

A HISTORY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN
1495-1895

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P R E F A C E.

THIS History has been written apropos of the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of a University in Aberdeen. My aim has been to sketch the causes and the effects of the educational transitions through which the University has passed, and the varying conditions of the community to which it has had to minister. Biographical details of the professoriate or the alumni, except in so far as they have affected the teaching function of the University, have been strictly excluded. To Mr. P. J. Anderson, the Librarian of the University, who suggested the work to me, and who has furthered its achievement in every possible manner, my warmest thanks are due.

J. M. B.

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I. THE SUBJECT IN BRIEF.

THE story of the rise and progress of the University of Aberdeen forms a peculiarly interesting chapter in the annals of the academic world, studied either by itself or as an integral part of the great educational system in which it has figured for 400 years. In the history of the North of Scotland it has, of course, special importance, as a distinct factor in the making of the people and their prosperity; in the history of Universities in general, it presents several aspects of rare interest. The first point is obvious; the second involves a preliminary explanation.

The University stands apart from other Universities in having retained in greater measure some of the mediæval academic principles on which it was founded. Much of its history consists in the struggle to adapt those conditions to the genius of the country in which it is situated, and to the different stages of progress through which the people have passed. Among British Universities it holds a unique position, from the fact that it was the first University in this country to establish a Faculty of Medicine, for it started life with all the Faculties complete. This ideal has not, it is

true, been continuously realised. The University in actual practice was, until last century, chiefly a school of philosophy; yet the theoretic provision for the teaching of Medicine and Law is none the less interesting, historically.

Last of all, the University has a peculiar interest when studied as a typical example of an academic corporation. As at present constituted, the University, representing King's College in Old Aberdeen and Marischal College in New Aberdeen, is a combination of two separate Universities; that is to say, of two distinct degree-granting bodies, created by antagonistic forces. There was the "University and King's College," founded in 1494-5 by William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, and "Marischal College and University," founded in 1593 by George, fifth Earl Marischal. The mere names of the founders—the one a churchman, the other a representative member of the titled landlord laity—indicate the rival conditions under which the Universities arose; for the Church found a persistent opponent in the nobility, who ultimately managed to crush it in the name of Protestantism. The necessity for the two creations soon disappeared, but the two corporations continued their work for over 250 years, on almost identical lines, within a mile of one another. Thus it was that Aberdeen possessed two separate Universities, a unique distinction in this country; while England itself could boast of no more. It was only natural that rivalry, which was not very

inspiring, and wrangles, which were no help to education, should mark the whole course of their history.

Thus the evolution of the University, as we know it, has consisted in the adaptation of a mediæval constitution to the requirements of the modern world; and this problem, difficult enough in itself, has been complicated, as nowhere else in the kingdom, by the purely local struggle of two separate corporations, working for the most part on the same educational lines.

II. THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY.

THE foundation of a University in Aberdeen was altogether remarkable, alike for the daring which inspired the conception, and for the liberal scale on which it was carried out. It was daring because the North of Scotland did not cry out for such an advanced form of education; the University, in fact, came into existence not so much to supply, as to create, a demand for knowledge. It was liberal, inasmuch as the institution was modelled, not on the basis which would have met the immediate wants of the district which it was to serve, but on the lines of the famous Universities of mediæval Europe, which were ministering to the most highly cultivated centres of civilisation.

Before the University arose, the North of Scotland had scarcely had a chance to do more than clear the ground for civilisation to operate. A perpetual state of warfare kept the people so busily occupied that anything approaching education, as we know it, was an undreamt-of, almost an undesired, luxury, except in one or two of the large towns, where combination rendered the struggle for bare existence somewhat less difficult than in the

open country. In the three great national struggles—the civil war of succession, the invasion from England, and the threatened domination of the wild Celt—Aberdeenshire was forced to take its full share.

Such elements of progress as there were came in large measure from the Church, which for a century prior to the creation of the University wielded extraordinary power in the State. Buckle, indeed, has asserted, in his dogmatic fashion, that during the fifteenth century the clergy had more influence in Scotland than in any other country in Europe, Spain alone excepted. St. Columba had introduced Christianity into the country during the sixth century, and had sent his disciples north and south and east and west. In Aberdeenshire they had established themselves at Deer, where a great abbey flourished. Further south, there was the powerful Abbey of Arbroath, familiarised by Southey's ballad of its pious abbot. The seat of the ecclesiastical government of the North was Mortlach, in Banffshire, where a holy house is said to have been founded half a century before the Conqueror came. It was not until the capital of the See was transferred to Aberdeen, probably during the twelfth century, that the town became a place of importance, although tradition bids us believe that St. Machar planted the seeds of Christianity there as early as 570 A.D. The choice of Aberdeen as the capital showed the wisdom of the Church, for no other place on the northern coasts was so well

adapted to become a commercial centre. Religious orders sprang up in the town in rapid succession. William the Lion brought the Trinity Friars, his son introduced the Black Friars, and David II. installed the Carmelites. The Knights Templar early established a hospital (the charter of which was carried off by Edward I.), and in 1471 a monastery for the Grey Friars was founded. St. Machar Cathedral was begun in 1357, and the church of St. Nicholas in 1467.

Aberdeen, like the rest of the country, owed a great deal to the Church from the point of view of mere material progress. The town, probably from time immemorial, had been a fishing port, and the industry has grown year by year, till it has assumed the enormous proportions of to-day. In the twelfth century, William the Lion had granted a charter confirming the rights of the citizens to trade, and a form of municipal government had been long established, for the burgh possessed a provost as early as 1272. But, after all, the town was distinctly primitive. The private houses were merely wooden structures, and this accounts for the fires which frequently reduced the place to ashes. In all the great public works it was the Church and not the municipality that showed spirit. For instance, it was left to the Church to bridge the two rivers, the famous Brig of Balgownie having been built by Bishop Cheyne in Robert Bruce's reign, and the more elaborate and historic Bridge of Dee by Bishops Elphinstone and Dunbar.

Church
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material
progress

In intellectual progress Aberdeen churchmen had taken a conspicuous position, for the first real Scots literature, both in poetry and in prose, was produced by dignitaries attached to its Cathedral. In 1375 Archdeacon Barbour, who, in the absence of a local University, had to go to Oxford, wrote his metrical account of the life and adventures of the Bruce in the vigorous vernacular of the period; while his colleague, John Fordoun, produced a prose history of the country not long after. A century or more later, Aberdeen supplied another historian in Hector Boece, the first Principal of its young University. Again, in the drama, crude as that must have been, Aberdeen came to the front, for the earliest theatrical production on record in Scotland, the "Haliblude," one of the miracle plays common in the Middle Ages, was performed on the Windmill Hill in 1440.

Education was long neglected. Tytler has asserted that it would have been almost impossible, even up to 1370, to produce a single instance of a Scots baron who could sign his own name. Such education as existed was in the keeping of the Church. According to the constitution of St. Machar Cathedral, it was the duty of the Chancellor of the Diocese to provide a proper master for the government of the schools of Aberdeen, able to teach both grammar and logic. The burgh possessed a grammar school at least from 1262, and a song school from even an earlier date. The latter, which made Aberdeen famous for centuries

as an authority on church music, existed primarily for ecclesiastical purposes, and was under the direct control of churchmen. There is a curious legend about an early seminary at St. Machar for the training of priests; the provision for higher education was certainly unknown beyond the priestly caste until the fifteenth century.

That age proved a remarkable period of intellectual development in Europe, and even Scotland, far removed from active centres of civilisation, could not fail to be affected. Academic progress made an enormous advance, such as it has never since equalled. At the beginning of that century the world possessed fifty Universities—twenty-two in Italy, eleven in France, seven in Spain, six in Germany, two in England, one in Portugal, and one in Poland. By the end of the century the number was nearly doubled; and twenty-four of the new foundations still survive. The academic ideal invaded several new countries mostly in the north, such as Denmark and Sweden, and none more so than Scotland, which equipped itself with three Universities: St. Andrews in 1411, Glasgow in 1450-1. Aberdeen closed the record of the Universities founded during the century (except Madrid, which was equipped in 1498) by getting its University in 1494-5; while in 1496 the first Education Act of Scotland was passed. It had a limited application, however, all that was enjoined being that the barons and freeholders of means should (under a penalty of £20) send their eldest

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a
century in
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sons and heirs to school until they should be grounded in perfect Latin, to be followed by three years at the Universities.

Beyond the fact of being influenced by the times, Scotland was almost forced to establish Universities within her own borders for other reasons. Such young Scotsmen as had cared to avail themselves of University education had till then been compelled to go to Oxford, to Cambridge, or to the Continent. But the increasing estrangement with England made the first two less popular, while the heterodox attitude of the country to the Papal claims—Scotland espoused the anti-Pope—made the Continental Universities less desirable. The Church in Scotland, therefore, determined to provide for itself a system of education more in accord with its own principles and with the genius of its subjects.

