | Typothetæ Ann. Ær. Chriſti, 1659.

4°. 7 in. []¹, A-N². Pp. [8] + 52. p. [6] blank; pp. 1-52, Theses (logicae, physicae, ethicae, mathematicae) in small pica roman. Title; verso blank; pp. 2-5, Dedication to Provost John Jaffrey and Town Council, signed by fourteen candidates (*Faſti*, ii. 223);

George Meldrum entered Marischal Coll. in 1647, regent, 1655-59, rector, 1673-74; one of the ministers of Aberdeen; professor of divinity, Edinburgh (*Faſti*, 12, 36, 213, 589).

Strachan, John. King's College Theses.

Not seen. (*Orem's Old Aberdeen*, 1782, p. 163.)

1660.

Douglas, William. ORATIO PANEGYRICA | Ad ΕΙΣΟΔΙΑ Potentiſſimi Monarchæ, | CAROLI II, | *Magna Britannia, Francia & Hibernia* | REGIS, Fidei Defenſoris, reducis ſolpitis, pergratiſſimi. | Quam recitabat *Guilielmus Douglaſſius*, | S. S. Theologiæ Profeſſor, in Auditorio | Maximo Philoſophico Collegii Regii Univerſitatis | CAROLINÆ Aberdonenſis, *Junii* 14, 1660. | - | [Texts] | - | [Quotations] | - | *EDINBURGI*, Ex officinâ Societatis *Stationariorum*, 1660.

4°. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. A-D¹. Pp. [6] + 26. to William, Earl of Glencairn; Pp. 1-26, Title within double lines: A2-3, Dedication | Panegyricus, in small pica roman.

Forbes, Robert. THESES | PHILOSOPHICAE | Quas Auſpice et propitio | D. O. M. | *Adolescentes* Laureæ Magiſterialis | Candidati | in Inclyta *Abredonenſi* academia Mariſchallanâ | *Julii*, 17. | Publicè propugnabunt horis et loco ſolitis | Præſide ROBERTO FORBESIO. | [Quotations and woodcut] | *ABERDONIIS*. | E Typographæo *Jacobi Broun* Urbis & *Aca-* | *demie Typothetæ*, Anno 1660.

4°. 7 in. []², A-F². Pp. [4] + 24. 224); pp. 1-24, Theses (logicae, morales, physicae, metaphysicae, mathematicae) in small pica roman. Title; verso to p. [4], Dedication to James, eldest son of Sir Robert Innes, bart., of that ilk, signed by twenty candidates (*Faſti*, ii. |

James Innes had entered the College in 1656, but was not a candidate in 1660.

Sandilands, Patrick. [*Colophon*] Decermina hæc Philoſophica, *A. P. D. O. M.* | in ſoleni Philoſophantiū diatribâ, ſupra no- | minati *Adolescentes* quadriennale curriculum e- | menſi, hæc vice cum laureâ Magiſteriali è *Collegio* | *Regio Univerſitatis Aberdonenſis* emittendi, propug- | nabunt, præſide PATRICIO SANDI- | LANDIO, horis et loco ſolitis. | *Jul.* 12 1660 | Excludebat *Jacobus Brunus* Urbis | & Academiae *Typographus*.

2. single sheet. $17\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ in. In pica roman. No candidates' names. Verso blank.

To the top of this sheet was originally pasted by its lower edge an address to Charles II. (no date, place, or printer's name) which is now placed immediately before it. The two papers were evidently regarded as a single publication, for Ant. Wood who foliated the vol. of miscellaneous papers which contains these 2 sheets gave them but one number. Twenty candidates (of 1660) sign the address (*Off. and Grad.* 195). Patrick Sandilands was M.A. King's College, 1643, regent at Marischal Coll. (*Fasti*, ii. 35, 588), 1643 to 1646, when he was transferred to King's Coll.: sub-principal there 1657 till his death in 1673 (*Off. and Grad.* 41, 56, 188, 315).
Bodlician.

1661.

Leslie, James. Ὁ Ἄσκη Ὁρθρινος | Ἀπολαμπῆ | Seu | Natalis Domini
relucet, | refulget, | In Academiâ Marischallanâ Ca- | rolinæ Univerſitatis *Aber-*
donenſis, | Octavo Calendæ Januariæ, | M, DC, LXI. | [Quotation and device] |
ABERDONNIS, | Anno .Ær. Chrſt. 1661.

4°. 7 in. []¹, A-[E]². Pp. [28].
Pp. [1-2] blank; p. [3] Title within border;
p. [4] blank; pp. [5-6] Dedication by Leslie
to the Earl Marischal; p. [7] 'Benevolo
lectori . . . Typographi pariter junioris im-

periti tyrocinium prælo calente excusetur';
p. [8] blank; pp. [9-25]. Device with initials
F. V., Precatio, Oratio, Precatio in small pica
roman; pp. [26-28] blank.

Leslie entered Mar. Coll., 1636: principal, 1661-78: obtained M.D. on the continent. He dedicates this tract 'privato hujus Athenæi studiosorum usui'. The name of the printer is unknown.

1665.

Strachan, Patrick. King's College theses.

Not seen. Stated to have been printed in MS. vol. "Mar. Coll. Old Records," 1 Aug., 1665.

1666.

Theses. Marischal College.

Not seen. Payment for printing mentioned in *Town Council Register*, 22 August, 1666.

1669.

Alexander, Alexander. PHILOSOPHEMATA LIBERA, | Præproperè conferta,
que Lycæi MARIS- | CHALLANI *Univerſitatis CAROLINÆ* | *ABERDONENSIS* | Magiſ-
terii candidati, | Laureæ Triumphali hac vice condeco- | randi A. P. D. O. M.
publicè pro- | pugnabunt, in celebri Philoſo- | phantium palæſtra, | *Iulii* [8]
Auſpiciis ALEXANDRI ALEXANDER. | - | [Quotations and device] | *ABERDONNIS*, |
E Typographæo IOANNIS FORBESII *Junioris* URBIS | & *Academie* TYPOTHETÆ
Anno 1669.

4°. 7 in. []¹, A-K². Pp. [8] + 38
+ [2]. Title: on verso large woodcut of
seated woman; pp. [3-7] Dedication to
George, eighth Earl Marischal, signed by
twenty-two candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 231); p. [8]

large woodcut of standing woman; pp. 1-38
Theses (Profata dialectica, Positiones path-
ologicæ, Spicilegia physiologica, Theoremata
metaphysica, Theses mathematicæ) in small
pica roman.

Alexander entered Marischal College in 1660; regent, 1667-74; afterwards minister of
Glass (*Fasti*, ii. 37, 227, 589).

1673.

Gray, Thomas. Theses hæc Philosophicas A. P. D. O. M. Propugnabunt sub Præsidio THOMÆ GRAII, supra nominati juvenes | ex Collegio Marischallano ABERDONENSI, hac vice, cum Magisteriali laurea emittendi *Iulii* [] Anno 1673. horis & loco solitis. | - | E Typographæo IOANNIS FORBESII Junioris, URBS & Universitatis Typothetæ, Anno *Ære Christiano*, M.DC.LXXIII.

Single sheet (the only surviving copy is printed on silk with hand painted borders). 23½ × 20½ in. At top Keith arms and dedication to George, 8th Earl Marischal, signed

by twenty-one candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 237), followed by the Theses in brevier roman double columns, and Colophon as above.

Gray entered Marischal College in 1660, and was regent 1667-73, also librarian (*Fasti*, ii. 37, 74, 227, 589).

1674.

Scougall, Henry. POSITIONES ALIQUOT THEOLOGICÆ | DE | Objecto Cultus Religiosi. | Quas APIDOM, tertio *id. Aug.* 1674 | in Academia REGIA *Aberdonensi*. Propugnabit | HENRICUS SCUGALL Presbyter, & designatus S. S. | Theologiæ Professor. Disputationem moderante | Eruditiss. & Clariss. Viro, D. IOANNE MENZIES | Theologiæ Professore meritissimo, & Universi- | tatis *Aberdonensis* Rectore magnifico. | [Quotations] | . E Typographæo IOANNIS FORBESII *Junioris*, | URBS & UNIVERSITATIS Typothetæ. | Anno Dom. M.DC.LXXIV.

4°. 8 in. Pp. 7 + [1]. Title: | bishop of St. Andrews; pp. 3-7, Positiones verso, Dedication to James Sharp, Arch- | in pica roman.

Scougall, M.A.. 1668, was regent 1669-73, professor of divinity 1674-78 (*Off. and Grad.* 57, 70, 203, 317.)

British Museum.

1675.

Middleton, George. THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ, | Quas A. P. D. O. M. Adolofcentes nonnulli, | Curriculum Philosophicum emenſi, & | Laureæ Magisterialis Candidati, in in- | clyto Athenæo REGIO ABERDONENSI, | ad diem 13 *IULII*, horis & loco so- | litis publicè propugnabunt, | Præside GEORGIO MIDDLETONO, | V. D. M. & P. P. | [Ornament and quotations] | - | *ABERDONIÆ* | Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS *Junior*, | UNIVERSITATIS Typographus. | A. Æ. C. M.DC.LXXV.

4°. 7 in. A-F². Pp. 24. Title | 4, names of twenty-eight candidates (*Off. and Grad.* 208); pp. 5-24, Theses in roman within type border; verso, royal arms; p. 3, | small pica. Dedication to Patrick, Earl of Kinghorn; p.

George Middleton was eldest son of Principal Alexander Middleton, M.A., 1662; D.D. St. And., 1683; minister of Glamis, 1667-73 and 1684-85; regent, 1673; sub-principal, 1679; principal, 1684 to 1717, when he was deprived of office (*Off. and Grad.* 27, 42, 58, 196, 316). The Theses are fifty in number. Subjoined is the note: "Theses hæc nostras, pro more, optimis hujus ævi experimentis et detectionibus undequaque non scaterere, nemo miretur; utpote ab initio, nihil quod non discipulis meis publice dictaverim, publice eventilandum et ab iis propugnandum proponere decrevi".

Edinb. Univ.

Skene, Alexander, and others. A | True and Faithful | *account* | OF |
 The most material Passages of | a dispute betwixt some *Students of Divini-* | *ty*
 (so called) of the Univerfity of *Aber-* | *dene*, and the People called *Quakers*,
 held | in *Aberdene* in *Scotland*, in *Alexander Harper* | his clofe (or Yard) before
 fome hundreds of | Witneffes, upon the fourteenth day of the | fecond Month
 called *April*, 1675. There being Opponents { *John Lesly.*
Alexander Shirreff. } M.A. of Art.
Paul Gellie.

| And Defendants upon the *Quakers* part. | *Robert Barclay* and *George Keith.* |
 Præfes for moderating the meeting, | chofen by them, *Andrew Thomfone* Advoca-
 cate: | and by the *Quakers*, *Alexander Skein*, fom- | time a Magistrate of the
 City. | Publifhed for preventing mifreports, | by *Alexander Skein*, *John Skein*,
Alexan- | *der Harper*, *Thomas Merfer*, and *John Cowie.* | To which is added,
 Robert Barclay's | offer to the Preachers of *Aberdene*, renewed | and re-inforced
 | - | [Text] | - | *London* Printed, in the Year, 1675.

8°. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. A-D^s, E¹. Pp. 71 + [1]. | Barclay's offer; pp. 63-71. A postscript
 Title: pp. 3, 4, The Epistle figned by the | figned G. K. Pp. 49, 52, 57 are mifpaged
 Skenes, Mercer and Cowie; pp. 5-53, The | 65, 68, 97.
 Difpute in long primer roman; pp. 54-62, |

Shirreff, Alexander, and others. QUAKERISM CANVASSED: | *Robin Barclay*
 baffled in the defending of his | Thefes againft young Students at *Aber* | *dene*, and
 he, together with *Mr. George* | *Keith* and the reft of his friends, found guilty of
 blafphemy, | treafon, lying, shifting, quibbling, tergiverfing, &c. | OR, | A moft
 true and faithful *account* of a Difpute betwixt fome | Students of Divinity at
Aberdene, and the *Quakers* in and | about the place, holden in *Alexander Harper*
 his Clofs (or | Yard) *April* 14. 1675. years, before fome hundreds of wit- | neffes,
Andrew Thomfon being Prefes; Together with the *Quakers* pretended true
 and faithful *account* of the fame | Difpute examined. As alfo, | A further
 Confutation of the *Quakers* | Principles, by the former | Arguments more
 fully amplified, and diverfe other demonftra- | tions, &c. | - | Publifhed by
 { *Al. Shirreff.*
John Leslie. } M.A. | - | [Texts] | Printed in the Year, 1675.
 { *Paul Gellie.*

4°. a², b¹, A-R¹. Pp. [12] + 1-136 | figned A.S., J.L., P.G.: b, Preface: pp. 1-134,
 (mifnumbered 236). Title: a2, Dedication | A moft true and faithful *account*: pp. 135-6,
 to Kenneth, Lord Mackenzie and Kentail, | An advertisement to the reader.

Printed in Edinburgh, except the laft two pages which were added in Aberdeen (*Barclay*
 and *Keith's Quakerism Confirmed*, p. 87).

1676.

Barclay, Robert, and Keith, George. QUAKERISM | CONFIRMED, | OR |
 A vindication of the chief Doctrines and Principles | of the people called
QUAKERS from the arguments | and objections of the *Students* of divinity (fo
 called) | of *ABERDEEN* in their book entitled QUAKERISM CANVASSED [*sic*], By
 { *ROBERT BARCLAY,*
 and
 { *GEORGE KEITH.* | [Motto] | Printed in the Year. 1676.

4°. []², A L⁴. Pp. [4] + 88. Title ; | signed by Robert Sandilands, James Alex-
p. [3] address to the Friendly Reader: p. [4] | ander, Alexander Seatone and Alexander
contents: pp. 1-88, Quakerism confirmed, | Patersons, students.

[Skein, Alexander] and others. QUAKERISM | CONFIRMED, | In Answer to
| QUAKERISM CANVASSED: | Wherein | The Account the Students of Divini- | ty
of Aberdeen gives of the Dispute they had with | the Quakers, is examined, and
from their own words | they are proved guilty of many gross lyes, contra- |
dictions and prevarications; which also is attested | by the Subscription of
severall Students, present at | the Dispute, and since come to own and walk with
| the people called Quakers. | *Published by the said people at Aberdeen for Truths
and their | own Vindication.* | [Texts] | - | Printed in the Year, 1676.

4°. A-D⁴. Pp. [2] + 29 + [1]. Title: | signed by Robert Sandilands, James Alex-
pp. 1-29, Quakerism confirmed — section | ander, Alexander Seatone, Alexander Pater-
first signed by Alexander Skein, John Skein, | sone, students.
Thomas Mercer, John Cowie; section second

Barclay and Keith seem to have had nothing to do with this part (Smith's *Friends' Books*,
i. 178; S. N. and Q. x. 57).

1677.

Middleton, Thomas. AN | APPENDIX | TO THE | HISTORY OF | The Church
of Scotland; | CONTAINING | The Succession of the ARCHBISHOPS and BI- | SHOPS
in their severall Sees, from the Reformation of | Religion, until the year 1676. | AS
ALSO | The severall Orders of MONKS and FRIERS, &c. | in Scotland, before the
Reformation: | WITH | The Foundation of the UNIVERSITIES and COLLEDGES, |
their Benefactors, Principals, Professours of Divinity, and present | Masters: | AND
An Account of the GOVERNMENT, LAWS and CONSTITU- | TION of the Kingdom.
| = | LONDON, | Printed by E. Flesher, for R. Royfton, Bookseller to the KING's
most | Sacred MAJESTY, Anno Domini MDCLXXVII.

F°. A², B-G⁴. Pp. [4] + 47 + [1].

This volume contains, on pp. 23-9. the earliest printed account of the two Aberdeen
Colleges, including some notes on their "Learned men and Writers". The Appendix is
to the fourth edition of John Spottiswood's History.

1680.

Forbes, Robert. Theses philosophicæ pro veterana veritate et antiqua
philosophandi methodo tuenda adversus petulantis hujus sæculi subdolan novitatem
et heterodoxiam Cartesianam. Aberdoniæ: excudebat Joannes Forbes
Universitatis typographus. 1680.

Not seen (*Aberd. Printers*, p. 126). King's College. Copy sold in David Laing's Sale,
ii. 222.

1681.

Buchan, John. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ*, | Quas auspice, & propitio, | D.
O. M. | Laureæ Magisterialis Candidati, in | publico Athenæi REGII ABREDO-

NENSIS asceterio ad diem 5. Julij | propugnabunt, horis folitis, | Præfide JOHANNÉ BUCHAN. | [Device and quotations] | - | ABERDONIÆ. | Excudebat IOANNES FORBES COLLE- | GII REGII Typographus. | Anno Domini 1681. |

4°. 7½ in. A⁴, B-L². Pp. 48. Title within border: verso, Device of King's College Library; pp. 3-8, Dedication to Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, bart., signed by thirty candidates (*Off. and Grad.* 211); pp. 9-48, Theses in small pica roman.

John Buchan, brother of the laird of Auchmacoy, entered King's Coll. in 1666, and was regent there. 1674-86 (*Off. and Grad.* 58, 316; *Roll of Alumni*, 29).

Edinb. Univ.

Garden, James. THESES THEOLOGICÆ, | DE | Gratiae Efficacia | A. P. D. O. M. secundo die Febr. 1681. in Collegio REGIO | Aberdonensi, publico examini subjiçienda, Propugnante | LACOBO GARDEN Presbytero, & Designato | S. S. Theologiæ Professore. | - | [Quotations] | - | ABERDONIÆ, Typis IOANNIS FORBESII | URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS Typothetæ. | Anno Domini M.DC.LXXXI. [sic].

4°. 7½ in. A⁴, B². Pp. 11+[1]. Title within border; on verso, Dedication to Bishop Patrick Scougal; pp. 3-11, Theses in pica roman; p. [12], device of King's Coll. Library.

James Garden, M.A. 1662, had been selected for the Chair of Divinity 14 Oct., 1680 (while minister of Balmerino), by Bishop Scougal from a leet of three prepared by the Synod. Deposed 25 Jan., 1697, by a Parliamentary Commission (*Off. and Grad.* 70, 98, 197; *Ramsay's Scotland and Scotsmen; Aurora Borealis*, 211).

Edinb. Univ.

1682.

Mudie, Alexander. *Scotic Indiculum* : | OR THE | Present State | OF | SCOTLAND | Together with divers Reflections | Upon the Antient STATE thereof. | - | By A. M. Philopatris. | - | [Motto] | - | LONDON. | Printed for Jonathan Wilkins at the Star in | Cheapside next Mercer's Chappel. 1682.

12°. 6 in. A-M¹², N⁶. Pp. [24]+274 + [2]. A1r, Explanation of frontispiece; A1v, Frontispiece; A2r, Title within lines; A3-7r, Epistle dedicatory to Charles, Duke of Lenox; A7v-8, To the reader; A9-10, Contents; A11-12r, Books printed for Jonathan Wilkins; pp. 1-274, The Present State in pica roman; pp. [275-6], Advertisement.

Chapter 13, pp. 217-246, The University of Aberdeen: mainly from Middleton, 1677 *supra*.

1683.

Fraser, George. King's College theses.

Not seen. Cited in Album E. (*Off. and Grad.* p. 213).

1684.

Forbes, Robert. King's College theses.

Not seen. Cited in Album E. (*Off. and Grad.* p. 213).

Liddel, Duncan. A VINDICATION of M[. . .] DUNCAN LIDDEL, | And his Son | GEORGE LIDDEL, | The on Profefſor of the Mathematicks, and the other a Student of Philoſophie, and *John Forbes*, Printer to the University and Town of | *Aberdeen*, by way of Answer of a ſcourrilous Ryme ſent from *Edinburgh* | - | *To the Tune of*, The Gentlemans Mear is behind . . . A CONFUTATION | OF | JAMES SETON | And *Mr* | DUNCAN LIDDEL | . . . [1684].

F°. broad sheet. 11¼ × 13¼ in. Pica roman.

Advocates' Library.

Liddel, George. *Certamen Mathematicum*, | OR, | A Mathematicall-Dispute, | Betwixt *George Liddell*, Student of *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks* into the *Marischall-Colledge* of ABERDEEN: | AND | **James Paterſon**, (**Mathematicus nomine fenus**) in the **Cow-gate** of | EDINBURGH, at the Sign | of the Crofs-ftaff: | Wherein *George Liddel* undertakes clearly, | to demonſtrate and prove the ſaid **James Paterſon**, to be groſſly | ignorant into all the *Mathematicall Sciences*. | - | [Motto] | - | ABERDEEN, | Printed by JOHN FORBES, Printer to | the CITY and UNIVERSITY, | December 4th. Anno 1684. | And are to be ſold by *Andrew Dumbar*, Book- | ſeller at the *Tron-Kirk* in *Edinburgh*.

8°. 5¼ in. A°. Pp. 16. Title, type candid reader; pp. 6-16, Quinque problemata border at top: verso to p. 5, Epistle to the in small pica roman.

Duncan Liddel, nephew of the benefactor, was M.A., 1634, was appointed professor of mathematics in 1661. His son George, M.A., 1685, became assistant and successor to his father, 1687, and was deposed in 1716 (*Faſti*, i. 146; ii. 53, 207, 252).

Signet Library.

1685.

Liddel, George. THE SOLUTION | OF | The five Problems, | Which was propoſed to *James Paterſon*, | in the *Mathematicall Diſpute*, by | *George Liddell* Student of *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks* in the | *Marischall Colledge* of | *Aberdeen* Decem- | ber 4. 1684. | [Woodcut] | *Aberdeen*, Printed by *John Forbes* Printer to | the *Town* and *Univerſity*, 15 February 1685.

8°. 5¼ in. Pp. 8 (p. 2 has the only | pp. 2-8, Solution in small pica roman and signature B2). Title, type border at top: | long primer italic.

Signet Library.

1686.

Black, William. THIESES, | *PROBLEMATA & PARADOXA* | PHILOSOPHICA: | Quæ, Laureæ Magiſterialis Candidati, in Col- | legio REGIO *Aberdonenſi*, ad diem 15 Julii, | A. P. D. O. M. publicè propugnabunt, | horis & loco ſolitis. | Arbitro GULIELMO BLAK. | [Device of King's Coll. Library] | - | [Motto] | - | ABERDEEN. Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS, | URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, | 14 Junii. A. Æ. C. 1686.

4°. 8¼ in. []¹, B-C°, D¹. Pp. [2] + | thirty-four candidates (*Off. and Grad.* p. 214); 10. Title within borders; verso, Dedication | pp. 1-10, Theses, etc., in long primer roman, to Alexander, Earl of Moray, ſigned by | double columns; D² utilised for the Title.

Black, M.A., 1672, was regent 1684-1711; sub-principal, 1711-14 (*Off. and Grad.* 42, 58, 205, 317).

Haigh Hall.

Burnet, Thomas. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ*, | Quas (*Favente Deo*) ABREDONLE, in | inclyta *Academia Marischallana, Univer-* | *fitatis CAROLINÆ*, sub præ- | sidio THOMÆ BURNET ibidem | *Philosophicæ Profefforis*, publicè pro- | pugnabunt; | splendida laureæ co- | rollâ hac vice condecorandi, ad | diem 24 Junii, horis & | loco solitis. | [Device and quotation] | - | ABREDONLE, Excudebat IOANNES FORBES, | URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus 1686.

4°. 7½ in. A-B⁴. Pp. 15+[1]. Title | by thirty-four candidates (*S. N. and Q.* 2, ii. | within border; verso blank; pp. 3-6, Dedi- | 41); pp. 7-15, Theses in small pica roman. | cation to George, Duke of Gordon, signed

Burnet was M.A. Mar. Coll., 1677; regent there, 1681-86, and in Edinburgh, 1686-90 (*Fasti*, ii. 39, 243, 589).

Kirkwall Bibliothek.

1687.

Keith, Robert. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ*, | Quas A. P. D. O. M. ingenui aliquot | Adolescentes Laureæ Magisterialis Candidati, | In celeberrimo *Collegio MARISCHALLANO* | *Univerfitatis CAROLINÆ ABRE-* | *DENENSIS* ad diem 23 Junii, | *Publicè propugnabunt horis & loco solitis.* | Præfide ROBERTO KETHO. | [Quotations] | ABREDEIS, Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS, URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, *Anno Dom.* 1687.

4°. 8 in. A-C². Pp. 12. Title within | warth, "Literarum & Literatorum fautori | borders; on verso Royal arms and arms of | propensissimo," signed by fifty-nine candi- | Marischal College with mottoes; pp. 3-5, | dates (*Fasti*, ii. 256); pp. 5-12, Theses | Dedication to Sir George Lockhart of Carn- | philosophicæ in pica roman.

Robert Keith entered Marischal Coll. in 1663; regent there, 1683 to 1687 (*Fasti*, ii. 39, 235, 590).

Bodleian.

1688.

Act of Privy Council. ACT, | Appointing a voluntar Contribution for repairing | the KINGS COLLEDGE of *ABERDEEN.* | *EDINBURGH* the seventeenth day of *Aprill*, 1688.

F°. Single page. 12 × 7½ in.

Skene, George. Positiones philosophicæ præside G. Skene, Aberdoniis, 1688.

Not seen. Like 1626 **Lundie**, this title is from David Laing's *Sale Cat.* ii. 222; not transcribed in *Biogr. Abred.* Skene entered Marischal Coll., 1678 (*Fasti*, ii. 248); regent, King's Coll., 1687, till his death in Session 1708/09 (*Off. and Grad.* 58, 317).

1689.

Peacock, George. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ*, | Quas A. P. D. O. M. ingenui aliquot | Adolescentes Laureæ Magisterialis | CANDIDATI, | In celeberrimo *Collegio MARISCHALLANO* | *Univerfitatis CAROLINÆ ABRE-* | *DENENSIS* ad diem 23 Maii, | *Publicè propugnabunt, horis & loco solitis.* | Præfide GEORGIO PEACOCK. | [Quotations.] | ABREDEIS, Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS, URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, *Anno Dom.* 1689.

4°. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. A¹. Pp. 8. Title, within borders; on verso, Dedication to Robert, Viscount Arbuthnot, "Musarum fautori pro- pensissimo," signed by thirty candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 260); pp. 3-8, Theses philosophicæ in pica roman.

George Peacock entered Marischal College in 1666, regent there, 1673 to 1717, when he was deposed (*Fasti*, ii. 38, 232, 589).

Bodleian.

Pope's procession. THE | ACCOUNT | OF THE | Popes Procefsion | AT | ABERDENE, | The 11th of *January*, 1689, which was delivered | to the new Elected Magistrats and Council | thereof, by the Students of *Marishal- Colledge*, | WITH | The Students Letter to the faids Magistrats | thereanent. | - | [Rude woodcut of crowned figure] | - | Printed in the Year, 1689.

4°. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. A¹, B². Pp. 11 + [1]. Title; on verso begins Dedication to Provost and Town Council signed R. R. and I. L., which continues to top of p. 3; pp. 3-8, 'A true account of His Holiness Procession' —the speeches in verse—pica roman; pp. 9-11, 'The Students of Marischal's Colledge attestation anent the burning of the Pop,' signed, 2nd Feb., 1689, by 99 students, grouped as Magistrants, Tertians, Semies, Begians (*Fasti*, ii. 262).

This tract was reprinted in Laing's *Fugitive Pieces of the 17th Century*, 1823. A similar Edinburgh tract is noticed in Sir Alexander Grant's *Story*, ii. 474.

1691.

Fraser, George. Positiones aliquot philosophicæ, quibus in philosophici tyrocinii jam præterlapsi specimen decertabunt adolescentes nonnulli ex Collegio Regali Abredonensi, ad magisterialem lauream aspirantes. Sub præside Georgio Fraser. Abredeis. 1691.

Not seen. (Constable's *Collection of tracts*, 1827, p. 181.)

1693.

Fraser, Alexander. Determinationes philosophicæ, quas laureæ magisterialis candidati in Collegio Regali Abredonensi, publice propugnabunt. Arbitro Alexandro Fraser. Abredeis 1693.

Not seen. (Constable's *Collection of tracts*, 1827, p. 181.) Cited in Album E. (*Off. and Grad.* p. 215).

Peacock, George. THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ, | Quas Collegii MARISCHALLANI | *Univerſitatis CAROLINÆ A- BREDONENSIS*, Laureæ Magisterialis *CANDIDATI*, | A. P. D. O. M. ad | diem 27 *Julii* horis | & loco solitis | propugnabunt. | Præfide *GEORGIO PEACOCK*. | [Quotation] | ABREDEIS, Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS, URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, *Anno Dom.* 1693.

4°. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. A¹. Pp. 8. Title, within borders; on verso, Dedication to George, Earl of Aberdeen, "Pietatis & Iustitiæ assertori," signed by nineteen candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 266); pp. 3-8, Theses philosophicæ in pica roman.

The first Earl of Aberdeen had been a regent at King's College, 1659-63.

Bodleian.

1694.

Black, William. King's College theses.

Not seen. Cited in Album E. (*Off. and Grad.* p. 215).

1695.

Fraser, George. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ*, | Quas auspice & propitio | D. O. M. | Adolescentes Laureæ Magisterialis | *CANDIDATI*, in celeberrimo *Collegio REGIO ABREDONENSI*, | ad diem 4 *Iulii*, publicè propu- | gnabunt, *horis & loco solitis*. | - | Præfide *GEORGIO FRASER*. | - | [Woodcut and motto] | - | ABREDEIS, Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS, URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, *Anno Dom.* 1695.

4°. 7½ in. A-B⁴. Pp. 16. Title within borders; on verso, Dedication to Sir Hugh Campbell, bart., of Calder, signed by twenty- | nine candidates (*Off. and Grad.* p. 217); pp. 3-16, Theses in small pica roman; device of King's Coll. libra y at end.

George Fraser, M.A., 1677, was regent and afterwards sub-principal 1679-1710 (*Off. and Grad.* 42, 58, 201, 316). The last of the candidates is Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat (Chalmers' *Ruddiman*, p. 14).

1696.

Skene, George. King's College theses.

A fragment of two leaves much decayed is in the University Library, including a list of thirty-four candidates (*S. N. and Q.* 2, vi. 124).

1697.

Fraser, Alexander. King's College theses.

Not seen. Cited in Album E. (*Off. and Grad.* p. 215).

Peacock, George. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ*, | Quas Collegii MARISCHAL- LANI, | *Univerſitatis CAROLINÆ A-* | BREDONENSIS, Laureæ Ma | gisterialis *CANDI-* *DATI*, | A. P. D. O. M. ad | diem 3 *Iunii*, horis | & loco solitis | propugnabunt. | - | Præfide *GEORGIO PEACOCK*. | - | [Motto] | - | ABREDEIS, Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS, URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, *Anno Dom.* 1697.

4°. 7 in. A⁴. Pp. 8. Title; p. 2, Dedication to Sir David Ramsay of Ballmain, bart., "in stativis nostris philosophicis quondam primipilo charissimo, nunc Mæce- | nati munificentissimo," signed by eighteen candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 270); pp. 3-8, Theses in small pica roman, within borders. *Glasg. Univ.*

1698.

Marischal College. To The RIGHT HONOURABLE | *The LORD Præfes and remanent Commissioners from the Royall* | *Burrow's* of SCOTLAND assembled at ABERDEEN. | *The Petition of the Principall and Masters of the Marischal Colledge.* | *Humbly sheweth*, . . . [Aberdeen, 1698].

Single sheet. 13¼ + 8¼ in. In English roman.

The Petition, anent rebuilding the College, is given in *Fasti*, i. 354. John Forbes was paid £4 19s. for printing it.

1699.

Marischal College. To all our Generous and Charitable Countrey- | Men within the CITYES of *Dantzick* and | *Konings-berg*, and the Kingdom of | POLAND. | *The humble Representation of the Principall and Masters of the | Marischall Colledge of ABERDEEN in SCOTLAND.* | Sheweth . . . *MARISCHALL* Colledge | of ABERDEEN, | *June 2^d 1699.*

Single sheet. 12½ + 8¼ in. In English roman.

The Representation, anent rebuilding the College, is signed by the Principal and professors: given in *Fasti*, i. 357. John Forbes was paid £5 4s. for printing it. See also T. A. Fischer's *Scots in Germany*, p. 268.

— INFORMATION *For the New Colledge of Aberdeen, Against the Old Colledge.* [1699.]

F^o. 13½ in. Pp. 2. In pica roman.

The Information, anent division of William III.'s grant of £300, is printed in *Fasti*, i. 375.

More, Alexander. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ*, | *Quas Collegii MARISCHALLANI | Universitatis CAROLINÆ A- | BREDEENENSIS, Laureæ Ma- | gisterialis CANDI- | DATI, | A. P. D. O. M. ad | diem 8 Junii, horis | & loco solitis | propugnabunt. | Præfide ALEXANDRO MORO. | [Quotation] | ABREDEIS, Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS, | URBS & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, | Anno Dom. M.DC.XCIX.*

4^o. 7 in. A⁴. Pp. 8. Title within | simo"; signed by twenty-four candidates borders; on verso, Dedication to John | (*Fasti*, ii. 272); pp. 3-8, *Theses philosophicæ* in pica roman.

Alexander More entered Marischal Coll. in 1682; regent there, 1688 to 1717, when he was deposed (*Fasti*, ii. 39, 254, 590; Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, 290).

Bodleian.

1700.

Skene, George. King's College theses.

Not seen. Cited in *Album E. (Off. and Grad.*, p. 215).

Smith, William. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ*, | *Quas, propitio Numine, Generofi ADOLESCEN- | TES ad Lauream Philosophicam, in Collegio MA- | RISCHALLANO Universitatis CAROLINÆ, | ABREDEENENSIS Aspirantes, ad diem 23 Maij, horis | solitis in novo dicti Collegii Auditorio, | doctorum subjicient examini. | - | Præfide GULIELMO SMITH | - | CANDIDATI | [twenty-seven names] | Quibus, ut amicorum votis satisfiat, eos qui annis superioribus in eadem | fuere Classe, adjunximus | [fifteen names, *Fasti*, ii. 274]. ABREDEIS, Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS, URBS | & UNIVERSITATIS typographus, Anno Dom. 1700.*

4^o. 7¾ in. A⁶. Pp. 12. Title within | Seton of Pitmedden, bart.; pp. 3-12, *Theses* borders: verso Dedication to Sir Alexander | in small pica roman.

William Smith, M.A. King's Coll., 1684, was regent at Mar. Coll., 1693-1717, when he was deposed (*Off. and Grad.* 213; *Fasti*, ii. 39, 590).

1701.

Edinburgh University. AN | INTRODUCTION | TO | **Metaphysicks,** |
= | LONDON: | Printed in the year, 1701.

8°. 5½ in. A-C⁸, D¹. Pp. 56. Title. | cept p. 55 in brevier.
pp. 3-56, Introduction in pica roman ex-

Edinb. Univ.

St. Andrews University. AN **Introducción** | TO | LOGICKS. | = |
LONDON: | Printed in the Year, 1701.

8°. 5½ in. A-C⁸, D¹. Pp. 56. Title: | pp. 54-5 in brevier.
pp. 3-56, Introduction in pica roman except

The Commission of Visitation appointed by the Scots Parliament in 1690, directed the preparation and printing of uniform courses of study for the four Universities: logic being allotted to St. Andrews, ethics to Glasgow, physicks to Aberdeen, and metaphysicks to Edinburgh. No copies have been traced of the Glasgow and Aberdeen printed treatises, but the MS. of the latter is extant (*S. N. and Q.* i. 35).

Edinb. Univ.

Skene, George. King's College theses.

Not seen. Cited in *Album E. (Off. and Grad.* p. 215).

1702.

Buttery College. The institution and progress of the Buttery College at Slains in the parish of Cruden, Aberdeenshire, with a catalogue of the books and manuscripts in the library of that University, Sess. 1699-1700-1701. Abredeis: excudebat Joannes Forbes Universitatis typo. 1702.

Not seen. Reprinted in Watson's *Curious Collection of Scots Poems*, 1711. See *Edinb. Topog. Trad. and Antiq. Mag.*, Dec., 1848, p. 184; Chambers' *Domestic Annals*, iii. 230; *S. N. and Q.* x. 113.

Smith, William. ORATIO | In qua, Inclytæ ACADEMIÆ MARIS- | CHALLANÆ
ABREDONENSIS, | Nobilissimus PARENS, Illustres MÆ- | CENATES, & Eximii BENEFA-
| CTORES, ad *Annum* M.DC.XCVI. | Commemorantur. | reservatis amplissimis
ÆDIFICII NOVI | BENEFACITORIBUS | - | Habita à GULIELMO SMITH P.P. | VII *Cal:*
Quintil: Anno Dom. M.DC.XCVI. | - | [Quotations] | - | ABREDEIS, Excudebat
IOANNES FORBESIVS, URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, *Anno Dom.* 1702.

4°. 7¾ in. []², A-H². Pp. [4] + 31
+ [1]. Title within border: on verso, wood-
cuts of arms of Aberdeen and of Marischal
College, with Latin mottoes: pp. [3, 4], Dedi-

cation to Provost John Allardes and the
Town Council: pp. 1-31, Commemoratio in
pica roman.

