# CHAPTER XI

# THE UNIVERSITIES OF SCOTLAND



[Rashdall's book marked a great advance in the history of the Scottish universities, but the discovery of fresh material and the appearance of new studies make it particularly difficult to bring his chapter up to date. Professor R. K. Hannay has prepared the sections which follow on S. Andrews and Glasgow, with careful regard to Rashdall's observations on certain features of academic development. The section on S. Andrews was written in co-operation with Professor J. H. Baxter, and that on Glasgow after consultation with Sir Robert Rait. The only general work which has appeared in recent times is by J.-B. COISSAC, *Les Universités de l'Écosse depuis la formation de l'université de S. Andrews jusqu'au triomphe de la réforme, 1410–1560*, Paris, 1915; cf. *Scottish Historical Review*, xiii (1916), 92. There is some discussion of the early history of the Scottish universities in an essay by A. MORGAN, *Scottish University Studies*, London, 1933. Neither work adds anything to previous knowledge.]

## § 1. S. ANDREWS (1413)

The most important documentary sources are (1) the *Evidence* before the University Commissioners for Scotland (vol. iii, 1837), (2) the MS. *Acta Facultatis Artium* (from 1413), (3) the MS. *Acta Rectorum* (from 1470), (4) the reformed statutes of the faculties of arts and theology. The *Acta Facultatis Artium*, unlike the corresponding Glasgow minutes, are not yet in print; but J. MAITLAND ANDERSON edited in *Early Records* (Sc. Hist. Soc., 1926) the graduation lists, with the matriculations from the *Acta Rectorum*. The *Statutes of the faculties of arts and theology at the Reformation*, not presented in the *Evidence*, have been restored from some very imperfect copies by R. K. HANNAY (*Univ. Pub. No. vii*) with an historical introduction. No general history of the university has appeared to supersede the sketch by MAITLAND ANDERSON (Cupar, 1878: with Supplement, 1883); but for the early period his articles in the *Scottish Historical Review*, vols. iii (1906) and viii (1911), 333–60, and his preface to *Early Records* are indispensable, and for the later developments the introductory matter in his *Matriculation Roll, 1747–1897*. Useful information was gathered by T. MCCRIE in his *Life of Andrew Melville*, ed. 2, Edinburgh, 1824. Papers on the history of the university were written for its Quincentenary (*Votiva Tabella*, 1911); cf. also HANNAY, 'Early University institutions at St. Andrews and Glasgow: a comparative study' in the *Scottish Historical Review*, xi (1914), 266–83. J. HERKLESS and R. K. HANNAY, *The College of St. Leonard*, gives particulars of that foundation. Recently a number of documents and notes relating to the earlier years (1411–50) have been contributed by J. H. BAXTER in his *Copiale Prioratus S. Andree* (Oxford, 1929). His *St. Andrews University before the Reformation* (S. Andrews, 1927) deals with the circumstances attending the foundation and with the effect of the Conciliar movement on the life of the university; and his *Collections towards a bibliography of St. Andrews* (S. Andrews, 1926) devotes a large section to university history.

CHAP. XI, § 1.

THE foundation of the first Scottish university was due to a situation which developed towards the close of the great Schism. Academic intercourse with England in the thirteenth century was interrupted by the war of independence; and a Scots college at Paris, begun under Robert I by the bishop of Moray, is the first evidence of the diversion of Scottish students from England to the Continent. Between the release of David II in 1357 and the Schism in 1378 many of them still attended the English universities; but within a year or two after the beginning of the Schism the difference in papal obedience precluded this intercourse. Henry Wardlaw, for instance, who was to found the University of S. Andrews, and who had a safe-conduct from Richard II in 1380, graduated in arts at Paris, studied civil law at Orleans, and appeared later at Avignon.[1] The prior and the archdeacon of S. Andrews, while Wardlaw was bishop, had been students in France;[2] and the eight teachers named at the inception of the new school had all been educated at French universities.[3]

The Scottish student abroad.

Foundation.

For some twenty-five years after the beginning of the Schism no urgent need for a Scottish university was felt; but the persistent adherence of Scotland to Benedict XIII during the two periods of French withdrawal from him before the deposition attempted by the Council of Pisa in 1409, coupled with the turbulence and depression in Paris after the assassination of the duke of Orleans in 1407, made the resort of Scots to Paris university both unprofitable and dangerous. Somewhere between 1407 and 1410 the situation compelled Scotland to consider the establishment of a national university. Possibly the appearance of Lollardy also exerted some influence upon the project.[4] In 1411, accordingly—and it may have been even in 1410—*incepit studium generale universitatis sancti Andree*.[5]

[1] J. M. Anderson in *Sc. Hist. Rev.* viii (1911), 231.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 232–3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

[4] There is considerable emphasis upon defence of the faith in the foundation Bulls; and cf. *Copiale Prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 230–6.

[5] Bower (*Scotichronicon*, xv, c. 22) describes the battle of Harlaw (1411), alludes to operations in 1412, and reverts to the beginning

Foreign models.

It was probably from the lesser French universities, such as Orleans and Angers, in which the Bologna system of student-election was modified by the reservation of greater rights to the bishop on the one hand and to the masters on the other, that the founders of the Scottish universities derived the ideal which their earliest constitutions and charters seem to imply. Circumstances were not, however, favourable to rapid growth. When Scotland decided in 1418 to obey Martin V, ambitious students tended to resume emigration to famous continental schools, nearer the central power of the Papacy, whose patronage might be the reward of distinction. A man might 'determine' in Scotland, and complete his arts course abroad. Even when the master's degree was taken at home, those who had the funds aimed at graduation in the higher faculties at foreign places of repute. About 1420, at S. Andrews, measures had to be adopted to insist upon graduation and post-graduate residence.[1] It is certain, nevertheless, that the faculties of theology and canon law existed there from the outset, while medicine must have been represented during the fifteenth century.[2]

Higher faculties.

The theologians were at first closely associated with the priory, in which the canons regular constituted the chapter of the cathedral. James Biset, whose rule was drawing to a close when the university began, had fostered learning; and James Haldenston, one of his canons, was elected prior at the end of the Schism with special regard to his academic attainments.[3]

of the university 'in the preceding year', specified (possibly by interpolation) as 1410: Major accepted 1411 in his *Greater Britain*.