The academic movement in Scotland was essentially ecclesiastical, and the foundation of a University in distant Aberdeen was a picturesque way for the Church to mark the wide limits of the Holy Roman Empire. Certain it is, that but for the international character of the Papal creed, a University could scarcely have been established in such a remote corner of that Empire until the exigencies of the district called for it more urgently than was the case. Under the Papal policy, the essentials of a University were, as Burton has remarked, that it belonged not to a province nor a nation, but to the Christian world. It "was to be the same

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in rank, and if possible in wealth and grandeur, whether it arose in the populous capital of some powerful State, or was planted in some distant region among a scanty people, poor and rude. It was to be the same at Upsala and Aberdeen as at Paris and Bologna; the same at Greifswalde, on the flats of Pomerania, then but recently rescued from heathendom by the crusades of the Teutonic Knights." This forms the keynote of academic education in the North of Scotland, which owes the establishment of its University to Bishop William Elphinstone, a prelate who was thoroughly imbued with the international spirit of his Church, and of the great educational system which the Church had taken under its wing.

III. THE FOUNDER OF THE UNIVERSITY.

FROM the long line of prelates that ruled the destinies of the Church in the North, one man stands out head and shoulders above the rest by virtue of his commanding personality. Idealised many of them were in the extravagant eulogies of pious biographers, but few of them take a place in any history but that of their Church. William Elphinstone is a notable figure in national history. It is common to speak of him as the "good Bishop". As a matter of fact, he was more a lawyer, a politician, a diplomatist, an educationist, than a churchman. His life extended over the reigns of the first five Jameses. His experience had been gained in four or five countries. He was intimately connected with four Universities, and with many sides of public life. His career as a churchman was, in fact, only one aspect of his long and useful life.

Vaguely described as a scion of the ancient family of Elphinstone, he was the son of the rector of Kirkmichael, and was born in 1431. At the age of twenty he entered Glasgow University. As that institution was then only a year old, it was presumably not yet in good working order—a fact which would reveal essential defects in its constitu-

tion otherwise less apparent. Elphinstone took good care not to repeat the blunders when he came to found his University at Aberdeen. Having graduated and taken priest's orders, he varied his interests between his Alma Mater—where he acted as Regent and studied canon law—and his birthplace, where he seems to have been curate to his father. In due course he would possibly have succeeded his father and led the quiet life of a country priest, but an uncle supplied him with money, and he went abroad. That was the making of him. Once abroad, he discovered his innate power, and set himself to cultivate it assiduously. For a few years he studied hard at the University of Paris, and ultimately was appointed to a readership in canon law, a subject he afterwards taught at the University of Orleans. His fame as a lawyer was indeed so great that he was consulted at times by the Parliament of Paris, with the President of which, Jean de Ganai, he formed a warm and enduring friendship. While abroad, he acquired a close insight into the working of the highly-organised University system of the time, and this knowledge he put to good use long after, in constituting the University which is his great claim on the gratitude of posterity.

The Catholic Church does not pass over such men. It singled out Elphinstone as a man of great capabilities, and from the moment of his return to Scotland, his career was one long series of increasing honours. In 1474 he was made Rector

of Glasgow University, and he took his seat in the national Parliament, to which he rendered many useful services, to the day of his death. In 1478 he was appointed Official of Lothian, then the second judicial post in the country. Next year he was sent on a political mission to Louis XI., and was rewarded with the Archdeaconry of Argyll, and in 1481 with the Bishopric of Ross. That, of course, did not imply that he lapsed into a mere ecclesiastic. He was far too able to be allowed to do that. In 1482 he went on a mission to Edward IV. to dissuade him from helping the Duke of Albany. In 1483 he was made a Privy Councillor, and nominated to the See of Aberdeen, though he was not consecrated till 1487. Again, in 1484, he went to England to treat for a truce, which he managed to procure after a third visit. So high did he stand in the eyes of James III., whose cause against that of the nobles he enthusiastically supported, that in 1488 he was made Chancellor of Scotland. On the death of James at Sauchieburn, Elphinstone retired to his diocese, but he was not to be permitted to remain there long in peace. He was soon summoned by the young King to sit in Parliament, and in 1491 he went back once more to France, and then, in 1493, to Austria, to try to arrange a marriage for his master. In 1492 he became Keeper of the Privy Seal, an office he retained till his death.

This is a busy record; yet his See was no sinecure to Elphinstone. He did not "leet his scheep

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encombred in the myre," any more than the "poure persoun" who accompanied Chaucer to Canterbury. He reformed his clergy and the Cathedral service, which had fallen into disuse. He covered the whole roof of his Cathedral with lead, restored the choir, and adorned the structure "as if he had been chose of God for that purpose". To the secular progress of his diocese he also contributed, notably by beginning the beautiful bridge across the Dee.

Useful services these, yet they were, after all, of mere local value, and would have entitled Elphinstone to no more than a mere footnote in history. But he was essentially a statesman, and he found ample scope for the qualities of the statesman in administering his diocese. Happily, too, he had great influence with the Crown, which had to be consulted on any schemes he cared to initiate. The dense ignorance prevailing in his diocese struck the Bishop forcibly, and he sought to remedy it by establishing his University. Intimately connected, as he had been in divers capacities, with three great Universities, he was peculiarly well fitted to found a new one, and his heart went with him in the great task. Nor did he stop there, for he was the means of introducing the wonderful art of printing into Scotland, by getting a grant of exclusive privilege in favour of Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, of Edinburgh. This led him to become practically the earliest historian of his Church, for the first book printed at the press was

the *Breviarium Aberdonense*, which was at once a Church service book and the first history of the Scots saints, Elphinstone himself contributing certain biographies.

All this, however, was but an interlude in the midst of his more direct services to the Crown, for he still continued to sit in Parliament. His policy in the national councils was strong opposition to the hostile attitude of the country to England. His counsels did not prevail, and Flodden was fought. That crushing blow practically killed the Bishop, for, after the battle, if we are to believe Boece, his buoyancy deserted him, and he was never seen to smile again. The battle had rendered the Archbishopric of St. Andrews vacant, yet Elphinstone declined to accept it, thus losing his chance of the highest post in the Church. But he continued to render what service he could to his country. Though now in his eighty-third year, "he discussed the weighty affairs of the State more acutely than any man; and showed no decay of mind or any of the senses, while he preserved a ready memory, which, indeed, knew not what it is to forget". It must have been a very hard task for a man of his age to travel in those days from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, but he was not to be deterred from setting out late in the autumn of 1514 to take his seat in Parliament. The journey was his last, for he fell ill at Dunfermline, and died a few days later in the capital, 25th October, 1514, being buried in the chapel which he had attached to his University.

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His had been a very busy life, with its forty years of public service ; and yet "his old age was happy and venerable, not morose, anxious, peevish, low-spirited. Age had worked no change on his manners, which were always charming ; nor did he suffer of anything till his very last sickness, for which he could blame old age." With a founder of such ability, benevolence, and public spirit, Aberdeen University got a good start in life.

IV. THE ERECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

THE University of Aberdeen is not a growth in the common acceptation of the term. It was an avowed imitation of typical mediæval Universities, more particularly those of Paris, Bologna, and Orleans, each of which differed from the other; and the full force of the imitative spirit is shown by the fact that the Bull erecting the University is in all essentials identical with the Bulls by which many Universities had been established. Modelled, then, on academic corporations, that had taken centuries to develop, Elphinstone's University sprang into life as a complex structure, suited more to the requirements of a highly civilised people, than of a country where even elementary education was at a low ebb. The history of the University is so markedly one of adaptation to environment, that it is essential to know clearly the principles on which it was based. To grasp these is to understand not merely the University of Aberdeen itself, but a typical *Studium Generale* of the Middle Ages.

The theory of the University is unfolded in a series of documents ranging between 1495 and 1531. Notable among these are the Bull of Pope

Alexander VI., 1494-5, erecting the University; the Bull of the same Pope, 1495-6, and the charter of James IV., 1497-8, endowing it; lastly, the instruments of Bishop Elphinstone, 1505, and of Bishop Dunbar, 1531, constituting the College of St. Mary, now known as King's College.

The Bull erecting the University, given "at St. Peter's at Rome" on the "tenth day of February, 1494" (New Style, 1495), is a fine specimen of penmanship, and is still to be seen, in an excellent state of preservation, with its leaden "bulla" intact, in the muniment room at King's College. As noted, it is almost identical with other Bulls, the statutory clauses indeed being word for word. There is, of course, a difference between the documents in the clauses describing the cities and countries in which the Universities were to be established; but, even here, the suitability of the climate and the abundance of food are set forth in the same words.

The Aberdeen Bull is granted in answer to a petition, presented by "our very dear son in Christ, James, the illustrious King of Scots". Of course, the real petitioner was Bishop Elphinstone, for the Bulls were merely acts of formal consecration, coming from the royal or the pontifical authority, to sanction what was almost always an accomplished fact. The Popes and the Kings were the protectors, not the founders, of Universities. The Church patronised the Universities as a means of glorifying God, and Pope Alexander's

Bull starts in the usual way. It praises "the priceless pearl of knowledge," which, besides conducing to a clear understanding of the "secrets of the universe, raises those of humble origin to the highest rank". Here, in a sentence, is expressed the democratic spirit which animated the early Universities, especially those of Scotland, though it has frequently been lost sight of in subsequent times. Alexander the Sixth was not an ideal Pontiff, but he was shocked to learn that the pearl of knowledge was not possessed by his children in the far North, cut off from the world by "firths and very lofty mountains". What pained him most of all was the fact that the people were so "rude and ignorant" that it was impossible to find suitable persons to read the Word of God, and to administer the sacraments of the Church. Here, again, is a very characteristic note of a Papal Bull—the furtherance of religion and the Church. This purpose is expressed to this day in the motto of the University,—"*Initium sapientiae timor Domini*".