The benefactors commemorated are George, fifth Earl Marischal, the founder; William, sixth Earl; William, seventh Earl; George, eighth Earl; the city of Aberdeen; Mr. John Johnston (*Fasti*, i. 113); Dr. Duncan Liddel (*ib.* 120); Dr. James Cargill (*ib.* 149); Mr. Patrick Copland (*ib.* 159); Dr. David Chamberlane (*ib.* 182); Alexander Irvine of Drum (*ib.* 207); Mr. Thomas Reid (*ib.* 194); Dr. Alexander Reid (*ib.* 226, 234); Dr. William Guild (*ib.* 223, 280); Katharine Rolland (*ib.* 294); Sir Thomas Crombie (*ib.* 248); Dr. William Johnston (*ib.* 246); William Jamieson (*ib.* 221); Dr. Patrick Dun (*ib.* 231); Dr. Robert Dun (*ib.* 286); Mr. William More (*ib.* 233); Mr. George Robertson; Gilbert Fraser; Dr. Alexander Rosse (*ib.* 272); William Rosse of Roseyle (*ib.* 291); William Leslie of Balquhain (*ib.* 311); Mr. John Strachan (*ib.* 266); Robert Cumming (*ib.* 320); Mr. George Melvill (*ib.* 323); James Milne (*ib.* 316); George Keith of Lentush (*ib.* 331); John Turner (*ib.* 337); Mr. John Fraser (*ib.* 361). The Oratio was printed "on the town's expenses in respect the same contains a full account of the antiquity of the town and benefactors to the college" (*Council Reg.* lvii. 800).

1704.

Anderson, George. Propositiones nonnullæ Theologicæ. | De | *Efficacia Mortis CHRISTI.* | Quas A. P. D. O. M. In Aca- | DEMIA REGIA ABREDO- | NENSI, propugnabit GEOR- | GIUS ANDERSONUS | Minister Evangelii, & de- | signatus S. S. Theologiæ | professor, [14] die | *Decembris* | 1704. | - | ABREDEIS, ex Typographæo Defuncti JOANNIS | FORBESII, URBIS & UNIVERSI | TATIS Typographi, 1704.

4°. 7 in. []^l. Pp. 7 + [1]. Title | 'Gulielmo Regulo de Haddo'; pp. 4-7, Pro-
within border: verso blank; p. 3, Dedication | positiones in pica roman.

George Anderson, M.A., 1655; min. Methlick, Tarves, 1663-1704; professor of divinity till 1710 (*Off. and Grad.* 71, 98, 193).

Proposals. Propofals | For the *Reformation* of | **Schools & Univer-**
sities, | In order to the *Better* | Education of Youth. | Humbly Offer'd to the |
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION | OF THE | HIGH COURT | OF **Parliament.** Printed
in the Year 1704.

4°. 7½ in. A¹, B². Pp. [12]. Title; | duction of Scottish Universities to two,
A2-B2r, Text in pica roman. Advocates re- | and their assimilation to English system.
British Museum.

Smith, William. *THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ,* | Quas, Propitio Numine,
Generosi ADOLESCEN- | TES ad Lauream *Philosophicam,* in *Academiâ* MA- | RI-
SCHALLANA *Universitatis CAROLINÆ* | *ABERDONENSIS* Aspirantes, ad diem 15
Junii doctorum | subjicient examini h. lq. f. | - | Præfide GULIELMO SMITH. | - |
CANDIDATI. | *Ab iis qui Curriculum Philosophicum non sunt penitus emensi dif-*
criminantur. [fifty-three names; twenty-seven with prefixed † or §. *Fasti*, ii. 279].
ABREDEIS, Excudebat IOANNES FORBESIUS URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus,
Ann. Dom. 1704.

4°. 9 in. []^l. Pp. 8. Title within | count Arbuthnot, one of the candidates:
borders: verso, Dedication to Robert Vis- | pp. 3-8, Theses in small pica roman.

1705.

Black, William. *COGITATA NONNULLA PHILOSOPHICA.* | Quæ | A. P. Q.
D. O. M. | Laureæ Magisterialis CANDIDATI | in COLLEGIO REGIO *ABERDONENSI*

| Eruditorum examini Subjicient | ad Diem 2 *Maij* | A. Æ. C. | 1705. | H. L. Q. S. | - | Præside GULIELMO BLAK, P. P. | - | [Device of King's Coll. Library] | - | ABREDEIS, Excudebant Successores JOANNIS FORBESII | URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS Typographi, 1705.

4°. 8 in. A⁴, B-C². Pp. 15 + [1]. Title within border: verso, Dedication to John Urquhart of Meldrum, signed by twenty-four candidates (*Off. and Grad.* 219); pp. 3-15 Cogitata, in small pica roman. *Glasg. Univ.*

1706.

Fraser, George. Theses philosophicae, quas auspice & propitio D. O. M. adolescentes laureae magisterialis candidati, in celeberrimo Collegio Regio Aberdonensi, ad diem 2 Maij, publicè propugnabunt, horis & loco solitis, praeside Georgio Fraser. [Device of King's Coll. Library] Abredeis, excudebant successores Joannis Forbesii urbis & universitatis typographi. 1706.

4°. []¹, A⁴, []¹. Pp. 12. Title; verso, Dedication to Charles, Earl of Erroll, signed by twenty-five candidates (*Off. and Grad.* p. 220); pp. 3-12, Theses.

Not seen. Charles, twelfth Earl of Erroll (whose descendant the present earl possesses the only known copy), was Chancellor of King's College, 1705-16.

Slains Castle.

Mathematical Professorship. Program for election.

Not seen. (*Town Council Register*, lviii. 40.) This was in connection with an attempted ejection of George Liddel. See *infra*, 1717, 1726.

1707.

Urquhart, James. Principia medicinae, tum theoreticae tum practicae, quae favente Deo Opt. Max. in Collegio Regali Aberdonensi ad doctoratus gradum et summa privilegia in facultate medica obtinenda, praeside D. Patricio Urquhart, Medicinae Doctore et Professore ibidem, in publico auditorio dicti Collegii medicorum atque eruditorum examini subjiciet Iacobus Urquhart. Ad diem 20 Novembris anno 1707, ab hora decima matutina ad vesperam. [Quotations.] Abredeis, excudebant successores Ioannis Forbesii urbis & universitatis typographi, anno domini 1707.

4°. A-G². Pp. 28. Title within border; verso, Device of King's Coll. Library; pp. 3, 4, Dedication to the Earl of Erroll, Chancellor, David Forbes of Lesly, Rector, and George Middleton, Principal; pp. 5-27, Principia.

Not seen. Urquhart, M.A. 1695, regent 1709, was deposed in 1717 (*Off. and Grad.* 59, 125, 217, 317).

Slains Castle.

1708.

Chamberlayne, John. *Magna Britannia Notitia*: | OR THE | **Present State** | OF | Great Britain, | . . . By JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, Esq; | . . . LONDON . . . 1708.

8°. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. A-Ddd^s. Pp. [12] + x + [10] | + 756 + [28], with frontispiece.

The University of Aberdeen on p. 540. The two colleges are stated to make "one University, called the University of King Charles the Second". See *infra*, 1714, Peacock.

Smith, William. THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ. | Quas Propitio SUMMO NUMINE, | generosi & Ingenui Juvenes Laureæ Magiste- | rialis CANDIDATI, in celeberrima | ACADEMIA MARISCHALLANA. | Univerſitatis CAROLINÆ ABREDONENSIS, Erudi- | torum | Subjicient examini, ad Diem [29 Aprilis *in MS.*] H. L. Q. S. | - | Sub Praefidio GULIELMI SMITH P. P. | - | [Woodcut of Marischal College arms, and quotation] | ABREDEIS Excudebant Succēſſores IOANNIS FORBESII, URBIS | & UNI- | VERSITATIS Typographi 1708.

4°. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. []°. Pp. 12. Title within borders: verso, names of sixty-six candidates, thirty being in italics, 'qui curriculum Academicum penitus emensi non sunt' (*Fasti*, 284); pp. 3, 4, Dedication to George, Lord Keith; pp. 5-12, Theses in small pica roman.

1709.

Act of Parliament. An act for the encouragement of learning by vesting the copies of printed books in the authors or purchasers of such copies during the times therein mentioned. 8 Anne, c. 21. 1709.

Original not seen. Reprinted in *Statutes of the Realm*, ix. 256-8. The four [*sic*] Scottish Universities to receive copies of all books registered at Stationers' Hall. See *infra*, 1737, 1814, 1836.

1710.

Urquhart, James. PLACITA nonnulla PHILOSOPHICA | De Rerum Cogni- | tione. | Quæ (Favente DEO Opt. Maximo) Ingenui | aliquot Adoleſcentes, Curri- | culum Philoſo- | phicum emenſi & Laureæ Magiſterialis | CANDIDATI, in COLLEGIO REGIO | Univerſitatis ABREDONENSIS, eruditorum | Examini Publico ſubjicient, ab Hora Decima | ante Meridiem, ad Veſperam diei 20 Aprilis | - | Sub Praefidio JACOBI URQUHART | - | [Quotations] | - | ABREDEIS, | Excudebat IOANNES FOR- | BESIIUS, URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, | Anno Dom. 1710.

4°. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. 10 leaves + D⁴. Pp. 28. Title within border: verso woodcut of King's Coll. book plate, and names of twenty candidates (*Off. and Grad.* 220); pp. 3, 4, | Dedication to Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, bart.; pp. 5-28, Placita philosophica in small pica roman.

1711.

Act of Parliament. An act for laying severall duties upon all ſope and paper made in Great Britain . . . 10 Anne, c. 18. 1711.

Original not seen. Reprinted in *Statutes of the Realm*, ix. 595-639. The Scottish Universities to have a 'drawback' of the duties on paper. Act modified by 54 Geo. III. c. 153 (28th July, 1814), and 57 Geo. III. c. 76 (7 July, 1817).

Anderson, David. DISSERTATIO THEOLOGICA INAUGURALIS, | De PECCATO originali, | Quam, | *YESU CHRISTI* Adjutorio, | In Æde Sacra Inclytæ ACADEMIÆ | *REGIÆ ABERDONENSIS*, | ad *Septimum Februarii* diem 1711, | Horis Antemeridianis, | Publicæ disquisitionis alæ committet | DAVID ANDERSON, Ecclesiæ *Fo- | veranensis* hactenus PASTOR, & in dicta | ACADEMIA S. S. Theologiæ Professor | designatus, jam verò constituendus | More Solito. } - | [Quotation] | - | ABREDEIS Excudebant Succesores IOANNIS FORBESII URBIS | & UNIVERSITATIS Typographi, *Anno Domini* 1711.

4°. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 16. (Sig. A on p. 5.)
Title: verso to p. 4, Dedication to Sir John Anstruther son of Sir William Anstruther,

bart.: pp. 5-16, Dissertatio, in pica roman, with device of King's Coll. Library at foot of p. 16.

David Anderson entered Marischal Coll. in 1688 (*Fasti*, ii. 262; *Off. and Grad.* 71, 98).
Edinb. Univ.

Black, William. Theses, quas, A. P. D. O. M. publicè propugnabunt juvenes aliquot laurea magisteriali in Collegio Regio Universitatis Aberdonensis hac vice condecorandi, ad diem 2 Maii, A. Æ. C. 1711. H. L. Q. S. praeside Gulielmo Blak P. P. [Device of King's Coll. Library and Greek quotation.] Abredeis, excudebant successores Joannis Forbesii urbis et universitatis typographi, anno 1711.

4°. []¹ + B-C² + []¹. Pp. 10 + 2.
Title within border; verso, Dedication to Charles, Earl of Erroll; pp. 3-10, Theses; p.

[11], names of twenty-two candidates (*Off. and Grad.* 220).

Not seen. The last known Theses of King's College.

Slains Castle.

1712.

Smith, William. THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ, | Quas, Propitio SUMMO NUMINE, | Generosi & Ingenui Juvenes, Laureæ Magisterialis CANDIDATI, in Celeberrima | ACADEMIA MARISCHALLANA, | Universitatis CAROLINÆ ABERDONENSIS, Eruditorum | Subjicient Examini, ad Diem [] *Aprilis*, H. L. Q. S. | - | Sub Præsidio GULIELMI SMITH P. P. | - | [Arms of Marischal Coll., and motto] | - | ABREDEIS Excudebant Succesores IOANNIS FORBESII, | URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS Typographi 1712.

4°. 7 in. []⁶. Pp. 12. Title within border: verso, names of sixty-six candidates (twenty-eight in italics) including George, last Earl Marischal (*Fasti*, ii. 288); pp. 3, 4,

Dedication to John Viscount Arbutnot and Robert Innes of that ilk; pp. 5-12, Theses in small pica roman.

Glasg. Univ.

1714.

Peacock, George. THESES PHILOSOPHICÆ, | Quas, A. P. D. O. M. ingenui aliquot Adolefcentes | Laureæ Magisterialis CANDIDATI. | In celeberrimo Collegio MARISCHALLANO, | *Universitatis CAROLINÆ ABERDENENSIS* | ad Diem 22 *Aprilis*, | Publicè propugnabunt, horis & loco solitis. | Præside GEORGIO PEACOCK. | [Woodcut of College arms and quotation.] | ABREDEIS Excudebant Succesores IOANNIS FORBESII | URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS Typographi, *Anno* 1714.

4°. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. []⁴. Pp. 8. Title : | signed by fifteen candidates (*Fasti*, ii. 291);
pp. 2-3, Dedication to George [last] Earl | pp. 4-8, Theses philosophicæ in pica roman.
Marischal [a member of the 1708-12 class], |

This title page gives the latest official use of the name "Caroline University".

Bodleian.

Sharp, John. DE REBUS LITURGICIS | ORATIO | Pro Gradu Doctoratûs in
S. S. THEOLOGIA, | habita | In Sacello COLLEGH REGH UNIVERSITATIS | ABER-
DONENSIS, in Festo S. Epiphaniæ. | A.D. 1714. | A | 10 : SHARP Ecclesiæ Angli-
canæ | apud Americanos Presbytero. | [woodcut and mottoes] | - | ABREDEIS
Excudebant Succesores IOANNIS FOR- | BESH URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS Typogra- |
phi, *Anno Domini* 1714.

4°. 7 in. A-B⁴. Pp. 16. Title within | Earl of Erroll, Chancellor, George Middle-
double lines : verso, Device of King's Coll. | ton, Principal, and the Professors of the
Library, and underneath "Imprimatur Geo: | College; pp. 5-16, Oratio, in small pica
Middleton"; pp. 3-4, Dedication to Charles, | roman.

John Sharp was "educated in this College". (*Off. and Grad.* 99.)

Glasg. Univ.

1717.

Mathematical Professorship. [Aberdeen arms] PRÆFECTUS, CONSULES, |
Reliquiisque SENATUS ABERDONENSIS, | *Bonarum artium studiosis* | S. . . . Datum
| ABERDONIE primo die Mensis | Maij Anno Domini 1717, sub subscriptione
| Magistrî Alexandri Thomson Secretarii | Nostri. AL THOMSON.

F°. Broad Sheet. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pica roman.

This is the "Program" issued on the deposition of George Liddel, for a competition to be held on 29th August. Colin Maclaurin was successful (*Fasti*, i. 146).

1719.

King's College v. Falconer. Law papers.

December 28, 1719. ADDITIONAL MEMORIAL | for the King's Colledge of Aberdeen,
Against Mr. Falconer of Newtown . . . (13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 2.)

[1720] Memorial for the Magistrates and Masters | of the King's Colledge of Aberdeen
. . . (12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 3 + [1].)

January 17 $\frac{2}{3}$. David Falconer of Newtown, Esq. APPELLANT. | *The Principal and*
Masters of King's | Colledge of Aberdeen, and the Ma- | gistrates of the said City of Aberdeen.
| RESPONDENTS. | The APPELLANTS CASE . . . (14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 4.)

British Museum.

1721.

King's College v. Middleton. Law papers.

May. Dr. George Middleton, *Appellant*. | Mr. George Chalmers, Principal, and the
rest of the Masters and Regents of King's Colledge, Old Aberdeen. | *Respondents*. | The
Appellants CASE . . . (14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 4.)

British Museum.

Verner, David. DISSERTATIO PHILOSOPHICA, | de | PASSIONIBUS five AF-
FECTIBUS, | QUAM, | FAVENTE SUMMO NUMINE, | In | Auditorio Publico *Academiae*
NOVAE ABERDONENSIS, | ad diem 11 Aprilis, H. L. Q. S. | Propugnabunt, DAVID
VERNER Praefes, | Et hi CANDIDATI Lauream Magisteriali con- | donandi. | [Names
of thirty-nine candidates: eleven in italics (*Fasti*, ii. 297)] | - | ABREDEIS, Ex-
cudebat JACOBUS NICOL, URBIS & | UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, *An. Dom.* 1721.

4°. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [A]⁴, B². Pp. 12. Title, | to Adam Cockburn, Lord Ormeston, Justice
top and bottom borders: verso, Dedication | Clerk; pp. 3-12, Dissertatio, in pica roman.

Verner was regent 1717-52; LL.D. and lectured on law (*Fasti*, ii. 40, 95, 591).

Haigh Hall.

1724.

Marischal College v. King-Edward. Law papers.

January 23rd, 1724. The PETITION of the Magistrates of *Aberdeen*, and Masters of the |
College thereof, | Against the Minister and Kirk Session of *King-Edwards* | . . . (Pp. 2.
13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.).

This action had reference to Katharine Rolland's Mortification (*Fasti*, i. 294).

1725.

Ker, John. DONAIDES: | SIVE | *Musarum Aberdonensium* | De eximia |
JACOBI FRASERII, J. U. D. | In Academiam Regiam *Aberdonensem* mu- | nificentia,
Carmen Eucharisticum. | *Notis illustratum, quibus strictim perscribitur Historia*
V- | *reverfitatis & Collegii Regii ABERDONENSIS, à pri-* | *maeva ipsius Institutione,*
ad nostra usque tempora perpe- | *tuam serie* | - | Auctore JOANNE KER, Græ-
carum Literarum Professore in Academia Regia ABERDONENSI. | - | [Device] |
- | *EDINBURGI*, in ædibus THO. RUDDIMANNI, 1725.

4°. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. A-B⁸, C-E⁴. Pp. 28. Title; | "ad ostia Donae in vicinia Coll. Regii Aber-
verso blank; pp. 3 12, Donaides (301 | donen. A.D. 1725, Mart. 25"; pp. 13-28,
numbered hexameters), pica roman, dated | Notae, small pica roman.

For Fraser, see Ker's *Fraserides*, 1732. Ker was M.A. Edinb., 1697, and classical
master in the High School there; professor of Greek, King's Coll., 1717-34; of Humanity,
Edinburgh, 1734-41 (Bower's *Univ. Edin.* ii. 296). His poem, *Donaides*, was read before the
King's College faculty 29th March, 1725. The Notes are of much use for College history.
There is commonly found bound up with *Donaides*, "A | POEM | In Imitation of | DONAIDES,
| By DAVID MALLOCH, A.M.", 66 English lines on pp. 1-3 of a quarto sheet. Malloch
(afterwards Mallet, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) had the degree of M.A. conferred by King's College in
1726.

Meston, William. Viri Humani, Salsi, et Faceti *Gulielmi Su* | *therlandi*,
Mularum Artium et Scientia | rum, Doctoris Doctissimi, Diploma. [1725].

Broadsheet. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Title and line | of ornament at top. Small pica roman.

Written "ten years after the race of Sheriffmuir". Reprinted in several collections and
in Dunbar's *Social Life*, 1865, *infra*. For Meston, M.A. Mar. Coll., 1698, regent 1715, see
N. and Q., 7, x. 21: the *D. N. B.* account is inaccurate.

Advocates' Libr.

1726.

Marischal College. PROPOSALS | For setting on Foot a Compleat Courfe
| of *Experimental Philofophy* in the | Marifhal College of Aberdeen. [1726].

F°. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 4. P. 2, Proposals in | pica roman; p. 3, form of acknowledgment.
The Proposals are printed in *Fasti*, i. 410.

Mathematical professorship. [Aberdeen arms.] PRÆFECTUS, CONSULES,
| Reliquufque SENATUS ABREDONENSIS, | *Bonarum Artium Studiofis.* | S. | . . .
Datum ABREDONIÆ Vigefimo Tertio die Mensis | Martii Anno Domini 1726, fub
fubfcriptione | *Magiftri* Alexandri Thomson *Secretarii, Noftri.* | AL. THOMSON.

F°. Broadsheet. 13 in. Pica roman.

Issued on the demiffion of Colin Maclaurin (*Fasti*, i. 148).

Aberdeen Town House.

Turnbull, George. THESES ACADEMICÆ | De Pulcherrima Mundi cum
Ma- | terialis tum Rationalis confitutione | Quas; DEO Volente, fub Præfidio
GEORGH TURNBULL P. P. In Auditorio publico Ac- | ademiæ Novæ *Abredonensis*
ad diem 14 *Aprilis*, | H. S. propugnabunt hi Generofi Adolefcentes, ad | Gradum
Magifterialem laudabiliter contendentes. | [Names of thirty-nine candidates, in
roman and italics: *Fasti*, ii. 300] | [-] | ABREDEIS, Excudebat JACOBUS NICOL,
URBIS & | UNIVERSITATIS Typographus, *Anno Dom. 1726.*

4°. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. []⁶. Pp. 12. Title: verso, | of the University; pp. 3-12, Theses in pica
Dedication to Patrick Duff of Premnay, Rector | roman, followed by Annexa I-II, in italics.

George Turnbull, M.A. Edin., 1721, LL.D. Mar. Coll., 1727, LL.D. Edin. 1732, was a
regent, 1721-27 (*Fasti*, ii. 40, 95, 591). The copy of his Theses was presented to Marischal
College in 1840 by David Laing.

1729.

Magistrates v. Balmain. Law papers.

July 21, 1729. PETITION for the MAGISTRATES and TOWN COUNCIL | of Aberdeen. |
. . . (15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 2.)

November 27, 1729. THE | PETITION | OF | *The Magistrates and Town Council of*
Aberdeen. | . . . (15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 5 + [1].)

[Answers for Ramsay. Not seen.]

A difpute regarding the method of election to the Ramsay bursaries (*Fasti*, i. 414).

173-.

? Theses philosophicæ.

Title wanting: B1-37, paged 5-11, Theses | in pica roman; p. [12] Annexa i-ix, in italics.

This fragment is bound between Turnbull's Theses of 1726 and Duff's of 1732.

1730.

Verner, David. ILLUSTRISSIMIS AC PERHONORIFICIS | OPTIMEQUE DE RE-
PUBLICA MERITIS, VIRIS; | D. D. GULIELMO CRUIKSHANK CONSULL. | JACOBO
MOORISON, | JOANNI GORDON, | GULIELMO MOWAT, | HUGONI HAY,} Prætoribus. |

ALEXANDRO LIVINGSTON, *Edili*. | ALEXANDRO ROBERTSON, *Quaestori*. | *Cæterisque antiquissimæ ac nobilissimæ Civitatis ABERDONIÆ Senatoribus*, | *Concordiæ Patronis Spectatissimis*; *Dissertationem hanc philosophicam*, | *De Finibus Bonorum & Benevolentia*. | *in devotissimæ Mentis, perpetuæque observantiæ Indicium*, | D. D. C. Q. DAVID VERNER, Præses. | *Et hi Magisterii in Artibus CANDIDATI*. [names of twenty-six candidates—eight in italics (*Fasti*, ii. 303)] | *Quam cum annexis*, F. D. O. M. *publice propugnabunt*, in *Edibus Academiæ Marischallanæ ABERDONENSIS*, H. L. Q. S. *ad diem 16 Aprilis 1730* | - | ABERDÆIS, Excudebat JACOBUS NICOL, URBIS & | UNIVERSITATIS Typographus. An. Dom. 1730.

4°. 7 in. [A]⁴, B². Pp. 12. Title | Dissertation in small pica roman; p. 12, with top and bottom borders: pp. 2-12, | Annexa 1-15 in italics.

Glasg. Univ.

1732.

Duff, William. DISSERTATIO PHILOSOPHICA | DE Natura & Legibus Materie: | Quam cum Annexis, Auspice DEO Opt. Max. Generosi hi, optime spei Adoloscensentes [*sic*], Laureæ Magisterialis Candidati, publice | licè propugnabunt, in ædibus inclytæ Academiæ Marischallanæ | ABERDONENSIS ad diem 13 Aprilis, 1732. | H. L. Q. S. | Præside GULIELMO DUFF, P. P. | CANDIDATORUM NOMINA. | [Names of thirty-nine candidates, in roman and italic: *Fasti*, ii. 305] | [-] | ABERDÆIS: | Excudebat JACOBUS NICOL, URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS | Typographus, Anno Dom. M, DCC, XXXII.

4°. 7½ in. []⁶. Pp. 12. Title: verso. | Theses in pica roman, followed by Annexa Dedication to James Moorison, provost, and the town council of Aberdeen; pp. 3-12, | 1-13 in italics.

William Duff, M.A. King's Coll., 1721, was regent at Marischal College from 1727 to 1738, when he was "extruded". (*Off. and Grad.* 225; *Fasti*, ii. 42, 591; *S. N. and Q.* i. 141; *infra*, 1739). These Theses are the latest that have been traced of either Aberdeen College. For some account of the discovery of the only known copy see *N. and Q.* 6, vii. 444.

Ker, John. FRASERĪDES: | SIVE | *Funeris Oratio & Elegia*, | In laudem *DESIDERATISSIMI VIRI*, | JACOBI FRASERII, J. U. D. | COLLEGII REGII ABERDONENSIS Mæcenatis & | Patroni beneficentissimi; Qui *Londini* obiit, xxvi *Maii*, A. D. | M. DCC. XXXI. *Ætatis suæ* LXXXVI. | *Habita in ejusdem COLLEGII Maximo Auditorio ejusdemque Anni* | XXVIII die Septembris, qui *FRASERIO Natalis* fuit; *coram Uni-* | *versitatis RECTORE, MODERATORIBUS & PROFES-* | *SORIBUS; nec non frequenti conventu AUDITORUM, genere,* | *literis pietate & virtute insignium.* | - | Jubente SENATU ACADEMICO. | - | Perorante JOANNE KER, *Graecarum Literarum Professore.* | - | [Device] | - | *ABERDONIÆ*: | Excudebat JACOBUS NICOL, URBIS & UNIVERSITATIS Typogra- | phus. A. Æ. C. M. DCC. XXXII.

4°. 7½ in. A-C⁴. Pp. 23 + [1]. Title: p. 3, Dedication to Cosmo George, Duke of Gordon; pp. 5-18, *Funeris Oratio* in pica roman; pp. 19-23, *Lachrymæ et planctus* in | elegiac verse; device of pot of lilies supported by gryphons at foot of p. 23; p. [24] device of King's Coll. library.

1733.

Brown and Gordon v. King's College. Law papers.

17 December 1733. INFORMATION | FOR | Mr. *David Brown* Moderator of the Synod | of *Aberdeen*, and Mr. *James Gordon* Pro- | fessor of Divinity in the Old College of | *Aberdeen*, and others; | AGAINST | Mr. *George Chalmers* Principal of the said | *College* | . . . (4^o. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1].)

17 December, 1733. INFORMATION | FOR | *The Principal and other Masters of the College of Old* | *Aberdeen*; | AGAINST | Mr. *DAVID BROWN*, and others. | . . . (13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 8.)

A disputed election to the Divinity Chair. The Court of Session rejected Gordon's claim and the House of Lords affirmed. (*Off. and Grad.* 71; *Paton's Appeal Cases*, vi. 663.)

1734.

Duff v. Marischal College. Law papers.

February 21, 1734. MEMORIAL | FOR | Mr. *William Duff* Professor of Philosophy | in the *Marishal-College of Aberdeen* (Pp. 2. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

February 24, 1734. *Unto the Right Honourable, the Lords of Council and Session*, | THE | *Petition and Complaint* | OF | Mr. *William Duff* Professor of Philosophy | in the *Marishal-College of ABERDEEN* (1 p. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

Feb. 25, 1734. ANSWERS for Mr. *Thomas Blackwell* | Professor of *Greek* in the *Marishal College of* | *Aberdeen*. (Pp. 2. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.).

June 23, 1734. ANSWERS | FOR | *The Principal and other Masters of the* | *Marishal College of Aberdeen*; | TO THE | *Petition and Complaint of Mr. William Duff Profes- | sor of Philosophy in the said College.* (13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Aberdeen Town House.

PART II., 1736-1906.

1736.

[Blackwell, Thomas.] An account of the erection of the Marishal College and University in the City of Aberdeen, extracted from the foundation-charter and other records, by order and appointment of the Hon^{ble} the Magistrates of Aberdeen, as having special interest in the University and public library.

16 × 10½ in. Pp. 4. No printer's name or date. See *infra*, 1786 [Gordon]. Blackwell was professor of divinity, 1711-28, and held the principalship in conjunction from 1717 (*Fasti*, ii. pp. 29, 51).

King's College v. Heritors of New Machar. Law papers.

January 29, 1736. Information for the King's College of Aberdeen, against Skeen of Lethinty, and two other heritors of the parish of New Machar. (14½ × 8¾ in. Pp. 5 + [1].)

June 18, 1736. Information for Alexander Skeen of Lethendy, Alexander Thomson of Rannishil, and John Cuthbert of Rosehall; against the King's College of Aberdeen. (Pp. 8.)

July 13, 1736. Memorial for Alexander Skeen of Lethendy . . . against the King's College of Aberdeen. (Pp. 3 + [1].)

December 1, 1736. Lord Strichen. In causa Skeen of Lethindy and others, against the King's College of Aberdeen. (Pp. 2.)

February 25, 1737. Petition and answers for Alexander Skene of Lethendy and Alexander Thomson of Rannishil, to the [reclaiming] petition of the King's College of Aberdeen. (Pp. 3 + [1].)

A dispute as to the teinds of New Machar, of which the College was titular.

Ramsay v. Chalmers. Law papers.

July 13, 1736. The petition of Mr. James Chalmers, professor of divinity in the Marischal College of Aberdeen. (14½ × 9 in. Pp. 4.)

July 16, 1736. Answers for Sir Alexander Ramsay of Balnain to the Petition of Mr. James Chalmers. (Pp. 8.)

A dispute about presentees to the Ramsay bursaries.

1737.

Stationers' Hall. Law papers.

Petition of the principal and other masters of King's College. Not seen.

February 23, 1737. Answers for the Marishal College or University of Aberdeen to the Petition of the principal and other masters of the King's College in the Auld Toun of Aberdeen. (14½ × 9 in. Pp. 4.)

The Lord Ordinary's Interlocutor was pronounced 20th December 1737.

January 10th, 1738. Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session. The Petition of the Marishal College of Aberdeen. (Pp. 8.)

February 1, 1738. Answers for the University and King's College of Aberdeen to the Petition of the Marishal College. (Pp. 7 + [1].)

Decision of the Inner House was given, 1st July, 1738. For inter-collegiate disputes about the Stationers' Hall privilege, see *Fasti*, i. 389.

1738.

[Blackwell, Thomas.] State of the buildings of the University and Marishal College of Aberdeen.

Broadsheet. 16¼ × 10½ in. No printer's name or date. The outcome of a resolution by the Town Council, 12th October, 1737, to apply a year's income of bursary funds towards the erection of new buildings (*Fasti*, i. 423-25).

1739.

Duff, William. An amazing and extraordinary instance of frauds and oppressions in any country governed by laws, and an affront upon the equity and justice of A—b—n. Being the case of William Duff, professor of philosophy in the Marshal University of Aberdeen in Scotland. Address'd to the Rt. Hon. the L—d H— and offer'd to the consideration of all honest men. Shewing the barbarous treatment of an honest family in a short narrative of certain most remarkable facts. [Mottoes.] London: printed for the author and sold by the booksellers of London & Westminster. 1739.

7¾ × 4½ in. Pp. 20.

British Museum.

Hossack, Colin. Febris morborum optima medicina: dissertatio inauguralis. Aberdeen: 1739.

8vo. Not seen: cf. *Medical Register*, 1780, p. 93. Hossack's degree of M.D. was from King's College (*Off. and Grad.* p. 128).

1741.

Statutes. Statuta Academiæ Mariscallanæ Universitatis Abredonensis . . . Mores . . . Disciplina . . . Sacra . . . Vicina Academia. . . .

15 × 19½ in. Two sheets. 40 rules. Endorsed in manuscript "June, 1741". See *infra*, 1799.

1744.

Gordon v. Catanach. Law papers.

June 28, 1744. Information for Mr. Charles Hamilton Gordon, advocate, against James Catanach, procurator in Aberdeen.

June 29, 1744. Information for James Catanach, advocate in Aberdeen, against Mr. Charles Hamilton Gordon, advocate at Edinburgh.

July 27, 1744. Petition of Mr. James Catanach [and others].

November 1, 1744. Answers for Mr. Charles Hamilton Gordon to the Petition of James Catanach and others.

November 26, 1744. Memorial for Mr. James Catanach.

1745. The case of James Catanach, Appellant.

The case of Charles Hamilton Gordon, Respondent.

Not seen. This case had reference to a disputed election of Civilist in King's College. The Court of Session found Catanach not qualified, but the House of Lords reversed (Paton's *Appcals*, ii. Appx.). For a full account see *S. N. and Q.* i. 129.

Innes, Alexander. Alexis, a pastoral to the memory of Alexander Innes, P.P. in Marishal-College, Aberdeen. [Quotation]. Aberdeen: Printed by J. Chalmers, printer to the city and university, 1744.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 12. 151 lines of blank verse. Innes, M.A. Mar. Coll., 1732, was regent there 1739-42 (*Fasti*, ii. 44).

Mitchell Library.

1749.

Act of Parliament. An act for explaining and amending an act . . . for raising and establishing a fund for the provision for the widows and children of . . . the heads principals and masters of the Universities of Saint Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh. 22 Geo. II., c. 21. 1749.

Statutes at large, vol. vii. pp. 137-141. The Act amended, 17 Geo. II., c. 11, had provided for St. Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh. The benefits were now extended to Aberdeen.

— An act for applying part of the personal estate of Gilbert late Lord Bishop of Salisbury for the purchasing of lands or rents in perpetuity in Scotland, to be settled to several charitable uses and purposes in the will mentioned.

22 George II., c. 22 (private): not printed in *Statutes at large*. For Burnet bursary mortification, see *Fasti*, i. 392.

Dunbar of Grange. Law papers.

June 1, 1749. Information for the principal and masters of the Marishal College of Aberdeen, with consent of the presbyteries of Dornock and Tain, and for George Monro now of Navarre, grandchild and heir and executor of the deceased Hector Monro of Navarre, and David Monro, writer to the signet, his curator ad litem, pursuers; against Joseph Dunbar of Grange, defender. ($14\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 5 + [1].)

June 26, 1749. Information for Joseph Dunbar of Grange, defender; against the Marishal College of Aberdeen, pursuers. ($14\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 3 + [1].)

A dispute regarding Walter Denune's mortification (*Fasti*, i. 407).

1750.

Burnet Mortification. Law papers.

June 28, 1750. Petition of . . . Sir Alexander Burnet of Leys, . . . the Principal and regents of the College of New Aberdeen, and the provost and baillies of New Aberdeen. ($12\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 2.)

February 26, 1751. Unto the Lords of Council and Session: the Petition of the principal and masters, and the provost and baillies. (Single page.)

[? Petition of Sir Alexander Burnet. Not seen.]

November 1, 1751. Petition of the principal and masters, and the provost and baillies. (Single page.)

November 15, 1751. Petition and answers for Sir Alexander Burnet. (Pp. 2.)

December 13, 1752. Petition of the principal and the provost. (Pp. 2.)

December 28, 1752. Answers for Sir Alexander Burnet.

For some account of this dispute, see *Fasti*, i. 394.

1752.

Marischal College. The order of teaching in the Marischal College.

Scots Magazine, xiv. 606, December, 1752.

1753.

Smith, William. A general idea of the college of Mirania. New York: 1753.

Not seen. Smith entered King's College in 1743, and had the degree of D.D. conferred in 1759. His scheme for an ideal university was based on the curriculum of King's College, and was realised in the University of Pennsylvania, of which he was the first Provost. See *S. N. and Q.* i. 137.

Statutes. Abstract of some statutes and orders of King's College in Old Aberdeen. MDCCLIII.

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [2] + 14. James Chalmers, printer to the University.

1754.

Statutes. Abstract of some statutes and orders of King's College in Old Aberdeen. MDCCLIII. With additions. MDCCLIV.

As above; with a supplement of date April 6, 1754, paged 17-21 + [3].

1755.

Gerard, Alexander. Plan of education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the reasons of it. Drawn up by order of the Faculty. Aberdeen: printed by James Chalmers. MDCCLV.

6 × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 35 + [1]. See 1770, *infra*.

Union of Colleges. Memorials, &c., relating to the union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen. 1755.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 39 + [1]. Issued by the masters of King's College "to vindicate their own characters." The Memorials had been submitted by King's College, Marischal College and the Town Council of Aberdeen to the Earl of Findlater as arbiter.

1756.

Skene v. Duff. Law papers.

10 February. Petition for Francis Skene, regent.

25 February. Answers for Patrick Duff of Premnay.

Not seen. Anent lease of Cuningar Hill to Duff (*Mar. Coll. Ch. Ch.*).

1758.

Infirmary. An account of the rise and progress of the Infirmary at Aberdeen: addressed to our nobility and gentry at home; and our countrymen abroad. Aberdeen: printed by James Chalmers, printer to the city, &c. 1758.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 in. Pp. 8. Another edition in 1768.

1762.

Thom v. Dalrymple. Law papers.

March 9, 1762. The petition of Mr. William Thom, advocate in Aberdeen; Dr. John Chalmers, principal; Mr. Alexander Burnett, sub-principal; Mr. Roderick Macleod, and Mr. John Leslie, regents of the King's College of Old Aberdeen; George Burnet of Kemnay, Esq., Rector; and Mr. Andrew Burnet, merchant in Aberdeen, James Thomson of Portlethen, Mr. Francis Skene, professor of philosophy in the Marischal College, and Mr. John Robertson of Pitmillan, procuratores nationum of the said University, . . . (9 × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 22.)