[1] *Univ. Pub.* vii. 8, 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67: *Sc. Hist. Rev.* viii. 344. David Crannoch, afterwards physician to James II, became dean of the faculty of arts in 1446 (*Copiale Prioratus S. Andree*, p. 487). There was a doctor of medicine at Glasgow in 1469: later, William Manderston, a Glasgow student, who became doctor at Paris and rector of that university, subsequently taught medicine at Glasgow before passing to S. Andrews (Coutts, *Univ. of Glasgow*, p. 477; *Early Records*, pp. 225–7); but William Schevez, Archbishop of S. Andrews (1478–97), had resorted to Louvain for medical study. (Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i, Edinburgh, 1907, p. 82.)

[3] *Scotichronicon*, vi, c. 56: Hannay, in *Scottish Hist. Rev.* xiii (1916), 324. Bower says of Haldenston (*Scotichronicon*, vi, c. 57) 'in facultate sacre pagine precellenter rexit et in theologia decanus graduandos cathedrizavit'.

CHAP. XI, § 1.

The prior was dean *ex officio* until 1428–9, when, in the presence of James I, the monopoly was brought to an end, and statutes were adopted which have been shown to bear the mark of Paris.[1] For lack of record the history of the faculty cannot be traced. Recruited from teaching masters in the faculty of arts, the canons of the priory, the friars, and others, it was probably never insignificant. In 1541 at least a dozen members answered the summons of John Major as dean.[2]

Of the lawyers even less is known. Bower mentions four canonists who taught at the beginning. The marketable value of legal knowledge in the fifteenth century, if it induced rising churchmen to study abroad, also encouraged pursuit of the law at home.[3] In 1457 a *schola decretorum* adjoined the school of the faculty of arts in South Street;[4] and there must have been some demand for civil law. Archbishop Forman (*c.* 1516) sought to revive 'the old and laudable custom' of attendance by regulars for the study of theology and canon law.[5] Later, in Cardinal Betoun's time, we hear of the *doctores venerandi collegii iuris civilis*, and of 'the new schools of the laws'.[6] Legal studies, however, did not flourish to any considerable extent, though it is probable that many graduates in arts took advantage of the available instruction with a view to practising as notaries. Apart from inducements to foreign graduation and the appearance of universities at Glasgow and Aberdeen, the evolution of the civil court of Session tended to attract legal interests to Edinburgh. The first proposal for an academic institution there, in 1558, contemplated especially education in the laws.[7]

[1] *Univ. Pub.* vii. 80, 112. A very important description of the ceremony in connexion with the doctorate survives in the amended statutes (*ibid.*, pp. 76–80).

[2] *College of St. Leonard*, p. 220. Richard Hilliard, the English refugee, was a member (*Rentale S. Andree* (Sc. Hist. Soc.)); and there was graduation in Cardinal Betoun's time (*Archbishops*, iv. 234). On Major's connexion with S. Andrews see *Early Records*, p. xxxix.

[3] A secretary of James II was a licentiate of S. Andrews in canon law (J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1912, p. 74). For lawyers of standing at the university see *Copiale Prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 398–9, 406, 442, 465.

[4] Acta Fac. Art. (Univ. MS.).

[5] Robertson, *Statuta*, i. 284.

[6] *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 235.

[7] *Univ. of Edinburgh, 1883–1933*, p. 1.

That the main influence of the university was exerted through the faculty of arts upon the rank and file of Scottish clerics is indicated by the graduation lists.[1] Towards the close of the fifteenth century lay students must have begun to matriculate, with a view to graduation and obtaining subsequently, perhaps, a smattering of law.[2] The development of the college system brought most of the resident doctors and bachelors of the higher faculties inevitably into connexion with the faculty of arts, through interest in organization and discipline, or as actual teachers. By the middle of the sixteenth century it was possible to describe the minute-book of the faculty as *liber conclusionum universitatis sancti Andree*, and the rector of the university concerned himself *ex officio* with business which formerly was appropriate to the faculty alone.[3]

CHAP. XI, § 1. Faculty of arts.

The traditions of the faculty of arts, like those of the theologians, were derived ultimately from Paris. It was ordained *quod more Parisiensi libri consueti legantur ordinarie*: certain regulations against touting for scholars were adopted word for word: when the statutes were revised in 1439, a book was produced *de statutis et privilegiis studii Parisiensis*.[4] The Parisian nominalism reigned.[5] Laurence of Lindores, the dominant figure till 1437, read lectures on the *De Anima* and the *Physics* of Aristotle, which remained, until the time of Copernicus, a standard text-book in universities where the *doctrina Buridani* was prevalent.[6] After his death there was a reaction, under influence from Cologne, whither Scottish students had been resorting since 1420; and in 1438 Bishop Wardlaw persuaded the faculty to allow the *via Alberti*.[7]

On 28 February 1411–12, some time after teaching had actually begun,[8] Wardlaw granted a charter stating the

Papal privileges.

[1] *Early Records*: the oldest graduation lists in Britain.

[2] *Acts of Parl.* ii. 238, c. 3.

[3] *Univ. Pub.* vii. 23–4, 56.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 3 *sqq.*

[5] 'Quod doctrina Alberti adhuc non legatur in isto studio sed Buridani' (1417). For the books to be heard see *Copiale Prioratus S. Andree*, p. 456.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 382: J. H. Baxter in *Scottish Hist. Rev.* xxv (1927–8), 92.

[7] Acta Fac. Art.: a large majority had voted against the *doctrina Alberti* and the *summule Petri Hispani*. At Glasgow in 1482 Hispanus was the text-book.

[8] 'Universitas vestra a nobis . . . de facto instituta et fundata et a vobis . . . iam laudabiliter inchoata.'

CHAP. XI, § 1. relation of the new body to the bishopric, the priory, and the two diocesan archdeaconries, and defining the jurisdiction of the rector.[1] With the support of James I, then a captive in England, a petition was presented to Benedict XIII suggesting that the bishop should be chancellor, with powers to regulate graduation and frame statutes. Benedict, however, adopted (28 August 1413) the terms he had used for Turin (1404), based upon the foundation Bull of Cologne (1388); and he did not, as Alexander V had done in the case of Leipzig (1409), expressly designate the bishop as chancellor.[2]

No fewer than six separate Bulls were issued: (1) erecting the *studium generale*; (2) confirming Wardlaw's diocesan indult for residence, and extending it to all beneficed persons in Scotland, (3) executorial of this indult, (4) ratifying Wardlaw's charter, (5) conservatorial of the university privileges, (6) providing for study and graduation by Scots who had begun at universities not under Benedict's obedience. According to a very unusual condition, the rector was required to be a graduate in some faculty and in holy orders.