The method by which the Pope proposed to lead the people out of the darkness of ignorance was elaborate. It was no less than the establishment of a *Studium Generale*, modelled on the basis of the Universities of Bologna and Paris, then the most famous seats of learning in the world. His Holiness resolved to erect it in the "renowned city of Old Aberdeen," "that the Realm may be adorned with the gifts of science; that the University may produce men eminent for their ripe judgment, crowned

with the graces of virtue, and learned in the teachings of the various Faculties; and that there may be therein a cool fountain of whose fulness all the faithful in Christ may drink, streaming thither from every quarter in their desire to be adorned with learning and virtue”.

The choice of the Aulton as the home of the University was based, like everything about the institution, solely on ecclesiastical reasons. The quaint little town must, even four hundred years ago, have contained fewer inhabitants than the thriving city at the mouth of the Dee, but it was the diocesan capital, and naturally enough the head of the See desired to have this pet scheme of his grow up under the shadow of his Cathedral, which might be constantly in touch with the infant University. This, then, was the reason for the choice of the Aulton as the site of the University, a choice that has since been the cause of endless controversy. The very existence of such a dispute indicates, as clearly as anything well could, the distance which the University has travelled during its career from the circumstances under which it came into life.

The Bull, unlike those of many Universities (St. Andrews, for instance), prescribes the constitution of the University, which consisted of a Chancellor (the Bishop of Aberdeen, *ex officio*), a Vice-Chancellor, a Rector, Regents, Masters, and Doctors. The legislative power was vested in the hands of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and

the Rector, assisted by the resident Doctors (that is to say, the Principal, Canonist, Civilist, and Mediciner), by a competent number of Licentiates and students in each Faculty, and by two of the King's Councillors, who were nominees of the Crown. It may be noticed in parenthesis that in the earlier forms of the Scots Universities Bill, which became an Act in 1889, it was proposed to have such nominees, whose presence would have tended to lessen the parochial administration of the University. Yet the Crown has not, as in some Continental Universities, directly administered the affairs of the University except by way of occasional Commissions of Inquiry; nor did Elphinstone anticipate the interference of the municipality, such as came to prevail at Marischal College and has recently been introduced into the Scots Universities.

The equipment of the University was complete in theory from the very beginning, all the four Faculties, Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine, being prescribed. Some Universities had but one Faculty, for example Orleans, which taught Law only. It was altogether remarkable that Elphinstone should have furnished (even though only on paper) in this complete way the University which he placed in so remote and "illiterate" a spot as Aberdeen. The result was that the scope of his scheme was wider than that of any University in Britain, inasmuch as it included Medicine. There was no professorship of Medicine in Cambridge until 1540, nor in Oxford until 1546. Dublin

was equipped in 1618, Glasgow in 1637, Edinburgh in 1685, and St. Andrews in 1721.

The teaching was to be in the hands of clergy holding Church benefices and laymen with the degrees of Doctors or Masters, and the course of instruction was open to all, "come whence they may". The usual four degrees were constituted, namely, those of Bachelor, Licentiate, Master, and Doctor. In the mediæval University the Baccalaureate was rather a certificate than a degree proper, granted to undergraduates in the middle of their curriculum. The Licentiate was the degree *par excellence*, corresponding to the M.A., which so long was the aspiration of the Scots student. The Chancellor, with the approval of a majority of the Regents, Masters, and Doctors, conferred the degrees of Bachelor and Licentiate; while any Master or Doctor who had been a Regent could promote a Licentiate to the degree of Master or Doctor in his own Faculty, providing that the other Masters and Doctors of the Faculty agreed. The peculiar privilege of the graduates was the permission to teach, and that, too, in any University in the world—a striking proof of the internationalism of the mediæval academic system. Whether all graduates had by virtue of their degree a voice in the management of the affairs of the University, as they have to-day, is a doubtful point, which came to be hotly disputed in the middle of the present century.

Having created the University, the Pope issued a

mandate to the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth to publish the Bull, and to promote its observance, and, two years later, Elphinstone published both documents. In 1498 the King, James IV., made the further concession to the University of all the privileges granted by the French kings to the University of Paris; the Sheriff of Aberdeen, or his depute, or the Alderman of the Burgh of Aberdeen, or the Bishop's Baillie for the town of Old Aberdeen being made the conservators of such rights. These were of the usual kind, namely, the exemption, which the whole Catholic clergy held, from all services, private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal taxes and contributions, which pressed on their fellow-citizens with intolerable weight. The Universities, in fact, were little republics.

*Privileges
of the
universities*

The question of endowment remained, and was settled by the King. Finance did not trouble the Universities of the mediæval world—Paris, for instance, used to brag of its poverty. At first, teaching cost nothing at all, for all Masters and Doctors were bound to read in their respective Faculties for a limited time after graduating. This arrangement ultimately broke down, and then the Italian, followed by other, Universities, remedied the defect by exchanging the free competition of “reading” graduates, who received a small fee from each student, for a system of a few salaried teachers. The older system prevailed in Glasgow, and Elphinstone must have seen how badly it worked,

for he remedied it in his own University. Finance seems to have been one of his strong points. Personally, he was poor, and yet he managed to do a great deal of expensive public work. How was it managed? Buckle, who characterises him as an "able and ambitious prelate," waxes wroth over one of the methods he adopted to fill his exchequer. This was the scheme he suggested to the Crown of reviving against the nobility certain obsolete claims, by virtue of which the King might, under certain circumstances, take possession of their estates, and in every instance in which the owner held of the Crown receive nearly the whole of the proceeds during the minority of the proprietor. But the world has moved since Buckle's time, and, so far from passing an adverse criticism on this policy of Elphinstone, some will see in it a practical expression of land nationalisation. The Bishop probably looked at this policy as a matter of expediency, not as a doctrine. That phase of the subject was left to be expounded 300 years later by a professor in his College, William Ogilvie, whose famous *Essay on the Right of Property in Land* anticipated the work of Henry George.

Be that as it may, Elphinstone set to work to endow his University, availing himself of the revenues, not of the nobility, but of the Church. The first endowment, given by the sanction of the Pope, February, 1496, was a charge on the revenues of the Hospital of St. Germans, belonging to the Order of St. Augustine, in the diocese of St.

Andrews. These amounted to £30 yearly, and were divided between one member of the Order, three or four persons in the Hospital, and as many in the University. Then he induced the King to incorporate in the University the churches of Arbuthnot, in the diocese of St. Andrews, and of Glenmuick and Glengairn, in the diocese of Aberdeen, with their revenues.

It was evidently Elphinstone's intention to foster Medicine, for its endowment is mentioned earlier than that of any other Faculty, the annual feuduties from several estates in Banffshire being devoted towards its support. In September, 1498, Elphinstone arranged for the appointment of a collector of the revenues, and drew up his salary list, modelling it chiefly on the financial arrangements at Orleans. It ranged from £20, paid to the professor of civil law, to 20 merks, paid to the professor of canon law. He also instituted a system of bursaries. It would be tedious to go over in detail all the grants made to the University, but it may be noticed that the first gift of a private individual was that of Robert Blinselle, a burgess of Aberdeen, who in 1501 assigned to the University an annual feu-duty of twenty-three shillings Scots, "furth of a land in the Castlegate for performance of certain religious observances". Elphinstone was warmly supported in his great educational venture by his ecclesiastical colleagues, for the first bursary was founded by Duncan Scherar, one of the canons of the Cathedral.

salary
system

bursary
system

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Such, then, was the foundation of the University of Aberdeen on a mediæval model. To that type it would have remained true had the solemn injunction of Pope Alexander VI., conveyed in the closing sentence of his Bull, been observed :—"To no man is it permissible to infringe or rashly contravene this our own statute, ordinance, and indulgence. Let every one, who shall dare to attempt such, be well assured that he will incur the wrath of the God Omnipotent and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul."

In the course of four centuries many men have incurred the wrath of Peter and Paul, for the constitution of the University has undergone a great deal of tinkering, first at the hands of rival Churches, and then under various influences taking legal effect by the sanction of the Crown. The history of the University will be found to arrange itself into five distinct periods, each well defined :—

UNDER THE CHURCH.

- I. 1495-1560.—From the foundation of the University and King's College to the Reformation—the Roman Catholic period.
- II. 1560-1690.—From the Reformation to the appointment of the first General Commission of Visitation—the Protestant period, represented by Episcopacy and Presbyterianism.

UNDER THE CROWN.

- III. 1690-1826.—From the first General Commission of Visitation, which sat for ten years, and was the

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earliest proof of State recognition of the Scots Universities as needing joint action, to the second General Commission, which awakened the Scots Universities from the sleepy condition they had fallen into during the eighteenth century.

IV. 1826-1858.—To the third General Commission, which united the two Universities in Aberdeen.

V. 1858-1889.—To the fourth Commission, which greatly extended the scope of teaching and administration.

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V. THE ERECTION OF KING'S COLLEGE.

HAVING created the University, Elphinstone's next step was to found a College within it, which he dedicated to the Trinity and the Virgin Mary. Most of the great mediæval Universities, like Oxford and Cambridge to-day, comprehended many Colleges, which were usually founded by private individuals. Thus St. Mary's, afterwards King's College, comprehended only those for whom endowments had been provided. Whether Elphinstone intended to establish another College, or expected posterity to do so, we do not know. As a matter of fact, no other College was established—for it must always be remembered that Marischal College represented a totally distinct University—and in actual practice, the University and the College which Elphinstone created were identical.