Mr. Thom was defeated by Mr. David Dalrymple in a contest for the office of Civilist (*Off. and Grad.* p. 34). The House of Lords upheld the election of Mr. Dalrymple (*Paton's Appeals*, vi. 738).

1764.

[**Ogilvie, William.**] Proposal for a publick library at Aberdeen. Aberdeen, May 4th, 1764.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 8. The books purchased were to be deposited in the libraries of King's and Marischal Colleges in alternate years. Ogilvie, M.A. King's College, 1759, was regent there, 1764, and humanist, 1765-1819 (*Off. and Grad.* pp. 49, 63, 241; *S. N. and Q.* iii. 3).

1766.

Time, an elegy. By a student of Marischal College. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: printed by J. Chalmers. M.DCC.LXVI.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [2] + 10.

1770.

Gerard, Alexander. Alexander Gerards Gedanken von der Ordnung der philosophischen Wissenschaften nebst dem Plan des Unterrichts in dem Marischallscollegio und auf der Universität Aberdeen, aus dem Englischen übersetzt, mit einigen die Philosophie betreffenden Betrachtungen. Alga: bey Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1770.

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 in. Pp. 86. See 1755, *supra*.

1772.

Douglas, Francis. A general description of the East coast of Scotland, from Edinburgh to Cullen, including a brief account of the Universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen . . . By Francis Douglas. Paisley: printed for the author by Alexander Weir. MDCCLXXII.

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 in. Pp. [4] + 310 + xiv. Reprinted at Aberdeen in 1826 by D. Chalmers & Co.

Orem, William. Bibliotheca topographica Britannica. No. III. Containing a description of the Chanonry in Old Aberdeen, in the years 1724 and 1725; by William Orem, town clerk of Aberdeen. London: printed by and for J. Nichols. . . . MDCCLXXII.

10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 in. Pp. [4] + xlviii. + 191 + [1]. With a reproduction of G. and W. Pater-son's map of 1746. See *infra*, 1791 and 1830.

1775.

Act of Parliament. An act for enabling . . . the four Universities in Scotland . . . to hold in perpetuity their copyright in books . . . 15 Geo. III., c. 53. 1775.

Statutes at large, vol. xii. pp. 341-43.

1776.

[**Keith, Charles.**] Farmer's ha', a Scots poem. By a student of Marischal College. [Quotations.] Aberdeen: printed by J. Chalmers & Co. . . . MDCCLXXVI.

6 × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 24. Frequently reprinted. Keith was M.A., 1779; M.D., 1784 (*Fasti*, ii. 129, 348; *Ruddiman's Mag.* Dec. 1774).

Mitchell Library.

1779.

Act of Parliament. An act for the better raising and securing a fund for a provision for the widows and children . . . of the heads, principals, and masters in the Universities of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and for repealing two acts made in the 17th and 22nd years of the reign of his late majesty King George the Second for those purposes. 19 Geo. III., c. 20. 1779.

Statutes at large, vol. xiii. pp. 333-44.

[**Beattie, James.**] A list of two hundred Scotisms. With remarks. Aberdeen: MDCCLXXIX.

6 × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 18. "Published for the use of his class:" *Bower's Life* (1804), p. 199; *Sir W. Forbes' Life*, ii. 16, 42. A revised edition with name of author published in Edinburgh in 1787.

Mitchell Library.

1784.

Pishecow, Daniel. De nova methodo psoram sanandi.Not seen. Thesis for M.D., at Mar. Coll. (*Fasti*, ii. 129); the author a Ukraine Tartar.

1786.

[**Gordon, Thomas.**] An examination of an account of the erection of the Marischal College of Aberdeen by Dr. Thomas Blackwell by order and appointment of the honourable the magistrates of Aberdeen. [Motto.] Shewing from the foundation charter and acts of parliament that the Marischal College is not an University, and has no pretensions to the privilege of granting the degrees of bachelor, licenciate or doctor in the faculties of divinity, law or medicine.

9½ × 7¼ in. The copy examined is imperfect, containing only pp. 3-34, the Title being supplied in MS.

Kay, John. The Sapient Septemviri.

A print 7 × 5¼ in., engraved by John Kay from a drawing by a Mr. Ross, formerly a student of medicine. The seven King's College opponents of Union who are caricatured are Principal John Chalmers and Professors Alexander Gerard, Roderick M'Leod, John Leslie, Thomas Gordon, William Thom, and William Chalmers. See *infra*, 1838.

Union of Colleges. Papers afterwards collected.

[**Ogilvie, William.**] Outlines of a plan for uniting the King's and Marischal Universities of Aberdeen, with a view to render the system of education more complete . . . Aberdeen, July 20th, 1786. (8½ × 7 in. Pp. 4. No. I. in K. C. Collection, *infra*, 1787).

Articles of Union, agreed upon between the principals and masters of King's and Marischal Colleges, in a conjunct meeting, November 8th, 1754. . . . Aberdeen, July 20th, 1786. (8½ × 7 in. 1 p. No. II. in K. C. Collection.)

[**Gerard, Alexander, and Gordon, Thomas.**] Memorial from the University and King's College of Aberdeen, concerning Outlines of a plan for uniting the King's and Marischal Universities . . . King's College, August 21st, 1786. (8½ × 7 in. Pp. 10 + [2]. No. V. in K. C. Collection. Nos. III. and IV. are letters from *Aberdeen Journal*.)

[**Ogilvie, William.**] Observations on a Memorial from the University and King's College . . . (Original print not seen. No. VI. in K. C. Collection.)

[**Gerard, Alexander.**] Information from the principal and professors of the University and King's College of Aberdeen. (8½ × 7 in. Pp. 10 + [2]. No. VII. in K. C. Collection.)

[**Ogilvie, William.**] Remarks on the Information from the principal and professors of the University and King's College . . . (Original print not seen. No. VIII. in K. C. Collection.)

Address to the reverend the clergy, concerning the projected plan of union of the King's and Marischal Colleges. (9 × 7½ in. Pp. 4. Pro-union. No. IX. in K. C. Collection.)

[**Hamilton, Robert, and Stuart, John.**] Reply to a paper entitled "Memorial from the University and King's College of Aberdeen concerning . . ." (8¾ × 7 in. Pp. 20 + 6 (Appendix). No. X. in K. C. Collection.)

[**Campbell, George.**] Defence of the conduct of Marischal College, in relation to the present scheme of union, against the attack made on it by the principal and six professors of King's College. In a letter to a friend. By a member of Marischal College. (8 × 7 in. Pp. [2] + 17 + [1]. No. XI. in K. C. Collection. There were two editions, K. C. Coll., p. 51).

[Gerard, Alexander.] Answer for the University and King's College of Aberdeen, from Doctor John Chalmers, Principal; Doctor Alexander Gerard, Professor of Divinity; Doctor William Thom, Professor of Laws; Doctor William Chalmers, Professor of Medicine; Mr. Roderick Macleod, Sub-principal; Mr. John Leslie, Professor of Greek; and Mr. Thomas Gordon, Professor of Philosophy, to a "Defence of the conduct of Marischal College . . ." (9 × 7½ in. Pp. 7 + [1]. No. XII. in K. C. Collection.)

An estimate of the expediency, justice, and legality, of the plan proposed by the Marischal College of Aberdeen, for an union of it with the University and King's College of Aberdeen. By the principal and professors of the University and King's College of Aberdeen. (9¾ × 8 in. Pp. 35 + [1]. No. [XIII.] in K. C. Collection.)

[Ogilvie, William.] Copies of memorials, and reasons of protest, inserted in the records of King's College, in the years 1784 and 1785. King's College, March 22nd, 1787. (9 × 7¼ in. Pp. 6. Reprinted in M. C. Collection, p. 228.)

[—] Extract from letters to a gentleman in the country written by a member of King's College, October 21st, 1786. (9 × 7¼ in. Pp. 3 × [1]. Reprinted in M. C. Collection, p. 238.)

1787.

Union of Colleges. A collection of all the papers relating to the proposal for uniting the King's and the Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen, which have been published by authority of the colleges. London: printed for T. Evans, Paternoster Row; J. Sibbald, Edinburgh; and Dunlop and Wilson, Glasgow; and sold by the booksellers of Oxford and Cambridge. 1787.

9¾ × 8 in. Pp. 99 + [1]. This was the King's College Collection, against the Union.

— A complete collection of the papers relating to the union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen: containing, not only those already published by authority, but also several original papers, and many by anonymous writers on both sides of the question. [Mottoes.] Aberdeen: printed by A. Leighton for A. Shirrefs, bookseller, and A. Leighton, printer, and sold by them . . . 1787.

7½ × 4½ in. Pp. vi + 241 + [1]. This was the Marischal College Collection, in favour of the Union. According to Professor Knight there was also an edition of the Union papers printed on fine writing-paper for private circulation. Aberdeen: Chalmers.

— Estimate of the Estimate.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 4. Probably by Professor Hamilton.

Union of Colleges. Supplement to the Collection of papers (published in April, 1787) relating to the union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen: containing papers never published before, and intended chiefly to throw light on the affairs of King's College, and the opposition to an union, which has arisen in that society.

10 × 8 in. Pp. 36. Eight items, mainly by Professor Ogilvie.

Aberdeen U.F.C. Coll. Lib.

1789.

[Grant, ? and Ogilvie, James.] The Ogilviad, an heroic poem, with its answers: being a dispute between two gentlemen at King's College. [Quotation.] Aberdeen. 1789.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 16. Dedicated to the students at King's College by J— O— who collected the verses by Grant and himself. The only copy known to me is in the possession of Mr. William Walker, Aberdeen.

179—.

Beattie, James. Syllabus of lectures on natural history, under six heads: meteorology, hydrology, geology, mineralogy, vegetation, zoology.

Not seen. Cf. *Stat. Aect. of Scotland*, vol. xxi. p. 119. This was the younger Beattie, M.A., 1783, regent 1788-1810. See 1795, 1810 *infra*.

1790.

[Ogilvie, William. Notes on zoology used by him in teaching his natural history classes in King's College, 1790-1815.]

7½ × 4¾ in. Pp. 10 + 8 + [2] + 10 + [4] + 13-16.

Aberdeen Public Library.

[Stuart, John.] A sketch of the life of Dr. Duncan Liddel, of Aberdeen, professor of mathematics and of medicine in the University of Helmstadt. Aberdeen: printed by J. Chalmers & Co. . . . 1790.

10 × 8 in. Pp. [2] + 14. Portrait. Reprinted in *Aberdeen Magazine* of 1796, p. 209; and in *Stuart's Essays*, 1846.

Theological Library. Catalogue of books, belonging to the Theological Library of Marischal College, Aberdeen. MDCXC.

7½ × 5½ in. Pp. 16 + [2]. The oldest printed catalogue in connection with the Universities. About 750 volumes. See *Historical Sketch in Catalogue* of 1901.

1791.

Orem, William. A description of the Chanonry, cathedral, and King's College of Old Aberdeen, in the years 1724 and 1725. By William Orem, town-clerk of Old Aberdeen. Aberdeen: printed by J. Chalmers and Co. MDCXC1.

6¾ × 4¼ in. Pp. [2] + viii + 13-200 + [2]. Two plates (King's College; Church of Old Aberdeen, with Bishop Dunbar's Hospital: the latter usually missing). See *infra*, 1830.

1794.

Campbell, George. Remarks on Dr. Paterson's will relating to some burseries, and on the memorial and queries of Alexander Paterson and the Hammermen trade of Aberdeen, and the answers returned by Mat. Ross, Esq., Advocate. By Principal Campbell. [1794.]

10 × 8½ in. Pp. [2] + 13 + [1]. For John Paterson's mortification, see *Fasti*, i. 433.

Chalmers, George. Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M. . . . By George Chalmers, F.R.S.S.A. London: printed for John Stockdale. . . . M.DCC.XCIV.

8 × 5 in. Pp. [8] + 467 + [1], with portrait. Account of King's College, pp. 6-15.

1795.

[**Beattie, James.** Latin syllabus of versification, 1895.]

5 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1].

Theology Chair. Carta erectionis professionis theologiæ in Academia et Universitate Veteris Aberdoniæ. 12mo. die mensis Martij, 1642. [1795.]

10 × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 8. Printed in connection with the vacancy caused by the death of Professor Alexander Gerard on 22nd February, 1795. Portions of the deeds were reprinted at subsequent vacancies.

1796.

Theological Library. Appendix to catalogue of 1790.

Not seen.

1798.

Shirrefs, James. An inquiry into the life, writings, and character of the reverend Doctor William Guild. . . . With some strictures upon Spalding's account of him, and of the times in which he lived. By James Shirrefs, D.D., senior minister of Aberdeen, and patron of the Incorporate Trades. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: printed by J. Chalmers & Co. MDCCXCVIII.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 8 + 5-121 + [1]. Second edition in 1799; third in 1836.

1799.

[**Gordon, Thomas.**] University and King's College of Aberdeen. Transmitted to Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, by the members of the University, anno 1798.

Pp. 51-104 in Appendix to vol. 21 of Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*; Edin. 1799.

Statutes. Leges et instituta Academiæ Mariscallanæ Abredonensis . . . Abredoniæ: excud. Jac. Chalmers, Acad. typ., 1799.

Broadsheet. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 11 in. 20 rules. See *infra*, 1816.

[**Stuart, John.**] Historical account and present state of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. Anno 1798.

Pp. 105-140 in Appendix to vol. 21 of Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, Edin., 1799. Reprinted in Professor Stuart's *Essays*, 1846, pp. 5-40.

18—.

King's College. Collegii Regii Universitat. Aberdonen. primævæ fundationes, &c.

10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 32. The title is on p. 3 : p. 1 gives the docquet on the original deed, Bishop Gavin Dunbar's Charter of Confirmation, 1529-31.

— Extracts from the charters of the University of Old Aberdeen, shewing that, in various places, they expressly require the only medical professor possessed by that University, to teach medical science, within its own precincts, in the City of Old Aberdeen.

13 × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Single page.

1800.

[**Hamilton, Robert.**] Heads of part of a course of Mathematics . . . as taught at the Marischal College of Aberdeen. Aberdeen : printed by J. Chalmers and Co. . . . for A. Brown . . . 1800.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + 86. Six plates.

Keith, George Skene. A prize dissertation on the excellence of the British Constitution. By George Skene Keith, A.M., minister of Keith-hall and Kinkell. Aberdeen : printed by J. Chalmers . . . 1800.

8 × 5 in. Pp. [2] + 58. The first to be printed of the Blackwell Essays. See *S. N. and Q.* x. 180. Keith was M.A. Mar. Coll., 1770; D.D., 1803.

[**Ogilvie, William.** Excerpts of Latin poetry for his students. 1800.]

5 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 25 + [1].

1802.

M^cKay v. Duncan. Law papers.

16 December, 1802. Petition : Dr. Andrew M^cKay against Lord Hermand's interlocutor (10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 in. Pp. 26 + 4).

13 January, 1803. Answers for William Duncan, one of the regents and professors of King's College, Aberdeen, defender. (Pp. 35 + [r]).

A disputed election to a regency. See *Off. and Grad.* 65.

1803.

Theological Library. Second edition of Catalogue of 1790.

Not seen.

1804.

Bower, Alexander. An account of the life of James Beattie, LL.D., professor of moral philosophy and logic, Aberdeen. . . . By Alexander Bower. London : printed for C. and R. Baldwin . . . 1804.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. viii + 230. Sections II. and VII. give much information about Aberdeen University life.

1807.

Campbell, George. Lectures on systematic theology and pulpit eloquence. By the late George Campbell, D.D., F.R.S. Ed., principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. London . . . 1807.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. xvi + 542. "Composed for the benefit of the students of divinity in Marischal College . . . first delivered in the years 1772 and 1773." New edition in 1840.

Leslie, Hugh. Letter first to Roderick M^cLeod, D.D., principal of King's College and University, Aberdeen: from Hugh Leslie, A.M. of said University. The second edition. Aberdeen: printed by A. Aberdein & Co., Netherkirkgate. 1807.

8 × 5¼ in. Pp. 8. The first edition not seen. Letter I. is dated April 8. The second edition has an Elucidation dated June 15. Leslie was son of John Leslie, professor of Greek; M.A. 1776 (*Off. and Grad.* 63, 252).

— Letter second to Roderick M^cLeod . . . 1807.

8¼ × 5¼ in. Pp. 16. Dated April 25. Also a second edition, apparently unaltered.

— Letter from Hugh Leslie of Powis, Esq., J.P., a trustee named by Stat. Geo. III., A.D. 1800, addressed to his co-trustees for the ninth district. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: printed by A. Aberdein & Co., Netherkirkgate. 1807.

8 × 5 in. Pp. vi + 7-22. Dated May 20. Two editions.

— The doctors outwitted; or, who's afraid. By Hugo de la Loy. [Quotation.] Vide *Laurus Leslæana*, numero xcii. Aberdeen: printed by Inlay and Keith, Long Acre. 1807.

8½ × 5¼ in. Pp. 72.

Maclachlan, Ewen. Attempts in verse. [Motto]. By Ewen Maclachlan. Aberdeen: printed for the author by J. Chalmers & Co. 1807.

5¾ × 3½ in. Pp. 61 + [1]. Dedicated "To the Students of University and King's College". The first attempt is an "Elegy on the death of a student at King's College". Maclachlan, M.A. 1800, became librarian in that year (*Off. and Grad.* p. 88). See *infra*, 1816.

1808.

Adamson, Alexander. Ode in Collegium Bengalense; praemio dignata quod alumnis collegiorum Aberdonensium proposuit vir reverendus Claudius Buchanan, D.D., Collegii Bengalensis praefectus vicarius. Auctore Alexandro Adamson, A.M., Coll. Marischal. Aberd. alumno. Aberdoniae: excudebant Jas. Chalmers et Soc., academiae typographi.

9 × 7¼ in. Pp. 12. Adamson was at Mar. Coll., 1807-9.

Leslie, Hugh. Audi alteram partem. Dr. Jerrit, alias Gerard; Ogilvie, Downie, alias Dauney; Moir, Fordyce, M^cLeod, and Jack, and Messrs. Shand, Sheriffs, and Copland, advocates in Aberdeen, and others, versus Leslie. . . . By Hugh Leslie of Powis, Esq., A.M., LL.D. Dunstab. . . . Edinburgh: printed by J. Robertson . . . 1808.

8¼ × 5¼ in. Pp. 24.

Leslie, Hugh. Hot pressed doctors outwitted; or who's afraid. By Hugo de la Loy. [Quotation.] Vide Laurus Leslæana, numero xcii. Propositi tenax. Edinburgh: reprinted by J. Robertson, No. 4 Horse Wynd. 1808.

8½ × 5¼ in. Pp. [4] + iv + 335 + [1]. Three plates.

Maclachlan, Ewen. Collegium Bengalense, nobilissimo et ornatissimo viro Marchioni de Wellesley Indiæ Orientis præfecto carmen. Auctore Evano M'Lachlan, Abriensi, Regii Collegii Aberdonensis alumno. [Motto.] Aberdoniæ: excudebant Jac. Chalmers et soc., Academiæ typographi. 1808.

9 × 7¼ in. Pp. 8. An unsuccessful ode in the competition where Alexander Adamson was successful. Reprinted in the *Metrical Effusions* of 1816.

1810.

Maclachlan, Ewen. Elegy on the death of Mr. James Beattie, professor of humanity and natural history in the University and Marischal College, Aberdeen. [Motto.] By Ewen M'Lachlan. Aberdeen: printed for the author by D. Chalmers and Co. 1810.

5¾ × 3¾ in. Pp. 23 + [1].

1811.

Knight, William. Heads of a course of Lectures.

Not seen.

[**Maclachlan, Ewen.**] Catalogue of books belonging to the Theological Library of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. 1811.

8½ × 5¼ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. Ewen Maclachlan was librarian of this library 1807-11.

Thom, Walter. The history of Aberdeen . . . including . . . an account of . . . the two Universities, with biographical sketches of eminent men connected with the bishoprick and colleges. By Walter Thom. . . . In two volumes. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co., for Alex. Stevenson . . . 1811.

7 × 4¼ in. Pp. 370; [2] + 222 + 134. As Appendices I. and II. are reprinted the accounts of King's and Marischal contributed to Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account* (q.v. 1799)—the former stated to have "been revised by the Gentlemen of the College, who have made several additions".

1812.

Medico-Chirurgical Society. Regulations, list of the members, and catalogue of books, of the Aberdeen Medico-Chirurgical Society. The fifth edition. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. 1812.

8½ × 5¼ in. Pp. xxii + 23-98 + [1].

1813.

Knight, William. Outlines of botany intended to accompany a series of practical demonstrations in that science, given by William Knight, A.M. Aberdeen : printed by D. Chalmers & Co. 1813.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 32, with Table. An enlarged edition (pp. 100) issued in 1828. Knight, M.A. Mar. Coll., 1802, taught a botany class intermittently from 1811 to 1840. Professor of Natural Philosophy, 1823-44.

1814.

Acts of Scots Parliament. The acts of the Parliament of Scotland. Printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain. 11 vols. MDCCCXIV-MDCCCXLIV.

17½ × 10½ in. New ed. of vol. 1, 1844; vol. 5, 1870; vol. 6 in 2 parts, 1870-72; Index vol., 1875.

1578, July 15. Act 12 James VI., c. 5, "Anent the visitatioun of the Universiteis and Collegis" (vol. iii. p. 98; *Off. and Grad.* p. 324).

1584, August 22. Act 18 James VI., c. 18, "Commissioun to conside and approve the erectioun off the Colledge of Aberdene" (vol. iii. p. 355).

1593, July 21. Act 26 James VI., c. 48, "Ratificatioun to The Erll Merschell anent the Colledge in Aberdene" (vol. iv. p. 35; *Fasti Acad. Mar.* i. 84).

1597, December 16. Act 31 James VI., c. 52, "In favour of the lard of Phillorthe anent the Colledge of Fraserbrughe" (vol. iv. p. 147; *Fasti.* i. 78).

1597, December 16. Act 31 James VI., c. 63, "Anent the new fundatioun of the Colledge of Auld Aberdeen" (vol. iv. p. 153; *Off. and Grad.* p. 327).

1617, June 28. Act 50 James VI., c. 55, "Ratificatioun to the old Colledge of Abirdene" (vol. iv. p. 576; *Off. and Grad.* p. 328).

1617, June 28. Act 50 James VI., c. 56, "Ratificatioun to the new Colledge of Abirdene" [Liddel mortification] (vol. iv. p. 577).

1633, June 28. Act 9 Charles I., c. 67, "In favour of the King's Colledge of Aberdeine" (vol. v. reissue, p. 73; *Off. and Grad.* p. 329).

1641, November 17. Act 17 Charles I., c. 228, "Ratificatioun in favoures of the old and new Colledges of Aberdeene" (vol. v. reissue, p. 475).

1644, July 23. Act 20 Charles I., c. 192, "Anent the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdene and Edinburgh" (vol. vi. reissue, pt. i. p. 196; *Fasti Acad. Mar.* i. 265).

1645, March 8. Act 20 Charles I., c. 185, "Commissioun for the Universitie of Aberdene" (vol. vi. reissue, pt. i. p. 394).

1646, January 24. Act 21 Charles I., c. 131, "Commission for visiting of the Universities and Colledges of Abirdene" (vol. vi. reissue, pt. i. p. 535).

1647, March 27. Act 22 & 23 Charles I., c. 510, "Commission for visiting of the Universitie of Abirdene" (vol. vi. reissue, pt. i. p. 834).

1649, July 31. Act 1 Charles II., c. 299, "Commissioun for visitatioun of the Universitie of Abirdene" (vol. vi. reissue, pt. ii. p. 509).

1654, August 8. Ordinance by the Lord Protector for the better support of the Universities in Scotland and encouragement of publick preachers there (vol. vi. reissue, pt. ii. p. 831).

1661, February 22. Act 12 & 13 Charles II., c. 56, "Commission for visiting the Universities and Colledges of Aberdein" (vol. vii. p. 37).

1661, March 20. Act 12 & 13 Charles II., c. 99, "Ratification in favoures of the Colledge of new Aberdein" (vol. vii. p. 69; *Fasti.* i. p. 306).

- 1661, March 28. Act 12 & 13 Charles II., c. 126, "Rescinding and annulling the pre-tendit Parliaments in the yeers 1640, 1641, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647 and 1648" (vol. vii. p. 86; *Fasti*, i. p. 308).
- 1661, May 9. Act 12 & 13 Charles II., c. 209, "For an allowance out of the vacand stipends to certain regents of His Majesties Colledge of Old Aberdein" (vol. vii. p. 198).
- 1661, May 20. Act 12 & 13 Charles II., c. 230, "Ratification in favours of the City and University of Old Aberdein of their rights and priveleges" (vol. vii. p. 214; *Rec. of Old Abd.* i. p. 21).
- 1661, July 12. Act 12 & 13 Charles II., c. 365, "Licence in favours of Mr. Robert Forbes professor of Philosophie in Marishall Colledge to print ane book" [*General Demands*] (vol. vii. p. 334; *Aberd. Printers*, p. 215).
- 1662, June 24. Act 14 Charles II. c. 13, "Concerning Masters of Universities, Ministers, &c." [requiring Oath of allegiance] (vol. vii. p. 379).
- 1662, July 8. Act 14 Charles II., "In favours of the Masters of the Kings Colledge of Aberdeen" (vol. vii. App. p. 86).
- 1663, August 21. Act 15 Charles II., c. 22, "For the establishment and constitution of a National Synod" [King's College and Marischal College to send a member each] (vol. vii. p. 465).
- 1663, October 11. Act 15 Charles II., c. 62, "For additionall provision in favours of the Universities" (vol. vii. p. 491; *Fasti*, i. 309).
- 1670, August 22. Act 22 Charles II., c. 34, "Ratification of the rychts of the University and Colledge of old Aberdeen" (vol. viii. p. 26).
- 1672, September 10. Act 24 Charles II., c. 46, "For employing vacand stipends for the Universities" (vol. viii. p. 94; *Fasti*, i. p. 313).
- 1685, May 22. Act 1 James VII., c. 22, "Concerning vacant stipends" (vol. viii. p. 474; *Fasti*, i. p. 330).
- 1690, July 4. Act 2 William and Mary, c. 25, "For visitation of Universities, Colledges and Schoolls" (vol. ix. p. 163).
- 1693, June 15. Act 5 William and Mary, c. 67, "Altering the quorum of the 1690 Act" (vol. ix. p. 329).
- 1695, July 1. Act 7 William II., c. 21, "In favours of the King's Colledge in Old Aberdeen" (vol. ix. p. 394).
- 1695, July 17. Act 7 William II., c. 75, "In favours of the Earle of Marishall's Colledge of Aberdeen" (vol. ix. p. 463; *Fasti*, i. p. 351).
- 1696, September 28. Act 8 William II., "In favours of the Marishall Colledge of Aberdeen" (vol. x. p. 37; *Fasti*, i. p. 367).
- 1696, September 29. Act 8 William II., "In favours of the King's Colledge of Aberdeen" (vol. x. p. 40).
- 1698, August 31. Act 10 William II., "In favours of the Masters of the Marischalls Colledge of Aberdeen" (vol. x. p. 168; *Fasti*, i. p. 369).
- 1704, August 9. Act 4 Anne, appointing commission of visitation: [first reading only] (vol. xi. p. 152).
- 1707, January 16. Act 6 Anne, c. 6, "For securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian Church government" [Ordains *inter alia* "That the Universities and Colledges of Saint Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh as now established by law shall continue within this kingdom for ever"] (vol. xi. p. 403; *Fasti*, i. p. 386).
- 1707, March 25. Act 6 Anne, c. 81, "In favours of the town of Aberdeen for an imposition upon liquors" [endowment of Chair of Mathematics in King's College] (vol. xi. p. 481).
- 1707, March 25. Act 6 Anne, c. 83, "In favours of the burgh of Kirkcaldy for an imposition upon ale and beer" [do.] (vol. xi. p. 482).

Act of British Parliament. An act to amend the several acts for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies and copyright of printed books to the authors of such books or their assigns. 54 Geo. III., c. 156. 29 July, 1814.

11½ × 7 in. Pp. 1317-22.

1816.

Brown, William Laurence. An essay on the existence of a supreme creator. . . . By William Laurence Brown. . . . 2 vols. Aberdeen : printed by D. Chalmers & Co. . . . 1816.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. [4] + ii + lvi + xviii + 19-342; [4] + ii + 383 + [1]. This was the Burnett essay (first prize) of 1815. See 1828, **Burnett**.

— Nobilissimi viri, Georgii, marchionis de Huntly, domini de Gordon; provinciae Aberdonensis praefecti regii, academiæ Marischallanæ cancellarii, xxii^{do} Decembris die, anno Christi m^occc^oxxv^{to} inaugurandi, formula atque modus. Præcipue, preces fusæ, oratioque habita, à Gulielmo Laurentio Brown, S.S.T.D. et P., academiæ Marischallanæ præfecto, &c. Aberdoniæ: excudebant D. Chalmers et Soc. 1816.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 16.

Dewar v. Jack. Law papers.

Memorial for Doctor William Jack, principal of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, against the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dewar. 16 January, 1816. (11 × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 36 + 5 + [1].)

For the disputed election giving rise to this Memorial, see *Off. and Grad.* p. 43.

Maclachlan, Ewen. Eveni Lachlanidae, Abriensis, carminum liber unus. [Motto.] Abredoniæ: excudebant D. Chalmers et Soc., Acad. typograph. 1816.

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [2] + 33 + 5.

— Metrical effusions, on a variety of subjects. [Motto.] The second edition, enlarged and improved. By Ewen Maclachlan, A.M., teacher of the Grammar School, Old Aberdeen. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers & Co. 1816.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. viii + 276. The first edition was the "Attempts in verse" of 1807. Pp. 1-37 reproduce the "Carminum liber unus: editio altera, priore emendatio". Pp. 130-141 contain a "Valediction to King's College, delivered before the Literary Society on Friday evening, March 21, 1800".

[**Merson, Peter.**] Appendix to Theological Library Catalogue of 1811.

Not seen. Merson, M.A. King's College, 1807, was librarian, 1818-22; afterwards schoolmaster, Elgin.

Statutes. Leges et instituta Academiæ Mariscallanæ Abredonensis. . . . Abredoniæ: excudebant D. Chalmers, Acad. typograph. 1816.

Broadsheet. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 11 in. 20 rules.

1818.

Kennedy, William. Annals of Aberdeen. . . . By William Kennedy, Esq^r., Advocate, Aberdeen. 2 vols. London: printed for A. Brown and Co. Aberdeen. . . . 1818.

11 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. xviii + 489 + [1]; iv + 500. One plate. D. Chalmers and Co. Book ii. chap. v. deals with Marischal College; Book v. chap. iii. with King's College. There are two editions of vol. i. (*S. N. and Q.* vii. 175).

1819.

Scott, Sir Walter. A legend of Montrose.

In *Tales of My Landlord*, third series, vols. 3, 4. It is thought right not to overlook the best known graduate of Marischal College: Dugald Dalgetty.

1820.

Eccentric Magazine. The eccentric magazine. . . . By Alexander Laing. [Motto.] Aberdeen: printed for and sold by the author. 1820. Price one shilling.

7 × 4 in. Pp. 70. 2nd issue, 1821: pp. 72. 3rd issue (The lounge's commonplace book, being the third and last number of the *Eccentric Magazine*), 1822: pp. 72. A print of "Buttrie Collie" accompanies the second number.

Aberd. Public Libr.

1821.

Delectus. Delectus in usum studiosae juventutis Collegii Regii Aberdonensis. Aberdoniae: excudebant D. Chalmers & Co. 1821.

6½ × 4 in. Pp. [2] + 292.

1822.

[**Stuart, John.**] List of books and manuscripts which belonged to the Franciscan convent in Aberdeen at the time of the Reformation.

In *Archaeologia Scotica*, ii, pp. 466-468. Almost all the items enumerated are now in the University Library, but their connection with the Friars is not proved.

Wilson, Robert. An historical account and delineation of Aberdeen. By Robert Wilson, A.M. Embellished with beautiful engravings of the principal bridges, public buildings, and sacred edifices in and about the city. Printed for and published by James Johnston, Union Street, Aberdeen. 1822.

7½ × 4½ in. Pp. xii + 226 + [2]. 18 plates, including King's College and Marischal College. Wilson was M.A. Mar. Coll., 1818.

1823.

Court of Session. Index to the decisions of the Court of Session, contained in all the original collections, and in Mr. Morison's Dictionary of Decisions. Edinburgh: printed for W. and C. Tait. . . . MDCCCXXIII.

10½ × 8½ in. Pp. xiv + 536. The following are noted:—

1629, March 26. College of Aberdeen *v.* Menzies. Reduction of tacks. *Mor.* 7945.

1637, March 25. College of Aberdeen *v.* . . . Teinds of St. Machar. *Mor.* 7948.

1669, July 13. Old College *v.* Town of Aberdeen. Tack of teinds. *Mor.* 2533.

1675, July 14. Old College *v.* Earl of Northesk and others. Reduction of tack of teinds. *Mor.* 7230.

1676, January 18. College of Aberdeen *v.* Heritors of Rathen. Vacant stipend. *Mor.* 15897.

1676, Feb. 8. College of Aberdeen *v.* . . . Stipends in bishopric of Ross. *Mor.* 14789.

1678, January 31. Lord Ross and laird of Auchlossin *v.* College of Aberdeen. Bursary mortification. *Mor.* 2536.

1679, January 10. College of Aberdeen *v.* Earl of Aboyne. Vacant stipend of Coull. *Mor.* 14791.

- 1679, December 12. College of Aberdeen *v.* Town. Spuilzie of teinds. *Mor.* 15645.
 1683, March. Irvin of Hilton *v.* the factor of the College of Aberdeen. Pounding in labouring time. *Mor.* 10519.
 1710, February 14. Aberdeen College *v.* Crafts. Dr. Guild's mortification. *Fount.* ii. 567.
 1710, July 12. Sir Alexander Bannerman of Elrick . . . *v.* the masters of the Queen's [sic] College in Old Aberdeen. . . . Bursary mortification by Rev. William Watson. *Mor.* 16187.
 1711, January 24. Burnet, Gordon, etc., *v.* Simpson, Middleton, Urquhart, etc. Voting for a regent. *Mor.* 2389.
 1721, June 9. King's College *v.* Dr. George Middleton. Disputed arbitration. *Robertson's Appeals*, 391.
 1721-2, January 31. Falconer of Newtown *v.* King's College. Bursary mortification. *Robertson*, 397.
 1734, February 27. King's College *v.* Heritors of New Machar. Vacant stipend. *Mor.* 8503.
 1736, July 28. Sir Alex. Ramsay *v.* Mr. James Chalmers. Qualifications of bursars. *Elchies*, "Jurisdiction," 11.
 1737, February 16. Skeen of Lethindy *v.* King's Coll. Deduction from rental. *Mor.* 15739.
 1738, June 30. King's College *v.* Marischal College. Stationers' Hall books. *Elchies*, "Literary Property".
 1741, January 27. King's College *v.* . . . Ramsay mortification. *Elchies*, "Jurisdiction".
 1741, February 23. King's College *v.* . . . Mortification for bursaries. *Elchies*, "Trust".
 1744, December 4. James Catanach *v.* Charles Hamilton Gordon. Election of civilist. *Mor.* 12253.
 1748, June 29. King's College *v.* Heritors of Old Machar. Repairs of manse. *Elchies*, "Manse".
 1749, January 10. College of Aberdeen *v.* Widows' Scheme. Liability of professors. *Elchies*, "Husband and Wife," 31.
 1758, January 27. King's College *v.* Lord Falconer of Halkerton and others. Teinds of Marykirk. *Mor.* 6568.
 1758, July 12. Do. do. *Mor.* 15682.
 1772, July 22. Charles Fullerton *v.* The New College. Valuation of teinds. *Mor.* 15762.
 1786, February 1. Margaret and Mary Macra *v.* Principal of College of Aberdeen and others. Mortification by Alexander Macra. *Mor.* 15948.
 1803, July 8. King's College *v.* Earl of Kintore. Teinds of Marykirk. *Mor.* 15712.
 1809, June 7. Simpson *v.* King's College. *Fac. Coll.* xv. 296, No. 104.
 1811, January 23. Allan *v.* King's Coll. *Fac. Coll.* xvi. 158, No. 42.

[**Morren, Nathaniel.**] Catalogue of books belonging to the Theological Library of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. 1823.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. viii + 3-87 + [1]. Morren, M.A. Mar. Coll., 1814, was librarian 1822-24. A short sketch of the history of the Library is given, "abridged from a larger account drawn up by Mr. Merson, late Librarian". See *infra*, 1828, 1834, **Wilson**.

1824.

[**Forbes, James.**] A letter to the students of Marischal College on the subject of the approaching election. [Motto.] Aberdeen: printed by J. Booth, jun., Chronicle Court, Queen Street. 1824.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 14 + [2]. In favour of Joseph Hume, who was elected (*Rect. Addr.* p. 394).

[**Mudie, Robert.**] Things in general ; being delineations of persons, places, scenes, circumstances, situations, and occurrences, in the metropolis, and other parts of Britain, with an autobiographic sketch, in limine, and a notice touching Edinburgh. By Laurence Langshank, gent. London : published by Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill. . . . 1824.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. viii + 294. One plate. The date in some copies is 1825. Page 294 bears "End of a first volume," but there was no other. The autobiographic sketch gives an account of King's College (where, however, Mudie seems not to have studied) including the first appearance in print of the legend of "Dauney's slaughter". See *S. N. and Q.* 2, iii, 185.

1825.