Some months after the reception[3] of the Bulls the university of Paris sought to enlist Scottish interest in the Council of Constance, and appealed to the new foundation.[4] It was not, however, till the year after the election of Martin V that Scotland resolved to abandon Benedict. Early in the autumn of 1418, the faculty of arts by a large majority decided for the change of obedience; and the rector of the university played a prominent part in swaying the Estates.[5]

James I and the university. After James I returned home he opened an anti-papalist campaign, with a willing minister in John Cameron, who became bishop of Glasgow.[6] Relations with Wardlaw, owing

[1] The jurisdiction was modified in favour of the citizens of S. Andrews by Bishop Kennedy in 1444, after inquiry as to practice at Cologne (*Scottish Hist. Rev.* xi. 272).

[2] The Bulls are printed in *Evidence*, iii. 171: a facsimile of the Bull confirming Wardlaw's charter is in *Nat. MSS. of Scot.*, pt. ii. For the petition to Benedict see *Scottish Hist. Rev.* iii. 213; and for a summary of the Bulls, *ibid.* viii. 337.

[3] 3 February 1413–14: *Scotichronicon*, xv, c. 22.

[4] *Copiale Prioratus S. Andree*, p. xl.

[5] *Scottish Hist. Rev.* viii. 347–60; cf. xiii. 327.

[6] *Ibid.* xv. 290; *Acts of Council in Public Affairs*, p. xlv.

to a difference over the controversy, were not cordial; and in 1426 the king actually petitioned Martin V that the university be transferred to Perth, a place represented as being under the immediate authority of the crown, and more suitable than S. Andrews both geographically and economically. The proposal, which might have led to a national university, precluding the later episcopal enterprises at Glasgow and Aberdeen, could hardly in the circumstances be entertained by the Pope. James appears to have been dissatisfied with the condition of affairs. He intervened repeatedly in university politics, and did not confirm the bishop's original charter until 1432.[1] The facts are obscure; but the antagonism between supporters of the Pope and of the Council caused a dispeace not completely cured until the latter's defeat. 

The real power in the university lay with the magisterial body. From the outset there were four nations. The divisional arrangement, due in part to academic tradition, was not a meaningless survival, for in the fifteenth century a common law was still in process of development. The two nations of the south, Lothian and Britain, corresponded roughly to the archdeaconry of Lothian and to the dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway, where racial factors had affected ecclesiastical boundaries.[2] Each nation had its procurator, whose duties required constant attendance, personally or by proxy, and included as a rule the function of rector's assessor. The *comitia* or congregation of the University was a meeting of the nations. Protests recorded by the faculty of arts, as well as a considerable number of university statutes,[3] testify to legislative action; but it is chiefly in connexion with the choice of a rector that the nations are mentioned. Each nation, under the presidency of its procurator, appointed an intrant to give the vote. If the votes were equal, the decision lay with the retiring rector. Our information indicates a desire to preserve the independence of university authority in face of the predominant faculty of arts; and the electors seem to have avoided heads of colleges or members of the teaching staff. Constitution.

[1] *Univ. Pub.* vii. 18, 24, 112.
[2] For the nations see *Early Records*, pp. ix–xi.
[3] *Evidence*, iii. 232.

CHAP. XI, § 1. At first all supposts had a voice in deliberation; but a statute of 1475 deprived those below the bachelor grade of the rectorial franchise.[1]

The Pedagogy. In 1414 it was enacted 'that no schools be conducted in the faculty of arts but by way of community, hall, or paedagogy under the daily direction and control of masters', and that no *extra commensales*, known elsewhere as 'martinets', should be admitted, except poor students and the sons of burgesses. The scholars of a pedagogy seem to have been taught exclusively by resident masters.[2] Rivalries ensued: discipline suffered; and there was little scope for the post-graduate *lectura* upon which the growth of the university would depend. The faculty of arts had an interest in what was loosely styled the 'college' of S. John the Evangelist in South Street. There, in 1430, Wardlaw proposed to concentrate masters and scholars in 'one pedagogy'. The project of concentration failed; but the faculty acquired a residential place—the Pedagogy, which was ultimately merged in the college of S. Mary—and a 'school' for public lectures and acts. This school was *in vico*, by adoption of the Parisian technicality; and some sort of lecture-system developed, whereby each teaching master, whether 'regent' or merely 'reading', selected his 'book' before the faculty.[3]

S. Salvator's College, 1450. It was Bishop Kennedy (1440–65) who conceived the plan of a properly endowed college, and initiated developments which gave S. Andrews a marked advantage over the university which Bishop Turnbull was establishing in Glasgow. S. Salvator's, begun in 1450, was a collegiate church with an academic intention, providing for three theologians, four masters of arts, and six poor foundation scholars. A prolonged controversy with the faculty of arts and its pedagogy was ended (1470) in the provincial council of the Scottish

[1] *Early Records*, pp. xi–xxii. For the subsequent history of the franchise and the ultimate effect of the provision requiring the rector to be in holy orders, see *Matric. Roll, 1747–1897*, pp. xvii–xxii.

[2] This appears to be the meaning of the rule 'quod non audirent sub aliquo magistro vel aliquibus magistris nisi tenentibus domicilium'. For details of teaching and graduation see *Univ. Pub.* vii.

[3] A book is still handed to a professor at the ceremony of installation.

Church, when Kennedy's college renounced a Bull permitting independent degree examinations.[1] But the quarrel discouraged public lecturing *in vico*. By the close of the century these public lectures had almost disappeared: the class of non-regent 'readers', and the hearing of 'extraordinary' books, diminished; and a result was the unfortunate arrangement whereby a regent master conducted his class through the whole course to graduation. Instead of a shifting body of graduates teaching in virtue of their oath of residence, or by the inherent right given them by their degrees, the masters tended to pass into a permanent co-optative professoriate. 

Early in the sixteenth century a new collegiate enterprise was undertaken: In 1512 Prior Hepburn turned the hospital of S. Leonard, an appendage of his monastery tracing its origin to the Celtic Church, into a college of poor clerks, with special regard to the training of Augustinian novices. More liberal provision was made than by Kennedy for the maintenance of foundationers; and, as the Pedagogy was almost defunct for lack of endowment, the new foundation could justifiably be styled *principale Sanctiandree collegium*. Though the control by the priory led at first to difficulties with the faculty of arts,[2] the college was soon admitted to full status as a constituent of the university, and its monastic character tended to fix the collegiate system.[3] S. Leonard's College, 1512.