It was in 1505 that Elphinstone published the constitution of the College, taking as his model the Universities of Paris and Orleans. He provided for thirty-six members—increased by Bishop Dunbar, a quarter of a century later, to forty-two—whose positions and emoluments will be more readily understood in tabulated form. The members were of four classes :—

PERMANENT TEACHERS.

Master of Theology or Principal	40 merks.
Doctor of Common Law	30 merks.
Doctor of Civil Law	30 merks.
Doctor of Medicine	20 merks.
Regent or Sub-Principal	20 merks.
Grammarians (had a living).	

(All were ecclesiastics except the Mediciner, and elected by the Chancellor.)

TEMPORARY STUDENT TEACHERS.

Five M.A.'s, with 10 pounds each, who on graduating in Arts had to study theology for three and a half years, and act as Regents.

THE BURSARY UNDERGRADUATES.

Thirteen students, 12 merks each, one of them teaching poetry and rhetoric.

TWELVE "APOSTLES".

Eight Prebendaries (including a Cantor, an Organist, and a Sacrist, with 20 merks each).

Four Choir Boys, 5 merks each. These last twelve had to celebrate matins, vespers, and masses for the founders.

Total—36 members.

The most noticeable feature of this constitution is its dominating ecclesiasticism. Elphinstone, indeed, speaks of the institution as the Collegiate Church or College of St. Mary. The permanent officials of the College, with the exception of the Mediciner, had to be in holy orders. The head and front of the University, the Chancellor, was a prelate, holding this post by virtue of his being

Bishop of Aberdeen. The Principal and the students of theology had to study divinity every reading day, and preach six times a year to the people. The duties of the prebendaries and the choir boys were apparently, at the beginning, exclusively devoted to the services of the Church. The Bishop, be it remembered, was an enthusiast on ritual. He had introduced the reformed Gregorian chant into the Cathedral, and he had appointed an "experienced musician," John Malison, to direct the service and to look after the song school. It is indeed to Malison that the Aberdonians owed "whatever of music, whatever of perfect service is found in the Northern Church". And there was a monastic touch about the College, inasmuch as all the members, save the Canonist, the Civilist, the Grammarian, and the Mediciner, who had manses, where they taught their subjects, had to live within the College buildings. The students were even more closely looked after, for they had no vacation.

As already noted, Elphinstone followed the new method ~~adopted~~ by the Universities of having ~~salaried teachers~~, although he also took advantage of the temporary teaching services of the theology students—temporary, because the embryo-priests, like the thirteen bursars, had to leave at the end of their curriculum whether they graduated or not.

But the great feature of Elphinstone's constitution was his provision for supervising the government of the College. It was on this point that

Glasgow failed, so that general disorders soon infected its whole body. At Aberdeen, Elphinstone devised a scheme for the annual Visitation of the College by the Rector, provided that official was not a member of the College. If he were, two Visitors were appointed, namely, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and the Official of Aberdeen, who was judge in the Bishop's Court. Any defects found by the Visitors were drafted in a report drawn up by four independent persons, who corresponded to the modern Rector's Assessors. This small committee in turn reported to the Chancellor, who, with their advice, administered correction. The Chancellor, however, if he saw fit, could exercise the power of Visitation himself. In fact, he possessed the autocratic powers of the office which obtained in the earliest form of Universities.

Nothing further was done for the College by Elphinstone's successor, Bishop Alexander Gordon. Gordon had been foisted on the diocese by his relative the Earl of Huntly. At Elphinstone's death there were three candidates for the seat. The Regent nominated James Ogilvie, who was professor of civil law in the University; the Pope favoured Robert Foreman, Dean of Glasgow; while Lord Huntly, who had the strongest local influence, forced the canons to elect Gordon, the Precentor of Moray. Happily, his reign lasted only four years (1514-18), and he was succeeded by a prelate after Elphinstone's own heart, Gavin Dunbar, "ane wyse and Godlie man," who among

many public services effected the expansion of the College in point of equipment and administration.

Dunbar was the true successor of Elphinstone as Bishop and benefactor. In the phrase of the *Album Amicorum* of the University, he put the "coapstone" on the founder's schemes, not merely with regard to the University itself, but equally in the matter of the other public works with which Elphinstone had been identified. Dunbar finished the Bridge of Dee, and built the quaint old towers which give such a Dutch appearance to St. Machar Cathedral. On his own account, he endowed two chaplainries in the Cathedral of Moray, his native county, and founded a hospital in Old Aberdeen for the maintenance of twelve old men. Like his predecessor, he paid much attention to the literature of his Church, causing the *Epistolare de Tempore et de Sanctis* to be printed (in Antwerp) for use in the Cathedral. He also took a minor part in affairs of State, and was imprisoned by the Queen-mother (from August to November, 1524) for his adherence to the policy of the Regent Albany.

It was at the age of sixty-four that Elphinstone had turned his attention to the founding of the University, and at seventy-four Dunbar devoted himself to the academic problem by drawing up a new constitution, officially published in 1531, the year before his death. He increased the membership of the College from thirty-six to forty-two, by creating one more student of theology, three stu-

dents in law, and two more choir boys. He also added to the buildings; but his real service was his expansion of the principles of administration.

Elphinstone had made the Chancellor an autocrat, who could exercise the power of Visitation, and who nominated the permanent teaching staff. The latter in their turn nominated all the other members with the exception of the Rector, on whose election nothing was said. That official, however, occupied a very important position in the mediæval Universities—where the Chancellor's powers had declined. At first the Chancellor had been as autocratic as Elphinstone desired, representing the interests of the Church and enforcing the ecclesiastical demands dictatorially. But the whole instinct of the Universities was in the direction of independence as regards Church, State, and municipality, and for a very simple reason. The students came from every part of the civilised world, and, under mediæval law, had no legal standing in the city in which they happened to be studying. Thus they formed themselves, according to their nationality, into guilds which were called Nations, and which differed in number at different Universities, although the commonest number was four. Each Nation had a chairman, or Procurator, and the Procurators were headed by the Rector. It was equally in the interest of the University officials to combine, and they divided themselves into Faculties, each of which was represented by a Dean. The specialised branches

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of knowledge—Theology, Medicine, and Law—formed the “Superior” Faculties; while the more general set of studies, known as Arts, which formed the basis of the others, constituted the “Inferior” Faculty. It contained the largest number of students, and their interests were less well defined than those of the specialists. Thus, the Nations, which had at first been formed in the interests of all the students against the municipality, gradually came to be utilised to further the aspirations of the Arts students against the University authorities themselves. In course of time, the Nations got a hearing in the government of the University, which came to be administered by the three “Superior” Faculties and the Nations. The Nations outnumbered the Faculties, and it was not unnatural that their chairman, the Rector, should preside over the meetings of the University.

When the Pope founded a University in Aberdeen, “*sicut in Parisiensi et Bononiensi*,” he presumably intended it to be governed by these same bodies, since he provided for a Rector; but there is no mention in Elphinstone’s charter either of the Nations or of the mode of electing the Rector. The omission has sometimes been described as merely verbal; but the autocratic power given to the Chancellor indicates that the omission was not unintentional. The truth is that, however much he may have wished to copy the Parisian model, democratised as no University now is, it was impossible for Elphinstone to do so, for his *clientele* was not

educated up to the point of exercising the powers possessed by the Parisians. Aberdeen had, in fact, to begin by going through the same experience that its prototypes had had to face before assuming their democratic form.

By Dunbar's time, however, the College had been in existence for about a quarter of a century, and had probably become better able to manage its affairs. At any rate, Dunbar availed himself of the principle of Nations, or rather their Procurators, and showed his appreciation of the Rector by ordaining that that official, whether a member of the College or not, should be a resident within the University. The logical result of the recognition of Nations was the curtailment of the Chancellor's powers. So the election of the Principal was transferred from the Chancellor to the Rector, assisted by the four Procurators, the Civilist, the Mediciner, the Grammarian, the Sub-Principal, the Regents in Arts, the six Students of Theology, the Cantor, and the Sacrist; similarly with the election of all the other permanent officials, who were to be "admitted" by the Chancellor. In the election of the other members, the Procurators had no voice, that power being left to the permanent officials. Thus, in theory, the undergraduates had something to say in the election of the Senatus (for the permanent teaching was nothing more or less), though there may be some doubt whether the Procurators were actually elected by the students or the masters.

And yet the introduction of Nations into the Scots Universities was a curious anomaly. Necessary as they were in the Continental Universities, which were vast congregations of foreigners, with many rights to uphold, there was no intrinsic reason for their existence in Scotland at all, where the Universities could hardly have been intended at any time to minister to more than local wants. But in following the foreign models, the Scots founders eliminated nothing, and they took over the theory of Nations.

In the transference, the Nations lost their original significance, and not a little of their efficiency. At St. Andrews, they were abolished by the Universities Commission of 1858; at Glasgow there are no Procurators; Edinburgh never adopted the system. Aberdeen alone retains the system intact, despite many vicissitudes, although utilising it solely for the election of a Rector. But it has made up the lost ground in recent years by electing as Rectors local men, who are no longer ornamental, but can sit and vote in the University Court. By retaining the Nations, Aberdeen has departed less from the mediæval model than any other University; and affords an example of the most curious body of voters in the world.