Boece, Hector. Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium episcoporum vitæ, iterum in lucem editæ. Edinburgi, MDCCCXXV.

10 × 8 in. Pp. [4] + 89 + 1. Sixty copies printed by the Bannatyne Club.

[**Cumming, John.**] The Stabliad, and other poems. [Motto.] Aberdeen : printed by J. Booth, jun. . . . 1825.

6 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4. Pp. 28. The first publication of John Cumming, then a student at King's College ; M.A., 1826 ; D.D. Edin., 1844 ; writer on prophecy.

[**Forbes, Patrick.**] Syllabus of lectures on chemistry and natural history, delivered in the University and King's College of Aberdeen. For the use of the students. Aberdeen : printed by D. Chalmers and Co. . . . MDCCCXXV.

7 × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [2] + 245 + [1]. Two plates.

Library. Regulations of the library of Marischal College . . . 7th Oct., 1825.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Single page. D. Chalmers & Co.

[**Longmuir, John.**] The College and other poems. [Motto]. Edinburgh : printed for Lewis Smith, Aberdeen. 1825.

6 × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. vi + 90. The first publication of John Longmuir, then a student at Marischal College : M.A., 1825 ; LL.D. King's Coll., 1858.

Medical Degrees. Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, Regulations respecting medical degrees.

10 × 8 in. Single page. D. Chalmers & Co. Approved by minute of 7th March, 1825.

Murray Lectures. Discourses on "subjects of pure and undefiled religion" : delivered in the chapel of the University and King's College of Aberdeen ; at the lecture founded by Alexander Murray, D.D. [1825.]

8 × 5 in. Pp. [4]. This title was printed to serve for collections of the separate Murray Lectures (*Off. and Grad.* pp. 77-82) ; but no complete collection is known to exist. The following have been traced :—

1825. **Mearns, Duncan.** The knowledge requisite for the attainment of eternal life. D. Chalmers and Co. Pp. [5]-47 + [1].

1826. **Paul, William.** [Two lectures.] D. Chalmers and Co. Pp. 44.

1827. **M'Lean, George Gordon.** [Three lectures.] D. Chalmers & Co. Pp. 67+[1].

1828. **Cruickshank, John, and Williamson, David.** The superiority of the Gospel information regarding the divine nature ; and The connection between the Jewish and Christian dispensations. D. Chalmers and Co. Pp. 44.

1829. **Lillie, William.** The futility of all attempts to furnish an adequate scheme of religion without the assistance of revelation. D. Chalmers and Co. Pp. 19 + [1].
- Robertson, Duncan.** A statement of the leading causes of the Jews' opposition to the Gospel. D. Chalmers & Co. Pp. 25 + [1].
1830. **Lillie, William.** The reasonableness of Christianity. D. Chalmers & Co. Pp. 20.
- Tulloch, George.** The Christian character. D. Chalmers and Co. Pp. 42.
1831. **Taylor, Alexander.** Prophecy. G. Cornwall. Pp. vi + 5-59 + [1].
- Tulloch, George.** The parables of our Lord: ten discourses. G. Cornwall. Pp. xiv + 305 + [1]. [This seems to have been printed on paper of about $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. The copy in the University Library has been inlaid to the size of a title page, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in.]
1832. **Simpson, Robert.** The nativity, crucifixion, and ascension of Our Lord. D. Chalmers. Pp. viii + 5-60.
- Taylor, Alexander.** The prophecies delivered by Our Saviour. G. Cornwall. Pp. xvi + 17-70.
1833. **Ingram, James.** The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans. *Herald Office* by G. Cornwall. Pp. viii + 9-31 + [1].
- Simpson, Robert.** The early progress of Christianity, and the preaching of the Apostles. D. Chalmers & Co. Pp. viii + 9-87 + [1].

Murray Lectures. Discourses on "subjects of pure and undefiled religion". . . . Vol. ii. [1834.] Pp. [2].

1834. **Ingram, James.** The principles of Christian morality. *Herald Office*, by G. Cornwall. Pp. [3]-43 + [1].
- Taylor, Alexander.** [?].
1835. **Bremner, George.** What has Christianity done for mankind? A. Brown and Co.; printed by John Davidson and Co. Pp. 82.
- Tulloch, George.** The propagation of Christianity in Asia Minor and Greece. A. Brown and Co.; *Herald Office*, by G. Cornwall. Pp. 23 + [1].
1836. **Henderson, William.** The freeness of the Gospel plan of salvation. G. Clark and Son; *Herald Office*, by G. Cornwall. Pp. iv + 5-36.
- M'Kenzie, Peter.** The moral character of the Christian religion. G. Clark & Son; *Herald Office*, by G. Cornwall. Pp. 19 + [1].
1837. **Henderson, William.** The danger of unbelief. G. Clark & Son; *Herald Office*, by G. Cornwall. Pp. 18.
- M'Kenzie, Peter.** The reasonable and attractive character of the Christian religion. William Munro, Old Aberdeen; *Herald Office*, by G. Cornwall. Pp. 30.
1838. **Macdonald, Donald.** The adaptation of Christianity to the wants and the moral constitution of man. Lewis Smith; *Herald Office*, by G. Cornwall. Pp. 64.
- Taylor, Alexander.** The miracles wrought by our Saviour. John Davidson. Pp. x + 11-47 + [1].
1839. **Macdonald, Donald.** [?].
- Taylor, Alexander.** [?].
1840. **Greig, James.** The life and character of St. Paul. G. Mackay. Pp. 40.
- Mitchell, Adam.** [?].
1841. **Greig, James.** The life and character of Balaam. *Herald Office*. Pp. 41 + [1].
- Mitchell, Adam.** [?].
1842. **Todd, Alexander.** The third commandment. William Collie; *Constitutional Office*, by William Bennett. Pp. 24.

1843. **Mitchell, Adam.** [?].
Morgan, John. The typical character of the Jewish economy. (Lectures for Sessions 1841/42, 1842/43.) William Collie; *Constitutional Office*, by William Bennett. Pp. viii + 69 + [1].
1844. **Clerihew, Peter.** [?].
Mitchell, Adam. [?].
1845. **Falconer, John.** The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians. D. Chalmers and Co. Pp. [4] + 2-46.
1846. **Falconer, John.** The history of Elijah and Elisha. D. Chalmers and Co. Pp. 39 + [1].
1847. **Abel, John.** The exodus of the Israelites. William Bennett. Pp. [2] + 36.
1848. **Abel, John.** The history of our Saviour. George Cornwall. Pp. 34.
1849. **Abel, John.** The conflict and the armour. William Bennett. Pp. 24. (*Brit. Mus.*)
1850. **Fraser, James.** [?].
1852. **Webster, John.** The Epistle to the Hebrews. (Lectures for Session 1850/51.) Geo. Cornwall. Pp. 32.
 — The parables. (Lectures for Session 1851/52). Geo. Cornwall. Pp. 33 + [1].
1853. **Milne, George Gordon.** [?].
- [1854]. **Milne, George Gordon.** Sacrifice and atonement. John Avery. Pp. 31 + [1].
1855. **Rannie, John.** Two lectures. *Herald Office*, by John Finlayson. Pp. 28.
1856. **Campbell, Peter Colin.** Christ our advocate. William Bennett. Pp. 20.
M'Irvine, George. Christ the light of the world. William Bennett. Pp. 14.
1857. **Macdonald, Charles.** The parable of the mustard seed. *Free Press Office*, by A. King and Co. Pp. 15 + [1].
1858. **Macdonald, Charles.** Divine repentance. *Free Press Office*, by A. King & Co. Pp. 15 + [1].
1859. **Macdonald, Charles.** The unknown God. *Free Press Office*, by A. King & Co. Pp. 14.
1860. **Macdonald, Charles.** Labour. *Free Press Office*, by A. King and Co. Pp. 13 + [1].
- Campbell, Peter Colin.** Four discourses (1856/57 to 1859/60). William Bennett. Pp. [1] + 3-66.
 — Five discourses (1855/56 to 1859/60). William Bennett. Pp. [4] + 3-84.

Rectorial Court. A full and correct report of the proceedings of the rectorial court, held in Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, 14th November, 1825. With an appendix containing documents connected with the proceedings, &c. Aberdeen: printed for Lewis Smith . . . 1825.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4. Pp. 48. Ritchie, Cobban and Co. See *Rectorial Addresses*, 1902, p. 351.

1826.

Brown, William Laurence. Lecture introductory to the course on practical religion, instituted by the will of John Gordon, Esq. of Murtle; delivered in the great hall of Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, on November 22nd, 1825, before the honourable the magistrates of that city; a considerable number of the clergy; all the professors, lecturers, and students, of every de-

nomination, of Marischal College; and many most respectable gentlemen inhabitants. Published by desire of Mr. Gordon's trustees. By W. L. Brown, D.D., professor of divinity and principal of Marischal College, &c. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers & Co. . . . MDCCCXXVI.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 23 + [1]. For the Murtle foundation, see *Fasti*, i. 487.

Graduates. An account of the proceedings of the committee of graduates of Marischal College: with an inquiry into the constitution of the Scotch Universities and the privileges of their graduates. By a member of the committee of graduates. Aberdeen: printed for Lewis Smith. . . . 1826.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 36 [misprinted 63].

[**Kerr, George.**] Examination of a pamphlet, entitled Plan of education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the reasons of it, drawn up by order of the faculty, MDCCCLV. Aberdeen: printed for the author's family; and to be had of all the booksellers. 1826.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. [2] + 5-54. J. Booth, jun. Kerr had been a student at Mar. Coll., 1786-90 (*Fasti*, ii. 365).

Marischal College. Novae academiae Aberdonensis, per Comitem Mariscallum, auctoritate regia, erectio et institutio. [1826].

11 × 8½ in. Pp. 11 + [1].

Mearns, Duncan. Introductory address to the students of the University and King's College of Aberdeen; delivered on the morning of Sunday, November 13th, 1825, in the College chapel, at the opening of the lecture endowed by the late John Gordon, Esq. of Murtle. Published at the desire of Mr. Gordon's trustees. By Duncan Mearns, D.D. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. . . . MDCCCXXVI.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 20.

Rectorial Court. A report of the proceeding at the Rectorial Court held in Marischal College, July 31, 1826. Together with copies of most of the papers and documents produced in Court. Aberdeen: printed for Lewis Smith. . . . 1826.

7 × 4 in. Pp. 20. R. Cobban and Co.

1827.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1826-30. Minutes and proceedings of the royal commissioners appointed for visiting the Universities and Colleges of Aberdeen.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 2.

— Code of rules, statutes, and ordinances, to be observed in all time coming in the United University of Aberdeen.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 15 + [1].

Scottish Universities Commission. [Documents printed by the commissioners. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in.]

KING'S COLLEGE :—

Minutes of evidence . . . 17th and 18th September, 1827. Pp. [2] + 67 + [1].
Returns by the Senatus Academicus. Pp. 36.
Appendix to Returns. Pp. 73 + [1].
Supplementary appendix. Pp. 21 + [1].
Accounts, by David Hutcheon, 1824/25, being for crop 1824. Pp. 12.
Report relative to the University and King's College of Aberdeen [printed 1830].
Pp. 39 + [1]

MARISCHAL COLLEGE :—

Minutes of evidence . . . 19th, 20th, and 21st September, 1827. Pp. [2] + 74.
Returns by the Senatus Academicus. Pp. 34.
Appendix to Returns. Pp. 15 + [1].
Supplementary appendix. Pp. 6.
[Second] Supplementary appendix. Pp. 15 + [1].
Supplementary account respecting the bursaries. Pp. 12.
Alexander Irving's mortification. Pp. 5 + [1].
Election of rector, 1829. Pp. 5 + [1].
Report relative to Marischal College, Aberdeen [printed 1830]. Pp. 36.
See *infra*, 1831 and 1837.

1828.

Burnett, John. Deed of mortification of Kinnadie, by Mr. John Burnett, merchant in Aberdeen, 24th March, 1783, and codicils thereto; all recorded in the sheriff court books of Aberdeenshire, on 1st February, 1785. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. . . . 1828.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 32. The deed founding the Burnett prize (see 1816, **Brown**) converted later into the Burnett lectureship (see 1887, **Burnett**). Reprinted in 1838.

Christian Knowledge Association. The association of students in the Universities of Aberdeen in aid of the diffusion of Christian knowledge. Regulations . . . office bearers for 1828. . . .

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 4. D. Chalmers & Co. Similar annual issues for 1829 to 1834. There were probably earlier issues.

[**Hay, William.**] Tales and sketches. By Jacob Ruddiman, A.M. of Marischal College, Aberdeen. [Quotation.] John Anderson, jun., Edinburgh. . . . 1828.

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + 300. Reprinted as "Tales of a Scottish parish". London, 1889.

[**Wilson, John.**] Appendix to the Catalogue of books belonging to the Theological Library, Marischal College, printed in 1823. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. . . . MDCCCXXVIII.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ in. Pp. [4] + 28. Wilson, M.A. Mar. Coll., 1819, was librarian 1824-54.

1829.

Calamy, Edmund. An historical account of my own life . . . By Edmund Calamy. . . . 2 vols. . . . London. . . . 1829.

9 × 5½ in. An interesting account of his having the degree of D.D. conferred in 1709, vol. ii. pp. 197-203.

Hume, Joseph. Letters addressed to the students of Marischal College. By Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., late Lord Rector. Aberdeen: published (by permission) by Lewis Smith. 1829.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 8. R. Cobban and Co. See *Rectorial Addresses* (1902), p. 354.

Mackray, William. An essay on the effect of the Reformation on civil society in Europe. By William Mackray, minister of the gospel, Stirling. [Motto.] William Blackwood, Edinburgh. . . . MDCCCXXIX.

8½ × 5¼ in. Pp. xii + 320. The Blackwell prize essay of 1820 (*S. N. and Q.* x. 181). Reprinted, New York, 1830; Aberdeen, 1846. Mackray was M.A. Mar. Coll., 1822. See *infra*, 1860.

Marischal College. [Degree and prize lists, 1829-60.]

12½ × 8 in. 32 leaves. Offprints from the local newspapers of the annual results published in April.

183-.

[**Farquharson,** . . .] Aberdeen Colleges. To the Editor of the Aberdeen Journal. . . . Palaeophilus minor.

7 × 4½ in. Pp. 8.

Marischal College. Subscriptions in aid of a grant from Government for re-building Marischal College.

5½ × 4 in. Pp. ii + 3-23 + [1]. D. Chalmers and Co.

1830.

Brown, William Laurence. Librorum societas; carmen. Recitatum, in commitiis academicis, quae, prima, post ferias aestivas, an. MDCCCXXIX habebantur, a Gulielmo Laurentio Brown, academiae Marischallanae Aberdonensis gymnasiarcha. et, in eadem, S.S. theologiae professore. Hocce opusculum, quaecunque, demum sit, rogatu quorundam, limati iudicii, Auditorum, typis excudendum dedit auctor. Aberdoniae: excudebant D. Chalmers et Soc. MDCCCXXX.

8 × 4¼ in. Pp. 10.

Colman, George, *the younger*. *Random Records*; by George Colman, the younger. [Motto.] 2 vols. London: Harry Colburn and Richard Bentley. . . . 1830.

8 × 5 in. Pp. xii + 323 + [1]; vi + 305 + [1]. Portrait. Pp. 61-211 deal with Colman's residence at King's College, 1781-83.

Gordon, Pryse Lockhart. *The land of cakes.* Nos. iii., iv. Aberdeen *awa'*.

In *New Monthly Magazine*, xxviii. 504; xxix. 49; June and July, 1830. The Downie story is given in No. iii. The articles are condensed in *Aberdeen Awa'* (see *infra*, 1897, **Walker**), pp. 108-127.

— Personal memoirs, or recollections of men and manners at home and abroad . . . being fragments from the portfolio of Pryse Lockhart Gordon, Esq. 2 vols. London: Henry Colburn. . . . 1830.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. xii + 455 + [1]; viii + 452; with portrait. Chapters i. and ii. relate to life at King's College, where Gordon was a student, 1776-78 (*Roll*, p. 94).

Infirmary. A letter to the managers of the Aberdeen Infirmery, on the present state of that institution, and of the medical school of Aberdeen. By a country practitioner. Aberdeen: printed by John Davidson & Co. . . . MDCCCXXX.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 16.

Orem, William. A description of the Chanonry, cathedral, and King's College of Old Aberdeen, in the years 1724-5. John Rettie, Aberdeen. MDCCCXXX.

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + 349 + [3]. Two plates. Neill & Co., Edinburgh. Copies are found with the imprint: A. Brown & Co., Aberdeen. MDCCCXXXII.

1831.

Aberdeen Lancet. *The Aberdeen lancet.* No. 1. April, 1851. Contents . . . Aberdeen: printed and published by R. Cobban & Co., 35 Duthie's Court, Guestrow. . . . 1831.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 72. Only three numbers issued (in coloured paper covers) for April, June, November. No title page.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1826-30. Report made to His Majesty by a Royal commission of enquiry into the state of the Universities of Scotland. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7 October, 1831.

13 × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 436. The general Report fills pp. 1-94; the special Aberdeen Reports, pp. 303-384.

1832.

[**Rice, Thomas Spring,**] A bill to authorize the purchase of the rights of literary property enjoyed by the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1 August, 1832.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 3 + [1]. See "A forgotten Universities bill" in *S. N. and Q.* ii. 3. See also Copy of Treasury Minute, dated 17th July, 1832, respecting the purchase of the rights of the University of Aberdeen to certain copies of books. The Bill, brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, was read thrice in the Commons and twice in the Lords, but was then dropped.

1833.

[**Burton, John Hill.**] The two great northern Universities.

In Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, May, 1833, pp. 182-191. See *Alma Mater*, xv. 136.

[**Cruickshank, Robert.**] Letter to the Right Honourable Baron Brougham and Vaux, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, on the proposed suppression of one of the colleges of Aberdeen. By Ignotus. Aberdeen: Peter Gray. . . . 1833.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 59 + [1]. D. Chalmers & Co.

Pair of Spectacles. A pair of spectacles for the magistrates and the public, wherewith to view the state of our infirmary; with some account of the state of the medical school (so called) of this city; in a letter addressed to Wm. Allardyce, Esq., treasurer. By "a benevolent individual and interested person". [Quotation.] Aberdeen: printed by John Davidson & Co., and sold by all booksellers. 1833.

7½ × 4½ in. Pp. 12.

1834.

Aberdeen Medical Magazine. Aberdeen medical magazine. No. I. December, 1834. Vol. I.

8 × 5½ in. Pp. 184. J. Davidson and Co. Only five numbers, dated Dec., 1834, to Apr., 1835. Page 184 promises a title page and index.

Dioscope. The Dioscope, or return for the "Spectacles," and a reply to the letter addressed to William Allardyce, Esq., on the state of the infirmary and medical school. By a citizen and burgher. Aberdeen: printed by J. Davidson & Co. . . . 1834.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 32.

Dixi. A letter to the principal and professors of King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen relative to a Union. By Dixi. Aberdeen: printed for the author by D. Chalmers and Co. MDCCCXXXIV.

9 × 5¾ in. Pp. 20.

Marischal College. Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. Re-building of the College.

13 × 8 in. Pp. [4]. Appeal for subscriptions. Reprinted several times with additions.

Medical School. Medical school of the Universities of Aberdeen. The following courses of lectures will be delivered during the session 1834-35. . . .

13 × 8 in. Single page.

[**Knight, William.**] Library for the use of the students in the natural philosophy class, Marischal College. Instituted November, 1826. [1834.]

8 × 5 in. Pp. 4. D. Chalmers and Co. Second edition 1845 not seen.

[**Wilson, John.**] Catalogue of books belonging to the Theological library of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Appendix I., containing the additions made to the Library since 1823. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. . . . MDCCCXXXIV.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. [4] + 40.

1835.

Abercrombie, John. Address delivered in the hall of Marischal College, Aberdeen, 5th November, 1835, on the occasion of his installation as Lord Rector of the University. By John Abercrombie, M.D. . . . Aberdeen: Alexander Brown and Co. . . . MDCCCXXXV.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 29 + [1]. The first Rectorial Address to be printed; has passed through many editions; reprinted in the 1902 collection.

Bannerman, Alexander. Dr. Forbes against Dr. Forbes on University reform; with a letter from Alex. Bannerman, Esq., M.P., in reply to some statements put forth by Dr. Forbes in his late pamphlet. (From the "Aberdeen Herald" of 21st November, 1835.) Aberdeen: printed by G. Cornwall, Herald Office.

5¼ × 3¾ in. Pp. 12.

Bannerman, Alexander, and Oswald, . . . A bill for uniting King's College and University of Old Aberdeen and Marischal College and University of Aberdeen into one University and College. (Prepared and brought in by Mr. Bannerman and Mr. Oswald.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 22 June, 1835.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. Read a second time 7th July, but did not become law. An edition was printed in Aberdeen by John Davidson & Co., 8¼ × 5¼ in., pp. 30 + [2].

[**Clark, Thomas.**] Private memorandum, relative to the union of the King's and Marischal Colleges and Universities, into the United University of Aberdeen. . . . Glasgow: printed by George Brookman. MDCCCXXXV.

8 × 5¼ in. Pp. 94.

[**Cruikshank, Robert.**] A letter to Alexander Bannerman, Esq., M.P., in apology for the opposition made by the inhabitants of Aberdeen and the north of Scotland to his University bill. By Philodemus. Aberdeen: published by P. Gray. . . . 1835.

7½ × 4½ in. Pp. 28. J. Davidson & Co.

— A letter to Thomas Bannerman, Esq., on the Aberdeen Committee on education and their "Interim report". By Philologus. Aberdeen: printed by John Davidson and Co. . . . and sold by P. Gray and W. Laurie. 1835.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 36.

Dunn, David. Aberdeen Universities bill. Remarks on the proposed Universities bill, delivered at the board of the Town Council, on Monday, 13th July, 1835. By D. Dunn, Esq. (Extracted from the Aberdeen Herald of the 18th July, and published with the permission of the author.) Aberdeen. . . .

6 × 4 in. Pp. 12. G. Cornwall.

Forbes, Patrick. A letter to Alexander Bannerman, Esq., M.P., being a reply to his letter addressed to the Rev. Patrick Forbes . . . to which is appended Mr. Bannerman's letter. By Pat. Forbes, D.D. . . . Aberdeen: printed for Lewis Smith . . . 1835.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 63 + [1]. D. Chalmers and Co.

— Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Advocate for Scotland, regarding . . . a bill to be brought in at the commencement of next Session, for the regulation of the Colleges of Aberdeen, in reference to the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Visitation of 1826 and 1830. By Pat. Forbes, D.D., professor of humanity, &c., in King's College. Printed for Lewis Smith, Aberdeen. . . . MDCCCXXXV.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 27 + [1]. D. Chalmers and Co.

Junius. A letter to the Lord Provost of Aberdeen, containing strictures on certain views and expressions of sentiment, ascribed to him in the reports of Town Council proceedings, relative to the University bill. By Junius. Aberdeen: published by P. Gray. . . . 1835.

7½ × 4¾ in. Pp. 30. J. Davidson & Co. Second edition in same year, with prefatory letter dated from "Anti-Union Street, Sept. 17, 1835".

King's College. A statement of the proceedings of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, respecting the royal grant to the Scottish Universities and the bill recently before Parliament, for the union of King's and Marischal Colleges. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. . . . 1835.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 52. Dated "King's College, 7th August, 1835".

Mackintosh, Sir James. Memoirs of the life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh. . . . 2 vols. . . . London. . . . 1835.

9 × 5½ in. Mackintosh was M.A. King's Coll., 1784, and on pp. 9-20 gives an account of the College life of that period.

Rectorial Election. Letter to the students of Marischal College, on the election of Lord Rector. Aberdeen : printed for Peter Gray. . . . 1835.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 8. D. Chalmers & Co. Signed by "A fellow student".

Union of Colleges. University reform, considered in reference to some of the leading objections urged against Mr. Bannerman's bill. With a brief notice of the attempts formerly made to unite the Universities of New and Old Aberdeen. From the Aberdeen Herald of 7th October, 1835. Aberdeen : printed by G. Cornwall.

6 × 3¾ in. Pp. 23 + [1].

1836.

Aberdeen University Magazine. The Aberdeen University magazine. January-August, MDCCCXXXVI. Aberdeen : P. Gray. . . . MDCCCXXXVI.

8¾ × 5½ in. Pp. iv + 1-232 + 133-166 + 267-273 + [1] + iii + [1]. Sixteen numbers. Printed by J. Davidson & Co. This was not a students' magazine, but an outcome of the opposition to the bills of Mr. Bannerman and Lord Melbourne. It contains much interesting historical matter relative to the Colleges.

Act of Parliament. An act to repeal so much of an act of the fifty-fourth year of King George the Third, respecting copyrights, as requires the delivery of a copy of every published book to the libraries of . . . the four universities of Scotland. . . . 6 and 7 Will. IV., c. 110. 20 August, 1836.

12½ × 7¾ in. Pp. 1137-8.

King's College. Universities of Scotland. At a numerous and respectable meeting of the graduates and alumni of the University and King's College . . . [23 June, 1836] . . . Resolutions . . . Petition. . . .

10 × 8 in. Pp. [4].

Melbourne, William, Viscount. A bill intituled An act for the visitation and regulation of the Universities of Scotland (presented by the Lord Melbourne). Ordered to be printed 6th June, 1836.

13½ × 8¼ in. Pp. 8 + [2]. Withdrawn in the House of Lords. An edition of the bill was printed in Aberdeen by J. Davidson & Co., 12½ × 7¼ in., pp. 2.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1826-30. An abstract of the general report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to visit the universities of Scotland. With notes and tabular states relating to the state of these institutions in 1826. Edinburgh : Adam and Charles Black . . . MDCCCXXXVI.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. viii + 161 + [1].

Synod. Resolutions of the provincial synod of Aberdeen, met and constituted at Aberdeen, on the 4th of July, 1836, in reference to the university bill.

13 × 8 in. Single page.

1837.

Aberdeen Universities Commission, 1836/37. Minutes of evidence taken before the Commissioners for visiting the Universities of King's and Marischal Colleges, Aberdeen.

12 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 in. Pp. 45 + [1]. Occupies pp. 26-70 in *First Report* of 1838.

Blaikie, William Garden. On the atomic theory. Prize essay in the chemical class, Marischal College, Aberdeen, Session 1836-7. By William G. Blaikie.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 16. G. Cornwall. Preface by Professor Thomas Clark. Blaikie was M.A., 1837; D.D. Edin., 1864; LL.D. Aberd., 1871. See *infra*, 1901.

Examination Papers. Competition exercise on the course of lectures and examinations on chemistry, in Marischal College, Session 1836-7. Prizes for highest eminence awarded to—1st Mr. Robert White, Aberdeen. 2nd Mr. William D. Ewan, A.M., Peterhead.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 8 + [4].

Henderson, William. Syllabus of lectures on materia medica: including dietetics, pharmacology, and pharmacy. By William Henderson, M.D., lecturer on these branches of medical science to the Universities of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers & Co. . . . 1837.

7 × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 42. Henderson, M.A. Mar. Coll., 1809; M.D. Edin., 1813; was lecturer in the Joint School, 1818-39, and afterwards in Marischal College (*Fasti*, ii. 66, 68).

Marischal College. [Papers connected with laying foundation stone of new buildings.]

Letter of invitation dated 25th September. (13 × 8 in. Pp. [4].)

List of magistrates, office bearers, commissioners. (16 × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [4].)

Plan of ceremonial, 18th October. (18 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Broadsheet.)

Inscription engraven on a brass plate in the foundation stone. [By James Melvin, LL.D.] (9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 in. Single leaf.)

List of toasts at dinner. (13 × 8 in. Pp. [4]. Forty-three toasts!)

See *Fasti*, i. 513.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1826-30. Evidence, oral and documentary, taken and received by the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty George IV., July 23d, 1826; and reappointed by His Majesty William IV., October 12th, 1830; for visiting the Universities of Scotland. Vol. IV. University of Aberdeen. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty. London: printed . . . for His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1837.

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. [2] + xxii + 342. A parliamentary paper. Includes the Returns by both Colleges, a mine of information on their history.

1838.

Aberdeen Universities Commission, 1836/37. First report of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty William IV., November 23, 1836, and reappointed by Her Majesty Victoria I., October, 1837, for visiting the Universities of King's College and Marischal College, Aberdeen. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: printed . . . for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1838.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. x + 75 + [1]. A parliamentary paper. Includes the Minutes of evidence, 20th-21st Oct., 1837.

Aberdeen University Magazine. November, 1838. No. 1.

7½ × 4½ in. Pp. 24. *Constitutional* Office, by G. Cornwall.

Aberd. U.F.C. Coll. Libr.

Ferguson, John. On the cause of the holes that occur perforating sheets of melting ice. Prize essay in the chemical class, Marischal College, Aberdeen, Session 1837-8. By John Ferguson of Nigg, student of medicine.

8¼ × 5¼ in. Pp. 9 + [3]. *Herald* Office: G. Cornwall.

Jones, Harry Longueville. Statistical illustrations of the principal universities of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

In *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, i. 385, Nov. 1838.

Kay, John. A series of original portraits and caricature etchings, by the late John Kay, miniature painter, Edinburgh, with biographical sketches and anecdotes. 2 vols. Hugh Paton . . . Edinburgh. MDCCCXXXVIII.

Included here because vol. i. plate 35 shows "The Sapient Septemviri" of King's College. The print is initialed "J. K. 1786," but the impressions are not from the original plate. See *supra*, 1786. Several editions.

Missionary Association. [Report.]

The earliest report seen is the tenth, 1847. 8 × 5½ in. Pp. 4. G. Cornwall. Issued annually.

1839.

Aberdeen Universities Commission, 1836/37. Analysis and review of the first report of the Commissioners, . . . for visiting the Universities of King's College and Marischal College, Aberdeen. By the standing committee of graduates and alumni of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1839. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. . . . 1839.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. viii + 3-150. D. Chalmers and Co.

Aberdeen Universities Commission. Second report. . . . 1839.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 6 + xxxiv + 333 + [1]. Includes the Returns by the Colleges.

Blackie v. Marischal College. Law papers.

Dec. 31, 1839. Summons of declarator, John S. Blackie, Esq., against Marischal College, Aberdeen. (10¾ × 8½ in. Pp. 6.)

Feb. 26, 1840. Defences for the principal and professors and Senatus Academicus of Marischal College. (Pp. 5 + [1].)

Mar. 11, 1841. Reclaiming note for the presbytery of Aberdeen, compearers, against Lord Cunninghame's interlocutor, in causa J. S. Blackie, Esq., against the Marischal College of Aberdeen. (Pp. [2] + 133 + [1].)

This case arose out of Professor Blackie's position with respect to the Confession of Faith. See *Fasti*, i. 321.

King's College. Documents relative to the University and King's College, Old Aberdeen. Compiled by a committee of graduates of the University of Aberdeen. [Mottoes.] Aberdeen: George King . . . MDCCCXXXIX.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 34. Robert King, Peterhead.

Colquhoun, John Campbell. Speeches of J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., M.P., at his installation as Lord Rector of Marischal College, Aberdeen, Wednesday, 27th November; and at a public dinner, given him in the county rooms, Aberdeen, Tuesday, 28th November, 1839.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 30. William Collins and Co., printers, Glasgow.

Marischal College. Reply by Marischal College to the King's College. Analysis and review of the first Report of the 1836/37 Commissioners.

Not seen. (Knight's *Collections*.)

Medical School. Extracts from the records of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, respecting the medical school . . . 18th April, 1839.

9¾ × 6 in. Pp. 7 + [1]. D. Chalmers & Co.

— Resolution of the Senatus of the University and King's College of Aberdeen respecting the medical school. April 11, 1839.

14¼ × 9¼ in. Pp. 2. D. Chalmers & Co.

Synod of Aberdeen. Report of the Synod of Aberdeen's Committee, on the Universities of Scotland. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers & Co. . . . 1839.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 20. With especial reference to the first Report of the 1836/37 Commission.

1840.

Aberdeen Monthly Circular. The Aberdeen monthly circular, devoted to literature, politics, and domestic intelligence. Contents. . . . Aberdeen: printed by J. Daniel, at the Columbian Press, 48 Castle Street.

13½ × 8½ in. 13 numbers, June, 1840 to June, 1841. Pp. 104, and cover with title. The University sketches reprinted in Bruce's *Aberdeen Pulpit*, 1844, first appeared here.

Marischal College. To the Queen's most excellent Majesty, the humble petition of the chancellor, rector, dean of faculty, principal and professors of Marischal College and University, in Aberdeen.

13 × 8 in. Single page. Anent "an unprecedented and unwarrantable infringement" by King's College.

— Regulations respecting the medical classes. . . . Oct. 20th, 1840.

15½ × 9½ in. 1 page.

— Marischal College and University. Medical schedule to be filled up in the handwriting of each candidate for a medical degree.

9 × 7½ in. Pp. 4.

— Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. Regulations for granting medical degrees.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 3 + [1]. D. Chalmers & Co.

1842.

[Clark, Thomas.] Memorandum of a plan for establishing one examining board in Scotland for licensing general practitioners in medicine and surgery. . . . By a professor in Marischal College. . . .

12¾ × 8 in. Pp. 4. Dated "Tavistock Hotel, Covent Garden, July 19, 1842".

Gordon, James. *Abredoniae utriusque descriptio.* A description of both towns of Aberdeen. By James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay. With a selection of the charters of the burgh. Edinburgh: printed for the Spalding Club. MDCCCXLII.

9½ × 7½ in. Pp. xxviii + 95 + [1]. Four plates and map by Gordon, from the original Dutch engraving of 1661 (copy in University Library), which supplies the earliest extant representation of King's College. (10¼ × 6¼ in.) Edited by Cosmo Innes. Printed by T. Constable. What is here printed is a translation by an unknown hand of Gordon's Latin original, still preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The rendering is by no means accurate (*S. N. and Q.* 2, ii. 109).

Marischal College. [Announcements, 1842-59.]

12½ × 8 in. 18 leaves. Offprints from the local newspapers of the annual programme advertised in October.

1843.

Ramsay, John. Remarks on the second report (1st of February, 1839) of the Royal Commissioners appointed to visit the Universities of Aberdeen. By John Ramsay, M.A. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Co. . . . 1843.

8¼ × 5¼ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. Ramsay, M.A. King's Coll., 1817, was editor of *Aberdeen Journal*.

1844.

[Blackie, John Stuart.] Valedictory address to the students of the second humanity class, Session 1843-4. . . . 5th April [1844].

$4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 7 + [1]. D. Chalmers & Co.

[Bruce, James.] The Aberdeen pulpit and universities: a series of sketches of the Aberdeen clergy, and of the professors in the Aberdeen colleges. Aberdeen: J. Strachan. . . . 1844.

$5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. iv + 5-167 + [1] + 3-80. J. Daniel. Sketches reprinted from the *Aberdeen Monthly Circular*. The last 78 pages deal with Principal Dewar, Professors Black and Blackie.

Burnett v. King's College. Law papers.

In the House of Lords. Dr. William Jack, principal, etc., Appellants; Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys, Respondent. The Appellants' Case. ($17\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 34) Opinions of the judges. (Pp. 9 + [1].)

1845.

Blackie, John Stuart. De Latinarum literarum praestantia atque utilitate; orationem academicam in Collegio Mariscallano Abredonensi, habuit Joannes S. Blackie, literarum humaniorum professor: Aberdoniae, MDCCCLIV. Londini: apud Taylor et Walton. MDCCCXLV.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 23 + [1].

Court of Session. Cases decided in the Court of Session. . . . [Second series.] Vol. vi.- Edinburgh. . . . 1845-

1844, February 22. Burnett v. King's College. vi. pp. 731-754. See *supra*, 1844.

1845, November 29. Harvey v. King's College. viii. pp. 151-155. See *infra*, 1845.

1852, March 11. King's College v. Lady James Hay, etc. xiv. pp. 675-721. See *infra*, 1852.

1866, February 8. University of Aberdeen v. Irvine. 3rd S., iv. pp. 392-427. See *infra*, 1868.

1869, July 20. University of Aberdeen v. Irvine. vii. pp. 1087-1097.

1876, July 18. University v. Magistrates of Aberdeen. 4th S., iii. pp. 1087-1104. See *infra*, 1876.

1901, November 4. Aberdeen University Court, petitioner.

Forbes, Patrick. The funeral sermons, orations, epitaphs, and other pieces on the death of the Right Rev. Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen. From the original edition of 1635. With biographical memoir and notes, by Charles Farquhar Shand, Esq., advocate. Edinburgh: printed for the Spottiswoode Society. MDCCCXLV.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. cxvi + 476. See 1635 *supra*. The editor has added much valuable illustrative matter.

Gregory, William. Account of the University and King's College of Aberdeen. . . . Drawn up by William Gregory, professor of medicine and chemistry. . . .

Pp. 1139-1161 in Vol. xii. of *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*: Edin. 1845.

Harvey v. King's College. Law papers.

April 16. Reclaiming note, King's College against Lord Cunninghame's interlocutor. (11½ × 9 in. Pp. 93 + [1].)

Knight, William. The Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. . . . Drawn up by Professor William Knight, LL.D.

Pp. 1163-1192 in Vol. xii. of *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*: Edin. 1845.

1846.

Blackie, John Stuart. Education in Scotland: an appeal to the people of Scotland on the improvement of their scholastic and academical institutions. Edinburgh. 1846.

Not seen.

— A letter to the citizens of Aberdeen on the improvement of their academical institutions. By John Stuart Blackie, professor of the Latin language and literature in Marischal College. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: Lewis Smith . . . 1846.

7¾ × 4¼ in. Pp. 58.