The heretical leanings for which S. Leonard's became notorious led Archbishop James Betoun to plan what became the New College of S. Mary in place of the decayed Pedagogy, with which the disaster at Flodden had prevented Archbishop Alexander Stewart, the pupil of Erasmus, from dealing. Cardinal Betoun carried on his uncle's design; but the advice of his relative Archibald Hay, of Montaigu College at Paris, who recommended the teaching of Greek, Hebrew, S. Mary's College, 1537.

[1] *Univ. Pub.* vii. 22 *sqq.*; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. 36. The Bull (1468) provided for teaching and examination within the college, reserving the rights of the bishop as chancellor.

[2] *College of St. Leonard*, p. 101.

[3] The statutes (*ibid.*, p. 167) show that members of the college resorted to the schools at the Pedagogy only for public acts and examinations.

CHAP. XI, § 1. Syriac, and Arabic, was not accepted.[1] In 1553 Archbishop Hamilton modified the foundation in view of the contemporary movement for the reform of the Church from within. He laid emphasis upon theology,[2] and intended that the new college should be dominant in the university.

After the Reformation. The development of the colleges, and the constant efforts of the faculty of arts to control the persons and matters in which it was directly interested, go far to explain the post-Reformation plan of annexing a faculty to each college. The radical scheme of the *First Book of Discipline* and the *Opinion* of George Buchanan[3] are alike based upon this idea; but they were carried out in one particular only, when in 1579 S. Mary's was permanently appropriated to the study of theology. S. Salvator's and S. Leonard's continued to serve students in arts, till in 1747, after an abortive attempt to combine all three foundations, economic pressure brought about a united college of S. Salvator and S. Leonard.[4]

Residence ceases. Losses in revenue sustained since the Reformation, and the insufficiency of the endowments to keep the buildings in repair, caused the decline of residence in college. By 1820 the *ménage* of the common table, which probably continued the old medieval scholar's mode of life more completely than any other institution surviving in Europe, was given up in S. Mary's College, just when the complete reconstruction of S. Salvator's—where the united college had been established—could no longer be delayed. The rights of the foundationers were commuted for a money payment, while the colleges existed mainly as endowments for professors and non-resident 'bursars'.[5]

The curriculum. That the Reformation left the curriculum in arts still

[1] Hay became principal of S. Mary's for a brief period from 1546: his *Panegyricus* addressed to the Cardinal (Paris, 1540) is an important educational document.

[2] Posts in civil law and medicine, arranged by the Betouns, were excluded (McCrie's *Melville*, notes to ch. xi): an *orator* and a *grammaticus* were not striking concessions to humanism.

[3] P. Hume Brown, *Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan* (Scottish Text Soc.), Edinburgh, 1892.

[4] *Matric. Roll, 1747–1897*, p. xxvi. University College, Dundee, was brought into the university in 1897 (*ibid.*, p. lix).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. xxxviii, lv.

medieval in character is shown by the account which James Melville gives in his *Diary*, and by the faculty statutes as purged and revised in 1570.[1] George Buchanan effected little; and Andrew Melville's prospects were clouded by ecclesiastical controversies in which he was opposed to James VI, a king who might in other circumstances have been his educational ally.[2]



## § 2. GLASGOW (1450–1)

Unlike S. Andrews, Glasgow has long possessed in the *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, edit. Cosmo INNES (Maitland Club, 1854), a complete collection of documents down to 1727. The *Evidence* (vol. ii) before the Commissioners for the Universities of Scotland (1837) is also important, though necessarily less useful, owing to the publication of the *Munimenta*, than the companion volume relating to S. Andrews. A synopsis of the history, still valuable, was prepared by Thomas REID, the well-known professor of moral philosophy, for SINCLAIR'S *Statistical Account of Scotland* (vol. xvi, 1799). Cosmo INNES, editor of the *Munimenta*, has a chapter on Glasgow in his *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, Edinburgh, 1861. J. COUTTS, *A History of the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1909, contains much miscellaneous information; but it is valuable for the later rather than for the earlier developments. H. BLACKBURN wrote (1858) a *Short Sketch of the Constitutional History of the University of Glasgow*, London, 1858. R. RENWICK and J. LINDSAY, *History of Glasgow*, i, Glasgow, 1921, has some topographical matter relating to the university. See also R. K. HANNAY in the *Scottish Historical Review*, xi. 266–83.

THE University of Glasgow was founded under a Bull of Nicholas V, in response to a petition of James II presented at the instance of William Turnbull, who had recently obtained the bishopric. Turnbull seems to have been a graduate in arts of S. Andrews.[3] Eleven years later (1431) his name appears on the matriculation roll of Louvain;[4] and, as custodian of the King's privy seal from 1440 till his episcopal consecration in 1448, he is described as doctor in decrees.[5]

The foundation.

[1] *Univ. Pub.* vii. 86.

[2] For a general account of the position see John Burnet in *Votiva Tabella*, pp. 129–38.

[3] He may be identified with the William Turnbull licensed in 1420 (*Early Records*): when he matriculated at Louvain in 1431 he was accompanied by Nicholas Otterburn, who also graduated at S. Andrews in 1420 (*Scottish Hist. Rev.* xxv. 330).

[4] During the Conciliar controversy papalist Scots gravitated towards Louvain, while anti-papalists favoured Cologne (*Copiale Prioratus S. Andree*, p. 494).

[5] *Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii: Otterburn had the same degree.

CHAP. XI, § 2. In 1450 the king, an honorary canon of Glasgow, granted to his 'well-beloved councillor' rights of regality in the city and barony, and submitted to the Pope his request for the erection of a *studium generale*.[1]

The university began in 1451, favoured by a jubilee indulgence which the bishop had procured for his church.[2] The Bull of Nicholas V (7 January 1450–1) does not appear to have been based upon any documentary instructions or writs prepared at Glasgow. It erected a *studium generale* in the various faculties: bestowed on individual members all the privileges and exemptions enjoyed at Bologna; declared Turnbull and his successors to be *rectores cancellarii nuncupati*, with the powers exercised by the Bologna *rectores scholarium*; provided for graduations after the customary fashion, and for the universal validity of the degrees.[3]

Nicholas V had been a student and, later, Bishop of Bologna. He happened to be deeply interested in the fortunes of that city and university when the royal petition was submitted;[4] and he granted to prospective members of the University of Glasgow a body of privileges which he assumed to be well understood.[5] There was some misapprehension, however, from the very outset; for a Glasgow clerk described the new foundation as *instar studii et universitatis Bononiensis*, and propagated the belief, still surviving, that the university was after the Bologna 'model'.[6]

The Bull left Turnbull with a free hand to adjust his arrangements according to local conditions. The new institution was intimately connected with the cathedral: the chapter-

[1] *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (1843), ii. 325; *Munimenta*, i. 3.