At present, the four Nations are Mar, Buchan, Moray, and Angus. Mar includes students born in East Aberdeenshire, Buchan represents West Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, Moray the whole of the other northern counties, and Angus the rest of

the world. The system of voting is in this wise. The students of each Nation are locked up in separate rooms, and are presided over by two professors—one to read out the names of the voters (who vote orally), the other to make a record of the vote. The election, curiously enough, is by proxy. That is to say, the Rectorial candidates are represented in each Nation by a student (usually one who has taken a prominent part in the preliminary election proceedings), called the Procurator, and it is for him, and not for the actual candidate, that the vote is recorded. When the voting is finished, the Procurators of the successful candidate meet the presiding professors, when the election is formally made, the decision being, not by a numerical majority—except as a casting vote—but by a majority of Nations. If proof were needed of the conservative tendencies of the University, surely the survival of Nations is enough.

Dunbar made a further curtailment of the Chancellor's power by vesting the Principal with greater authority. It was the duty of the Principal to rule the College, even to the extent of keeping it clean. He had to preside over all the other members, and instruct them in morals and discipline. And here a good deal of light is thrown on the manners and morals of the period, for the charter ordained that everybody in the College, great and small alike, should live honourable lives. The injunction was not merely on general grounds, for the Bishop went into details, prohibiting "*publicas*

concupinas"; and forbidding the carrying of arms or swords. Further, he condemned "*noctivagi, lenones, aut scurre vagabundi*," conjuring the members to devote themselves to good morals and their studies—"prout decet Dei ministros ut divinam ultionem evadere voluerint". The professors came under the strict jurisdiction of the mighty Principal, for he had to visit their lecture-rooms, to make any sort of alterations he thought fit, and to punish in any way such as were deficient in their duty. He also came into close contact with the students, to whom, with the advice of the Sub-Principal and the Regents, he had to allot chambers. Nor did his duties end there; for every day he had to "profess" Philosophy and Arts, to lecture on Theology, and, further still, to preach to the people six days in the year. The duties of the Sub-Principal were similar. He had more particularly to preside at disputations, and to fine defaulting undergraduates. Dunbar made rules for the students to observe, the most interesting being that which compelled the bursars to speak either in Latin or in French. Twice every reading day in Arts there were to be questions and meetings, while disputations were to be held every Saturday.

Finally, every entrant to the College had to subscribe the following oath (the first of a much disputed series), which is another indication of the ecclesiastical principles on which the University was based:—

I, A. B., laying my hand on God's Holy Gospel, do swear that I will show all due obedience and reverence to the Chancellor of this University, to the Rector of the same, and to the Principal of this College; that I will unfailingly observe all statutes and regulations which are embodied in the original Foundation of this College, as far as they may conform with true and orthodox religion, as in our Church openly set forth and established, unless, peradventure, the Chancellor of the University and other lawful superiors have seen fit, in certain instances, to permit otherwise; that I will protect the several rights and privileges of the said College, and promote its advantage and interest in all points according to my ability. So help me God.

This, then, is the outline of the constitution of the original University. The underlying ecclesiastical principle was very different from what the country was shortly to adopt; but the solitary fact of such a system as Nations remaining shows with what pertinacity some essentials of the mediæval models have been adhered to.

VI. KING'S COLLEGE STRUCTURE.

It would scarcely be necessary to point out that the erection of the University has nothing to do with its realisation in stone and lime, were it not for the fact that the actual structure of King's College, especially the older portion of it, often seems to be regarded as the University itself; and the sentiment has frequently obscured the educational issues in schemes for uniting the two Universities which involved a change of site. Of course, the erection of the University and the structure of King's College are two separate things. Indeed, the structure possibly did not trouble the founder very much. Certain it is that the part of the buildings which concerned him most—namely, the chapel—is of least importance to-day from any but the ecclesiological point of view.

When King's College came into existence, Old Aberdeen boasted an architectural setting infinitely superior to anything in the New Town. The note of the whole place was ecclesiastical. The Cathedral, built at a point where the bend of the river is supposed to resemble a crozier, dominated, almost created, everything else. To-day, the stately pile is but the shadow of its former self, whilst scarce a

trace remains of the buildings that clustered round St. Machar. The palace where the Bishop lived, the square where his chaplains had chambers, the manses where the prebends resided—all are gone. At the other end of the town, beside what is now the residence of the professor of Latin, stood the parish church, St. Mary *ad Nives*, the Snow Kirk, as it was familiarly called. To complete the symmetry of the town, Elphinstone erected the College near the Snow Kirk, which he annexed for the purpose; so that the Cathedral, with its fine twin towers on the one side, was balanced at the other by the College with its stately Tower and crown. It may be here noted in passing that in 1489 Elphinstone obtained a Crown charter (confirmed in 1498) creating Old Aberdeen into a City and Burgh of Barony.

To the architecture of the Aulton, Elphinstone had made several notable additions. He was, indeed, a veritable master-builder. He completed the Cathedral, and, doubtless, reconstructed other parts of its precincts. Thus the building of his College was no new experience to him. The story of the structure is by no means clear, but it is certain that building must have been a serious task. The commonest arts were unknown at the time, cart wheels having had to be imported into Scotland as late as 1475. Money, of course, was scarce; when the Church of St. Nicholas was repaired in 1493, two years before the foundation of the University, some of the subscribers paid in kind. The Bishop, how-

ever, had a genius for finance, and the real difficulty of the situation was that of carrying out the work of building.

It would be interesting to know who was the actual builder of the College. Unhappily no record of the beginning of the structure has been preserved. We know, however, that it was a builder from Linlithgow who became master-mason to Elphinstone, when the Bishop finished the Cathedral and began the Bridge of Dee. This was Thomas Franche, whose son was also possibly connected with these works. It is not unlikely, then, that the Franches had something to do with the building of King's College. There is another strong presumption in favour of this supposition. Linlithgow, the Franches' native town, possessed a church, which had a steeple very similar to the Tower at King's College. In northern Britain there were four towers of this description—St. Nicholas, Newcastle; St. Michael's, Linlithgow; St. Giles, Edinburgh; and King's College, Aberdeen. The one at Newcastle was begun in 1470, and seems to have been the model of all the others. Under its shadow Dr. Charles Mitchell amassed the large fortune that enabled him to become the greatest private benefactor of Aberdeen University in modern times; and it is just possible that the tower at Linlithgow, which was taken down in 1820, inspired Franche with the idea of imitating it at Aberdeen.

In a vague way the history of King's College

structure is known. Elphinstone "caused build the magnifick edifices of the colledge, church, professours houses, and gairdens therein". Dunbar completed what had been left unfinished, while Bishop William Stewart (1532-1545) erected "the librarie hous and with a number of bookes furnisht the same; as also he built the jewell or charterhous, and vestrie or chapter hous". The College seems to have been built round a quadrangle. Running east and west was the chapel and the famous crowned Tower, the only parts of the original structure still standing. On the south side of the chapel abutted a two-storeyed building, occupied by class-rooms on the ground floor and a library above, while the chapter and jewel-house were erected to the east of the library. The south side of the quadrangle, occupied now by the Greek and Latin class-rooms, was probably the residential chambers completed by Dunbar; and the dining-hall and kitchens may have occupied the east side, for at a later date the rooms of the Economus, or college purveyor, were pitched on that site, near the Ivy Tower. This Tower seems to have marked one of the corners of the quadrangle, while a similar one, shown in early plans of the buildings, stood at the south-west corner.

Of all the buildings of the College, the chapel is certainly the most interesting, not merely because it is (with the Tower) the only part of the original structure that has come down to us, but also because it illustrates that adaptation to circum-

stances which forms the history of the University. In its present restored form, it affords a striking example of that curious dislike of the University to shed the husk of worn-out customs. The chapel has witnessed a period of desecration at the hands of religious reformers. It has suffered secularisation, for the nave was turned into a library at a time when an exhausted exchequer rendered additional buildings impossible. To-day, it stands restored to something like its former glory, even although the character of the religious services celebrated within its walls is very different from the ceremonial of the Church that erected it. Originally the very kernel of the College, its place in the modern University is of the most secondary character, and its interest mainly ecclesiological.

There is reason to believe that the chapel and the Tower, with its "brave pourtrait of the royall diademe," were the first buildings to be erected. They probably arose in 1500, for an inscription, which is still to be seen on the north side of the west door in the chapel, furnishes this little bit of history:—

Per serenissimum illustrissimum ac invictissimum J. 4. R. quarto nonas Aprilis anno millesimo et quingentesimo hoc insigne collegium latomi inceperunt edificare.

The architecture of the building is flamboyant Gothic; the most remarkable feature of the exterior being the round-headed window of four lights in the west wall, illuminated with the "discoloured glass" that appealed to the historian of old. It

is the interior, however, that affords most points of interest, and that has been the object of greatest concern, alike to its founder and to the long line of his successors.