Gray, David. Introductory lecture delivered at the opening of the class of natural philosophy in Marischal College, Aberdeen, November 3, 1845. By David Gray, M.A., professor of natural philosophy. . . . Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. 1846.

8¾ × 5¾ in. Pp. 28. D. Chalmers and Co. Re-issued in 1848.

King's College Miscellany. King's College miscellany. [Motto.] . . . No. 1. Aberdeen, Saturday, December 12, 1846.

9 × 5½ in. Eight numbers, to March 12. Pp. 120. G. Cornwall.

British Museum.

Marischal College. [Bursary Competition papers. 1846-59.]

12½ × 8 in. 14 leaves. The papers set yearly in October.

Stuart, John. Essays, chiefly on Scottish antiquities. By the late John Stuart, Esquire, of Inchbreck, professor of Greek in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. With a brief sketch of the author's life. Aberdeen: printed by William Bennett. MDCCCXLVI.

9½ × 7½ in. Pp. xxx + 116. Three plates, one of these being a view of old Marischal College, from a sketch by A. Stuart. Pp. 1-40 contain the historical account of Marischal College contributed to Sinclair's *Statistical Account* in 1799; pp. 41-45 the sketch of the life of Dr. Duncan Liddel printed separately in 1790.

Thomson, David. Natural philosophy [Examination paper]. March 18, 1846.

15½ × 9¼ in. Single page. Believed to be the first regular class paper printed in Aberdeen. Thirty questions. For their effect, see Canon Low's *David Thomson* (*infra* 1894), p. 58.

1848.

Blackie, John Stuart. University reform: eight articles reprinted from the Scotsman newspaper; with a letter to Professor Pillans. By John S. Blackie, professor of humanity in Marischal College, Aberdeen. [Motto.] Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox . . . 1848.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 67 + [1].

Robertson, Patrick. Inaugural address of the Lord Rector of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. By Lord Robertson, LL.D. Delivered on 24th March, 1848. Aberdeen: Lewis Smith. . . . 1848.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 30. George Cornwall.

Aberdeen Universities' Magazine. The Aberdeen Universities' magazine, December, 1849—April, 1850. [Motto.] Aberdeen: published by John A. Wilson. . . . 1850.

9¾ × 6 in. Pp. [2] + 158. George Cornwall. Five numbers. Coloured covers. For a full account of this magazine, see *A Village Propaganda*, by Robert Harvey Smith (Edin., 1889), pp. 56-62; and *Alma Mater*, xxi. 121.

1849.

Gordon, John Thomson. Address delivered by Mr. Sheriff Gordon at the ceremony of his installation as the Lord Rector of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, on Friday, 23rd March, 1849. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. . . . 1849.

8¾ × 5¾ in. Pp. 18. W. Bennett.

— Address delivered by Mr. Sheriff Gordon, the Lord Rector of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, at the opening of the session, Thursday, 8th November, 1849. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. . . . 1849.

8¾ × 5¾ in. Pp. 11 + [1]. W. Bennett.

King's College. List of the medical graduates of the University and King's College, Aberdeen, from the year 1800 [to 1849].

8 × 5½ in. Pp. 16. Continued annually on leaves paged 17-26 down to 1860.

[**Martin, William.**] Notes on the foundation and history of Marischal College.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 3 + [1]. Signed "W. M., Marischal College, December 22, 1849".

1850.

Clark, Thomas. Suggestions for making more easy and more effective a union of the University of Old Aberdeen including King's College and the University of Aberdeen including Marischal College. By Thomas Clark, M.D.,

professor of chemistry in the University of Aberdeen. London: published by John Joseph Griffin & Co. . . . 1850.

8½ × 5 in. Pp. 22.

Henderson, William. Syllabus for the use of students attending the lectures on materia medica in Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. By William Henderson, M.D. Aberdeen: printed by Geo. Cornwall. . . . 1850.

8¼ × 5¼ in. Pp. 49 + [1].

Kilgour, Alexander. University reform. Letters to the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, on the constitution and government of the Scottish Universities. By Alexander Kilgour, M.D. Aberdeen: Lewis Smith. . . . 1850.

6½ × 4 in. Pp. iv + 5-33 + [1]. J. Finlayson, *Herald* Office.

Library. Rules of the University Library, Aberdeen. . . . King's College, October 16, 1850.

13¼ × 8¼ in. Broadsheet. 15 rules.

M'Taggart, David. Substance of an address delivered to the students of the faculty of arts and of medicine, on Sabbath afternoon, Dec. 23, 1849, in Greyfriars' church. By the Rev. David M'Taggart, A.M., minister of the parish. Aberdeen: printed by William Bennett. . . . 1850.

7 × 4¼ in. Pp. 20.

Pirrie, William. Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. Address to the students of medicine. By William Pirrie, M.D., F.R.S.E., regius professor of surgery in Marischal College. . . . Published at the request of the Senatus. Aberdeen: printed by Geo. Cornwall. . . . MDCCCL.

7¾ × 5 in. Pp. 14.

Templeton, William, and others. Memorial of certain of the medical lecturers in King's College and University, to the reverend and learned the Senatus of King's College, November, 1850.

8 × 5¼ in. Pp. 10 + [2]. Printed by George Rennie. Signed by Wm. Templeton, lecturer on materia medica; Robert Jamieson, medical jurisprudence; Geo. Rainy, midwifery; John Christie, institutes of medicine.

Thomson, Alexander. Outlines of a scheme for the union of King's and Marischal Colleges into one University. By Alexander Thomson of Banchory. Aberdeen: George Davidson. 1850.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 18. D. Chalmers and Co.

[**Thomson, David**]. Has Marischal College, in New Aberdeen, the power of conferring degrees in divinity, laws, and medicine? [Motto.] Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. . . . 1850.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 51 + [1]. W. Bennett.

1851.

Eglinton, Archibald, 13th *Earl of*. Address delivered by the Right Hon. the Earl of Eglinton and Winton, at the ceremony of his installation as the Lord Rector of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, on Tuesday, 18th March, 1851. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. . . . 1851.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 19 + [1]. D. Chalmers and Co.

Humanity Class Library. Catalogue of the Humanity class library, Marischal College. Supported by voluntary contribution. [Motto.] Aberdeen: printed at the Herald Office, by John Finlayson. MDCCCLI.

7¼ × 4¼ in. Pp. 14 + [2].

King's College. University and King's College [Programme of classes] . . . George Ferguson, Interim Secretary. October 2, 1851.

9½ × 8 in. Pp. 3 + [1]. The appended statement: "The University and King's College is the only Institution in Aberdeen which has the legal power of granting diplomas in Medicine," called forth the rejoinder by Professor Thomas Clark of Marischal College: *infra*, 1853.

1852.

Billings, Robert William. The baronial and ecclesiastical antiquities of Scotland. Illustrated by Robert William Billings, architect, 1845-52. In four volumes. . . . William Blackwood and Sons. . . . Edinburgh. . . .

11 × 8½ in. Four plates of King's College, with letterpress by John Hill Burton.

Blackie, John Stuart. On the studying and teaching of languages: two lectures delivered in the Marischal College of Aberdeen. By John Stuart Blackie . . . Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox . . . MDCCCLII.

8 × 5½ in. Pp. vi. + 48. The second lecture: *De linguarum discendarum ratione*.

Coutts, James. Fordyce lectureship on agriculture in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. Agricultural physiology: being a reprint of a review, published in December, 1850, of Dr. Kemp's treatise . . . By James Coutts, M.A. Aberdeen: printed by Geo. Cornwall. 1852.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 23 + [1].

[Duff, Andrew Halliday.] Who murdered Downie?

In *Household Words*, July 24, pp. 436-438.

King's College v. Hay of Seaton. Law papers.

In the House of Lords. (From the First Division of the Court of Session.) Dr. William Jack, principal, etc., Appellants; the Right Hon. Elizabeth Forbes Lady James Hay of Seaton, etc., Respondents. The Appellants' Case. (11¼ × 9 in. Pp. 56 + 8.)

1852, March 4. Opinions of consulted judges. (Pp. [2] + 63 + [1].)

1853, Feb. 10. Reclaiming note, Principal Jack and others against Lord Curriehill's interlocutor.

Maclure, Robert. Introductory lecture delivered to the students in humanity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, on November 1st, 1852. By Robert Maclure, LL.D., regius professor of humanity in Marischal College and University. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son. . . . 1852.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 23 + [1].

Ogilvie, George. An introductory lecture delivered at the opening of the medical session in Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, on November 1st, 1852. By George Ogilvie, M.D., lecturer on the institutes of medicine. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. . . . 1852.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 27 + [1]. W. Bennett.

1853.

Act of Parliament. An act to regulate the admission of professors to the lay chairs in the universities of Scotland. 16 and 17 Vict., c. 89. 20 August, 1853.

12½ × 7¾ in. Pp. 869-871. The declaration required by the Scots act of 1707 to be no longer necessary.

Carlisle, George, 7th Earl of. Address delivered by the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, at the ceremony of his installation as the Lord Rector of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, on Wednesday, 31st March, 1853. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son. . . . MDCCCLIII.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 18.

[**Clark, Thomas.**] The right of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, to confer degrees, not only in arts, as admitted, but in divinity, laws, and medicine, vindicated against the attacks of the responsible administrators of King's College and University, Old Aberdeen, and shewn to have been affirmed, more than a hundred years ago, by the House of Lords, as the supreme court of appeal, under the instructions of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. By one of the professors. Lewis Smith, Aberdeen. . . . MDCCCLIII.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 55 × [1]. D. Chalmers & Co.

MacGillivray, William. Catalogue of the collections in natural history which belonged to the deceased William MacGillivray, LL.D., professor of natural history in Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. 1853.

7 × 4½ in. Pp. [2] + 39 + [1].

Nicol, James. On the study of natural history as a branch of general education: an inaugural lecture at Marischal College. By James Nicol, F.R.S.E., F.G.S., professor of natural history in Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. . . . MDCCCLIII.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 32.

Thomson, Alexander. Biographical account of the late William MacGillivray, A.M., LL.D., regius professor of natural history in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. By Alexander Thomson, Esq., of Banchory, Aberdeen. . . . Edinburgh: printed by Neill and Company. MDCCLIII.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 20. Offprint from *Edin. New Phil.* 71. for April.

1854.

Aberdeen University Magazine. The Aberdeen University magazine, April. [Motto.] Aberdeen: A. & R. Milne. . . . 1854.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 128. George Cornwall. Only four numbers issued (in coloured paper covers) for April, May, June and July. No title page. The joint editors were Robert Stephen, M.A., divinity student, and Peter Moir Clark, magistrand. Among the contributors was William Duguid Geddes.

Blaikie, Sir Thomas, and Webster, John. Union of the Universities of King's and Marischal Colleges. Resolutions proposed in Committee of the Town Council of Aberdeen, by Provost Blaikie and Mr. Webster respectively. 3rd November, 1854.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 5 + [1].

Clark, Thomas. The union of the universities. A leading article from the Aberdeen Herald of January 14, 1854. Revised. Aberdeen: printed at the Herald Office, by John Finlayson, 1854.

6 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 12.

Cruikshank, John, and Clark, Thomas. Documents relating to the proposed union of the two universities in Aberdeen and Old Aberdeen.

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 in. Pp. 12. Preliminary letter dated 4th July, 1854.

Innes, Cosmo. *Fasti Aberdonenses.* Selections from the records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen. 1494-1854. Aberdeen: printed for the Spalding Club. MDCCLIV.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. [10] + xcii + 60 + 691 + [1]. Frontispiece: portrait of Elphinstone. A few copies on large paper with frontispiece in colour. William Bennett. The volume was presented to the Club by the Earl of Aberdeen, President. See *infra*, 1861, **Innes**. The portrait is from the copy by Alexander: also reproduced in Pinkerton's *Iconographia*, 1797; Garden's *Theatre*, 1878 (*infra*); *Old Glasgow*, 1894. A different copy is in Sir W. Fraser's *Lords Elphinstone*, 1897. The original is reproduced for the first time in this volume.

King's College. Explanatory statement by the committee on the union question, read at the meeting of the senatus of King's College, October 23rd, 1854. With alterations and additions.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 12.

Sykes, William Henry. Address delivered by Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Sykes, at the ceremony of his installation as the Lord Rector of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, on Thursday, 30th March, 1854. Aberdeen: printed at the Herald Office, by John Finlayson. MDCCCLIV.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 30.

Union of the Colleges. Documents relating to the proposed union of the two Universities in Aberdeen and Old Aberdeen, laid before the Town Council of Aberdeen. Ordered to be printed, 7th August, 1854. Aberdeen: printed by Wm. Bennett, 42 Castle Street. 1854.

8½ × 5¼ in. Pp. 50.

— The proposed constitution of the united University . . . June 16, 1854.
6¼ × 4 in. Pp. 8. Reprint of letter to *Aberdeen Herald*, signed "One of the minority in Marischal College".

1854-60.

Union of the Colleges. Aberdeen universities and colleges: papers relating to their union. 1854-60.

13 × 8 in. 6 pp. of Title and Contents, printed in 1897, for a collection of papers formed by Professor John Cruickshank and presented by his son, Alexander Cruickshank, LL.D., to the University Library. All those not detailed under separate headings are given below with their titles or docquets more or less condensed. The size is as above, unless otherwise noted.

1854, February. Interim report of joint committee of King's and Marischal Colleges, read 18th February, 1854. Pp. 7 + [1]. Signed W. R. Pirie.

August. Proposed heads of a bill for uniting King's College and Marischal College, as proposed by the joint committee. Pp. 8. Signed Andrew Fyfe, W. R. Pirie.

September. Draft act of parliament, August, 1854. Submitted by Alexander Kilgour, M.D., to Provost Blaikie. Pp. 4. With letter dated 18th September.

December 9. Memorial of the Town Council to the Earl of Aberdeen. Pp. [4].

1855, January 24. Memorial to the Earl of Aberdeen from a Head Court of the inhabitants held 12 Jan. 11½ × 7½ in. Pp. 8.

November 30. Report of a meeting of the Committee named by the Head Court. Pp. 3 + [1].

December. Extract minutes of Senatus of Marischal College, 23 Jan. to 29 Dec. 1855. 10 × 8 in. Pp. 3 + [1].

1856, May 10. Do., containing heads of a constitution for a University of Aberdeen. 10 × 8 in. Pp. 2.

May 22. Report of a deputation of graduates of King's College appointed to confer with the Senatus. 12¼ × 7 in. Pp. 4. Signed by Edward Woodford, Convener.

1858, May. Memorial to the Commission by the Committee reappointed by a Head Court 14th May, 1858. Pp. 4.

May. Petition against the Universities (Scotland) bill by the Head Court. Broad-sheet. 18½ × 13 in. Signed by Sir Thomas Blaikie.

May 18. Letter from Sir Thomas Blaikie to accompany Petition. 9 × 7½ in. 1 p.

June. Documents in support of Petition. 12¼ × 7½ in. In three parts: pp. [2] + 4, 3 + [1], 3 + [1].

June 1. Letter from Sir Thomas Blaikie to accompany Documents. 10 × 8 in. 1 p.

July. Addenda to Documents. 12¼ × 7½ in. 1 p.

List of 92 members of the House of Commons who voted in Committee for the preservation of the Colleges as Colleges of Arts, 25th June, 1858.

- July 10. Petition by principal and [five] professors of Marischal College against the suppression of the chairs in Arts either in King's or Marischal College. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. 1 p.
- July 7. Petition against the Bill by Lord Provost and Head Court. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. 1 p.
- July 2. Letter by Lord Provost to ministers of various parishes. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 8$ in. 1 p.
- October. Letter to Commissioners from Rev. James Bisset, D.D., with letter from Rev. James Paull. Pp. [4].
- December 14. Memorial to Commission by Committee appointed at Head Courts of 12 Jan. 1855, and 14 May, 1858. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. Pp. 10.
- 1859, January 24. Letter to Secretary of Commission from Senatus of Marischal College. Memorial to Commissioners by Town Council. Pp. 4.
- Second memorial by Committee appointed at Head Courts. 1 p.
- Memorial to Commissioners by principal and five professors of Marischal College. Pp. 3 + [3].
- January 26. Third memorial by Senatus of Marischal College. Pp. [4].
- Extract act of Town Council making over site and revenues of Greyfriars place, 24 Sept. 1593.
- March 26. Curious exposure : from the *Aberdeen Herald* of 26 March, 1859. Pp. 4.
- May. Two letters by J. D. Milne, junior. Pp. 3 + [1].
- April 18. Universities, Aberdeen. Memoranda. Pp. 3 + [1].
- April 29. Petition to the Queen in Council by the Town Council. Pp. 4 + [2].
- April 30. Petition to the Queen in Council by the Senatus of Marischal College. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8$ in. Pp. 12 + 2.
- Aberdeen Colleges. On the disadvantages of large classes in Arts. By the late Bishop Russell of Glasgow. Pp. 2.
- July 1. Memorial by Committee of Senatus of Marischal College against the ordinances of 12th March. Pp. 2 + [2].
- July 22. Report by Commissioners on sundry petitions. Pp. 19 + [1].
- August 9. List of apartments in Marischal College. Pp. 2 + [2].
- August 11. Number of students for the last seven years given in the Report of Commissioners printed in 1858. Pp. 3 + [1].
- Number of students at Marischal College, 1857/58. Pp. [6].
- Memorial to the Earl of Derby by the Town Council. Pp. 2 + [2].
- Statement for the Town Council and citizens. Pp. 3 + [1].
- 1860, January 10, 30. The College question. Letters by Edward Woodford. Pp. 4 (11×8 in.); 4.
- January 10. Petition by graduates of King's College. Pp. 2.
- January 10. Notes with financial tables relating to ordinances of 12 Mar., 1859, and 9 Jan., 1860. Pp. 9 (one side only).
- February 25. Petition to Queen in Council by Senatus of Marischal College. Pp. 2 + [2].
- Financial statement for the petitioners. Pp. 2 + [2].
- Financial tables and memoranda relating to the Ordinances. Pp. 4.
- March 31. Financial notes and tables relating to the Ordinances. Pp. 15 + [1].
- June 5. Financial notes and tables relating to the Ordinances. By a committee of Senatus of Marischal College. Pp. 14 + [2].
- Petition of inhabitants of Aberdeen in favour of bill to amend Universities (Scotland) Act. Pp. [4].
- May 2. Our Colleges : the County Memorial. From *Aberdeen Journal* of May 2. $10 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 3 + [1].
- May 9. Report by Commissioners on petitions relating to Ordinances. Pp. 14 + [2].
- May 15. Memorandum by William Ramage, architect. Pp. [4].
- July. In the Privy Council : Case for the Town Council, etc., petitioners against the Ordinances. Pp. 40 + [2].
- October 23. Queries for the Town Council anent mortifications ; and opinion of Counsel. Pp. 3 + [1].
- Petition to Queen in Council by inhabitants against Ordinances. Pp. [4].
- Comparative cost of the commissioners scheme, and of a modified scheme. Pp. 8 + [2].

1855.

Citizen. A letter to Alexander Kilgour, Esq., M.D., containing some strictures on the speech delivered at the public meeting in the Court House, on Friday, the 12th January, on the subject of university union. Aberdeen: A. & R. Milne. . . . 1855.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 9 + [1]. William Bennett. Signed "A citizen".

[**Brazier, James Smith.**] Analytical tables, arranged expressly for the use of the students attending the practical class of chemistry in Marischal College and University. By James S. Brazier, F.C.S. Aberdeen. 1855.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. [68]. *Herald Office*. Revised editions in 1861 (G. Cornwall & Sons); 1870 (A. Brown & Co.)

1856.

Bouverie, Edward Pleydell, and Thompson, George. A bill to provide for the union of the Universities of King's College and Marischal College, Aberdeen. (Prepared and brought in by Mr. Bouverie and Mr. Thompson.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25 June, 1856.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 9 + [1].

Cruickshank, John, and Clark, Thomas. Heads of a scheme for uniting the two universities in Aberdeen and Old Aberdeen into one University, comprising King's and Marischal Colleges. Respectfully submitted to the principals and professors of both colleges by Doctors Cruickshank and Clark of Marischal College. . . . May 3, 1856.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 8.

King's College. List of persons admitted to the degree of Master of Arts in the University and King's College of Aberdeen, from the year 1800 inclusive. Aberdeen: printed by William Bennett. . . . 1856.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 57 + [1]. This list was prepared (mainly by Principal P. C. Campbell, and Substitute Professor John Fyfe) for the election of a Rector on 13 Nov. 1856 (*Off. and Grad.* p. 21).

Medical Licences. Return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 11 April, 1856: for Returns from . . . King's College and Marischal College at Aberdeen. . . . Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 17 July, 1856.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 92. Parliamentary paper. Aberdeen on pp. 47-52.

1857.

Bursaries. Deeds of foundation of bursaries at the University and King's College, Aberdeen. Printed by order of the Senatus Academicus. Aberdeen: printed by A. King & Co., 'Free Press' Office . . . 1857.

9¾ × 6¾ in. Pp. [2] + iv. + 5-68.

Henderson, William. Address delivered at the commencement of the medical session in Marischal College and University, on the 2nd November, 1857. By Wm. Henderson, M.D., lecturer on materia medica. Printed by request. Aberdeen: printed by William Bennett. . . . 1857.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 15 + [1].

Inglis, John. Inaugural discourse delivered to the graduates of King's College, Aberdeen, on his installation as Lord Rector, October 14, 1857. By John Inglis, LL.D., Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. Edinburgh: printed by William Blackwood & Sons. MDCCCLVII.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 24. Reprinted in the 1902 collection, p. 92.

Kilgour, Alexander. The Scottish universities, and what to reform in them. By Alexander Kilgour, M.D. Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox. . . . MDCCCLVII.

9 × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. vi + 3-66. D. Chalmers and Co. A revised edition of his "Letters" of 1850.

[Walker, George, *advocate*.] Notes on the constitutions of universities, with reference to the rights of the Scottish graduates. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: printed at the Herald Office. . . . 1857.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 67 + [1].

1858.

Aberdeen Universities Commission, 1857. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Universities of Aberdeen, with a view to their union. Together with the evidence and appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Edinburgh: printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Thomas Constable. 1858.

13 × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + 177 + [1]. The Commissioners recommended the union of the Universities, but the retention of separate classes of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics.

Act of Parliament. An act to make provision for the better government and discipline of the Universities of Scotland, and improving and regulating the course of study therein; and for the union of the two Universities and Colleges of Aberdeen. 21 and 22 Vict., c. 83. 2 August, 1858.

12 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 625-639. The union of the Aberdeen Universities became operative on 15th September, 1860, under Ordinance No. 7 of the Commissioners appointed by the Act.

[Clark, Thomas.] Aberdeen Universities Commission. Sequel to Dr. Clark's oral evidence. Additions offered by the witness on making verbal corrections of his evidence.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 4. Signed "T. C., January 30, 1858".

King's College Buildings. Proposal to restore and improve the buildings of King's College, Aberdeen. Explanatory statement. . . . 29th January, 1858.
13 × 8 in. Pp. 3 + [1].

Stanhope, Philip, 5th Earl. Address delivered by Earl Stanhope, at the ceremony of his installation as the Lord Rector of Marischal College & University, Aberdeen. On Thursday, March 25, 1858. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. . . . 1858.

7½ × 5 in. Pp. 31 + [1]. G. Cornwall and Sons. Reprinted in the 1902 collection, p. 107.

Student. The Student: a literary magazine. Session 1857-58. Aberdeen: Robert Walker. . . . 1858.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. iv + 162. A. King and Co. Ten numbers. 14th November, 1857, to 20th March, 1858.

1859.

Act of Parliament. An act to remove doubts as to admission to the office of principal in the Universities of Scotland. 22 and 23 Vict., c. 24. 13 August, 1859.

12½ × 7¾ in. Pp. 159-160. The principal of Aberdeen University to be no longer required to make the declaration required by the Scots Act of 1707.

Airlie, David, 7th Earl of. Address delivered by the Earl of Airlie at the ceremony of his installation as Lord Rector of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, on Thursday, March 17, 1859. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. . . . 1859.

7½ × 5 in. Pp. 44. G. Cornwall and Sons.

Anderson, Alexander. The Scottish university system: problem of reconciling the elevation of its standard with the maintenance of its public utility: with a reference to the question of college fusion in Aberdeen. By Alexander Anderson, A.M., Old Aberdeen. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black; G. Davidson, Aberdeen.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 22 + [2].

[**Bothwell, George B.**] A letter to the working classes of Aberdeen: showing the deep interest they have in the union of King's and Marischal Colleges. By a lover of truth. [Motto.] Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. 1859.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 18. G. Cornwall & Sons. A second edition appeared in the same year, with pp. 23 + [1].

[**Forsyth, William.**] The midnight meetin'.

15 × 9½ in. Broad sheet. 69 verses. Reprinted (two editions) as "The midnight meetin' in defence o' Marischal College. This report whairof is dedicat' to the committee of citizens for that ilk. Aberdeen: Robert Walker, 92, Braidgate" (6¼ × 4¼ in. Pp. 20. 176 verses, together with the 27 lines "Bonailie, O Bonailie"). Also reprinted as "Ye midnight meetin' o' ye ghaists in defence o' aul' Yerl Marischal's College, wi' marginal notes" in *Selections from the writings of the late William Forsyth*. Aberdeen: 1882.

Maitland, Edward Francis, and Clark, Andrew Rutherford. Universities of Aberdeen. Speeches of the Solicitor-General (Maitland) and Mr. A. Rutherford Clark against the ordinance of the Scottish Universities Commissioners, of date 12th March, 1859. . . . Heard before the Commissioners at Edinburgh on the 4th July, 1859. Aberdeen: printed by John Avery. . . . MDCCCLIX.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 46. Second edition issued in the same year: pp. iv + 5-48.

Murder by Jest. In Beeton's *Boys' Own Magazine*, iii., 250.

A version of the Downie legend.

Palmer, Roundell. Universities of Aberdeen. Speech of Mr. Roundell Palmer, Q.C., as counsel for the petitioners against an ordinance of the Scottish Universities' Commissioners, of date 12th March, 1859, as to the Universities and colleges of Aberdeen. Heard before a committee of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, at Whitehall, London, on 15th August, 1859. Aberdeen: Printed by D. Chalmers and Company. . . . MDCCCLIX.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 14 + [2].

Paul, William. Letter to the honourable the University Commissioners for Scotland on the subject of duplicate classes in the faculty of arts in the Aberdeen University. . . . By William Paul, D.D., minister of Banchory Devenick. Aberdeen: Lewis and James Smith.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 23 + [1]. James Brown, *Herald Office*.

[**Smith, Patrick.**] A lay of the "Aulton". Air "Bonnie Dundee". (Dedicated without permission to the "Aberdeen Herald".) To the Lords' Commission 'twas Thomson that spoke. . . .

8½ × 5½ in. A leaflet with four stanzas, distributed by "Blin' Bob". Smith was M.A. King's Coll., 1860 (*Off. and Grad.* 311; *S. N. and Q.* 2, v. 172).

186-

Senatus. Report of the Committee on the tenure of bursaries.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 8. Arthur King & Co.

Wilson, Robert. Excerpts from the last will and codicils of Dr. Robert Wilson, so far as relates to the constitution of the trust and the purposes thereof, connected with the University of Aberdeen.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 8.

1860.

Mackray, William. The Blackwell prize essay for 1860. On the causes that have retarded the progress of the Reformation. By Rev. William Mackray, A.M. . . . London: E. Marlborough & Co. . . . 1860.

7½ × 5 in. Pp. [8] + 100. See *supra*, 1829.

Maitland, Edward Francis, and Clark, Andrew Rutherford. Universities of Aberdeen. Speeches of the Solicitor-General (Maitland) and Mr. A. Rutherford Clark, at the hearing (under remit from Her Majesty's Privy Council) of petitioners against certain ordinances of the Scottish Universities Commission, dated 12th March, 1859, and 9th and 10th January, 1860, at Edinburgh on Monday, April 9, 1860. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable. . . . MDCCCLX.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 48.

Medical Degrees. Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. Regulations for granting medical degrees. [1860.]

8¾ × 5½ in. Pp. 3 + [1]. D. Chalmers & Co.

Ogston, Francis. Syllabus of the course of lectures on medical logic, delivered in the University of Aberdeen. By Francis Ogston, professor of medical logic and medical jurisprudence. Aberdeen: John Smith. . . . MDCCCLX.

5½ × 4½ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. A. King & Co. Passed through several editions: the fourth in 1866: pp. 36.

Sykes, William Henry, and others. A bill to amend An act to make provision for . . . the union of the two Universities and Colleges of Aberdeen. (Prepared and brought in by Colonel Sykes, the Earl of March, Lord Haddo, and Mr. Edward Ellice.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6 March, 1860.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. 5 + [1]. Did not become law.

Youngson, Thomas Alexander William Andrew. At a meeting of gentlemen who had attended the "Class," Marischal College, commencing session 1847-48, and ending session 1850-51, held at Aberdeen, the 12th day of October, 1860, Rev. Alex. Gray, Preses: It was resolved . . . Thos. A. W. A. Youngson, Secretary.

10 × 8 in. Pp. [4]. A list of members of the Class on pp. 2, 3, being the earliest Class Record connected with the University.

1861.

Bain, Alexander. English extracts.

Not seen: *infra*, 1866.

Barclay, James William. Records of the bageant class of Marischal College & University, Aberdeen. Session 1848-49. Aberdeen: printed by G. Cornwall & Sons. 1861.

7½ × 4½ in. Pp. 32. Coloured paper cover with view and arms of Marischal College.

Classical Library. Supplement to Catalogue of Classical library, University of Aberdeen, 1861-62.

8¾ × 6¾ in. Pp. 4. A. King & Co. Books numbered 265 to 639. Nos. 311 to 611 being from the Humanity class library, Marischal College. See *supra*, 1851.

Food for thought. Food for thought. A new theory of the nervous system. By a student of the University of Aberdeen. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: George Davidson. 1861.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 15 + [1]. A. King & Co. Read at a meeting of a Literary and Philosophical Society, and dedicated to the students of the University.

Innes, Cosmo. Sketches of early Scotch history and social progress. . . . By C. Innes. Edinburgh: Edmonstone & Douglas. 1861.

8½ × 5¼ in. Pp. xx + 624. Pp. 254-324 reproduce the Preface to the *Fasti Aberdonenses* of 1854.

Maitland, Edward Francis. Inaugural address by Edward Francis Maitland, LL.D., rector of the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas. MDCCCLXI.

8¾ × 5½ in. Pp. 23 + [1]. Reprinted in the 1902 Collection. Maitland was afterwards Lord Barcaple.

[**Nicol, James,**] Tables of classification of the animal kingdom. [1861.]

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 15 + [1]. A. King & Co. For use in the class. Several editions.

Ogston, Francis. Outlines of lectures on medical jurisprudence in the University of Aberdeen. [1861.]

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 26, with title on cover. King and Co.

Rectorship. The rectorship. Defence of the students of the University of Aberdeen. By a student. Aberdeen: George Davidson. . . . 1861.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 16. G. Cornwall & Sons. A protest against the election of Mr. E. F. Maitland.

Students. University of Aberdeen. Session 1861-62. Students of first year. Week from . . . to . . .

9 × 5¾ in. Pp. 7 + [1]. Students in arts. A similar alphabetical list, to serve as a class roll, seems to have been printed for every session down to 1892/93, after which the old "class" disappeared.

Thomson, Alexander. To the Right Hon. the Lord Justice Clerk, Chairman of the Scottish Universities Commission.

12½ × 8 in. Pp. 4. A letter dated 15th February, 1861, regarding natural history as a subject for degree of M.A.

University Court. Minutes. See *infra*, 1887.

1862.

Act of Parliament. An act to alter and amend the Universities (Scotland) act in so far as relates to the bequest of the late Doctor Alexander Murray in the University of Aberdeen. 25 and 26 Vict., c. 28. 30 June, 1862.

12¾ × 7½ in. Pp. 277-8.

Brazier, James Smith. Syllabus of course of lectures on chemistry as delivered by James S. Brazier, F.C.S., professor of chemistry in the University of Aberdeen. [1862.]

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. [2] + 46, printed on one side only.

[**Fyfe, John.**] Catalogue of books which have been added to the University Library, Aberdeen, from the 1st January, 1857, to the 20th of August, 1862. Aberdeen: printed by Arthur King and Company, printers to the University. 1862.

8¼ × 5¼ in. Pp. 47 + [1]. John Fyfe, M.A. (King's Coll.), 1848; LL.D., 1895; professor-substitute of moral philosophy, 1854; appointed Librarian 23rd April, 1857. Eleven similar Catalogues of annual additions were issued in the years 1863 to 1873.

Medical Degrees. Medical education including preliminary or general education, and graduation in medicine and surgery in the University of Aberdeen, etc., etc. University of Aberdeen. 1862.

8¾ × 6½ in. Pp. 15 + [1]. A. King & Co.

Seafield, John, 7th Earl of. Collection of extracts from newspapers on the bursary ordinances.

Not seen. (*Report of 1858 Commissioners*, p. 257.)

1863.

Bain, Alexander. The methods of debate, an address delivered to the Aberdeen University Debating Society. By Alexander Bain, A.M., professor of logic. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. . . . MDCCCLXIII.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 38. Arthur King and Co.

[**Beaton, Patrick.**] A chapter showing how Lord P—— became our Lord Rector.

In *Fraser's Magazine*, July, 1863, pp. 46-62. Lord P——, = Patrick Robertson. See 1902 *Rectorial Addresses*, p. 357.

[**Geddes, William Duguid.**] Notes on the bursary ordinances, (University of Aberdeen), and specially on the conversion of bursary funds into scholârships. By a professor in arts. Aberdeen: John Smith. . . . 1863.

8 × 5¼ in. Pp. 15 + [1]. Arthur King & Co.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1858. General report of the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858. With an appendix containing ordinances, minutes, reports on special subjects, and other documents. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Edinburgh: printed . . . for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1863.

13 × 8¾ in. Pp. xlvii + [3] + 290. A Parliamentary paper. The seventh ordinance of these Commissioners constituted the "University of Aberdeen," dating from 15th September, 1860.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1858. Ordinances of the Scottish Universities Commissioners, relating to the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh. . . . [1863.]

12½ × 8 in. A title page printed to accompany sets of the ordinances special to Aberdeen.

Valentine, James. A society of Aberdeen philosophers one hundred years ago.

In *Macmillan's Magazine*, Oct. 1863, pp. 436-444. Reprinted in *Trans. Aberd. Philos. Soc.* iii. pp. ix-xxiv. See *S. N. and Q.*, Apr. 1900, p. 156.

Wilson, John. Index to the acts and proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland . . . By the Rev. John Wilson. . . . Edinburgh MDCCCLXIII.

The following entries may be noted:—

1715, 12. The Commission instructed to apply to Government for the right application of bursaries and mortifications in colleges, particularly at Aberdeen, and for recovery of what thereof is misapplied.

1730, 15. Anent the right of the Marischall College of Aberdeen to send a commissioner to the General Assembly.

1735, 6, 11. Anent the qualifications of students presented to the Ramsay bursaries in Aberdeen.

1736, 11. A process relating to the settlement of a professor of divinity in the King's College, Aberdeen.

1835. Committee to watch over a Bill relating to King's and Marischall College, Aberdeen.

1837-8. Recommended that the duration of the session in the theological classes at Aberdeen ought to be not less than five months, and that a professorship of biblical criticism be instituted.

1852, ult. The Presbytery of Aberdeen to communicate with the two universities within their bounds on the subject of theological education.

1864.

Calendar. The Aberdeen University Calendar for the year 1864/65. Printed by John Avery, and published by D. Wyllie & Son, Aberdeen. . . . 1864.

7 × 4¾ in. Title; Part I., pp. 3-51 + [1]; Part II., pp. 29 + [1]. Henceforth published annually: Part II. forming the variable half.

1869/70. List of bursars in Arts, 1868-69, introduced in Part II.

1870/71. Part I. reprinted, with Lists of former Officials of King's and Marischall Colleges. Pp. xviii + 52.

1872/73. Part II. now includes papers set at Bursary Competition, 1871.

1878/79. Part I. reprinted. Pp. [2] + vi + 82. Part II. now includes Bursary List, 1878.

1879/80. Part II. now includes a Financial Statement, a list of Donations to the Library, Examination papers for Degrees in medicine, 1878.

1880/81. Part II. announces Local Examinations.

1881/82. Division into Parts abandoned. Pp. xiv + 174; Appendices [2] + 89 + [1]. Lists of Students' Societies included.

1882/83. Printed by A. King & Co., Printers to the University.

1885/86. Examination papers for M.A. now given.

1889/90. Appendix G: "The armorial bearings of the University".

- 1891/92. Supplement containing the new ordinances.
- 1893/94. Appendix B. "Notes on the University Libraries," by P. J. Anderson. Preliminary examination papers now included. The list of Members of General Council now gives full addresses and dates of qualifying degrees. Price 2s. 6d.
- 1894/95. Appendix B: "Additions to General Library," continued in subsequent issues. Appendix I: "King's College Chapel. Schemes for restoration and improvement."
- 1896/97. Appendix B includes "Classified list of current serials. Appendix L: Short Record of Celebrations of October, 1895."
- 1898/99. Calendar again divided into parts. Part I., the permanent portion: pp. viii + 126. Part II., the current portion: pp. xviii + 418. Supplement.
- 1900/01. Accessions to Library and List of General Council now form Appendices A and B.
- 1901/02. Printed by The Aberdeen University Press Limited. Pp. xviii; Part I., pp. 168 + [2]; Part II., pp. 171-548 + 1-206. Appendix N: "Sir W. D. Geddes Memorial". Price 3s. 6d.
- 1902/03. Appendix N: "The Carnegie Trust". Appendix P: "Aberdeen University Studies".
- 1905/06. Total pages 858 as against 82 in 1864/1865.
- See 1900, **Johnston, W.**

Infirmary. Aberdeen Royal Infirmary. Report on clinical teaching in the hospital; with letters from medical and surgical staff, &c. &c. G. Cornwall and Sons.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 28. Dated 18th April, 1864.