[2] 'That samyn yer [1451] the privilege of the universite of Glasqw come to Glasqw throw the instance of King James the Secund and throw instigacioun of master William Turnbull . . . and was proclamit at the croce of Glasqw on the Trinite Sonday the xx day of June; and on the morne thar was cryit ane gret indulgence' (*Auchinleck Chronicle*, p. 45).

[3] *Munimenta*, i. 4–5.

[4] Pastor, *History of the Popes* (Eng. trans.), ii. 14, 17, 70.

[5] In the case of Aberdeen, Elphinstone petitioned for and obtained a university in which there should be teaching and study 'sicut in Parisiensi et Bononiensi et quibusvis aliis generalibus studiis ad hoc privilegiatis' (*Fasti Aberd.*, pp. 4–5).

[6] *Munimenta*, ii. 178.

house was the customary place of congregation;[1] and the powers of the bishop in his regality were sufficient to set the school in motion. It was not until 1453 that the king exempted members from general taxations and services,[2] or that the bishop and chapter defined the rectorial jurisdiction in relation to the city, adopting Wardlaw's regulations for S. Andrews, with modifications after the letter and spirit of the revision made in 1444 by Kennedy.[3] CHAP. XI, § 2.

The university has no record of the appointment of conservators. It is known, however, that Turnbull's successor approached Calixtus III in 1456; explaining that the privileges enjoyed at Bologna were very hard to ascertain, he asked the Pope to exempt all supposts in actual residence from the jurisdiction of ordinaries (including the conservators of S. Andrews University) and to subject them henceforth to the bishop of Dunblane, the abbot of Paisley, and the dean of Glasgow. Calixtus granted the request, and ordered a commission; but there is no further notice of the provision.[4]

Higher faculties.

The emphasis laid upon Bologna in the Bull of Nicholas V may have had no more than an accidental connexion with the hope that a school of law would develop. The hope without doubt was entertained. Turnbull's antecedents and interests pointed in that direction; and the royal charter dwelt upon the civil benefits to be expected.[5] The only higher faculty to leave traces of its activities in statute was that of canon law.[6]

[1] The first assembly was in the chapter-house of the Blackfriars (*Munimenta*, ii. 55); but from 1452 down to the Reformation, meetings of the university were usually at the cathedral. After 1480 some meetings are specified as held *in inferiori capitulo*, others as *in superiori capitulo*. The minutes cease to draw this distinction in 1537.

[2] *Munimenta*, i. 6.

[3] *Evidence*, iii. 176: *Munimenta*, i. 7. Kennedy's revision was made in the light of Cologne practice.

[4] *Reg. Supp.* (Vatican MS.), July 23, 1456: a reference due to Dr. Annie Cameron. Some conservatorial arrangement must have been required.

[5] *Munimenta*, i. 6: 'per quos . . . populus . . . virga equitatis et iusticie corripiatur, orthodoxa fides solide defensetur, querele iurgiose determinentur et reddatur unicuique quod debetur'. The first rector, David Cadzow, was a lawyer, and Official of Glasgow.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 17–20. In 1463 there was a small endowment for canon law (*ibid.* i. 17) and in 1482 the faculty contributed for the repair of the canon law schools

CHAP. XI, § 2. The records of the fifteenth century show that a certain number of graduates from other places and some clerics of standing joined the university; but it is not possible to say how they were distributed between law and theology, or whether there was regular instruction in medicine.[1] After the first fifty years or so, it would appear that the higher faculties had to depend mainly upon the cathedral staff, a few local Dominicans, the teaching masters, and the supply, always limited, of graduates from the faculty of arts.[2] There would be, as at S. Andrews, a certain amount of post-graduate study in the elements of law, indispensable for the notarial practice to which so many clerics looked. The verdict of John Major, whose advent in 1518 stimulated enrolments, was that the university, poorly endowed, was not rich in scholars.[3]

Constitution. The constitution was very much on the lines of S. Andrews. There were the faculties, with their deans, of whom only the dean of the faculty of arts figures upon record; four nations, with their proctors elected by the whole body of masters and students; the rector, chosen by the four intrants of the nations;[4] his assessors; a promoter or syndic, appointed by the intrants, and charged to see that delinquents were called to account; and the bishop-chancellor, who granted the licence.[5]

Faculty of arts. The geographical arrangement of the nations[6]—Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Albany, and Rothesay—indicates that, while S. Andrews had contemplated the whole of southern Scotland and the northern Lowlands, without much expectation from the Highlands,[7] Glasgow looked mainly to the region which became in 1492 the archiepiscopal province, and to the west generally, not without regard to Ireland. There was

(*ibid.* ii. 93, 95). In 1460 there is a reference to reading in civil law (*ibid.*, p. 67).

[1] A doctor of medicine was incorporated in 1469 (*ibid.* ii. 74).

[2] Arts graduations at Glasgow were on an average about one-third of those at S. Andrews.

[3] John Major, *History of Greater Britain*, trans. by A. Constable (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1892), p. 28.

[4] Cf. *Early Records* (S. Andrews), p. xiii.

[5] Cf. *Munimenta*, i. 5; ii. 6–11, with *Evidence*, iii. 171–2, 233–4.

[6] *Munimenta*, ii. 6.

[7] *Evidence*, iii. 233: *Early Records* (S. Andrews), pp. ix–xi.

some attempt to attract men from S. Andrews;[1] but, on the whole, supplementary effort is suggested rather than competitive rivalry.[2]

Upon the faculty of arts the usage of S. Andrews exerted an influence; and some features of the faculty were avowedly borrowed from Cologne. After 1420, when the number of Scots at Paris diminished, owing to the disturbed state of France, a steady connexion with Cologne was established. A Scottish graduate in arts at Cologne was received by the faculty at S. Andrews in 1448. Invited to Glasgow in 1451, he was mainly responsible for the arts statutes there, which are compounded of regulations derived from the statutes of Cologne and S. Andrews.[3]

The Pedagogy.