The ecclesiologist is able to reconstruct the original chapel with fair accuracy from the inventory of the property of the College, which was made in 1542. The building was divided into four squares, two allotted to the nave and two to the choir, with the addition of the apse, the breadth being equal to the height of the walls, above which the roof was alcoved. As in most collegiate or convent churches, the number of clergy was greater than in a parochial church, and therefore demanded more accommodation. The stalls, besides lining the walls, were returned across the building. The oak stalls have fortunately come down to us in a fairly complete form, exhibiting the most beautiful carving and delicate tracery, which seem to point to their having been the work of foreign craftsmen. The screen, which bisected the chapel, and which reached almost to the roof, connected the nave and the choir by a door in the centre. As it was not possible for all the worshippers in the nave to see the high altar and to watch the service in the choir, it became necessary to repeat the service from the gallery, which ran along the top of the bisecting line of stalls. This gallery, restored in the modern chapel, was probably divided into three sections, each covered with a very rich canopy. Under the cen-

tral and highest canopy, stood a great crucifix and an altar adorned with statues of the Virgin and of St. John. Beneath one of the side canopies was a picture of the Crucifixion. Beneath the other, possibly the one nearest the quadrangle, stood the organ, which was decorated with a picture of the Virgin—described by a historian of the reformed church (surely with simulated ignorance) as the “*pourtraicte of some woman, nobody could tell who*”. Nothing could show more clearly the complete change that public opinion underwent after the Reformation than the treatment meted out to the chapel and its treasures. To Elphinstone, enthusiast as he was for the Gregorian chant, the organ was of first-rate importance. To the General Assembly that met in Aberdeen in 1640, it was “a thing very intolerable in the church of a College”; and two years later Principal Guild “*causit tak doune the organ case quhilk was of fyn wanescot*”. There is a subtle irony of circumstance in the fact that the organ has been replaced in the modern chapel, almost in its old position.

On the floor of the nave were two altars, placed at each side of the door in the screen. One was dedicated to the Virgin, after whom the College was named, and the other to St. German, the revenues of whose hospital had been diverted for the use of the College. As preaching in the nave was contemplated by Elphinstone, it is probable that his desk, which seems to have been in existence early last century, was placed there.

The choir, however, was the most important part of the ancient chapel. Entered from the nave by the carved door in the oak screen, it must have looked gorgeous in its "ancient braverie" of marble and painting, its coloured hangings, its carpets, and its array of vessels, ambones, candelabra, and ornaments—"all robbed and sold long ago," as the Parson of Rothiemay has it. Here sat the forty-two members of the College, the four Doctors occupying the corner stalls. The choir originally had but one altar, but two minor ones were added afterwards. In the apse rose the high altar, adorned with a great picture—"miro ingenio confecta". Then there was the sacramental altar with an alabaster statue of the Virgin, while a third altar was erected by the executors of Boece in honour of St. Catherine. The founder was also commemorated, for beside the high altar lay the great bishop beneath a tomb of imposing grandeur. His effigy in full pontificals, cast in brass, rested between two black marble slabs, the uppermost being supported by thirteen statues of brass, representing Faith, Hope, Charity, Contemplation, and the Cardinal Virtues. The effigy has long since disappeared.

Such a place, bristling as it did with features reminiscent of the Church of Rome, naturally fell a prey to the spoliation which marked the spread of the reformed religion. True, it escaped the hands of the angry mob that stripped the Cathedral, for its last Catholic Principal defended the College by main force. It was he who hid away many of the

ornaments of the chapel, and they have long since passed beyond recall, some of them, perhaps, to the melting pot, others to the plate chests of the great ruling families of the county or to the clergy on the Continent. The nave, as has been noted, came to be converted into a library, while for two centuries the choir was used as the meeting place of the Synods of Aberdeen, Episcopalian and Presbyterian alike. Bit by bit the chapel was robbed of all its "ancient braverie," until it was reduced to the bleak baldness which characterised it till within a quarter of a century ago.

If the chapel is the most interesting part of the old structure, the Tower is certainly the most picturesque, the most familiar. It has stamped itself on the imagination of generations of Aberdeen alumni as the sign and symbol of the University, so that any attempt to abandon the site of King's College is resisted with a tenacity that does honour to the sentiment of a people usually credited with none but the most prosaic considerations. Nothing finer of the kind than the Tower exists in this country, for the towers of St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, and of St Nicholas Cathedral, Newcastle, are much less graceful and less imposing. The crown was undoubtedly built to mark the patronage which the King of Scots had extended to the University, and not to emphasise the royal title of the College, which did not receive the name "King's College" for at least a quarter of a century after the erection of the Tower. Originally, the

Tower was equipped with "an musicall harmonie of [twelve] costlie and pleasant bells". There were five large ones, christened Trinitas (measuring five feet five inches), Maria, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. Five smaller bells struck the half-hours, while two others were used for daily purposes. In addition to these, the chapel had three bells, while the Snow Kirk was the possessor of other two, barbarously christened Shoohtmadony and Skellat. All of them have vanished. In 1700, a French founder offered to break up the peal and recast five or six bells from two-thirds of the metal, the remaining third being his fee. How far he carried out his design is not clear, but in 1823 some of the bells were sold to fill the treasury of the University, which had become exhausted by various extensions to the buildings. The very crown itself has undergone some change, for it was blown down in 1631, although it was "quickly afterwards restored in a better frame and condition".

The library has had a troubled history. Built by Bishop Stewart on the wall of the chapel next to the quadrangle, its stock of books was at first mainly ecclesiastical—psalters, breviaries, missals, and the like. It fell into disrepair, while its treasures were "ather robbed or embasled, or purloyned by unfaythfull keepers". About 1719, the jewel-house, which was attached to the east end of the library, was utilised for space, all "the pretious stuff layd up" having been gradually spirited away, like so many of the University's treasures, by

"theeves quho brack in violentlie". By 1725 the library was enlarged and repaired—thanks to the generosity of an old alumnus, Dr. Fraser, secretary of Chelsea Hospital. Fraser's building was burned about 1772, and the books were turned into the nave of the chapel, where they remained until 1870, when the present library was built.

The residential part of the College, completed by Bishop Dunbar, and long since vanished, seems to have occupied the site of the present Latin and Greek class-room block. It had at least seventeen living rooms (*bibliothecae*) with closets (*cubicula*) attached to them. They were quaintly named after the heavenly bodies—Jupiter, Saturn, Luna, Mercury, and Venus, the following signs of the Zodiac—Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, and Scorpio, and the two constellations, Corona and Hercules. The Principal had two rooms. The inventory of 1542, which is partly in Latin and partly in Scots—the vernacular being here used for the first time in any University document—is minute. The Principal's rooms, entered by "ane portal door of aik carvit werk," had, among other objects, "ane gret stand and bed of aik, sylit [ceiled], and hung about with iii cortanis, reid warsat and grein," and "ane fedder bed with bowstar". These gorgeous resting-places in the inner room were possibly for his guests; the Principal himself may have been content with the "aiken bed, sylit with aik, with ane cortaine in the inner chamber". One of the rooms was

lighted with "ane hingand chandelar of brass, with the ymage of our Lady and sex flouris". The Principal kept in his rooms, in "ane gret fyr kist with lok and band," the ornaments of the Faculty of Arts. The beds and furnishings of the other *cubacula* were much plainer, none of them boasting of "cortanis". The furniture was made exclusively of oak, and in one of the rooms there was "ane fyre pann". Although Dunbar forbade the members to carry arms, the College had a little armoury of its own, for there are enumerated among its possessions several "gunnis" and "hagbutis"—probably weapons that had been forfeited. Principal Anderson may have had recourse to them when he defended the College against the rabble that attacked it.

The commissariat department of the College consisted of a meat-house, a bakery, a barley-house, a corn-house, a larder, and a wine-cellar. The chattels of the kitchen included "ane litil brandar, callit ane rostin irne," "ane gret beif pott," "ane bakein buird," "ane four nukit transchour," and "ane brassin mortar". The common dining-hall was probably in close proximity to the culinary department, which, as we have seen, stood at a later period beside the Ivy Tower, where there was a well with an eel in it.

Class-room accommodation was not provided to a large extent in the College buildings, for the professors had to teach in their manses. The room beneath the original library was thus in all probability the public school, and no other accommoda-

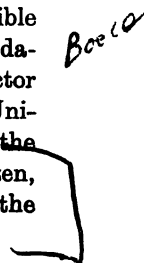
tion may have been made in the quadrangle for ordinary teaching purposes.

While the early history of the buildings is largely conjectural, it is something to know that the most picturesque part of the original structure has come down to us in the grand old Tower and crown and the chapel.

VII. THE FIRST TEACHERS AND CURRICULUM.

THE University so far described is nothing more than a University on paper. While the principles of the mediæval academic system are well known, it is difficult, in the absence of definite data, to discover the success of their operation in Aberdeen. The spirit of the time was not in the direction of that literature of gossip and reminiscence which throws so much light on the inwardness of any modern movement; and it may be that some of the material that would have helped us to understand the situation was lost beyond recall when Alexander Anderson, the Principal (1553-69), destroyed many of the College documents from "the hatred he bore to the reformed religion". This, however, we do know, that Elphinstone selected some men of conspicuous ability to nurse the infant Alma Mater.

This is especially true of the official responsible for actually putting the principles of the foundation into working operation, the notorious Hector Boece, who was the first Principal of the University. Boece was a typical specimen of the priest of the period. He was essentially a citizen, not of his native land, but of the world which the



54 THE FIRST TEACHERS AND CURRICULUM.

Holy Roman Empire embraced. The Universities where the clergy were educated were thoroughly cosmopolitan, and any reputation their alumni acquired became international. It was under this system that Boece was reared ; it was this system which he helped to destroy, for he dedicated his life to one of these Universities, which, ministering to particular localities, dealt a death-blow at the cosmopolitan character of the great continental institutions.