Masson, David. Old Marischal College. Dr. William Knight. . . .
In *Macmillan's Magazine*, Feb. 1864, pp. 325-334.

1865.

Abel, John. A letter to the Right Hon. Earl Russell, K.G., Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen, on the course of study in the faculty of arts in that University. By Rev. John Abel, A.M., minister of Forgue. [1865].

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 28.

Buildings. Statement in reference to the buildings of the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh: printed by John Hughes. . . . 1865.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. Signed by the Chancellor (Duke of Richmond), Rector (Earl Russell), two ex-Rectors (John Inglis and E. F. Maitland), and Principal (P. C. Campbell).

[**Duff, Andrew Halliday.**] A bundle of Scotch notes.

In *All the Year Round*, November 4; vol. xiv., pp. 349-353.

Dunbar, E. Dunbar. Social life in former days, chiefly in the Province of Moray. . . . By E. Dunbar Dunbar. . . . Edinburgh MDCCCLV.

9 × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. viii + 422. "Education" [King's College], pp. 1-16.

Macdonald, George. Alec Forbes of Howglen. By George Macdonald, M.A. . . . In three volumes. London: Hurst and Blackett. . . . 1865.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + 394; [4] + 300; [4] + 300. This and the same author's *Robert Falconer* (*infra* 1868) give pictures of King's College life in the forties. George Macdonald was M.A., 1845; LL.D., 1868.

Medical Students' Society. Laws of the Aberdeen University Medical Students' Society, 1865.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 14. A. King & Co.

1866.

Bain, Alexander. English extracts : supplementary to a Manual of English composition and rhetoric. By Alexander Bain, M.A., professor of logic in the University of Aberdeen. London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1866.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. iv + 64. A. King & Co. For use in the class. Extracts in both prose and verse. A collection of prose extracts was issued in 1870 (English extracts ; pp. 64 ; beginning with Helps) ; another, also of prose, in 1876 (Illustrative extracts, 1876 ; pp. 64 ; beginning with Swinburne) ; another, of verse, in 1878.

Library, 1866. University of Aberdeen. Site of the library. Brief statement in support of the representations made by the General Council of the University, of dates October, 1862, and April, 1866. Printed at the Aberdeen Herald Office, by James Brown.

8 × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 13 + [1]. See *Aurora Borealis*, p. 215.

1867.

Duff, Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant. Inaugural address delivered to the University of Aberdeen on his installation as rector, March 22, 1867. By Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, member for the Elgin district of burghs. Edinburgh : Edmonstone and Douglas. . . . 1867.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 50.

1868.

Act of Parliament. An act for the amendment of the representation of the people in Scotland. 31 and 32 Vict., c. 48. 13 July, 1868.

12 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 421-458. The franchise conferred on the members of General Council of the Scottish Universities.

[**Bain, Alexander.**] Thomas Clark, M.D., last professor of chemistry in Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. Read before the Royal Chemical Society, 30th March, 1868, and reprinted from the *Journal of the Society*.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 12. Offprint, with title on cover.

Duff, Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant. Address with regard to the Bursary Competition, delivered 9th October, 1868. By Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, M.P., Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen : printed by D. Chalmers and Company. . . . MDCCCLXVIII.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 13 + [3]. Delivered to University Court.

General Council. List of members of General Council of Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities . . . who have intimated their intention to support the election of the Right Hon. the Lord Advocate, Edward S. Gordon, as Member of Parliament for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. . . . 8th July, 1868.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 20.

— University of Aberdeen. General Council. 1st October, 1868. Aberdeen: printed by Arthur King and Company. . . . 1868.

13 × 8 in. Pp. 35 + [1]. Some copies bear "19th Nov. 1868 to 31st Dec. 1869".

King's College. University of Aberdeen. Election, 1868. King's College students, who likely attended four years, but did not receive A.M.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 26. Printed on one side only. Students of 1800-61.

— University of Aberdeen. Election, 1868. Masters of Arts of King's College, never registered as members of General Council.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 12. Printed on one side only. Supplementary to *List of persons*, 1856, *supra*.

Macdonald, George. Robert Falconer. By George Macdonald, LL.D. . . . In three volumes. London: Hurst and Blackett. . . . 1868.

7¾ × 5¼ in. Pp. vi. + 326; vi. + 303 + [1]; vi. + 306. See 1865 *supra*.

Marischal College. University of Aberdeen. Election, 1868. Magistrands of Marischal College who did not receive A.M., but likely studied four years.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 15 + [1]. Printed on one side only. Students of 1800-61.

— University of Aberdeen. Election, 1868. Masters of Arts, Marischal College, Aberdeen, who have never been registered as members of the General Council.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 33 + [1]. Printed on one side only. Students of 1800-60.

Martin, William. Moral evidence and its relation to religion. The introductory address to the Aberdeen University Debating Society, session 1868-69. By William Martin, A.M., professor of moral philosophy, University of Aberdeen. . . . Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. . . . MDCCCLXVIII.

7¼ × 4½ in. Pp. 21 + [1].

Moncrieff, James. Speech of James Moncrieff, Esq., M.P., LL.D., dean of the faculty of advocates, delivered at a meeting of members of the General Council of the University of Aberdeen, on Tuesday, 1st September, 1868. . . . Aberdeen: printed by G. Cornwall and Sons. 1868.

8¾ × 5½ in. Pp. 25 + [1]. Moncrieff became the first member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities.

Nicol, James. Our higher education: its necessity and nature. An address to the Aberdeen University Debating Society, delivered at the opening of the session 1867-68. . . . By James Nicol, F.R.S.E., F.G.S., professor of natural history in the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. . . . MDCCCLXVIII.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. Arthur King and Co.

[**Rettie, James.**] Aberdeen fifty years ago; being a series of twenty-one engravings of buildings in and that were about Aberdeen; along with wood engravings of some of the wells, &c., &c. [Quotation]. Aberdeen: Lewis Smith. . . . 1868.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. viii + 129 + [1]. G. Cornwall & Sons. The plates include King's and Marischal Colleges.

[**Riddell, James.**] Aberdeen and its folk, from the 20th to the 50th year of the present century. By a son of Bon-accord in North America. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: Lewis Smith. . . . 1868.

6½ × 4 in. Pp. viii + 136. D. Chalmers & Co. Chapter II.: School and College days. Riddell was at Mar. Coll., 1830-33.

University v. Irvine of Drum. Law papers.

In the House of Lords (from the First Division of the Court of Session). The University, etc., Appellants; Alexander Forbes Irvine of Drum, Respondent. The Appellants' Case. (10½ × 8¾ in. Pp. 264 + [2]).

——— The Respondent's Case. (Pp. 94 + [2].)

——— March 26, 1868. Judgment. (13¼ × 8¼ in. Pp. 11 + [1].)

An action anent Sir Alexander Irvine's mortification for bursaries dated 1630 (*Fasti*, i. 217).

Woodford, Edward. Remarks on the bursary competition, submitted through the Aberdeen University Court to the Senatus Academicus, 14th November, 1868. By Edward Woodford, LL.D., Lord Chancellor's Assessor in the University Court. Edinburgh: MDCCCLXVIII.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 14. Edward Woodford, M.A. King's Coll., 1824; LL.D., 1843; H.M. Inspector of Schools; Chancellor's Assessor, 1864-69.

1869.

[**Chalmers, Patrick Henderson.**] Records of bajeant class, Marischal College, session 1854-55. [1869.]

10 × 8 in. Pp. [8] + 23 + [1]. One plate of photographs. G. Cornwall and Sons. See *infra*, 1879, **Crombie**.

Geddes, William Duguid. Classical education in the North of Scotland. By Wm. D. Geddes, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen. [Motto]. Edinburgh: Edmonstone & Douglas. Aberdeen: John Smith. 1869.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. [2] + 69 + [1]. A. King & Co. Address to senior Greek class at opening of session 1869-70.

——— Draft of scheme for transference and cataloguing of the University Library.

10 × 8 in. Pp. 2.

General Council. Minutes. See 1898, *infra*.

Inglis, Andrew. Introductory address on midwifery, delivered at Aberdeen University, October 27, 1869. By Andrew Inglis, M.D., F.R.C.S. Edin., professor of midwifery. Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Company. . . . 1869.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 27 + [1]. Inglis was M.D. Edin., 1859.

Kerr, John. Aberdeen graduation and its lessons.

Offprint from *Edinburgh Courant* of November 16. Mr. Kerr became Senior Inspector of Schools.

[**Minto, William.**] The claims of classical studies whether as information or as training. By a Scotch graduate. Aberdeen: John Adam. . . . 1869.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + 44. John Avery. Minto, M.A., 1865, LL.D. (St. And.), 1892, was in 1869 assistant to Professor Bain; professor of logic 1880-1893 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

Struthers, John. Notes on medical education: being replies to the inquiries addressed to teachers by the General Medical Council. By John Struthers, M.D., F.R.C.S., professor of anatomy in the University of Aberdeen. . . . Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers and Company. . . . 1869.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 14.

1870.

Black, John. Hints on the origin and significance of certain educational terms. An address delivered to the Aberdeen University Debating Society, on 12th November, 1869. By the Rev. John Black, M.A., professor of humanity. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. . . . MDCCCLXX.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1].

Buchanan, William. Glimpses of olden days in Aberdeen, being sketches from memory of incidents and characters in and about Aberdeen during the last fifty years. By William Buchanan. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: printed for the author at "Free Press" Office. 1870.

$6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. Pp. viii + 9-181 + [1]. Portrait. Chapter XV.: Dr. Kidd, etc.

Demogeot, Jacques, and Montucci, Heinrich. De l'enseignement supérieur en Angleterre et en Ecosse. Rapport adressé à Son Exc. M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique par MM. J. Demogeot . . . et H. Montucci . . . Paris. Imprimerie impériale. MDCCCLXX.

$10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + iv + 733 + [1]. Aberdeen, pp. 500-504.

Senatus. Observations by the Senatus Academicus of the University of Aberdeen relative to the establishment of new examining boards, proposed to the General Medical Council by its committee on professional education, 1869.

$8 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 8. A. King & Co.

1871.

Grant, Charles. Notes on schools and colleges in America, from a summer tour in 1868. An address delivered to the Aberdeen University Debating Society, November 1870. By the Rev. Charles Grant, M.A., assistant professor of Latin. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Company. . . . 1871.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 39 + [1]. *Free Press Office.*

Historical Manuscripts Commission. Second report of the Royal Commission on historical manuscripts. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode. . . . 1871.

15 × 8½ in. Pp. xxii + 349 + [1]. A Parliamentary paper: [C. 441]. Dr. John Stuart's Report on the Records and Manuscripts of the University of Aberdeen is on pp. 199-201.

Neill, Edward D. Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland, Rector elect of the first projected college in the United States, a chapter of the English colonization of America. By Edward D. Neill. . . . [Quotation.] New York, Charles Scribner & Co. . . . 1871.

8 × 5½ in. Pp. viii. + 9-96. See *S. N. & Q.* vii. 76, 107.

Scott, Andrew. Catalogue of the sale of the library of Professor Scott. 1871.

Not seen. Partly prepared by William Robertson Smith (*Aberdeen Journal*, 1st February, 1871; *Aberdeen Adva'*, p. 261).

Smith, John. Memoir of John Milne, M.D., late president of the Medical Board, Bombay; founder of the medical bursary at Aberdeen University; and of the "Milne Bequest" to the parochial schools of Aberdeenshire. By John Smith, A.M., advocate in Aberdeen. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. . . . 1871.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. viii + 134. Portrait. G. Cornwall & Sons.

1872.

Aberdeen Medical Student. The Aberdeen medical student. . . . Printed by Arthur King & Co. . . . published by Robert Walker . . . and by James Mackay.

10½ × 8½ in. Twenty numbers, Nov. 6, 1872, to Aug. 1, 1873. Pp. 240, with an extra Rectorial number (*Huxley v. Huntly*) of 8 pp., Dec. 4, 1872. See *Alma Mater*, xxi. 122.

Geddes, William Duguid. The philologic uses of the Celtic tongue. An address delivered by W. D. Geddes, M.A., professor of Greek, University of Aberdeen, to the University Celtic Debating Society. Aberdeen: A. & R. Milne; A. Brown & Co. 1872.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 22. See 1874, *infra*.

Here, there, and everywhere.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Four nos., of which only No. 4 (pp. 7 + [1]) has been seen. A rectorial skit.

Medical Student's Shaver. The medical student's shaver. No. 1. January, 1872.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 16. See *Alma Mater*, xxi. 122.

Parker, John. At a Class dinner of the students who attended the curriculum of arts at Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, commencing session 1852-3, and ending 1855-6, held in the Northern Hotel, on the 30th day of March, 1871. . . . It was resolved. . . . Secretary, John Parker, Esq., Advocate, 52 Skene Terrace, Aberdeen.

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [4]. Pp. 2, 3 give a list of the members of the Class, "revised at Class Dinner on 5 January, 1872". Similar issues appeared after dinners on 5 January, 1874; 5 January, 1875; 28 January, 1880; 6 February, 1888; 27 February, 1891; 12th September, 1895.

1873.

Aberdeen University Gazette. The Aberdeen university gazette. . . . Printed by A. King & Co. . . . and published by James Mackay.

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Nine numbers, Dec. 5, 1873, to Mar. 20, 1874. Pp. 108, with an extra Rectorial number (Forster *v.* Lindsay) of 4 pp. undated, but issued in 1875. See *Alma Mater*, xxi. 123.

[**Besant, Sir Walter, and Rice, James.**] *My little girl.* 3 vols. . . . London 1873.

The prominent character in this novel, Alexander Macintyre, M.A., Aberdeen, has been identified with a member of the King's College class of 1848-52. See *Alma Mater*, 22 Oct. 1902, p. 14.

[**Fyfe, John.**] *Catalogue of the General Library of the University of Aberdeen.* Vol. 1 (2). Aberdeen. MDCCCLXXIII. (MDCCCLXXIV.)

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 in. Pp. [iv] + 931 + [1], ([ii] + 803 + [1]). John Avery, "*Northern Advertiser Office*". The "General Library" was that in King's College, together with Henderson, Melvin and Wilson collections in Marischal College.

Harvey, Alexander, and Davidson, Alexander Dyce. *Syllabus of materia medica for the use of teachers and students.* . . . By Alexander Harvey, M.D., professor of materia medica . . . and Alexander Dyce Davidson, M.D., assistant professor. . . . London: H. K. Lewis. . . . 1873.

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 in. Pp. xviii + 34 + [2]. A. King & Co.

1874.

Anderson, Alexander. *Science—theology—religion: with notices of the teaching of Professor Struthers and others.* By Alexander Anderson, M.A., director of Chanonry school (the Gymnasium), Old Aberdeen. [Quotation.] . . . Aberdeen: A. & R. Milne. 1874.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 80. G. Cornwall and Sons.

[Fyfe, John.] Catalogue of the Library of the University of Aberdeen. Vol. iii. Law, Medicine, &c. Aberdeen. MDCCCLXXIV.

10½ × 7 in. Pp. [iii] + 314. John Avery. The volume included books in Marischal College. See 1897, *infra*, **Library**.

Geddes, William Duguid. The philologic uses of the Celtic tongue. A lecture by William D. Geddes, M.A., professor of Greek, University of Aberdeen, to the University Celtic Society. Published by request. Aberdeen: A. & R. Milne. MDCCCLXXIV.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 25 + [1]. A. King & Co. See 1872, *supra*.

General Fund. Report of the committee, appointed 30th October, 1874, "to report on . . . the general fund . . . Dr. Struthers' application".

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 16 + 9, 10. An application for additional assistants.

Macgregor, Duncan. The scald; or the northern ballad-monger. Published at request of University Literary Society. James Mackay. . . . 1874.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 34 + [2]. A. King & Co. Mr. Macgregor has been minister of Inverallochy since 1881.

Maclean, Neil Nathaniel. Life at a northern university. By Neil N. Maclean, A.M. . . . Glasgow: John S. Marr and Sons. 1874.

7¼ × 4¾ in. Pp. viii + 304. Maclean was at King's College 1853-57, M.A., 1859. "The Life" reprinted in 1906, under editorship of Mr. W. K. Leask.

Ploughman Student. The ploughman student, a story of Aberdeen University.

This ran in *The People's Journal* from July 25th to September 19th.

[Smith, Walter Chalmers.] Borland Hall. By the author of Olig Grange. Glasgow: James Maclehose. . . . 1874.

6½ × 4½ in. Pp. viii + 252. Book I. opens with "College life":

"There's an old University town
Between the Don and the Dee."

Struthers, John. Address on evolution. Reprinted from the Aberdeen Daily Free Press of 24th February, 1874.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 12. Delivered, 21 Feb., to Medical Students' Society.

1875.

Blake, James L. England and Scotland as influenced by the Reformation. A prize essay by J. L. Blake, M.A., minister of Langton. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. . . . MDCCCLXXV.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. viii + 64. Blackwell essay.

[Fyfe, John.] Supplement to the Catalogue of the library of the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen. MDCCCLXXV.

10½ × 7 in. Pp. 141 + [1].

Geddes, William Duguid. Testimonials in favour of Professor Geddes. MDCCCLXXV.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. viii + 9-53 + [3]. A. King & Co. In application for Glasgow Greek Chair. Enlarged edition, 1882, in application for Edinburgh Greek Chair.

Struthers, John. On University improvement: an address delivered to the students in arts of Aberdeen University, on opening the session of the University Debating Society, 12th November, 1875; by John Struthers, M.D., professor of anatomy in the University. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son. 1875.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 32. *Free Press.*

Trail, Samuel. On freedom of thought, and the proper influence of authority, in matters of religious belief. An address delivered to the Theological Students' Society, University of Aberdeen, on November 7, 1874. By Samuel Trail, D.D., professor of systematic theology in the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. . . . 1875.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 16, and cover with title. A. King & Co.

1876.

Black, John. How to do credit to a University education. An address delivered to the Aberdeen University Debating Society, on 17th November, 1876. By the Rev. John Black, M.A., professor of humanity. Aberdeen: published by John Adam. . . . 1876.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 22. A. King & Co.

Choral Society. Evening concert of the Aberdeen University Choral Society in the Music hall buildings, on Friday, 10th March [1876]. Programme . . . Organist, Mr. [James] Thomson. Conductor, Herr K. W. Meid.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 in. Single leaf. A programme has appeared annually, in varying forms. Herr J. Hoffmann became conductor in 1885, Mr. John Kirby in 1888, Mr. C. Sanford Terry in 1899. "Gaudemus igitur" has been an integral part of the programme from the outset; Sir W. D. Geddes' "Canticum" since 1893. See *Alma Mater*, 6th March, 1889.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1876. Report of the Committee appointed to consider and report on matters proper to be brought before the Universities Commission. [1876.]

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 6 + [2].

University v. Magistrates. Law papers.

In the House of Lords, from the First Division of the Court of Session in Scotland; Aberdeen Town Council, appellants; Aberdeen University et al. respondents. Petition of appeal. (11 × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 8 + [2]).

— The appellants' case. (Pp. 2 + 42 + iv + 89 + [3].)

— The respondents' case. (Pp. 13 + [1].)

A dispute regarding the rights of salmon fishing in the sea adjacent to the lands of Torrie. The House of Lords confirmed.

1877.

Academic. The Academic : a weekly periodical . . . conducted by students of the Aberdeen University. Aberdeen : Alexander Murray. . . . 1877.

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Nos. 1-7, 12 Jan. to 23 Feb. 1877, pp. 140; New Series, Nos. 1-8, 7 Dec. 1877, to 8 Feb. 1878, pp. 156. Title only for first series. See *Alma Mater*, xxi. 123.

Ogston, Alexander. Medical training in Aberdeen and in the Scottish Universities : an address delivered before the Aberdeen Medical Students' Society, on Friday, 16th November, 1877. By Alexander Ogston, M.D. . . . Published by the Society. Aberdeen : printed at the Free Press Office. 1877.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 21 + [1].

1878.

Garden, Alexander. A theatre of Scottish worthies : and the lyf, doings, and deathe of William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen. By Alexander Garden. Privately printed MDCCCLXXVIII.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. xx + 201 + [1] + xvi + 85 + [1], with portrait of Elphinstone. Printed for the Hunterian Club : *supra*, 1522, **Boece**.

Milne, John Duguid. Tables illustrative of the course of study for a degree in arts at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ; and at the Universities of Scotland, as exemplified in that of Aberdeen. . . . With notes. By John Duguid Milne, A.M., advocate, Aberdeen. Aberdeen : A. Brown and Co. . . . 1878.

12 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 10 in. [1] + 9 leaves. G. Cornwall & Sons.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1876. Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Universities of Scotland with evidence and appendix. 4 vols. . . . Edinburgh : printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. . . . 1878.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 in. Pp. viii. + 328 ; iv. + 983 + [1] ; 560 ; viii. + 533 + 1.

[**Shand, Alexander Innes.**] North-country students.

In *Cornhill Magazine*, April, 1878, pp. 452-467.

1879.

[**Crombie, John.**] Records of bajeant class, Marischal College, session 1854-55. [1879.]

10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 37 + [1]. G. Cornwall and Sons. See *infra*, 1897, **Garden**.

Jack, Alexander. A guide to the bursary competition at Aberdeen University, with an Appendix containing a full set of examination papers since 1861.

Not seen. Mentioned in the 1882 *Records of Arts Class*, 1868-72, of which class Mr. Jack, afterwards minister of Towie, was a member.

Leach, Alfred. The quadrangle by moonlight : or meditations in Marischal College ; and other poems. By Alfred Leach. [Photographic print of Marischal College.] Aberdeen : D. Wyllie & Son. 1879.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 in. Pp. [2] + 49 + [1]. *Free Press Office*. Mr. Leach was M.B., C.M., 1888.

[Walker, Robert.] Catalogue of the works added to the University Library, Aberdeen. 1876-9. Part I., Library, Old Aberdeen. Part II., Library, New Aberdeen. Aberdeen : printed by A. King & Company. 1879.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. [2] + 127 + [1]. A similar catalogue for 1880-2 was issued in 1882 : pp. 59 + [1] + 24.

188-.

Grant, James Augustus. Memoranda. J. A. Grant.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. Pp. 3-6 contain a record of classfellows at Aberdeen Grammar School and Marischal College, 1841-43. The African explorer : LL.D., 1890.

Leask, William Keith. Companion to Jebb's Primer of Greek Literature. By W. K. Leask, M.A., assistant professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen, late scholar of Worcester College, Oxford. University Press, Aberdeen.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ in. Pp. 12. Prepared for the proveciores division of the Semi Class.

[—] Local humbugs : or, studies in social ethics. By the Baron of Leys. With illustrations by Murillo Major and Poussin Minimus. . . .

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 19 + [1], and cover with title. Two plates. Among the studies are "The bajan masher," "The magistrand masher," etc.

1880.

[Anderson, Peter John.] University of Aberdeen. Preliminary record of arts class, 1868-72. [Aberdeen : 1880.]

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 26 + [2]. A. King and Co.

Bruce, George Taylor. Ettles trust lectures under the auspices of the Aberdeen University Extension Scheme. Syllabus of lectures on the "Literature of the Elizabethan era," by George T. Bruce, M.A.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 12 and cover with title. University Press.

Campbell, James Alexander. Addresses of James A. Campbell, Esq., LL.D., of Stracathro, at the meetings of electors, in Aberdeen and Glasgow, 20th and 23rd March, 1880. Glasgow : printed by Bell and Bain. . . . 1880.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. Dr. Campbell was M.P. for the two Universities, 1880-1905.

Local Examinations. Report of the University of Aberdeen local examinations for 1880, containing papers and lists for 1880, regulations and subjects for 1881. Printed for the University by A. King and Company and published by D. Wyllie and Son, Aberdeen. 1880.

7 × 5 in. Pp. 76. Issued yearly.

Rosebery, Archibald, 5th Earl of. A rectorial address delivered before the students of Aberdeen University, in the Music Hall at Aberdeen, Nov. 5, 1880, by Lord Rosebery. Edinburgh: David Douglas. . . . 1880.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 29 + [1]. Reprinted in the 1902 Collection.

Senatus. Minute of Committee of Senatus on the proposals of the Town Council of Aberdeen with reference to the bursaries under their patronage. . . . Aberdeen, 6th Feb., 1880.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 5 + [1].

— Report of Committee on the wants of the University. "Benefactoribus et benefactoris". [6th March, 1880.]

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 6 + [2]. A King and Co.

Stirling, William. University of Aberdeen, 1880. Institutes of medicine. Introductory address on animal magnetism. By William Stirling, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Professor of the institutes of medicine.

7 × 4¼ in. Pp. 12, and cover with title. Reprinted from *Daily Free Press* of 28 Oct. 1880.

1881.

Act of Parliament. An act to make further provision in regard to the registration of parliamentary voters, and also in regard to the taking of the poll by means of voting papers, in the Universities of Scotland. 44 and 45 Vict., c. 40. 22 August, 1881.

11¼ × 7½ in. Pp. ii + 10 + [2]. Registration made a necessary preliminary to graduation.

Geddes, William Duguid. Report presented to the trustees of Dr. Robert Wilson's trust, 1881.

11¼ × 8¾ in. Pp. 11 + [1]. Similar Reports were printed in 1883, 1886, 1889, 1895. Wilson was M.D. King's Coll., 1815. See *Fasti Mar. Coll.* i. 541; Ordinance No. 106 of 1889 Commission.

Paul, William. Past and present of Aberdeenshire, or reminiscences of seventy years. By the Rev. William Paul, D.D., minister of Banchory Devenick. Lewis Smith & Son, Aberdeen. 1881.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. viii + 3-132. "Aberdeen Universities past and present" on pp. 75-82.

Ramsay, William Mitchell. Descriptive notes on the classical vases in the Henderson Collection, Marischal College. With a short notice of the donor. University of Aberdeen. MDCCCLXXXI.

11 × 8¾ in. Pp. 25 + [1]. A. King & Co. The notice of the donor was by Professor W. D. Geddes.

Steven, George. A Scotch student. Memorials of Peter Thomson, A.M., minister of the Free Church, St. Fergus. By the Rev. George Steven, M.A., Logiealmond. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace. 1881.

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. viii + 216, with portrait. Thomson was M.A., 1872.

Stirling, William. University of Aberdeen, 1881. Institutes of medicine. Introductory address on colour sense and colour blindness. By William Stirling, M.D. . . .

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 22 and cover with title. Reprinted from *Daily Free Press* of 27 Oct. 1881.

— University of Aberdeen. Outlines of physiological chemistry for the class of practical physiology. By William Stirling, M.D. Aberdeen: printed by A. King & Company. 1881.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 38. Six plates.

1882.

Allan, John Buckley. University of Aberdeen. Arts Class of 1872-76.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 7 + [1]. Preliminary record.

Anderson, Peter John. Records of the arts class, 1868-72, University of Aberdeen. Edited by Peter J. Anderson. Aberdeen: privately printed at the University Press. 1882.

11 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 108 + [2]. 4 plates. Appendix III. discusses the University arms. See 1892, *infra*.

Bain, Alexander. Rectorial address to the students of Aberdeen University, Wednesday, 15th Nov. 1882. By Alexander Bain, LL.D., Lord Rector. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Company. 1882.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 28. University Press. Reprinted in 1902 collection, p. 241.

— Report of the proceedings at the banquet held in Marischal College, Aberdeen, 27th December, 1882, on the occasion of the presentation to the University of the portrait of Alexander Bain, LL.D., Lord Rector. Reprinted from the *Aberdeen Daily Free Press* of 28th December, 1882.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 30.

Geddes, William Duguid. Flosculi graeci boreales, sive Anthologia graeca Aberdonensis. Contextus Gulielmus D. Geddes. Apud Macmillan et Socios, Londini. MDCCCLXXXII.

8 × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. xvi + 249 + [1]. One plate. (King's College Crown, after Sir George Reid.) Arthur King & Co.

Leask, William Keith. Is there a science of history? Introductory lecture, session 1882-83. By William Keith Leask, M.A., assistant professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen: late scholar of Worcester College, Oxford.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 16.

Ogston, Alexander. Address delivered to the students of the surgery class in Aberdeen University on the occasion of the death of Professor Pirrie, M.D., LL.D., etc. By Alexander Ogston, M.D., etc., professor of surgery. Published by request of the students. Aberdeen: the University Press. 1882.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 11 + [1].

Senatus. Report of the Medical Faculty to the Senatus Academicus anent the George Thompson medical bursaries, on the remit of the Senatus to the Faculty, of 11th November, 1882.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 6.

1883.

Balfour, John Blair, and others. A bill for the better administration and endowment of the Universities of Scotland. (Prepared and brought in by the Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Solicitor-General for Scotland.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 3 April, 1883.

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. ii + 14. Did not become law. Similar bills were ordered to be printed 26 May, 1884 (pp. [2] + ii + 16); 27 March, 1885 (pp. 16): 4 August, 1887 (pp. 17 + [1]); 19 March, 1888 (pp. 20 + 2); 28 February, 1889 (pp. iv + 22 + [2]). The last became law as 52 & 53 Vict., c. 55: see 1889, *infra*.

[**Geddes, Sir William Duguid.**] Hylas. A lament: in memory of William Cameron, M.A. (Aberdon.), scholar of Magdalen College, Oxford. Drowned when bathing in the Rhine. July 10, 1883.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. [8]. No printer's name.

Notes and Queries. Sixth [seventh, etc.] series. London, . . .

The following contributions may be noted:—

- 1883, June 9. Behind the dial plate [of Marischal College]. J. P. Edmond.
 1885, March 28, and 1890, August 9. Scottish University arms and seals. P. J. Anderson.
 1886, September 4. A forgotten university [Fraserburgh].
 1887, July 23. Scotch academic periodicals.
 1889, January 26. Arms of the University of Aberdeen.
 June 22. Graduates of Scottish Universities.
 1890, July 12. Meston the imitator of Hudibras.
 1891, September 26. Academic hoods.
 1899, June 24. Dr. James Fraser.
 1902, May 10 and 1903, Aug. 22. Downie's slaughter.

Stirling, William. University of Aberdeen, 1883. Institutes of medicine. Introductory address on heredity in health and disease. By William Stirling, M.D. . . .

7½ × 5 in. Pp. 18, and cover with title.

Struthers, Christina. The admission of women to the Scottish Universities. Aberdeen: John Rae Smith. 1883.

7½ × 5 in. Pp. 18, and cover with title.

Alma Mater: Aberdeen University Magazine. Session 1883-84. Vol. I. Aberdeen: printed by W. and W. Lindsay, Market Street. MDCCCLXXXIV.

7½ × 5 in. 13 nos., price 2d. each, 28 Nov. to 5 Mar.; pp. 268. With a special Christmas no.: pp. 24.

Vol. II., beginning 12 Nov. 1884 changed the size to 10 × 7½ in., which has been retained. Joint title-page for Vols. II. and III., none for Vol. IV. A coloured cover for each number began in Vol. V.; changed to a design by Mr. James Cadenhead in Vol. VI.; colour changed to red in Vol. VIII.; design modified in Vol. XXI. Full page illustrations first appear in Vol. VI. In Vol. VIII. the imprint becomes "Aberdeen: Student's Representative Council". Summer numbers begin in Vol. X., after the institution of a summer session at King's College. A detailed list of the successive editors will be found in the number for 13 Jan. 1904, p. 127, including the names of [Professor] Grierson in 1885-86, Mr. J. M. Bulloch in 1887-92, Mr. R. S. Rait in 1893-94. Mr. W. Keith Leask has been a greatly appreciated contributor from Vol. I. to the present time.

Alma Mater is the doyen of Scottish University magazines, being senior by six years to the (St. Andrews) *College Echoes* and the *Glasgow University Magazine*, and by four years to the (Edinburgh) *Student*.

Among the more important articles dealing with University history are the following:—

- 1886, Feb. 3. A glimpse of student life in the seventeenth century. J. M. Bulloch.
Feb. 17. The University of Fraserburgh. P. J. Anderson.
- 1887, Feb. 2; 1889, Jan. 23; and 1904, Jan. 7. Arms of the University of Aberdeen. P. J. Anderson.
Nov. 16, and 1888, Jan. 25. Scotch academic periodicals. P. J. Anderson.
Dec. 21. A mathematical coach [Davie Rennet]. W. C. Macdonald.
- 1888, Jan. 18. List of first bursars. P. J. Anderson.
Feb. 1. Dr. Melvin and the Version. P. J. Anderson.
Oct. 31, to 1894, Feb. 21. College Carols. Except No. 1, by J. M. Bulloch as the Jackdaw of Rhymes. A selection reprinted in 1894.
Nov. 14. The history of chemical teaching in Aberdeen. Professor Alexander Bain.
- 1889, Jan. 16, to Feb. 27. Recollections of Dr William Knight. Professor Bain.
Mar. 6. Football and cricket at the University twenty years ago. Professor W. M. Ramsay.
Mar. 6. The Choral Society, 1875-89. J. M. Bulloch.
Nov. 13 to 27. Donald Sime, H.M.I.S. Professor W. M. Ramsay.
- 1890, Jan. 29. Professor Black. W. K. Leask.
Feb. 26 and Mar. 5. Bursary night. W. K. Leask.
Nov. 26. Our Lord Rectors. J. M. Bulloch. (Reprinted in enlarged form.)
- 1891, Jan. 7. A famous coach [Davie Rennet].
Feb. 11. Buttery Willie Collie. [Sir W. D. Geddes.]
- 1892, Oct. 26. Our new University song. Setting by John Kirby.
1893, Mar. 1. The sunniest season of life. J. M. Bulloch. Setting by John Kirby.
Mar. 4. Special number. In Memoriam William Minto.
Oct. 25, to 1894, Feb. 14. I remember, I remember. W. Gordon Stables.
Dec. 20. Coloured plate of Aberdeen student, after Sir George Reid.

- 1894, May 9. William Robertson Smith. Sir W. D. Geddes.
Shon Campbell. W. A. Mackenzie.
- 1895, June 5. Professor Blackie at Marischal College. J. Forbes White.
- 1897, Jan. 20. Buttery Willie Collie. P. J. Anderson.
Oct. 28—. Bygone Days at Aberdeen Universities. Series current.
- 1900, Jan. 10. Beattie and Garrick. Sir W. D. Geddes.
Feb. 14. Special number. In Memoriam W. D. Geddes.
Feb. 14 and 21. Principal Geddes' writings. P. J. Anderson.
- 1901, Jan. 11. King's College quadrangle as it stood before 1860. The late Sir W. D. Geddes.
Jan. 11. King's College in the pre-Fusion days. W. K. Leask.
Nov. 20. In Memoriam Robert Alexander Neil. J. Forbes White.
- 1903, Oct. 14. Special number. In Memoriam Alexander Bain.
Oct. 14 and 21. List of Professor Bain's writings. P. J. Anderson.
- 1904, Jan. 7. (Majority number.) Twenty years after. W. K. Leask.
Jan. 7. Arms and colours of the University of Aberdeen (with coloured plate). P. J. Anderson.
- Jan. 13. The forerunners of *Alma Mater*. P. J. Anderson.
- 1905, Nov. 15 to 1906, Feb. 14. The adopted daughter [a tale of Aberdeen University life]. By Edward Marten Payne, M.B. [1895].
- 1906, Jan. 10. Supplement of Quatercentenary invitation by S. R. C.

1884.

Campbell, James Alexander. General culture: an address delivered to the Aberdeen University Literary Society, on 30th November, 1883. By J. A. Campbell, M.P. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, St. Vincent Street, publishers to the University. 1884.

7½ × 5 in. Pp. 24.

Mayo, Isabella Fyvie, Mrs. Her object in life.

Not seen. Gives a picture of the social side of Aberdeen student life *circa* 1880.

[**Struthers, John.**] In memoriam. Professor Allen Thomson. Printed by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. MDCCCLXXXIV.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 15 + [1]. Offprint with title from *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, June, 1884. Thomson was the first professor of anatomy in Marischal College, 1839-41 (*Fasts*, i. 524; ii. 62).

1885.

[**Clark, Alexander.**] University of Aberdeen. Curriculum 1859-60—1862-63. Memorandum of reunion held in the Palace Hotel, Aberdeen, on 30th January, 1885. Also list of semi class for Session 1860-61 (first year of the Fusion).

10 × 8½ in. Pp. 8. Similar Memoranda issued in 1886 (pp. 11 + [1]: Univ. Press), and 1888 (pp. 16: Univ. Press). See *infra*, 1899, **Johnston**.

Geddes, William Duguid. Historical characteristics of the Celtic race. An address to the University Celtic Society. By Professor Geddes, University of Aberdeen. Published by request. Aberdeen: A. & R. Milne. MDCCCLXXXV.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 24. University Press.

Geddes, William Duguid. The Melvin memorial window in the University Library.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. Pp. 8. Offprint (with half title) from *Aberdeen Journal*.

London Club. Rules, report, and list of members for 1884-85, of the Aberdeen University Club, London.

$5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 24. Issued annually. For some account of the Club, founded 23 Jan. 1884, see *S. N. and Q.* xii. 86.

[**Pirie, George.**] King's College, Aberdeen. [1885.]

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ in. Pp. 8. University Press. A description prepared for the visit to Aberdeen of the British Association.

Senatus. Report of the Committee of the Senatus Academicus appointed 23 December, 1884, to report on the present and future arrangements of the Archaeological Museum. . . . 5th March, 1885.

$9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 3 + [1]. Professor Struthers was convener.