The Glasgow arts statutes differ from those of S. Andrews in the absence of any allusion to 'touting' for scholars. The competitive difficulty never arose. The first regents seem to have hired a house in the Ratounraw—traditionally known as 'the Auld Pedagogy'—to provide for residence.[4] The public schools of the university, on the other hand, were accommodated at the Blackfriars in the High Street.[5] In 1460 Lord Hamilton granted to the principal regent in arts, for the benefit of the faculty, a tenement adjoining the Blackfriars; and he was to be instituted *ad regimen collegii*.[6] Thereupon the faculty began to expend surplus funds upon building, and in 1478 was still contributing *circa collegium artium*,[7] which

[1] *S. A. Univ. Pub.* vii. 21, 36.

[2] Turnbull and Kennedy were on intimate terms in the earlier stages of their careers (cf. Annie Cameron, *Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices*, p. 112), and there is no indication that Kennedy was hostile to Turnbull's university.

[3] The borrowings from Cologne related specially to usage in graduation. The debt to S. Andrews was not known until its arts statutes, as revised at the Reformation, were restored in 1910, in the light of the Glasgow text (*S. A. Univ. Pub.* vii). For a comparative account see *Scottish Hist. Rev.* xi. 266.

[4] This was their own enterprise: in 1457 they had help from the faculty 'pro firma pedagogii . . . quod eorum laboribus crevit bursa facultatis ymmo et futuris temporibus uberius augmentari posset' (*Munimenta*, ii. 191).

[5] *Ibid.* ii. 182. In 1453 the faculty of arts subscribed 'pro reparatione scole in loco predicto'; and the schools there were *in vico*, after the Parisian technicality. In 1460 public lectures in law were given in the chapter-house of the Blackfriars (*ibid.*, p. 67).

[6] *Ibid.* i. 9–13.

[7] *Ibid.* ii. 195, 204, 210, 220.

CHAP. XI, § 2. was enlarged by the gift of a manse immediately to the north.[1] Thus the operations of the faculty of arts were now concentrated, and at the site of the public schools of the university, in what was by 1467 already known as the *collegium facultatis*.[2] No additional halls were required to house the arts students: the higher faculties had a very slender hold upon life. During the thirty or forty years before the Reformation only the faculty of arts had a serious existence.

The university always had upon its roll a sufficient number of senior men, not officially connected with the faculty of arts, to participate effectively in the election of the rector.[3] The extreme youth of pupils in the Pedagogy and their limited number must have made any influence upon affairs by them negligible. In 1532 the faculty of arts, the rector presiding, enacted that any student who was caught out of his bed-chamber after the bell for silence had rung, or who should 'rashly and temerariously' meet the rector, dean, or one of the regents in the streets without seeking to avoid his awful glance, or even play any game, 'otherwise lawful', in their presence, should be subjected to humiliating corporal chastisement.[4]

Lack of endowments.

The lack of endowment, remarked by Major, remained a fatal handicap to expansion. Early in the sixteenth century Archbishop Blackadder proposed to annex benefices to 'his College of the University of Glasgow'; and in 1537 Archbishop Dunbar had similar plans to create a proper collegiate institution for the maintenance of masters and scholars.[5]

[1] *Munimenta*, i. 18; ii. 220.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 204.

[3] Canons of the cathedral and the holders of neighbouring benefices were incorporated; but it may be doubted whether study was the prevailing motive.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 41. The statute seems to insist on a boy who met a regent in the streets showing his respect for authority by running away or 'shirking', as Eton boys were required to do when they met a master in Windsor. The notion that this was because Windsor was out of bounds may, therefore, be a case of false analogy. The custom of 'shirking' is very ancient, being prescribed to the *clericuli*, when they met a canon, by the statutes of the Church of Lyons in the twelfth century. If they could not run away, they were to pretend that they were not there by holding their hands in front of their faces (Migne, *Patrol. lat.* cxcix. 1104). [Most of the above paragraph and this note are taken from Rashdall (ed. i, vol. ii. 307).]

[5] *Munimenta*, i. 42, 493.

Neither design took effect. The constitutional usage of the university was observed; but by the eve of the Reformation 'Pedagogy' and 'university' had become for practical purposes convertible terms.[1] CHAP. XI, § 2.

The original location of the university centre and the initial hospitality offered by the adjoining Blackfriars proved to have important consequences. Visiting the city in 1563, after the Reformation, Queen Mary saw 'the decay of ane Universite' rather than 'ane establisst foundatioun'; and she granted, among other property, the place of the Blackfriars and certain of their rents which the religious revolution had rendered available.[2] This was the prelude to a revival. In 1566–7 the royal burghs obtained gift of all friars' houses and revenues, along with the endowments for masses.[3] In 1572 the provost and magistrates, at the instance of Master Andrew Hay, who was rector of the university and commissioner of the General Assembly for the superintendence of Clydesdale, conveyed their gift to the Pedagogy for the maintenance of a principal, who was to be an exponent of theology—the higher faculty of dominant interest at the time—two regents in arts, and twelve poor students.[4] After the Reformation.

The additional endowment was not adequate, though the services of Andrew Melville were obtained. Under Melville's influence, and with hearty support from George Buchanan,[5] the regent Morton was induced to grant additional resources,[6] providing for a theological prefect, three regents in arts, and now only four poor foundationers.[7] This *nova erectio* imposed for the first time upon the Pedagogy a collegiate organization within the university; and its ordinances were remarkable for *Nova erectio.*

[1] 'Pedagogium seu Universitas' (*ibid.* i. 62–6).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[3] *University of Edinburgh (1883–1933)*, p. 6; *Munimenta*, i. 71. The mass endowments, subject to life-rent interest, were not immediately available.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–5.

[5] Buchanan was a witness to the royal charter (*ibid.*, p. 112) and had showed 'singular favour' (*ibid.*, p. 123).

[6] 'Ad colligendas reliquias Academie Glasguensis quam pre inopia languescentem et iam pene confectam reperimus' (*ibid.*, p. 105).

[7] The provision for poor students seems to have been abused (*ibid.*, p. 154).