A native of Angus, and educated in Dundee, Boece became a student of the College of Montaigu in Paris. There he met two men, the great Erasmus and John Major, who, like himself, were destined to play an important part in the Universities of this country. They form an interesting trio—Erasmus (1465-1536), Boece (1466-1536), and Major (1469-1550)—representing that school of ecclesiastic which, while desirous to reform the Church, was scarcely prepared to adopt the drastic measures proposed by Luther. One naturally groups the trio together, for their influence was exercised mainly on the Universities. The College of Montaigu, re-organised in 1483 on the principle of monastic poverty, was a hard school, where a “revolting economy” was practised ; but it afforded an admirable training for such men as Boece and Major, who were to devote themselves to the Universities of so poor a country as Scotland.

Erasmus, head and shoulders above the other two, paid his first visit to England in 1497, spend-

ing two years at Oxford. In 1506 he went to Cambridge, and in 1508 he may be said to have touched the national life of Scotland by becoming the tutor of Alexander Stewart, the natural son of James IV. This lad, who was made Archbishop of St. Andrews at the age of sixteen, fell with his father at Flodden. His arms, it may be noted, adorn one of the buttresses of King's College Tower. Had the boy lived, he might have put into practice the precepts of his master, and in some way have influenced Scotland. That was left for Major to do. Like Boece, who was for six years (1492-8) one of the Regents at Montaigu, Major taught for a time in his Alma Mater, gaining a great reputation as a logician. In 1518, he became a Regent at Glasgow, and nine years later was transferred to St. Andrews. Absolutely opposed as he was to the "execrable heresy of Luther," he was a great scholar, and his reputation brought George Buchanan and John Knox to his lectures. Indeed, to his influence—his groping after reform, as well as his dead opposition to the Lutheran solution—may be attributed in some degree their efforts to establish the "execrable heresy" in Scotland.

Boece was distinctly the least original member of the group. He belonged, it is true, to the reforming party of the day, and he had a profound admiration for Erasmus, with whom he corresponded throughout his life; but his mind was not very much exercised by the ecclesiastical problems of the time. History was his hobby; although even here he

showed less power and originality than Major. In 1521, the latter wrote a critical history of the country. Six years later Boece turned to the same task, but in the spirit of the rankest mediævalism. He was a literary artist first, a historian after; giving his bald native chronicles an elaborate classical setting, inventing his authorities, and allowing his vivid imagination to fill in any hiatus. Aberdeen was the very place for him, for he found in Elphinstone a congenial spirit. A manuscript of John Fordoun, the earliest chronicler of Scotland, was presented by him to the College; and, in 1522, he issued his *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*, based on materials collected by Elphinstone, whose portrait Boece painted in glowing colours. His *magnum opus*, the curious *History of Scotland*, was published at Paris in 1527. Not only was it written in Latin, but it was conceived in the spirit of the classicists. Boece took Livy as his model; and it can be easily understood that the application of that method to the description of such a primitive people as the Scots resulted in much grotesque writing. Yet it was this very method that ensured for the history the European reputation it acquired; for Boece opened up an undiscovered country, which he peopled with a wonderful race of fabulous heroes. The success of the book was immediate. A second edition, with a continuation by the monk Ferrerius, was published in 1574; and Boece lived to see it translated into Scots prose by John Bellenden, the Archdeacon of Moray, while a metrical version of

it, published a few years ago from the manuscript in Cambridge University, was made about the same time. It was Englished by William Harrison for Holinshed's Chronicles; and Buchanan based his own more elaborate history upon Boece's fairy tale.

Probably no other historian of Scotland has reaped so many rewards as Boece did. The University conferred on him the Doctor's Degree in Theology, 1528; the Town Council of Aberdeen presented him with a tun of wine or £20 Scots "to help to buy him bonnets"; while the King gave him first a pension of £50 Scots and then a benefice of a hundred merks. Dr. Johnson found a fine opportunity for venting his Scotophobia when he had his fling at Boece's College salary, which consisted "of 40 Scottish marks, about £2 4s. 6d. of English money". As a matter of fact, his salary was as much as £26 13s. 4d. Scots currency, which was a better provision in Scotland then, considering the expense of living in the two countries, than the same sum sterling would have been in England. Indeed, Cosmo Innes went the length of maintaining that in emolument, as well as in social position, Boece "was greatly above any Principal of a Scotch College in the present day," a statement made forty years since, but not affected by the changes of the intervening years. It ought not to be forgotten that Boece had some skill in medicine; so much so, in fact, that he was consulted by the dying Abbot of Kinloss—when he met Ferrerius. It would be

going beyond the known facts to say that it was through Boece's influence that Elphinstone equipped the University with a Medical Faculty, but it certainly was appropriate that the first British University to establish a chair of Medicine should have had as its Principal a man with some knowledge of the little-known art of healing. Boece passed away in 1536, the same year as Erasmus, and was buried in the College chapel.

The first officials of the University, besides Elphinstone and Boece, respectively Chancellor and Principal, were—Rector, Andrew Lyell; Canonist, Arthur Boece; Civilist, James Ogilvie; Mediciner, James Cumyne; Sub-Principal, William Hay; Humanist, John Vaus; Regent, Henry Spittal. Of these, Vaus is by far the most distinguished. He was the first of that long line of Latin grammarians who have done so much to give a peculiar position to Scots classicists in general, and to Aberdeen scholars in particular. His first book, a commentary on the *Doctrinale* or rhythmical elements of the Latin grammar of Alexandrinus, was published in Paris in 1522, the very year that Boece's biographies of the Bishops appeared; and it was surely to the credit of so young a University as Aberdeen to have had men capable of producing two such works in the same year. The book, a queer little quarto of about a hundred and twenty pages, has an introduction by its printer, Ascensius, of Paris, who was almost contemporaneous with Boece (1462-1536), and who

used to edit with curious notes the books he printed. He speaks of Vaus as "*nostri studiosus et nostrae professionis admirator insignis*". A few years later, Vaus published another book of the same description, entitled *Rudimenta Puerorum in Artem Grammaticam*, a second edition of which appeared from the Ascensian Press in 1531. It is entertaining from the fact that part of it is written in Scots.

One of the other professors, William Hay, was, like Boece, a native of Angus, and had been at school with him in Dundee and afterwards at the College of Montaigu in Paris. He was first Sub-Principal, an office abolished in 1860, and then, on Boece's death, Principal. His lectures are still in existence in the shape of a manuscript collection from various authors, forming a supplement to a commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. It is probable that there was a good deal of nepotism in the professoriate. At least we know that the Canonist, Arthur Boece, was a brother of the Principal. He was an important ecclesiastic, being Treasurer of the Cathedral of Brechin, Canon of St. Machar Cathedral, and a Lord of the Session. Then the Regent, Henry Spittal, who taught philosophy, was a relation of Elphinstone, while another Spittal was Canonist about 1543. Possibly the several Hays who filled various posts at the University in its early years were related by family ties to the ecclesiastic that succeeded Boece in the Principalship.

examples

No record exists bearing on the curriculum in the pre-Reformation University beyond the bald fact that it was the same as at Paris and Bologna. That was well defined. Indeed, the mediæval curriculum, as might have been expected of an age with so great a belief in authority, was stereotyped all over the academic world.

The basis of mediæval education in Arts was the logic and philosophy formulated in the teaching of Aristotle. The course of logic consisted of his *Categories*, as translated into Latin by Boethius, his *Theory of Propositions*, and his *Organon*. To these were added the works of Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist, including his introduction and treatment of the so-called "Predicables". Philosophy embraced the treatise *De Anima* and Aristotle's physical and metaphysical treatises, his more valuable biological works being neglected. Classics were of minor value. Latin of course was the universal language of learning. Greek was not introduced into Scotland until 1534, and seems to have reached Aberdeen soon after. When James V. and his queen visited the city in 1541, tradition says "ther was exercise and disputationes in all kinds of sciences in the college and sculis, with diverse oratiounes maid in Greke, Latine, and uther languages". One may be pardoned for treating figuratively the assurance that these dialectic and linguistic gymnastics were "mickell commendit be the King and Quene and all thair company". What the "uther languages" were may be guessed from the statute referring to the Grammar

School of Aberdeen, printed in the 1553 edition of Vaus's Grammar, by which the pupils were enjoined to speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Gaelic—"nunquam vernacule".

The system of teaching, known as "regenting," was one by which the teacher carried on his pupils during their whole curriculum, which has been described "a dreary single-manned Aristotelian quadriennium". The order in which the subjects were taught was exactly the reverse of the modern method, beginning with general principles and leading on to particular facts. From the Visitation of King's College of 1549 we learn that the Regents, who were Theology students appointed to teach in Arts for not more than six years, began teaching logic, went on to physics and natural philosophy, with the treatise on the sphere—Arthur Boece gave seven globes to the College—and ended with arithmetic, geometry, and cosmography, moral philosophy, political economy, and economics. A Regent had, indeed, to be a walking encyclopædia. The principle of mediæval instruction was the system of disputation. It was the educational craze of the period, just as written examinations are the fad of to-day. The field of inquiry was peculiarly limited; for men fell back exclusively on books, not on original research. Two methods were followed in disputation. In the absence of books, the teacher had to read and expound the text, dictating large portions of it,—a system that lingers in the "note-taking" of to-day. Instruction, in fact,

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VIII. THE LAST OF CATHOLIC RULE.