Stirling, William. University of Aberdeen, 1885. Institutes of medicine. Introductory address on time as a physiological factor. By William Stirling, M.D. . . .

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 18 and cover with title. Reprinted from *Daily Free Press*.

Watt, James Cromar. Chapel and Tower, King's College, Aberdeen University.

In the *Builder*, 6th June, 1885. Four plates of drawings.

1886.

[**Anderson, Peter John.**] Marischal College and University, 1593-1860. Collections towards the preparation of the Fasti. Printed for private circulation. 1886.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 28. 112 copies printed by Milne & Hutchison.

Edmond, John Philip. The Aberdeen printers Edward Raban to James Nicol, 1620-1736. By J. P. Edmond. Aberdeen: J. & J. P. Edmond & Spark. 1886.

$9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. lxiv + 274, and two plates, 275 copies printed by Milne & Hutchison. Supplies the whereabouts of many books noted in this Bibliography. See 1888, *infra*.

Harrower, John. Inaugural address delivered to the senior Greek class, Aberdeen University (session 1886-7), by John Harrower, M.A., professor of Greek. Aberdeen: the University Press. 1886.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 26.

1887.

Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society. Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society. First year. MDCCCLXXXVI. Aberdeen: printed for the Society. 1887.

11 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 34. Five plates. W. Jolly and Sons. Fourteen parts issued, bound in four volumes.

1886, April 6. **Christie, John.** Assignatio mansionis decimarumque personalium, &c., rectori de Nivibus. Year I. p. 21.

June 8. Position for an organ in chapel of King's College: with plate. Year I. p. 10.

1891, Oct. 18. **Cooper, James.** Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen. Year VI. p. 14.

Dec. **Geddes, William Duguid.** Notes on the restoration of King's College Chapel: with plate. Year VI. p. 61.

1899, Feb. 16. **Mackenzie, Alexander G. R.** Remains of conventual buildings, Greyfriars, Aberdeen: with plate. Year XII. p. 3.

July. **Cooper, James.** Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen: one word more in favour of its retention and restoration: with plates. Year XII. p. 89.

Continued as: Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society.

1903, Dec. 19. **Cooper, James.** The old Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen: an account of particulars brought to light in the process of its demolition: vol. i. pt. i. p. 72: two plates.

Archæological Museum. Catalogue of antiquities in the Archæological Museum of King's College, University of Aberdeen. 1887.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 in. Pp. 26 + [2]. Leslie and Russell.

[**Bain, Alexander.**] Memorandum on the graduation oath (for members of the University Court). [1887.]

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 8.

Burnett Lectures.

Instituted under the authority of a Provisional Order of the Secretary of State issued in 1881 on the application of John Burnett's trustees.

1883-85. **Stokes, George Gabriel.** On light. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887. (7 × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xiv + 342).

1888-91. **Smith, William Robertson.** On the religion of the Semites. First Series: The fundamental institutions. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1889. (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xii + 488.)

1891-94. **Davidson, William Leslie.** Theism as grounded in human nature. London: Longmans, 1893 (8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. xxvi + 469 + [1].)

The funds have now been devoted towards the endowment of the Chair of History and Archæology.

Crombie, James Edward. Preliminary record of Arts class, University of Aberdeen, 1878-1882. Privately printed. 1887.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 16. Second issue (pp. 29 + [3]), 1890. Third issue (pp. 13 + [3]), 1893.

[**Hall, Harvey.**] Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1856 to 1860.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 6 + [2]. List of members of the Arts Class, 1856-60.

Synod. Synod of Aberdeen thanksgiving service in acknowledgment of the protection afforded to Her Majesty and the manifold blessings bestowed on these realms during fifty years of her auspicious reign, held in King's College chapel, Old Aberdeen, on Tuesday, 28th June, 1887, being the anniversary of Her Majesty's coronation.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 12. W. Jolly and Sons.

Trail, James William Helenus. Syllabus of lectures on botany in the University of Aberdeen. By Professor James W. H. Trail. The Aberdeen University Press. [1887.]

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. [4] + 45 + [1]. New editions in 1891 and 1904.

University Court. Minutes of the University Court of the University of Aberdeen. Vol. I. Meetings i.-cxxv. 16th March, 1861-11th May, 1886. Aberdeen: the University Press. 1887.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [2] + 283 + [1] + x. Vol. II. 1890. Meetings cxxvi.-cxlvii. 8th Oct. 1886-4th Oct. 1889; pp. [2] + 74 + ii. Vol. III. changes, with the new constitution of the Court, to 10 × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Secretaries: Mr. John Fyfe, 1861-77, and Mr. Robert Walker, 1877-1906. Current.

[**Walker, Robert.**] Supplement to the Catalogue of the General Library of the University of Aberdeen, being the works added 1875-87. Aberdeen: at the University Press. MDCCCLXXXVII.

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 in. Pp. [4] + 544. See 1873, 1874, **Fyfe**, *supra*: 1889, *infra*. This supplement incorporates the supplement of 1875.

1888.

Accounts. University of Aberdeen. Abstract of accounts for the year ending 15th September, 1888. Aberdeen University Press.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1], and cover with title. Also issued in this form 1889 to 1894. For 1895 and 1896 the size is 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. See *infra*, 1897.

Cruickshank, John. The armorial ensigns of the royal burgh of Aberdeen, with some observations on the legend relating to the capture and demolition of the castle. By the late John Cruickshank. Aberdeen: J. and J. P. Edmond & Spark. 1888.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. xxvi + 121 + [1]. 14 plates. 200 copies printed by Milne & Hutchison. Issued posthumously under editorship of P. J. Anderson. Pp. 114-5 contain some account of the armorial bearings of Marischal College and of the University of Aberdeen. Mr. Cruickshank left a legacy of £50 for the due registration of the latter.

Dey, William. "Latin v. the Version," by W. M. Ramsay . . . reviewed by William Dey, M.A., LL.D., late rector of the Grammar School, Old Aberdeen. Aberdeen: printed at the "Free Press" Office. 1888.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 27 + [1].

Edmond, John Philip. Last notes on the Aberdeen printers. By John Philip Edmond. Privately printed. 1888.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. Pp. [8] + 36. 56 copies reprinted by W. Jolly & Sons from *Scottish Notes and Queries*. See 1886, *supra*.

[**Geddes, William Duguid.**] The armorial bearings of the University of Aberdeen. Reprinted from the Aberdeen Daily Free Press, November 26, 1888.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 11 + [1]. Offprint.

Goschen, George Joachim. Intellectual interest, an address delivered at Aberdeen University, January 31st, 1888. By George Joachim Goschen, Lord Rector.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 3-69 + [1]. Printed by Harrison & Sons. Reprinted in the 1902 collection, p. 259.

[**Gray, William Anderson.**] The professor *v.* the versions or Education in the north. By graduates of Aberdeen University. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: printed by W. & W. Lindsay, 30 Market Street. 1888.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 13 + [1].

Martin, James. Eminent divines in Aberdeen and the north: their work and their influence; embracing the period from St. Columba to Dr. Alex. Dyce Davidson. By the late James Martin, schoolmaster. Aberdeen: published at the "Free Press" Office. 1888.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. xii + 267 + [1]. Portrait of Dr. Kidd, counted in paging.

Milne, Robert. Reminiscences of a northern University.

In *Scots Magazine* for April; i. pp. 343-58. The writer was M.A. Mar. Coll., 1851; D.D., 1885; min. Towie, Ardler.

[**Pirie, Penelope E.**] William Robinson Pirie. In memoriam. [1888.]

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 165 + [1]. Portrait. University Press.

Ramsay, John. Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century. From the MSS. of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre. Edited by Alexander Allardyce. . . . In two volumes. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

$9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xxiv + 554; vi + 568. Aberdeen Universities in vol. i. pp. 287-300.

Ramsay, William Mitchell. Latin *v.* the Version. By W. M. Ramsay, M.A., professor of humanity, University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son. 1888.

$6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. Pp. 15 + [1].

Scottish Notes and Queries. Vol. I. June, 1887, to May, 1888.
Aberdeen: D. Wylie & Son. . . . 1888.

8½ × 6¾ in. 16 pp. monthly. Edited by Mr. John Bulloch, whose name first appears on titlepage of vol. xii. Printed by W. Jolly and Sons. Still current. No number for August, 1897. From Sept. 1897 to May, 1904, published by A. Brown & Co. and printed by Milne & Hutchison; from June, 1904, published and printed by the Rosemount Press. A General Index to vols. 1-12 (1887-1899) was issued in 1901; and vol. [13] began a second series, now (September, 1906) in its eighth volume. A few of the more important articles dealing with Aberdeen University history are noted below: all, unless otherwise indicated, being by the compiler of this Bibliography.

- 1887, June. Marischal College portraits.
August. Scottish University studies in the seventeenth century.
- 1888, February. The Catanach case.
February, March. Murray lectures at King's College.
March to June. The Aberdeen printers. J. P. Edmond.
June. A forgotten Universities bill.
August, September. Early Marischal College regents.
- 1889, January. Armorial bearings of the University.
January to August. Notes on Marischal Colleges.
April. Ambo in King's College Chapel (plate). W. D. Geddes.
May. Panel at Marischal College (plate).
June. Professor William Ogilvie.
December to June, 1890. Unpublished verses by William Meston.
- 1890, July. MSS. relating to Scottish Universities.
- 1891, January. The Sapient Septemviri.
April. King's College as a University residence. J. M. Bulloch.
June. Mr. Patrick Copland.
Aberdeen archery medals.
Murray Lectures at King's College.
July. Regenting in the Aberdeen Universities.
- 1892, January. Universities at Fraserburgh and Peterhead.
April, and 1901, June. Records of the Scottish Universities.
April. Marischal College v. Gordon's College.
- 1893, March. Entrants at King's College before 1843.
August, to July, 1894. Diary of John Row, principal of King's College. A. M. Munro.
- 1894, February. Notes on Greyfriars Church. James Cooper, D.D.
May. The heirs of the Keiths (plate).
July. University Library.
December. Old stalls in King's College Chapel and their occupants (plate).
- 1895, March. Views of King's College (2 plates).
Heraldic emblazonments by Principal John Row.
May. Marischal College veterans (plate).
August. Aberdonians abroad: James Cadenhead.
November. Do.: University of Paris, 1395-1611.
- 1896, March, April. Do.: Thomas Reid (plate).
May to December. Description of armorial bearings, portraits and busts in Mitchell Hall and Picture Gallery, Marischal College. E[linor] A[rnott]. Reprinted: see 1896 *infra*.
May. Pronunciation of the name "Marischal". Sir W. D. Geddes.
September. Heirs of the Keiths (tree).
December. Le professeur écossais Jean Vaus. Leopold Delisle.
Views of King's College (plate).
- 1897, January. Buttery Willie Collie (plate).
April. Heirs of the Keiths (tree).
May. The Macra bursaries.
The Blackwell essayists at Marischal College.
September. Aberdeen Grammar School masters and under masters.
December. Hebdomadar. Sir W. D. Geddes, Norman Macpherson, LL.D., etc.

- 1898, February. Notes on King's College quadrangle as it stood before 1860 (2 plates).
Sir W. D. Geddes.
- March. Middleton family. Emma F. Ware.
- April. Graduation office at laureation of Masters of Arts, 1860-90. Sir W. D. Geddes.
Gateway and screen for Marischal College (plate). Archibald Simpson.
- June, July. Teaching of botany in Aberdeen.
- July. View of King's College, after Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A.
- December. Aberdeen University Club, London. J. M. Bulloch.
Aberdeen University life, 1690-91. From Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report*.
- December to 1904, Feb. American-Aberdeen graduates. James Gammack, LL.D.
- 1899, February. Aberdonians abroad: Professor Thomas Forbes.
- August, to 1902, April. Records of the Royal Commission for visiting the universities and schools of Aberdeen, 1716-17.
- 1900, March. Aberdeen doctors (of medicine) in 1657.
- June. John Fullerton, M.A. King's College, 1709.
- June, July. King's College ballad of Allan Maclean.
- September— Records of Aberdeen Universities: Addenda. Series current.
- 1901, January. Bishop Elphinstone's tomb in King's College Chapel.
- March. "Paddle your own canoe," by an Aberdeen graduate.
- June, July. The Inventory of King's College, 1542. F. C. Eeles.
- September. Students' riots in 1659. From Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report*.
- 1902, June to November. Downie's slaughter. George Walker, Alexander Walker,
William Robbie, etc.
- July. The Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen, in 1663.
- August. Residence in King's College.

1889.

Act of Parliament. An act for the better administration and endowment of the Universities of Scotland. 52 and 53 Vict., c. 55. 30th August, 1889.
10 × 6½ in. Pp. 21 + [1].

Anderson, Peter John. *Fasti Academicæ Mariscallanæ.* Selections from the records of the Marischal College and University, MDXIII.-MDCCCLX. Edited by Peter John Anderson, M.A., LL.B. Volume I. (II.). Aberdeen: printed for the New Spalding Club. MDCCCLXXXIX. (MDCCCXCVIII.).
10½ × 7¾ in. Pp. xxxii + 577 + [1], (xxii + 596). Five (and thirteen) plates. 525 copies printed at the University Press. For vol. iii. see 1898, **Johnstone**, *infra*.

— Notes on heraldic representations at King's and Marischal Colleges, Aberdeen. By P. J. Anderson. Edinburgh, 1889.

8½ × 6½ in. Pp. [5] + 80-86 + [1] + 166-184. 4 plates. Offprint from *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xxiii. (read 10th Dec. 1888, and 11 March, 1889).

Bulloch, John Malcolm. Songs from The Chair, or the Court of a Varsity Court, an operatic comedietta in two acts, written by J. Malcolm Bulloch, M.A. Composed by Fritz Erckmann. Aberdeen: "Alma Mater" Office. 1889.
10½ × 7¾ in. Pp. [2] + 25 + [1]. Thomson and Duncan, music printers.

Carnelley, Thomas. The true place of chemistry in the university curriculum. Being the introductory address by Thos. Carnelley, D.Sc. (Lond.), B.Sc. (Vict.), F.C.S., on his installation as professor of chemistry in the University of Aberdeen, October 23, 1888. Aberdeen: the University Press. 1889.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 32, with a table. Dr. Carnelley was Professor of chemistry 1888-90.

Cooper, James. Greyfriars church, Aberdeen, a word in its behalf. By the Rev. James Cooper, M.A., minister of the East parish of Aberdeen. . . . Also Sum thingis concernin ye Grey freirs of Abirdene and their kirk, often called in our day the "College church". By Alex. Walker, Esq., F.S.A., ex-Dean of Guild, Aberdeen. Printed at the Free Press Office. 1889.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 46. Plate.

General Fund. University of Aberdeen. Account of the general university fund and the reserve university fund for the year from 15th September, 1888, to 15th September, 1889.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 18, and cover with title.

Gifford Lectures.

Founded under the will of Adam Gifford, Senator of the College of Justice.

1896-98. **Ward, James.** Naturalism and agnosticism. 2 vols. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1899. (9 × 5¾ in. Pp. xviii + 302; xiv + 291 + [1].)

1898-1900. **Royce, Josiah.** The world and the individual. Two series. New York: Macmillan Co. 1900-01. (8 × 5½ in. Pp. xvi + 588; xxii + 480.)

1900-02. **Sayce, Archibald Henry.** The religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1903. (8¼ × 5¾ in. Pp. viii + 509 + [1].)

Hay, Frank, and Bulloch, John Malcolm. Misunderstandings. By Frank Hay and J. Malcolm Bulloch. Privately printed. 1889.

7½ × 4¾ in. Pp. 12.

King's College Chapel. King's College Chapel improvement scheme.

10¾ × 8½. Pp. 15 + [1] with plan. See 1892 *infra*.

Macpherson, Norman. Notes on the chapel, crown, and other ancient buildings of King's College, Aberdeen. By Norman Macpherson, LL.D., Abd. et Edin., F.S.A. (Reprinted from *Archæologia Scotica* [Vol. v.]) With seventeen plates (LIV.-LXX.). Edinburgh: printed by Neill and Company. 1889.

11¾ × 8¾ in. Pp. 39 + [1]. A revised edition with some changes in the footnotes (e.g. pp. 17, 33) has a reset title-page, with imprint—Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. 1890.

Ogilvie, Joseph. Bursary competition versions: University and King's College 1821-59, Marischal College and University 1845-59, University of Aberdeen 1860-88. Edited by Joseph Ogilvie, M.A., LL.D., principal of the Church of Scotland Training College, Aberdeen. [Motto.] Aberdeen. John Adam. 1889.

7½ × 5¼ in. Pp. xxiv + 112. University Press. An appendix gives list of First Bursars, 1801-88.

Sage, Donald. Memorabilia domestica, or parish life in the North of Scotland. By the late Rev. Donald Sage, A.M., minister of Resolis. Edited by his son. Wick: W. Rae . . . 1889.

8¾ × 5¾ in. Pp. xiv + 439 + [1]. Chaps. x., xi., xii. deal very fully with life at Marischal College, where Sage graduated in 1808 (*Fasts*, ii. 394).

Smith, Robert Harvey. An Aberdeenshire village propaganda forty years ago. By Robert Harvey Smith, M.A. With an introduction by William Alexander, LL.D. . . . Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1889.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. Pp. xviii + 175 + [1]. One plate. Pp. 56-62 deal with the *Aberdeen Universities Magazines* of 1849.

[**Walker, Robert.**] Catalogue of books added to the General Library of the University of Aberdeen, 1887-9. Aberdeen: the University Press. 1889.

10 × 6 in. Pp. [2] + 36. See 1887 *supra*, 1891 *infra*.

1890.

Bulloch, John Malcolm. The Lord Rectors of the Universities of Aberdeen. By J. Malcolm Bulloch, M.A. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son. 1890.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 55 + [3]. 2 plates. 200 copies printed: enlarged from *Alma Mater*, 26 Nov. 1890.

Bulloch, John Malcolm, and Holt, T. The pilgrim's progress in print and picture. J. M. Bulloch. T. Holt. Thomson and Duncan: Aberdeen.

$5 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [20]. Prepared for the Medical graduation supper in April, 1890.

Claymore. The Claymore, a slashing periodical. Special rectorial numbers. Vol. I., No. 1. Friday, November 21st. 1890.

11 × $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 4. W. and W. Lindsay. Rectorial election, Huntly *v.* Bryce. Nos. 2 and 3 were issued Nov. 10 and 18, 1893; Huntly *v.* Hunter. All in the Huntly interest.

[**Duncan, George.**] Aberdeen University Arts Class, 1884-8: Records of the Class. MDCCCXC.

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 12 + [4]. Taylor & Henderson. Two plates. See 1893, *infra*.

[**Gilroy, James.**] Catalogue of books in the Students' Theological Library of the University of Aberdeen, 1889-90. Aberdeen: the Albany Press. MDCCCXC.

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ in. Pp. 16. The compiler is now Professor of Hebrew in the University.

Mitchell, Anthony. Tatters from a student's gown. By Anthony Mitchell. Dedicated to the Magstrand Class. Aberdeen: James G. Bisset: 1890.

$7 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. viii + 56, with cover in colours. Taylor and Henderson. Mr. Mitchell is M.A., 1890; B.D., 1903.

Ogilvie, Joseph. Introductory address to the magistrands of Aberdeen University intending to enter the teaching profession. By Joseph Ogilvie, M.A., LL.D., principal of the Church of Scotland Training College. Delivered 4th February, 1890. Aberdeen: printed at the Albany Press. 1890.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 14.

Ogilvie, Joseph. Key to Bursary Competition versions. Edited by Joseph Ogilvie. . . . [Motto.] Aberdeen: John Adam. . . . 1890.

7¼ × 4¾ in. Pp. [2] + xii + 189 + [1]. University Press.

[**Stephenson, Robert Ben Tydd.**] Questions in botany from the medical professional examinations, University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: James G. Bisset. . . . [1890.]

Not seen.

1891.

[**Campbell, Hugh M'Kenzie.**] Tartanville, the idyll of a northern village. By Catter Thun. Brechin . . . 1891.

7 × 4¾ in. Pp. x + 149 + [3]. Chapters 6, 7, 8, relate to Aberdeen University life.

General Council. Committee on academic costume. [Memorandum.]

9 × 5¾ in. Pp. 3, with plate of hoods on p. [4].

— Standing orders of the General Council of the University of Aberdeen.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 7 + [1]. Approved 14th October, 1891.

— University of Aberdeen. General Council. Notice is hereby given that the next statutory half-yearly meeting of the General Council of the University of Aberdeen will be held . . . 6th October, 1891.

7¾ × 5½ in. Pp. 43 + [1]. Thenceforward similar Notices have been issued at least twice a year.

Huntly, Charles, 11th Marquis of. "Social interest." An address to the students of the University of Aberdeen, delivered March 6th, 1891, by the Marquis of Huntly, P.C., Lord Rector. London: Harrison & Sons . . . 1891.

7¼ × 4¾ in. Pp. 37 + [1]. Reprinted in the 1902 Collection, p. 280.

Ogilvie, William. Birthright in land. By William Ogilvie of Pittensear, professor of humanity, and lecturer on political and natural history, antiquities, criticism, and rhetoric in the University and King's College of Aberdeen. With biographical notes by D. C. Macdonald. [Mottoes.] London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1891.

7½ × 5 in. Pp. xxxii + viii + 436. Two plates. This work was issued anonymously in 1782, under the title "An essay on the right of property in land". It occupies pp. 1-120 of the reissue, the editor having added 296 pages of biographical notes "with side-issues" containing a full account of the College union negotiations. See also J. Morrison Davidson's *Predecessors of Henry George*. Lond. 1899.

Recano, John B. The Ambulance Corps bazaar book. Edited by John B. Recano. Aberdeen, Lewis Smith and Sons. MDCCCXCI.

10¼ × 7½ in. Pp. xiv + 67 + [1], with numerous plates. The Volunteer Medical Staff Corps in connection with the University of Aberdeen was founded in 1886.

Schenkl, Heinrich. Bibliotheca patrum latinorum britannica. Bearbeitet von Heinrich Schenkl. Zweiten Bandes dritte Abtheilung. Die schottischen Bibliotheken. . . . Wien, 1896.

$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. [2] + 90. "7, Aberdeen, King's College," pp. 35-13.

Stables, William Gordon. "Twixt school and college: a tale of self-reliance. By Gordon Stables, C.M., M.D., R.N. . . . With eight full-page illustrations. . . . Blackie & Son, Limited, London. . . . 1891.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. Pp. x + 11-352. Chapter xxv.: Student life in Aberdeen. Dr. Stables entered Marischal College in 1854: M.D., 1862.

Struthers, John. Notes on the progress of Aberdeen University during the past thirty years. By John Struthers, M.D., LL.D., emeritus professor of anatomy in the University of Aberdeen. (Reprinted from the Aberdeen Free Press of May 4, 6, 11 and 13, 1891.)

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 30 + [2]. University Press.

[**Walker, Robert.**] Catalogue of books added to the General Library of the University of Aberdeen, 1889-91. Aberdeen: the University Press. 1891.

10 × 6 in. Pp. 47 + [1]. See 1889, *supra*.

Wilson, John Dove. Syllabus of lectures on the law of Scotland in the University of Aberdeen.

8 × 5 in. Pp. 15 + [1]. Second issue. [1892.] $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; pp. 14 + [2].

1892.

Anderson, Peter John. The arts curriculum. P. J. A. Aberdeen: printed for the Class of 1868-72. 1892.

$10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 22 + [2]. Fifty copies off-printed (with a title) of Appendix iv. in Rev. S. Ree's *Records*, *infra*.

Brown's Bookstall. Brown's bookstall, 1892. A. Brown & Co., book-sellers & stationers, Aberdeen.

8 × $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + 212. To the pages of this monthly were contributed the papers by Mr. George Walker afterwards issued in revised form as *Aberdeen Awa'*: see *infra*, 1897. Nos. 1-36, Jan. 1892-Dec. 1894. Thereafter issued at irregular intervals. Occasional plates.

Buildings Extension. Deputation to Mr. Goschen.

Not seen. Pp. 10. Reprint from *Free Press* of 17th February.

— Meeting of General Committee and subscribers.

Not seen. Pp. 8. Reprinted from *Free Press* of 9th April.

— Report of proceedings at a public meeting held in Aberdeen on the first day of December, MDCCCXCI.—the Marquis of Huntly in the chair—to consider the necessity for extending the buildings of the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen University Press. MDCCCXCI.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 36.

Buildings Extension. University of Aberdeen buildings extension scheme. [Arms.] Description of proposed enlargements, with bird's-eye view and plans. Aberdeen University Press. 1892.

11 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 8. Plans.

Colvin, John. "John": his pilgrimage and his picture as proclaimed at the presentation pageant in Marischal College on XII November, MDCCCXCII. Aberdeen. 1892.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 in. Pp. 16. One plate. 150 copies offprinted, with title, from the *Free Press*. Colvin was porter at Mar. Coll., 1843-73; sacrist there, 1873-79; at King's Coll., 1879-91; died, 1895.

Geddes, Sir William Duguid. Canticum in Almam Matrem Aberdonensem. MDCCCXCII.

10 × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 4. University Press.

— Notes on the restoration of King's College Chapel, Aberdeen. By Sir William D. Geddes, LL.D., principal of the University of Aberdeen. (Reprinted from "Transactions of Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society".) Aberdeen: printed for private circulation. 1892.

11 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 9 in. Pp. 25 + [1]. One plate.

King's College Chapel. University of Aberdeen. Restoration of King's College Chapel. Interim report.

10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 in. Pp. 6 + [2]. See *infra*, 1894.

Kirby, John. Canticum in Almam Matrem Aberdonensem. Written by Sir William Geddes, LL.D. Set to music for men's voices and orchestra by John Kirby. Printed for the composer by Thomson and Duncan, Aberdeen.

10 × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 3 + [1]. Music reprinted in *Alma Mater*, 26 Oct. 1892.

Library Committee. University of Aberdeen. Report on the Library of the University. Prepared by the Library Committee and approved by the Senatus of the University on July 26th [1892].

13 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 19 + [1].

Ree, Stephen. Records of the Arts Class, 1868-72, University of Aberdeen. Edited by Peter John Anderson. Second edition edited by Stephen Ree. Aberdeen: printed for the Class by A. King and Co., at the University Press. 1892.

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xii + 250 + [2]. 10 plates. Only 90 copies printed. Appendices on "The next generation," "Addresses during 1868-72," "David Rennet," "The arts curriculum," "Canticum in Almam Matrem Aberdonensem"—the last (by Sir W. D. Geddes), with a metrical version by Mr. Ree. See also 1882, **Anderson**, *supra*, and 1902, **Wilson**, *infra*.

Stark, James. Dr. Kidd of Aberdeen: a picture of religious life in by-gone days. By James Stark, minister in Aberdeen. . . . Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son. 1892.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. Pp. xii + 270. Three plates. *Free Press* Office. An appendix gives Dr. Bain's recollections of Dr. Kidd. New editions in 1893 and 1898.

Students' Representative Council. University of Aberdeen. Students' Representative Council. Annual report to students. Session 1891-92.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 9 + [1]. Issued annually.

1893.

Act of Parliament. An act to authorise the extension of the buildings of Marischal College of the University of Aberdeen, to provide for the removal and re-erection of Greyfriars Church, and other purposes. 56 and 57 Vict., c. 177. 27 July, 1893.

$10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 13 + [3].

Agriculture. Department of Agriculture. Proceedings for 1892-93. Pp. 44. Map.

Allardyce, Alexander. Balmoral, a romance of the Queen's country. By Alexander Allardyce. . . . 3 vols. . . . William Blackwood & Sons. . . . MDCCCXCIII.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. William Meston is one of the characters in this novel. See 1725, *supra*.

Anderson, Peter John. Historical notes on the libraries of the Universities of Aberdeen. P. J. A. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1893.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. Pp. 27 + [1]. Fifty copies offprinted (with a title) of Appendix B in the *University Calendar* for 1893-94.

— List of officers, University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1495-1860. P. J. A. Printed at the University Press. 1893.

$10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 94. Fifty copies, printed on non-club paper, of pp. 3-94 (with a new title) of the next item.

— Officers and graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen, MVD.-MDCCCLX. Edited by Peter John Anderson, M.A., LL.B. Aberdeen. Printed for the New Spalding Club. MDCCCXCIII.

$10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xx + 399 + [1]. Frontispiece of Aberdeen student from painting by Sir George Reid, and three other plates. 525 copies printed at the University Press.

Brook, Alexander J. S. The university, civic, and judicial maces of Scotland. By Alexander J. S. Brook, F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh: printed by Neill and Company. 1893.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 7$ in. Pp. 80. One inserted plate and many figures in text. Offprint with title from *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. xxvi. pp. 440-514.

Bulloch, John Malcolm. University centenary ceremonies. By John Malcolm Bulloch, M.A. Aberdeen. MDCCCXCIII.

$9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xvi + 61 + [3]. One plate. Reprinted from the *Free Press*.

[**Duncan, George.**] Aberdeen University Arts Class, 1884-8. [Quotation.]
Class record. MDCCCXCIII.

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 30 + [2], and cover with title. Five plates. Taylor & Henderson. See 1896, *infra*.

Fairbairn, Andrew Martin. "The beloved disciple." Sermon in memory of the late Professor Milligan, D.D., preached in King's College Chapel, Old Aberdeen, by Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, on Sunday, 17th December, 1893. Aberdeen: the University Press.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 26.

Geddes, Sir William Duguid. Defence of the Old Crown: or the case for King's College stated and explained.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ in. Pp. 34 + [2]. Reprinted from the *Aberdeen Journal*. Paper cover with print of Crown after Sir George Reid.

— Libellus academicus salutatorius. Ex Aberdonia. MDCCCXCIII.

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 5 + [3]. University Press. A greeting to students of other Universities, signed "Joannes Everard Rae, A.M., Comitiorum Studentium Praeses," but written by Sir W. D. Geddes.

Kirby, John. The sunniest season of life. Students' song with chorus for men's voices. Written by John Malcolm Bulloch, M.A. The music composed by John Kirby. Printed for the composer by Thomson and Duncan, Aberdeen.

$10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 3 + [1]. Music reprinted in *Alma Mater*, 1 Mar. 1893.

Knight, George David. Movable kidney and intermitting hydronephrosis. A thesis for the degree of M.D. Aberdeen. By G. D. Knight. London: Baillière . . . 1893.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. viii + 129 + [1]. This is included as the first M.D. thesis submitted in print.

Library. Library association of the United Kingdom. Aberdeen meeting, 1893. Visit to the Aberdeen University Library. List of books and manuscripts exhibited.

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ in. Pp. 6.

Minto, William. In memoriam. See *supra*, 1883, *Alma Mater*.

Mylne, Robert Scott. The master masons of Scotland and their works. By Rev. Robert Scott Mylne. . . . Edinburgh . . . 1893.

15×10 in. Pp. xx + 307 + [1], with many plates including the four crown steeples of Old Aberdeen, Linlithgow, Edinburgh and Newcastle.

Ogilvie, Joseph. University of Aberdeen. Session 1893-94. Class of theory, history, and art of education. Inaugural address by Joseph Ogilvie, M.A., LL.D., lecturer on education. . . . Delivered 18th October, 1893. Aberdeen: printed at the Albany Press. 1893.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 18 + [2], and cover with title.

Robbie, William. Aberdeen, its traditions and history. With notices of some eminent Aberdonians. By William Robbie. . . . Aberdeen : D. Wyllie & Son. 1893.

8½ × 5¾ in. Pp. xii + 517 + [1]. 13 plates. *Free Press* Printing Company. Mr. Robbie is an alumnus of King's Coll., 1852-54.

Rodger, Ella Hill Burton. Aberdeen doctors at home and abroad: the narrative of a medical school. By Ella Hill Burton Rodger. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. MDCCCXCIII.

8½ × 5¾ in. Pp. xvi + 355 + [1]. Dedicated to the graduates of Aberdeen University.

Students' Handbook. Students' handbook for 1893-94. Published by the Students' Representative Council.

5½ × 3¾ in. Pp. 46. Printed annually by W. and W. Lindsay. Includes a directory of students.

Trail, James William Helenus. The University library, Aberdeen. List of works of a periodical class, with prices. April, 1893.

9¾ × 6¼ in. Pp. 14. Professor Trail was elected Curator of the Library in 1891.

1894.

Boece, Hector. Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium episcoporum vitae. Edited and translated by James Moir, M.A., LL.D., Co-rector of Aberdeen Grammar School. Aberdeen: printed for the New Spalding Club. MDCCCXCIV.

10¼ × 7½ in. Pp. xx + v + 6-210, with plates of King's College Chapel interior, and of Alexander VI.'s bull.

Buildings Extension. Financial statement with reference to sites and new buildings. March, 1894.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. [4].

— Report by the executive sub-committee. . . . 31st May, 1894.

13½ × 8½ in. Pp. [4]. Signed David Stewart.

— University of Aberdeen buildings extension scheme. Aberdeen University Press. 1894.

10¾ × 8½ in. Pp. 10 + [2]. Two views. Signed by Lord Huntly. List of subscriptions to 1 Aug. 1894.

Bulloch, John Malcolm. Certain college carols. By John Malcolm Bulloch. Aberdeen: MDCCCXCIV.

7¾ × 4¼ in. Pp. 32, with ornamental cover. 50 copies printed.

— College carols. By John Malcolm Bulloch. Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and Son. MDCCCXCIV.

7¾ × 4½ in. Pp. 78 + [6]. 500 copies printed. Chiefly reprints from *Alma Mater*.

[**Campbell, Hugh Fraser.**] Catalogue of the Law Library in the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1894.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 19 + [1].

Cruickshank, John Forbes. University of Aberdeen. Preliminary record of Arts Class, 1870-74.

9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 22 + [2].

[**Geddes, Sir William Duguid.**] Boece and Melvin: a vindication; or the sequence after *ne* prohibitive. Aberdeen: printed at the Aberdeen Journal Office. 1894.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 23 + [1]. With an "Epilogue" (pp. 3 + [1]) from the *Journal* of 30 Jan. 1895. A "concluding epilogue" appeared in the *Journal* of 1 Apr. 1895.

Jamieson, Thomas. University of Aberdeen. Opening lecture of agricultural course. Winter session, 1894-95. Published by request. Copies may be had from Wyllie & Son, booksellers . . . Aberdeen.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 in. Pp. 28, and cover with title.

Johnston, David. The scope of Biblical criticism. An inaugural address given in the hall of Marischal College, Aberdeen, on Tuesday afternoon, 31st October, 1893, by David Johnston, professor of divinity and biblical criticism in the University of Aberdeen and minister of Harray and Birsay. [Texts.] Aberdeen: John Rae Smith. . . . 1894.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 in. Pp. 36.

King's College Chapel. University of Aberdeen. King's College chapel. Schemes for restoration and improvement. I. Organ fund. II. Chapel fund. List of subscribers and balance sheets. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1894.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 20.

Library. University of Aberdeen. Catalogue of the books added to the Library in King's College, November, 1891, to March, 1894. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1894.

10 × 6 in. Pp. 55 + [1]. See 1891, **Walker**, *supra*. This list forms Appendix B in the *University Calendar* of 1894/95. A similar catalogue of books added to the library in King's College was issued in 1895 (pp. 97 + [1]); 1896 (pp. 76); 1897 (pp. 61 + [1]). Each appeared in the corresponding *Calendar*. See 1898, *infra*.

— University of Aberdeen. Catalogue of the books in the Wilson Archaeological Library. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press.

10 × 7 in. Pp. 18.

Low, William Leslie. David Thomson, M.A., professor of natural Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen. A sketch of his character and career. By William Leslie Low, M.A., Rector of St. Columba's, Largs, and Canon of Cumbrae. Aberdeen: published by D. Wyllie & Son. . . . MDCCLXXIV.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 in. Pp. xiv + 124. Three plates. A few copies on large paper, with plates on India paper. Taylor & Henderson. Canon Low is M.A., 1862; D.D., 1901.

Mackenzie, William Andrew. Rosemary. W. A. Mackenzie. London : Noel MDCCCXCIV.

5 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [16] and cover. On pp. 11-12 is printed "Shon Campbell". See *Alma Mater*, xi. 196; xii. 179.

Marischal College. Defence of Marischal College. Great public meeting in 1859. Reprinted by W. & W. Lindsay. [1894.]

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 32, and cover with title.

[**Milligan, Annie.**] In memoriam William Milligan, D.D., born 15th March, 1821, entered into rest 11th December, 1893. Aberdeen : the University Press. 1894.

9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 58. Bibliography on pp. 55-8.

Robertson, Alexander Webster. The public libraries of Aberdeen.

In *The Library*, vi., pp. 1-12. Mr. Robertson, M.A., 1866, librarian of the Public Library, Aberdeen, read this paper at the Aberdeen meeting of the Library Association, Sept., 1893.

Senatus. Minutes. See *infra*, 1901.

[**Williamson, Charles.**] Aberdeen University Arts Class, 1885-9. MDCCCXCIV.

7 × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. 7 plates. Taylor & Henderson.

1895.

Aitken, W. H. Crown and tower, the story of Aberdeen University. By Christopher King. With special introductory chapter by Alfred Macleod, Aberdeen, University lecturer on elocution. Aberdeen : W. Jolly & Sons, Bridge Street. 1895.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 in. Pp. viii + 68. Four plates. A severe review appeared in *Alma Mater*, 6 Nov. 1895, an even more scathing criticism originally printed for the previous number having been cancelled.

Anderson, Duncan. Scottish folk lore, or reminiscences of Aberdeenshire from pinafore to gown. By the Rev. Duncan Anderson, M.A. . . . New York : J. Selwin Tait & Sons. . . . [1895.]