CHAP. XI, § 2. the attempt, not in the end successful, to induce specialism among the regents.[1]

Upon this new foundation, within the medieval scheme, the modern University of Glasgow was built. The beginnings of revival, to which the city made its contribution, had a similarity, in respect of this municipal interest, to the contemporary movement which brought about in 1583 the College of Edinburgh.[2] Both places benefited from the possessions of the old Church: both were supported by burgess enthusiasm for the advancement of the new; but, while the growth in Edinburgh was from the initial status of a town's college, the College of Glasgow preserved for fuller realization the dignity, the traditions, and the constitution of a university conferred by its founders.

## § 3. ABERDEEN (1494)

*Report of Commissioners for visiting the Universities of Scotland*, 1831, and *Evidence*, iv, 1837, with *App. of Documents*. *Fasti Aberdonenses*, ed. C. INNES, Aberdeen (Spalding Club), 1854. C. INNES, *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, Edinburgh, 1861, p. 254 *sq.* Cf. KENNEDY, *Annals of Aberdeen*, London, 1818, ii. 357 *sq.*

Foundation, 1494. ABERDEEN, like the two other medieval Scottish universities, was founded by a bishop. William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, was personally a more remarkable man than the two earlier university-founders. He is said to have studied arts and canon law at Glasgow, canon law at Paris, and civil law at Orleans.[3] Sir Alexander Grant[4] suggests that he may have been the original inspirer of the Scots Act of 1496 which required all barons and freeholders to have their eldest

[1] 'Nolumus prout in reliquis regni Academiis consuetudo est [regentes] novas professiones quotannis immutare quo fit ut dum multa profiteantur in paucis periti inveniantur' (*ibid.*, p. 109). The modern professorial system was a development of the eighteenth century.

[2] *University of Edinburgh, 1883–1933*, pp. 6–11.

[3] *Fasti*, p. xi *sq.* [The William 'Elcomsten' of S. Andrews, whose name appears on the *matricula* of Louvain in 1431, was probably the bishop's father. His lecture notes, on civil, canon, and feudal law, are preserved in King's College, Aberdeen; see J. H. Baxter in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* XXV (1928), 329 and note, 330.]

[4] *Story of the University of Edinburgh* (1884), i. 27. The Act is printed in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, 1840, p. 5.

sons instructed in 'Arts and Jure'. At all events it is clear that, even more certainly than the founders of S. Andrews and Glasgow, Elphinstone aimed at making his university a school of law. It was especially intended to be a means of promoting the civilization of the highland clergy, of whose extreme ignorance an appalling picture is drawn in the petition of King James IV recited in the Bull of foundation. This Bull was granted by Alexander VI in 1494,[1] but not published till February, 149$\frac{5}{7}$.[2] The royal charter of the same year incorporates certain benefices, and confers a scanty endowment for the support of a doctor of medicine.[3] The decayed Hospital of S. German's was also made over to the university;[4] and from the first it was part of the founder's plan to endow the university by the erection of a college, which was actually established in 1505 with the title of the College of the Holy Virgin in Nativity—now King's College—which provided teachers in all the faculties.[5] The college was endowed with impropriations; and the resemblance to the German colleges is increased by the annexation to the college of a church, of which the masters became prebendaries and the 'bursars' choristers or clerks.[6] The university does not appear to have entered upon actual existence till the year 1500, when the teaching of Hector Boece, whom Elphinstone had brought from the College of Montaigu at Paris and eventually made principal of his new college, soon placed Aberdeen at the head of the Scotch universities—a position which it retained for at least forty years. A comparison of the early history of those universities which started with sufficient endowments with the fate of those attempts at university-founding which were not thus supported supplies ample illustration of the absolute necessity—at ordinary times and under ordinary circumstances—of endowment or some other



The King's College.

[1] *Fasti*, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 17, 18 *sq.*
[5] See Hector Boece's Life of Elphinston, ap. *Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, 1552, f. xxvii *sq.*; cf. *Fasti*, pp. xvii, 53 *sq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 53 *sq.* A remarkable provision of this charter is that 'nulle in quacumque facultate per annum integrum fiant vacantie' (p. 58). The wishes of the 'pious founder' do not seem to have had much influence on the length of Scottish vacations.

CHAP. XI, § 3. extraneous support for the maintenance of higher education. To this day Aberdeen is kept alive and flourishing, in spite of the competition of the great city universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, by the number and wealth of its bursaries.

Constitution. The constitution of Aberdeen was on the same lines as that of the two earlier Scottish universities, but the influence of Orleans is plainly discernible in the constitution of its governing body. At Orleans it will be remembered that power was shared between the professors and certain representatives of the students. So at Aberdeen the power of making statutes is entrusted to the chancellor, rector, and resident doctors, 'calling unto them' a competent number of licentiates and scholars, and—a quite original feature—at least two privy councillors of Scotland.[1] This state of things does not appear, however, to have lasted long: real power here, as elsewhere, passed to the principal and professors or regents who, together with the rector, formed the Senatus Academicus.[2]

## § 4. CONCLUSION

[It should be remembered that this section was published in 1895. We have thought it wiser to leave it, with one modification, as it appeared in the first edition.]

Subsequent development of the Scottish universities. A WORD must be said as to the educational organization of the Scottish universities and the process by which it has become so widely differentiated from that of the English universities. The future of the Scottish university was largely determined for it by the fact that its teachers from the first, or almost from the first, were college teachers and university teachers at the same time. Here, according to the North-German precedent, college and university were more or less completely fused into one. At Paris and Oxford the college teaching, which gradually supplanted the university teaching, was never modelled on the lines of the old university system at all. In particular, the Oxford tutorial system, by ultimately making every tutor responsible for the whole education of his pupils, tended to narrow the range as well as to lower the efficiency of the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[2] The nations and proctorships appear to have at one time existed. *Documents*, pp. 167, 169.

college teaching, while the university teaching practically disappeared, and the university degree system, having no organic relation to the real studies of the colleges, degenerated into a farce. The consequence was that lecturing—in anything like the sense which the word bears in ordinary usage—almost died out. Education was reduced to lessons in logic and catechetical instruction on classical books. In the Scottish universities the instruction of the colleges always bore a direct relation to the subjects of the degree examination. CHAP. XI, § 4.