6 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. xvi + 245 + [1]. Chapter xxv. : The competition [1840] and the gown. Reissued in Toronto, 1899.

Anderson, Peter John. University of Aberdeen. Subject cataloguing in the Library. Aberdeen : printed at the University Press. 1895.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 16.

Arts Class. Hereunto are affixed y^e comelye and beautious autographs of y^e Arts Class 1891-1895. Emprynted inne ye Citie of Aberdeen bye Thomson & Duncan.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 8. Lithographed.

Bulloch, John Malcolm. A history of the University of Aberdeen, 1495-1895. By John Malcolm Bulloch, M.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton. . . . MDCCCXCV.

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. viii + 220. Printed at Aberdeen University Press. A preliminary edition appeared in the columns of the *Aberdeen Free Press* from Apr. 25 to Oct. 17.

[**Geddes, Sir William Duguid.**] Memorial verses in honour of Chas. Mitchell, LL.D., Newcastle-on-Tyne. Born 22nd May, 1820. Died 22nd August, 1895.

$4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [2]. Printed on card. See *Alma Mater*, xiii. 2, 30, 39.

Library. University of Aberdeen. Regulations and by-laws of the Library. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1895.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ in. Pp. 8. Revised editions in 1897 and 1904.

Masson, David. James Melvin, rector of the Grammar School of Aberdeen. A sketch by David Masson. With appendices. Aberdeen: printed for the Centenary Committee. MDCCCVC.

$8 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [viii] + 112. 4 plates. Printed by Taylor & Henderson, and published by D. Wyllie & Son. 250 numbered copies. Reprint from *Macmillan's Mag.* for Jan. 1864, edited by P. J. Anderson: appendices by John Hill Burton, Sir W. D. Geddes, Rev. W. R. Bruce.

Moir, James. Boece, Melvin, Geddes: do they ever nod? By J. M. Reprinted from the *Aberdeen Journal*, Aberdeen. 1895.

7×5 in. Pp. 24.

Monocerotis cornu abreptum restitutum celebratum ab AAAAAAAAAAAAAA BB CC DDDDD EEEEEEEEEEEE GGGGG IIIII LLLLL MMMM NNNNNNNNNN OOOOOOOO P RRRRRRRRRR SS TT VVV XX. Aberdoniæ: MDCCCLXXII. MDCCCXCI. MDCCCVC.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [20]; 2 plates. No printer's name. Only seven copies printed, for the British Museum, the Advocates' Library, the University Libraries of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh; and "the surviving criminals". This curious pamphlet records the removal, on the night of Saturday, 23rd December, 1872, of the horn of the unicorn at the door of the Library, King's College; and its return on Christmas Day, 1890, to Principal Geddes, who, as requested, acknowledged receipt by a Latin advertisement in the *Scotsman* of 5th Jan., 1891. The title evidently includes an anagram of names of the persons concerned.

Rait, Robert Sangster. King's College buildings: a descriptive account. R. S. R. Aberdeen: printed at the Aberdeen Journal Office. 1895.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ in. Pp. 20 + [4], including two plates. Offprint from his *Universities of Aberdeen*, pp. 233-48.

— The Universities of Aberdeen: a history. By Robert Sangster Rait, M.A. Aberdeen: published by James Gordon Bisset. MDCCCXCV.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xii + 382. *Aberdeen Journal* Office, the type being that of the columns of the *Journal*, in which the chapters appeared from May 2 to Aug. 29.

Rashdall, Hastings. The Universities of Europe in the middle ages. By Hastings Rashdall. . . . In two volumes. . . . Oxford : at the Clarendon press. MDCCCXCV.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Aberdeen in vol. ii., pt. i., p. 309.

Stables, William Gordon. From ploughshare to pulpit, a tale of the battle of life. By Gordon Stables, M.D. . . . London : James Nisbet & Co. . . . 1895.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 in. Pp. viii + 310. Book I. : The student at home. Book II. : Ups and downs of University life. See *supra*, 1891. Dr. Gordon Stables has introduced episodes of Aberdeen University life in others of his tales.

Students' Union. Aberdeen University Union. Constitution and by-laws, 1895-96. Aberdeen : printed at the Adelphi press.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 11 + [1], and cover with title. Taylor and Henderson.

1896.

Anderson, Peter John. University of Aberdeen. Report by the librarian to the Senatus Academicus for the year ending 15th September, 1896, in terms of Ordinance No. 64, Section XVI.

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 4. Henceforward issued annually.

Annand, Rachel. A college chapel.

In *The British Weekly*, 9 July, 1896, vol. xx. p. 184. The chapel is that of King's College, where Miss Annand (now Mrs. Taylor) was a student 1894-97.

Arnott, Elinor. University of Aberdeen. Description of the armorial bearings, portraits and busts in the Mitchell Hall and Picture Gallery, Marischal College. By E. A. Aberdeen : printed at the Albany Press. 1896.

8 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xvi + 138. One plate. A revised edition of the articles in *Scottish Notes and Queries*, May to December, 1896.

Davidson, William Leslie. A philosophical centenary, Reid and Campbell, being the opening lecture of the logic class, session 1896-97. By William L. Davidson, LL.D., professor of logic and metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen : John Rae Smith. 1896.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 21 + [1].

Delisle, Leopold. L'imprimeur parisien Josse Bade et le professeur écossais Jean Vaus. Par L. Delisle. Extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, année 1896, t. lvii. Paris. 1896.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 12 + [2].

Dickie, John. The evolution of literature. An essay read before the Aberdeen University Literary Society, February 7th, 1896, by J. Dickie, M.A., Buckie. Peterhead : printed by P. Scrogie, "Buchan Observer" works. 1896.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 15 + [1].

[**Duncan, George.**] Aberdeen University Arts Class, 1884-8. MDCCCXCVI. Class Record. Aberdeen: the Queen's printers.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 51 + [1], and cover with title. Taylor & Henderson. Eleven plates, included in paging. Preface, "The pilgrim's progress," and verses, "Hearts desire," by J. M. Bulloch. See 1899, *infra*.

Geddes, Sir William Duguid. Poetic ideals of education. The "Minstrel" and George Macdonald. A lecture by Principal Sir Wm. D. Geddes, University of Aberdeen. Published by request. Aberdeen: John Rae Smith. 1896.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 29 + [3].

Hendrick, James. The relations of modern science to agriculture. Inaugural lecture, University of Aberdeen, 1896. By James Hendrick, B.Sc., F.I.C., F.C.S. Reprinted from "The Scottish farmer". Glasgow. . . .

6 × 4 in. Pp. 38. Mr. Hendrick is Lecturer on agricultural chemistry.

Johnston case. University Court papers.

Report of Committee of Senatus (appointed 21st March) regarding the class of biblical criticism. . . . 30th March; Answers for the Aberdeen University Court in reply to the Report of 30th March. . . . April-May, 1896. D. J. (10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 15 + [1].)

Notes of evidence at an investigation with reference to the class of biblical criticism. July [August], 1896. (Pp. 147 + [1].)

Print of documents submitted by the Aberdeen University Court to the Lords of the Privy Council in the matter of the resolution of the Court requiring Professor David Johnston, D.D., to retire from the chair of biblical criticism in Aberdeen University. [1896.] (Pp. 65 + [1].)

Library. University of Aberdeen. Classified list of current serials in the library. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1896.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 in. Pp. [2] + 16.

— University of Aberdeen. Rough list of the periodicals in the Library. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1896.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 59 + [1].

Lynch, Arthur. Human documents: character sketches of representative men and women of the time. By Arthur Lynch. . . . London: Bertram Dobell. . . . 1896.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 in. Pp. xii + 304. Pp. 285-304: Alexander Bain.

Macgibbon, David, and Ross, Thomas. The ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland. . . . By David Macgibbon and Thomas Ross. . . . 3 vols. . . . Edinburgh: David Douglas. MDCCCXCVI.-VII.

10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. King's College chapel described and illustrated in Vol. iii, pp. 287-296.

Ogilvie, Joseph. John Cruickshank, professor in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. A memoir by Joseph Ogilvie, with appendices.

Aberdeen : printed . . . by Taylor and Henderson and published . . . by D. Wyllie and Son. MDCCCXCVI.

8 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [viii] + 147 + [1]. 7 plates. 250 numbered copies. Compiler assisted by Dr. Alexander Cruickshank, Dr. Alexander Bain, and P. J. Anderson.

Rait, Robert Sangster. Extracts from King's College Records, 1716. R. S. R. Aberdeen : printed for private circulation. 1896.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. viii + 12. 25 copies offprinted by Milne & Hutchison from the New Spalding Club's *Historical Papers*, vol. ii., 1896.

Shewan, James Smith. Crown and tower. Edited for University union bazaar by J. S. Shewan, M.A., Alex. Brown, M.A., B.Sc., C. I. Beattie, M.A. Aberdeen : printed . . . by Taylor & Henderson, Queen's printers. MDCCCXCVI.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. xxiv + 94. 16 plates, including 10 views of King's College and 5 of Marischal.

Smith, James, and Cruickshank, John Forbes. Records of the Arts Class, 1870-74, University of Aberdeen. Edited by Rev. James Smith, chairman of Class Reunion Committee, and John Forbes Cruickshank, secretary. Aberdeen : printed for the Class by A. King & Co., at the University press. 1896.

10 × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. xii + 162 + [2]. Nine plates. 100 copies printed.

Stark, James. The lights of the north ; illustrating the rise and progress of Christianity in North-Eastern Scotland. By James Stark, D.D. . . . Aberdeen : D. Wyllie & Son. MDCCCXCVI.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 in. Pp. xii + 341 + [1] and frontispiece. *Free Press*. Sketches given of Bishops Elphinstone and Patrick Forbes, Principal George Campbell, etc.

Trail, James William Helenus. University of Aberdeen. Report by the Library Committee to the Senatus Academicus for the year ending 15th September, 1896, in terms of Ordinance No. 64, Section XV.

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 4. Signed by Professor Trail as curator. Henceforward issued annually.

Westland, David Monro. Records of the first bajan class of the University of Aberdeen, 1860-61. Edited by David M. Westland, M. Inst. C.E. 1896. Printed at the University Press, Aberdeen : photographs reproduced by M. & T. Scott, Edinburgh.

10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 77 + [3]. 67 plates.

1897.

Accounts. University of Aberdeen. Accountant's report and Abstract of accounts, for the year ending 15th September, 1897.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 70 + [1] and cover with title. An Abstract also issued separately : pp. 22. Two forms of Abstracts issued in 1898 (pp. 60 and 22) and 1899 (pp. 60 and 22). For 1899/1900 onward the size is 13 × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (later 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.).

Allan, John Buckley, and Mackie, Alexander. Records of the Arts Class, 1872-76, University of Aberdeen. Compiled by John Buckley Allan and Alexander Mackie. Aberdeen: privately printed by Taylor & Henderson, printers to Her Majesty. 1897.

10 × 7½ in. Pp. xvi + 100 + [6]. Nine plates. 80 copies printed.

[**Anderson, Peter John.**] Officers of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, 1593-1860. Printed at the University Press. 1897.

10 × 7½ in. Pp. [8] + 377 + [1]. Offprint, with title, &c., from *Records of Mar. Coll.* vol. ii.

College chimes. College chimes. No. 1. March, 1897.

10¼ × 7½ in. Pp. 10. No printer's name. Edited by J. S. Purdy. Two editions.

Finance Committee. Report of the Finance Committee on the state of the General University Fund. [1897.]

9½ × 7¼ in. Pp. 4.

Garden, Farquharson Taylor. Records of the Arts Class, 1854-58. Marischal College and University. Third edition. Edited by Farquharson Taylor Garden. Aberdeen: printed by Milne & Hutchison. 1897.

10¼ × 7½ in. Pp. [8] + 62 + [2]. 10 plates. Only 100 copies printed. See 1879. **Crombie**, *supra*.

Geddes, Sir William Duguid. University of Aberdeen. Graduation address by Principal Sir William D. Geddes. 2nd April, 1897. Aberdeen: the University Press. 1897.

9¾ × 7½ in. Pp. 10 + [2]. Title on coloured paper cover.

Johnson, J. W. The Universities of Britain, their history, life, and aim. With many literary portraits of many eminent men educated therein. By J. W. Johnson, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S. . . . 3 vols. London: Henry Frowde. . . . 1897-98.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. xiv + 167 + [1]; xii + 113 + [1]; xviii + 107 + [1]. The same photogravure portrait of the author appears *in each volume*.

Johnston, David. The Aberdeen University case of biblical criticism. Aberdeen. 1897.

9 × 5¾ in. Pp. xvii + 220 (p. 1 is also paged xvii). A "memorial to the Aberdeen University Court, and, if necessary, to the Queen in Council". Another edition bears to be published by J. G. Bisset and John Rae Smith, and to be printed at the University Press: additional matter on p. 2.

Library. Aberdeen University Library. Catalogue of the books in the Celtic department. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1897.

10 × 6 in. Pp. 63 + [1].

Library. University of Aberdeen. Catalogue of the books added to the Library in Marischal College, 1874-96. Aberdeen: printed for the University [at the University Press]. 1897.

10½ × 7 in. Pp. 286. A Prefatory Note contains a list of 27 printed Catalogues of prior date.

Mackenzie, William Leslie. The Aberdeen medical school. By W. Leslie Mackenzie, M.A., M.D., Medical Officer of Health, Leith. Reprinted for the author from the British Medical Journal, June 19th, 1847. London: printed at the office of the British Medical Association. . . . 1897.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 8, and cover with title.

Marischal College. Meeting for defence of Marischal College in 1859.

13 × 8 in. Pp. 4. A reprint, by Mr. William Lindsay, one of the speakers, of the contemporary report of the Head Court held 26 Feb. 1859.

Rennet, David. Davie: being a faithful account of divers tributes paid, in picture, poetry and prose, on the twenty-eighth day of December A.D. MDCCCXCVI. to the mathematical coach, who is formally known as David Rennet, Doctor of Laws. Printed at the Aberdeen University Press for the benefit of Davie-devotees.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. [8] + 75 + [1]. Ten plates. A report of the presentation of Davie's portrait, with appendices by W. K. Leask, W. C. Macdonald and others.

Walker, George. Aberdeen awa', sketches of the men, manners, and customs as delineated in Brown's Bookstall, 1892-94. By George Walker. Revised and largely extended, with portraits and illustrations. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. 1897.

7½ × 5 in. Pp. x + 399 + [1]. W. Jolly & Sons, printers. Frontispiece and plates in text.

1898.

Aberdeen Architecture.

In the *Builder*, 14th May, 1898. Views of King's and Marischal Colleges, the latter with restoration of Greyfriars church as proposed by Mr. A. M. Mackenzie.

Blaikie, William Garden. David Brown, D.D., LL.D., professor and principal of the Free Church College, Aberdeen. A memoir by William Garden Blaikie, D.D. . . . London: Hodder & Stoughton. . . . 1898.

8 × 5½ in. Pp. xvi + 364, with portrait. "Student days" in Chap. ii.

Cooper, James. Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen. One word more in favour of its retention and restoration, being a paper read before the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, on Tuesday, 16th November, 1897. By the Rev. James Cooper, D.D., president of the Society. Aberdeen: W. Jolly & Sons. 1898.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 15 + [1]. One plate.

Fraser, Alexander Campbell. Thomas Reid. By A. Campbell Fraser. Famous Scots series. Published by Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 160. Much interesting matter on Reid as student and regent at Aberdeen.

Geddes, Sir William Duguid. The plea for the retention of the fabric of Greyfriars Church. By W. D. G. 2 series. Aberdeen Journal Office. February (March), 1898.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 26 + [2]; 29 + [3]. Reprints from the *Journal*.

General Council. University of Aberdeen. Minutes of the General Council. Vol. I. Meetings I.-LXXIV. 10th October, 1860—14th April, 1897. Aberdeen: the University Press. 1898.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. [4] + 353 + [1] (no p. 146, but a blank page between 129 and 130). The first 56 pages were printed in 1869, the later pages in instalments from time to time.

[**Gillan, James.**] Records of the Arts Class, 1862-66. University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1898.

11 × 9 in. Pp. 62 + [2]. 18 plates. 125 copies printed.

[**Grant, Robert William Lyall.**] University of Aberdeen: Record of the Arts Class of 1891-95. MDCCCXCVIII.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 18, and cover with title. 2 plates. W. and W. Lindsay.

Johnstone, James Fowler Kellas. *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae . . .* Volume iii., Index to Volume ii. Compiled by James Fowler Kellas Johnstone. Aberdeen: printed for the New Spalding Club. MDCCCXCVIII.

$10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. viii + 200. Three plates. 525 copies printed at University Press. See 1889, *Anderson, supra*.

Library. Supplement to the Aberdeen University Calendar, 1898-99. Additions to Library [1897-98] and Register of General Council.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ in. Pp. 180, and cover with title. A similar issue in 1899; additions of 1898-99 (pp. 138 and cover). See 1900, *infra*.

Low, William Leslie. Reuben Dean. By William Leslie Low. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1898.

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 304, and six plates. The hero of the story goes through the Aberdeen classes.

Milligan, William. Order of service in King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, at the dedication of table for Holy Communion, of communion plate, and of lectern in memory of the late Very Rev. Professor Milligan, D.D., Monday, 24th October, 1898.

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 29 + [3]. University Press.

Pirie, William Robinson. In memoriam. Ceremony of presentation of the bust of the Very Rev. Principal Pirie to the University of Aberdeen, January 3, 1898. Aberdeen University Press.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ in. Pp. [4] + 53 + [1]. One plate.

Rait, Robert Sangster. The Universities Commission, 1889-1897, a review. By Robert Sangster Rait, M.A., assistant to the professor of logic in the University of Aberdeen. From Banffshire Journal of January 11, 18, & 25, 1898. Banff: published at the Banffshire Journal Office, sold in Aberdeen by D. Wyllie & Son. 1898.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 25 + [3].

Songbook. The Scottish students' songbook. Published for the Songbook committee of the Students Representative Councils of Scotland. By Bayley and Ferguson, London. . . . [1898.]

12½ × 9½ in. Pp. viii + 360, with seven plates. This is an edition de luxe. The Songbook was first issued in 1891, but the earlier editions contained no special Aberdeen section. The 1898 issue gives Sir W. D. Geddes' *Canticum*, Professor Wight Duff's *Salve boreale lumen*, Mr. J. M. Bulloch's *Sunniest season of life*, and Mr. W. A. Mackenzie's *Shon Campbell*.

Terry, Charles Sanford. "On the study of history." An address delivered at the inauguration of the history class in the University of Aberdeen, October 20, 1898. By C. Sanford Terry, M.A., lecturer in history in the University.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 20. Reprinted from *Free Press*.

[**Williamson, Charles.**] Record of the Arts Class, 1885-89. Aberdeen: privately printed by Taylor & Henderson . . . 1898.

8¼ × 6¾ in. Pp. [4] + 54 + [2]. One plate.

1899.

[**Anderson, Peter John.**] *Aurora borealis academica.* Aberdeen University appreciations. Aberdeen: printed by the University printers. 1899.

8¾ × 6 in. Pp. xx + 401 + [1]. 42 plates. The contributors to the volume were the Marquis of Huntly, Sir William Geddes, Sir John Struthers, Sir George King, R. A. Neil, W. L. Mollison, Alexander Mackie, W. Keith Leask, W. L. Low, William Bannerman, W. Robertson Nicoll, A. T. G. Beveridge, Stephen Ree, James Donald, Donald Macmillan, James Cooper, J. Forbes White, James Duguid, W. Leslie Mackenzie, James Cantlie, J. Gray McKendrick, E. Payne Philpots, Angus Fraser, William Bulloch, J. M. Bulloch, R. S. Rait.

Buildings Extension Scheme. Aberdeen University buildings extension scheme. List of subscriptions and contributions, June, 1899. Aberdeen University Press.

8¾ × 5½ in. Pp. 18 + [2].

Butler, Dugald. Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists, or the influence of a religious teacher on the Scottish Church. By the Rev. D. Butler. . . . London MDCCCXCIX.

7 × 4½ in. Pp. xii + 151 + [1]. Chaps. ii., iii., v. deal with Scougal's life at King's Coll. as student and teacher.

Dey, William. Diploma in education. A paper read before the Aberdeen branch of the Educational Institute of Scotland, 18th March, 1899. By William Dey, M.A., LL.D. Aberdeen University Press. 1899.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 21 + [1], and cover with title.

[**Duncan, George.**] Records of the Arts Class, 1884-88, University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: privately printed by Taylor & Henderson, printers to Her Majesty. 1899.

9¼ × 7¼ in. Pp. 53 + [1]. Ten plates, which, with the cover, are included in the paging. Preface, "Lest we forget," and verses, "To King's," by J. M. Bulloch. See 1902, *infra*.

[**Geddes, Sir William Duguid, and White, John Forbes.**] Two professors of oriental languages. Aberdeen University Press. 1899.

8 × 5½ in. Pp. [4] + 34. Two portraits. Offprint, with title-page, of pp. 132-149 (Prof. Andrew Scott), and pp. 189-204 (Prof. W. Robertson Smith) of **Anderson's Aurora Borealis**.

Hinde, G. J. Prof. H. A. Nicholson.

In *Geological Magazine*, March, pp. 138-144, with portrait.

Johnson, J. W. Universitas Aberdonensis. Illustrissimae Academiae Aberdonensis alumni. Reprinted from Historical and critical essays. By J. W. Johnson, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S. . . . London: Henry Frowde. . . . 1899.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 31 + [1]. Portrait.

Johnston, David. University lectures on biblical criticism. Session 1893-4. With an appendix of some additional extracts. By David Johnston, professor of divinity and biblical criticism in the University of Aberdeen. [Texts.] Publishers (arranged alphabetically) Aberdeen: James G. Bisset. . . . John Rae Smith. . . . 1899.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. lxxxiv + 436. No printer's name.

Johnston, William. Some account of the last bajans of King's and Marischal Colleges, MDCCCLIX.-LX., and of those who joined their class in the University of Aberdeen during the semi, tertian and magistrand sessions, MDCCCLX.-LXIII. Compiled by Lieut.-Colonel William Johnston, M.A., M.D., Army Medical Staff (retired). Aberdeen: privately printed by Her Majesty's printers at the Adelphi Press. MDCCCXCIX.

10 × 7½ in. Pp. viii + 88. Five plates including coloured representations of a bajan of King's College (Prof. Charles Niven), and a bajan of Marischal College (Prof. Alexander Ogston). 100 numbered copies.

Mackie, Charles James. Class list for 1899, of the Aberdeen University Arts Class of 1890-94, together with a short introduction containing some notes on the history of the Class. Compiled on behalf of the Class Committee by C. J. Mackie, R. S. Rait, and J. Sellar, MM.A. Printed at Cove, Aberdeen, by W. Mutch, for the Class Committee. February, 1899.

8 × 6¾ in. Pp. 16, and cover with arms.

Mitchell, Victor. Destruction of churches and religious houses in Aberdeen. By Victor Mitchell, architect. Aberdeen: Moran and Co. . . . 1899.
10 × 7½ in. Pp. 43 + [1], with 7 plates, one of Greyfriars Church "before the Reformation".

Wishart, John W. Notable libraries: University library of Aberdeen. In *The Library World*, Dec. 1899 and Jan. 1900. Vol. ii. pp. 141, 173.

190—.

Ramsay, William Mitchell. Preliminary report presented to the Wilson trustees. By W. M. Ramsay, second Wilson fellow. The Aberdeen University Press limited.

10¾ × 7¼ in. Pp. 13 + [1], and cover with title.

Terry, Charles Sanford. Course I. Outlines of general modern literature to 1603, with particular reference to British development.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 7 + [1] and cover with title.

Wilson Trust. Report by the Wilson trustees to the Court of the University of Aberdeen on the position of the trust.

13½ × 8½. Pp. 2.

1900.

Aberdeen University Studies. General editor: Peter John Anderson.

The series of Aberdeen University Studies includes many works not bearing on University history, the titles of which are given briefly below. Those marked N. S. C. are issued in co-operation with the New Spalding Club.

1. See *infra*, 1900. **Anderson.**
2. Records of Old Aberdeen. A. M. Munro. Vol. 1. 1900. (N. S. C.)
3. Place Names of W. Aberdeenshire. James Macdonald. 1900. (N. S. C.)
4. Family of Burnett of Leys. George Burnett. 1901. (N. S. C.)
5. Records of Invercauld. J. G. Michie. 1901. (N. S. C.)
6. See *infra*, 1902. **Anderson.**
7. Albemarle papers. Professor C. S. Terry. 1902. (N. S. C.)
8. House of Gordon. J. M. Bulloch. 1903. (N. S. C.)
9. Records of Elgin. William Cramond. Vol. 1. 1903. (N. S. C.)
10. Avogadro and Dalton. A. N. Meldrum. 1904.
11. Records of Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire. David Littlejohn. 1904. (N. S. C.)
12. See *infra*. **Anatomical.**
13. Report on Alcyonaria collected by Professor Herdman. Professor J. A. Thomson, and W. D. Henderson. 1905.
14. Researches in organic chemistry. Professor F. R. Japp, William Maitland, Joseph Knox, James Wood. 1905.
15. See *infra*, 1905. **Shewan.**
16. The Blackhalls of that Ilk and Barra. Alexander Morison. 1905. (N. S. C.)
17. Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid, and Ratisbon. Vol. 1. 1906. (N. S. C.) P. J. Anderson.
18. See *infra*, 1906. **Johnston.**
19. See *infra*, 1906. **Anderson.**
20. See *infra*, 1906. **Ramsay.**
21. See *infra*, 1906. **Bulloch.**

Anatomical and Anthropological Society. University of Aberdeen. Proceedings of the Anatomical and Anthropological Society, 1899-1900. Published by the Aberdeen University Press limited.

8¼ × 5½ in. Pp. 54 + [2]. Eight plates included in paging and a chart; cover with title. Second issue: 1900-1902. Pp. 75 + [1]. Fourteen plates not included in paging, and cover. Third issue: 1902-04. Size changed to 11 × 8½ in. Pp. iv + 155 + [1]. 28 plates. (**Aberdeen University Studies**: No. 12.)

Anderson, Peter John. Roll of alumni in arts of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1596-1860. Edited by Peter John Anderson, M.A., LL.B., librarian . . . Aberdeen: printed for the University. 1900.

10¼ × 7¾ in. Pp. xvi + 275 + [1]. Two plates. University Press. (**Aberdeen University Studies**: No. 1.)

— Records of the Aberdeen Universities Commission, 1716-17. Compiled by P. J. Anderson. Aberdeen: 1900.

8 × 6¾ in. Pp. [4] + 74 + [2]. 50 copies reprinted by Milne & Hutchison from *S. N. & Q.*, Aug. 1899, to April, 1902.

Classical Library. University of Aberdeen. Catalogue of the books in the students' classical library. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1900.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 15 + [1], with title on cover.

[**Duguid, John.**] Aberdeen University arts class, 1866-1870. Class record. [1900.]

7¼ × 4¾ in. Pp. 37 + [1]. Re-issued as a "Preliminary Record" in 1901 (8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 40). See *infra*, 1905, **Shewan**.

Geddes, Sir William Duguid. In memoriam. See *supra*, 1883, **Alma Mater**.

[**Gillanders, Minto Rodger.**] Aberdeen University. Arts class, 1895-99. Class Record. Reunion, MDCCC.

7¾ × 5¼ in. Pp. 11 + [1]. Two plates and cover with title. W. & W. Lindsay.

Guthrie, Gideon. Gideon Guthrie, a monograph, written 1712 to 1730. Edited by C. E. Guthrie Wright. . . . William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, MDCCC.

7½ × 5 in. Pp. xxiv + 160. Reference to Aberdeen College life, 1681-84 (*Fasti*, ii. 251).

[**Johnston, William.**] A calendar of the University of Aberdeen for the sessions 1860/61 to 1863/64. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1900.

7¾ × 5¼ in. Pp. viii + 117 + [3]. Compiled by Colonel Johnston, C.B., "with the view of rendering the series of calendars complete," and 100 copies printed for private distribution. On pp. 64-95 are given lists of the Members of the General Council, 1860/61 to 1862/63; and in Appendices appear lists of non-graduate Members of Council, 1868-83; registered Masters of Arts of King's College, 1856-58; Graduates in Arts with Honours of King's College, 1857-60.

Library. University of Aberdeen. Catalogue of the books added to the libraries in King's and Marischal Colleges, March 1899 to March 1900. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press. 1900.

7¼ × 5 in. Pp. 76. Issued annually.

MacGillivray, William. In memoriam. William MacGillivray, M.A., LL.D., professor of natural history and lecturer on botany, in Marischal College and University, Aberdeen; 1841-52. Memorial tablet unveiled, 20th November, 1900. Reprinted from the "Aberdeen Free Press," 21st November, 1900.

9 × 6 in. Pp. 16.

Mackie, Charles James. De sodalitate. Aberdeen University Class, 1890-94.

8½ × 5½ in. Pp. 7 + [1] and cover with half-title. Report of second reunion, 4 Jan. 1900.

[**Paterson, William, and Crombie, James Forbes.**] Arts Class, University of Aberdeen, 1883-87. [Aberdeen, 1900.]

11½ × 9 in. Pp. 41 + [1]. Supplementary notes printed in 1903 for reunion on 8th Jan. 1904: 12 leaves.

Scottish Universities Commission, 1889. General Report of the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889. With an appendix containing ordinances, minutes, correspondence, evidence, and other documents. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Edinburgh: printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. . . . 1900.

15 × 8½ in. Pp. lxii + 330 + [1]. A Parliamentary Paper: [Cd. 276, misprinted].

Strathcona and Mount Royal, Donald, Baron. Imperialism and the unity of the empire. A rectorial address before the students of the University of Aberdeen, December 18th, 1900. By Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.

8¼ × 6¼ in. Pp. 25 + [1]. M·Corquodale and Co., London. Reprinted in 1902 Collection, p. 305.

Watt, William. A history of Aberdeen and Banff. By William Watt. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. MDCCCC.

8¼ × 5¾ in. Pp. xvi + 436. Three maps. The universities in Chapters v. and viii.

1901.

Agriculture. University of Aberdeen. Department of Agriculture. Prospectus, 1901-02. The University Press limited. 1901.

x in. Pp.

Blaikie, William Garden. William Garden Blaikie: an autobiography. "Recollections of a busy life." Edited, with an introduction by Norman L. Walker, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. . . . 1901.

8 × 5½ in. Pp. xviii + 343 + [1]. Portrait. Chap. IV.: Marischal College, 1833-37. See *supra*, 1837. **Blaikie.**

Buildings Extension. Appeal for £25,000. November, 1901.

13¼ × 8¼ in. Pp. 4 + [4], with plate.

Buildings Extension. Scheme for the extension of the buildings and for the better endowment and equipment of the University.

13 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 14.

Kennedy, John. Old highland days: the reminiscences of Dr. John Kennedy. . . . Religious Tract Society [1901].

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. [4] + 288, with plates. John Kennedy was at King's College, 1828-30, v. pp. 61-72.

Library. University of Aberdeen. Catalogue of the books in the Students' Theological Library. With an appendix giving lists of divinity students for Sessions 1753/54 to 1774/75. Aberdeen: The University Press. 1901.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 in. Pp. 96. See *supra*, 1890, **Gilroy**.

Macdonald, Charles. The Dalhousie gazette. In memoriam Chas. Macdonald, M.A. Appointed professor, 1863; died March 11th, 1901.

9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 2-71 [*sic*]. Six plates included in paging, cover with title. The No. of the Gazette for April, 1901. Macdonald, M.A. King's Coll., 1850, was Murray lecturer, 1856-60 (*supra*, 1825); afterwards professor of mathematics in Dalhousie College, N.S.

Macgillivray, William, W.S. A memorial tribute to William Macgillivray, M.A., LL.D., ornithologist, professor of natural history, Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. By William Macgillivray, writer to the Signet. [Motto.] Edinburgh: printed for private circulation. 1901.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. xvi + 203 + [1]. 3 plates.

Senatus. Minutes of meetings of the Senatus Academicus of the University of Aberdeen, 29th September, 1894, to 24th July, 1901. The Aberdeen University Press Limited. 1901.

12 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 in. Pp. [2] + 509 + [1] + viii. The secretary is Mr. D. R. Thom. Current.

University Press. Report of the first (statutory) meeting of the shareholders of the Aberdeen University Press limited. [Jan. 14, 1901.]

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 7 + [1]. Professor W. M. Ramsay, chairman. Issued annually.

1902.

Anderson, Peter John. Rectorial addresses delivered in the Universities of Aberdeen, 1835-1900. Edited by Peter John Anderson, M.A., LL.B., university librarian and formerly rector's assessor in the University Court. Aberdeen: printed for the University. 1902.

10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 in. Pp. x + 396. Seven plates. University Press. (**Aberdeen University Studies**: No. 6.)

Athletic Association. Deva Dona, bazaar book of the Aberdeen University Athletic association. [Quotation.] Aberdeen: Taylor and Henderson, King's printers. MCMII.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 117 + [1]. 17 plates, which are counted in with the pages.

Bulloch, John Malcolm. The Rectorship. J. M. Bulloch. 1902.

10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 in. Pp. 41 + [1]. One plate. Offprint from P. J. Anderson's *Rectorial Addresses*.

Champion. The champion, the organ of the unionist party. No. 1. 17th October, 1902.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. 3 numbers, to 30th Oct. Pp. 28, with covers. W. and W. Lindsay. Supporting Mr. C. T. Ritchie in the Rectorial contest.

[**Duncan, George.**] Records of the Arts Class, 1884-88, University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen: privately printed by Taylor & Henderson. . . . MCMII.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 75 + [1]. Eleven plates which with the cover are included in the paging. Preface "After eighteen years" by J. M. Bulloch. See *infra*, 1905.

King's Students. University of Aberdeen. Scheme of alternative curricula leading to degree in arts for guidance of King's students. [1902.]

5 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 6, and cover with title.

Liberal Standard. The liberal standard. No. 1. 16th October, 1902.

10 × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. 3 numbers, to 30th October. Pp. 8 + 8 + [2, Suppt.] + 8. William Smith. Supporting Mr. H. H. Asquith in the Rectorial contest.

Rennie, John. Natural history department, Marischal College, University of Aberdeen. Outline of special course in natural history for training college students, summer session, 1902. Class conducted by Mr. John Rennie, B.Sc. with the assistance of demonstrators. Supervised by Prof. J. Arthur Thomson.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 in. Pp. 64.

Rodger, Ella Hill Burton, Mrs. Old Aberdeen, "her story and her people". By Ella Hill Burton Rodger, author of "Aberdeen Doctors," etc. Aberdeen: A. & R. Milne. . . . 1902.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 in. Pp. [8] + 108. Four plates. University Press.

Wilson, Robert Morrison. Records of the Arts Class, 1868-72, University of Aberdeen. Edited by Peter John Anderson. Third edition edited by Robert Morrison Wilson. Aberdeen: printed at the University Press for The Class, 1902.

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. xii + 128. 18 plates. Only 90 copies printed. See 1882, **Anderson**, and 1892, **Ree**, *supra*.

1903.

Bain, Alexander. In memoriam. See *supra*, 1883, **Alma Mater**.

Curtis, William Alexander. Religion yesterday—to-day—to-morrow. An inaugural lecture before the University of Aberdeen, session 1903-4. By Rev. William A. Curtis, M.A., B.D. Edin., professor of systematic theology. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. MCMIII.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 32.

Forbes, Archibald. In memoriam. Archibald Forbes, LL.D.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. 15 + [1]. Two plates. "Printed and presented to the subscribers by John Thomson, University Press Ltd., Aberdeen, as an expression of admiration for the genius and work of Archibald Forbes." A record of the unveiling of the tablet in King's College Chapel.

Terry, Charles Sanford. Inaugural lecture delivered in the University of Aberdeen, 13th October, 1903. By Charles Sanford Terry, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher professor of history. Aberdeen: John Rae Smith. 1903.

8 × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 21 + [1]. University Press.

W., H. Memorial to Henry Alleyne Nicholson.

In *Geological Magazine*, October, pp. 451-2, with plate of memorial tablet.

1904.

Agriculture bulletins. Aberdeen and North of Scotland College of Agriculture. Bulletin No. 1. Report on turnip experiments, 1903-4. . . . By James Hendrick. . . . and R. B. Greig. . . . The Aberdeen University Press limited. 1904.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 47 + [1]. Bulletins issued at intervals, to form, when bound up in sets, volumes of **Aberdeen University Studies**.

Bain, Alexander. Autobiography. By Alexander Bain, LL.D., professor of logic and English, University of Aberdeen. (With supplementary chapter.) With portraits. Longmans, Green, and Co., . . . London. . . . 1904.

9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 in. Pp. xii + 449 + [1]. University Press. Four portraits. Supplementary chapter by Professor W. L. Davidson; bibliography by P. J. Anderson.

Blacklaw, Alexander. University of Aberdeen. Clark lectureship in law. Introductory lecture by Alexander Blacklaw, M.A., solicitor. 5th October, 1904. Aberdeen Daily Journal Office. . . . 1904.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 31 + [1].

Edinburgh Association. Aberdeen University Edinburgh Association. Honour to the Doctors Ogilvie. [Feb. 5, 1904.]

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Pp. 28 and cover. Three plates. Reprint from *Banffshire Journal* of Feb. 9. Drs. George, Alexander, and Joseph Ogilvie.

Forbes, Margaret. Beattie and his friends. By Margaret Forbes. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. . . . 1904.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Pp. viii + 332. Plate.

[**Gillanders, Minto Rodger.**] Aberdeen University. Arts class, 1895-99. Class Record, 1900-1903. Reunion, 2nd Jan., 1904.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pp. 19 + 1. One plate and cover with title. W. & W. Lindsay.

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