In Scotland the old medieval *trivium* and *quadrivium* and the old medieval 'three philosophies' (natural, moral, and metaphysical), enlarged by the gradual infusion of the Renaissance Greek, have continued, almost down to the present moment, to supply the outline of the university curriculum through all changes in the subject-matter actually taught in each department. At first the subjects were divided at the beginning of the academical year, in the way usual at the German universities, among the regent masters, i.e. practically the paid regents of the colleges.[1] Very early in the history of the Scottish universities a system—of which there is no distinct trace in the history of any other university—established itself, by which one regent took the entire instruction of a class, consisting of the men of a single year, through the whole of their four years' curriculum. The subjects of each year thus 'rotated' among the regents.[2] Only very gradually, as the standard of efficiency demanded of the teacher rose and the area covered by each subject expanded, was the system of 'rotation' abandoned in favour of the 'fixation' of each regent to a particular subject.[3] The system of 'rotation' has only quite recently disappeared from the leading 'High-schools' Survival of the medieval curriculum [1895].

[1] The Glasgow Statute-book retains the oath to lecture for two years unless dispensed, but this was practically no doubt insisted upon only in the case of the college regents. See *Documents*, p. 287.

[2] The origin of this system is very obscure. The Glasgow statute provides that the regents shall choose their books in order of seniority, according to the German system. *Ibid.*, p. 285. But the system grew up in the Middle Ages; the reformers indeed wisely attempted to abolish it. See Grant, *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, i. 146 *sq.*, and the *Documents*, *passim*.

[3] The first step, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, was to assign Greek to a separate professor.

CHAP. XI, § 4. of Scotland. This revolution in the universities was not completed till after the middle of the eighteenth century.[1] Still more recently and still more gradually has the title of professor, formerly appropriated only to the single teachers of each of the superior faculties, supplanted the old medieval regent or master.[2]

The Scottish philosophy.

The consequences of this retention of the old medieval curriculum in the Scottish universities, and the subsequent evolution of distinct chairs of philosophy out of it, have been of the utmost importance, not only in the history of Scottish education, but in the history of British and even of European thought. Scotland gained from it an education at once stimulating and practical, however grave its deficiencies on the score of sound preparation and classical discipline; while to the seemingly accidental circumstance that the Scottish universities provided philosophers, not merely with chairs but with classes to teach, Europe probably owes in no small measure the development of an important and influential school of philosophy. Between the time of Hutcheson and that of J. S. Mill a majority of the philosophers who wrote in

[1] This was a great Reform-era in the Scottish universities, especially at Aberdeen. The spirit of the movement may be illustrated by the following resolutions of Marischal College:

'That the students may have the benefit of those parts of Education which are not commonly reckoned Academical, such as dancing, writing, book-keeping, French, &c., without losing time in attending Masters at a distance from the College, the Sub-Principal and Regents shall appoint proper rooms in the College, and proper hours when these things may be taught, and shall bespeak Masters of the best characters and qualifications for instructing those who choose to attend them.' (*Documents*, p. 176.)

'The Professors of Philosophy, with the concurrence of the other Masters, have unanimously agreed to employ much less time than has been usually done in the Universities, in the Logic and Metaphysick of the Schoolmen, which seem contrived to make men subtle disputants—a profession justly of less value in the present age than it has been in some preceding ones; and to employ themselves chiefly in teaching those parts of Philosophy which may qualify men for the more useful and important offices of society.' (*Ibid.*, p. 177.)

Every line of these resolutions breathes the spirit of Locke's *Treatise on Education*, and of that Scottish 'common-sense' philosophy whose best representative (Reid) was one of the regents who voted for these changes.

[2] The Answers to the Commission of 1830 speak of the change as made 'of late years'.

the English language were professors, or at least *alumni*, of Scottish universities. CHAP. XI, § 4.

Disappearance of the college system.

The reader of the preceding chapters will have remarked how closely parallel this transformation of the old regent-system into the modern professorial system has been to a similar development in the German universities. In both cases the germ of the evolution was contained in the original constitution of the university. The gradual disappearance of the old college life which has taken place in both the Scottish and the German universities is perhaps to be similarly accounted for. The characteristic feature of both systems in their medieval form was the close fusion of the college with the university system. At Paris and Oxford the college life lasted on because it was inseparably bound up with the only educational system which the university possessed. In Germany and Scotland the colleges were created primarily to supply the universities with teachers; the common life could disappear without destroying the *raison d'être* of the college-foundations. Another influencing circumstance has been no doubt the different attitudes of the universities towards the marriage of the teaching body. At the revolutionary Reformation of Scotland and Germany it was assumed as a matter of course that the compulsory celibacy of regent masters disappeared with the celibacy of the clergy; and it is not long before we find difficulties arising about the maintenance of discipline in the colleges.[1] In England, where the breach with the past was less violent, and where the college fellowship was still looked upon mainly in the light of an endow-

[1] But it was a long time before the Scottish mind reconciled itself to the anomaly of women in college. Thus at Morton's visitation of S. Andrews in 1574, it was ordered 'that the wyffis, bairnis, and servandis of the Principallis and utheris Maisteris in the Universitie be put apart in the cietie out of the Collegis, sua yat wemen, to a slanderus and evill exempill, haif not residence amangis the zoung men studentis, nor zit that the same wemen have ony administratioun and handilling of the common guidis of the College, to ye greit prejudice yairof, and of sic as frelie wald gif thame selffis to the study of Lettres' (*Documents*, p. 189). At a later date the difficulty seems to have been met by requiring the regent on duty for the week, or *hebdomadarius*, also to sleep in college. As to marriage in German universities see above, pp. 242, 259, n. 6.

CHAP. XI, § 4.

ment for students to which educational functions were only accidentally annexed, the abolition of celibacy appears never to have suggested itself even to Puritan reformers. And the preservation of the common life for graduate-fellows has tended to its preservation for undergraduate students.

Boy-students and student-elections.

It is not only in its curriculum—in the wide range and the regular succession of subjects prescribed to its students—that the Scottish university preserves to this day the impress of the Middle Ages. Here alone perhaps in Europe were the bulk of the students in the arts faculty, till very recently, boys of about the same age as the artists of medieval Paris or Oxford. The average age is still below that of most universities. Here alone does the ancient chancellorship—no longer held by a bishop—survive side by side with the rectorship. Above all, here alone do the students—students still at Glasgow and Aberdeen divided into nations under the government of proctors—elect the head of a university. These Scottish rectorial elections, now used as the means of paying a triennial homage to some distinguished public man, reproduce perhaps more both of the outward mechanism and of the ancient spirit of medieval student-life than any feature of the more venerable, but also in some respects far more altered, constitutions of Oxford and Cambridge [1895].