THE story of the first period of the University's history, which tells of the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church, closes, like the fashionable fiction of our time, with an unhappy ending; for one need not be credited with a belief in the universal necessity of that Church if one regards the closing years of its rule in the University as altogether melancholy.

7 The University was Rome's last academic gift to Scotland. It arose just at a time when a new order of things was imminent, at a time when discontent with the old orthodoxy was showing itself in every direction. The Universities themselves had waged a long fight against the claims of the Church to dominate their internal government; and a similar spirit of revolt appeared on every side. The leading dates which mark the rule of the Church over the University synchronise in a striking manner with various points in the progress of the opposition. Thus, the year 1495 found the Pope, Alexander VI., not only erecting the University, but also excommunicating Savonarola for heresy. The year 1505 saw not only the foundation of the College by Elphinstone, but also the

birth of John Knox. The year 1546 saw Pope Paul III. presenting William Cranstoun to the Principalship, just as if the Papal power was to direct the University for ever, and it also saw the burning of George Wishart and the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. Only once again did the Pope interfere directly with the affairs of the University, when he granted the Principalship to Alexander Anderson, who was to figure so conspicuously in the closing struggle.

Aberdeen was far removed from the seat of the ecclesiastical discontent, and yet as early as 1521 the disaffection found its way North, and the master of the Grammar School discovered flaws in the Church. A course of persecution, however, paralysed his critical attitude. Within four years the spirit of discontent had reached a point that compelled the Scots Parliament to make a law forbidding the importation of Lutheran books and the preaching of Lutheran doctrine and "all sic filth". The officials of the University, dealing as they did with that younger generation which from time immemorial has been ever eager to imbibe new ideas, could hardly have been ignorant of the movement that threatened the existence of their Church. One, indeed, may read into the oath which Bishop Dunbar drew up in 1531, demanding of the entrants to the College adherence to the orthodox doctrine of the Church, a vague anticipation of the coming troubles. Unhappily for the University, its leaders were not all Dun-

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bars. His successor in the See, Bishop Stewart, added to the University buildings, but the next (and last Catholic) Bishop, William Gordon, who was raised to the See in 1546, would not have been an ideal shepherd at any time, much less at such a critical moment in the destinies of the Church. It is true that in 1547, the year, by the way, in which Knox was consigned to the galleys by the French, a preaching layman was admitted to the diocese of Aberdeen, apparently to combat heresy by preaching to the people; but the Bishop himself (if we are to believe Spottiswood, who speaks more plainly than the modern historian is permitted to do), squandered the Church revenues in riotous living of a disgraceful character.

At this crisis one man came forth and sought to administer reform with a firm hand. This was Alexander Galloway, who was chosen Rector in 1549, for the fourth time. Galloway was a true disciple of Elphinstone, with whom he was personally associated in carrying out many benefactions. His connection with the University began in 1516. After thirty-three years' service on a corporation of any kind, an official is not often tempted to institute a searching examination into the conduct of its affairs; but this was exactly what Galloway undertook, for in 1549 he conducted a vigorous Visitation, in which he was assisted by the Archdeacon of the diocese, and by the canons of the Cathedral. The spirit of inquiry was very much abroad in the Church, for it was in this year

that Archbishop Hamilton held a Provincial Council in Edinburgh. The conference enacted some sweeping reforms, which go to show that matters were in a very bad condition. Thus, in view of "the grave scandal which has been caused to the Church by the incontinence of the clergy"—so runs the summary of the proceedings, as recorded by the Catholic historian, Bellesheim—the decree of the Council of Basle (*de Concubinariis*) was ordered to be strictly enforced with all its provisions. For instance, the clergy were commanded "not to keep their illegitimate children with them in their houses, nor to promote them to benefices, nor to enrich them from the patrimony of the Church"—the very failings with which Bishop William Gordon is credited.

The Visitation instituted by Galloway shows the lamentable state to which the University had been reduced through utter neglect. In every aspect the College had gone wrong, educationally and ecclesiastically alike. The professoriate seem to have stopped teaching, for they were ordered to resume their duties within nine days. The students of theology had ceased to have themselves appointed to the priesthood, and they were requested, on pain of excommunication, to discourage the growth of their hair and beards. The law students neither made their residence, nor celebrated religious offices, nor applied themselves to their studies as they ought, while the houses of their chaplainries had become ruinous through their

fault. The College banquets had become disorderly, for low persons ("*viles persone*") and boys had come to be admitted to them. The number of restrictions on the Economus, or College caterer, mentioned in this document for the first time, suggests the delinquencies of this official in regard to the quality of food he prepared and also to his accounts. The University was absolutely bankrupt, and the buildings had in consequence fallen into a dilapidated condition.

The Visitors suggested a whole series of emendations, and laid down clearly in black and white the duties of every member of the College. The Foundation was to be read publicly four times every year, so that there could be no excuse for the members to be ignorant of its provisions. In reiterating the duties of the officials, the Visitors' report discloses much interesting information not touched on by any previous document. Thus we learn that the duties of the day began at six o'clock in the morning; that everybody had to speak Latin within the College ("except in case of necessity"), the servants included; and that the bursars had to wear their hoods everywhere (except in chambers and in the chapel), to serve at the common table, and to be janitors by weekly turns. The Common Procurator, who was elected yearly, besides being the University treasurer, had to see that the structure was kept in proper repair. It was part of the Sacrist's duty to wash the vestments, to cleanse the brazen vessels used in the chapel, and to

keep the gutters clean, while to the Cantor fell the duty of regulating the clock and ringing the bells. A theology student was appointed to note the absence of masters and students alike. The strict monastic character of the University is shown by the enactment which forbids the entrance of female bakers and brewers within the quadrangle, while women of any kind and "rustics" were allowed to enter no part of the College but the chapel.

The tenor of the Rector's report on the ecclesiastical side of the College is very suggestive. He not only sought to enforce its ecclesiasticism with all the old strictness, but he seems to have been anxious to initiate a sort of missionary enterprise, so that the College should live, not merely for itself, but for the common people who lay beyond its guarded gates. The Principal and the Sub-Principal were commanded to expound theology at eight o'clock in the morning thrice weekly to everybody who cared to come. The Bible was read by the Regents daily before and after dinner and supper. The Doctors and Masters were ordered to preach the Word of God in the vernacular to the people at least seven times a year, while the budding priests were begged to try their hand at preaching in the common churches. Every Saturday the members of the College had to assemble in the chapter-house to hear the table of divine offices as prescribed for the Cathedral. In view of the coming disaster, this attempt to hold by the old order, this insistence on the ecclesiasticism which was to be

Principal -
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routed, is pathetic, inasmuch as it showed a strange lack of insight into the real difficulties of the situation.

How far these provisions went to put the University on a better basis, if indeed they were carried out at all or for any length of time, one cannot say. It is, however, significant of the state of matters that no bequests were made to the University between 1555 and 1570. Harried and bullied, the College seems to have drawn into itself, for the Church was far too busily occupied in a battle for bare existence, and had neither time nor energy to look after education. For ten years following Galloway's Visitation, the annals of the University remain almost unwritten. The dulness of the decade was, however, made up for in a rather striking fashion in 1559. In June of that year, Knox preached at Perth his famous sermon, which started the hostilities that dragged their weary length across the face of the country for the next few years. Aberdeen was in due course affected. The first signal of alarm was given when the Bishop consigned to the canons the plate and treasures of the Cathedral. In December, a body of rabid Reformers from Angus and Mearns entered the town, and, "under the colour and pretence of godly religion," attacked the grand old church. Entering the houses of the Black and the White Friars, they "spulzied and away took their goods and gear, timber work and furniture, together with the lead of the Grey Friars Kirk".

It is another instance of the irony of circumstance that the very people who in recent times fought for the preservation of this church were the successors of the Reformers who desecrated it. That the marauders would let the College alone was not to be expected; its goodly treasures were too tempting. They battered at its gate, but they battered in vain, for the Principal held the place by main force. This was the first time the College was attacked in such a way, but it was only the prelude to many similar assaults from other quarters in the years to come.

The fact that the houses of Huntly and Errol still stood by the Church made the North indisposed to move with the Reformers. But Knox and his party steadily gained ground. In the summer of 1560, all the statutes enacted in favour of the Church were annulled. When the Estates met at Edinburgh in the autumn, neither Lord Huntly nor the Bishop of Aberdeen attended. The nobles, of course, played a very curious part in the revolution by dividing the property of the Church, estimated at £327,734, so that the Reformed clergy got only a sixth, the rest going to the Government.

The University first came into direct contact with the Reformers in January, 1561, when the officials were brought to book by the General Assembly which sat in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Principal Anderson—"a man," says Knox, who put him on his mettle, "more subtil and craftye than ather learned or godlie,"—was accompanied

to the capital by the Official of Aberdeen and some of the Regents. "Thair was very sharpe and hard disputaciouns" between the professors and the Reformers, headed by Knox, "specialle concerninge the veritie of the body and bluid of Christ in the sacrament and sacrifice of the Messe". Anderson struck Knox as being "better seane in philosophie then in theology". The encounter was a beating of the wind. "Nothing was concludit, for that every ane of them remanit constant in their awin professione." The result was that "these clarkis of Aberdene war commandit to waird in Edinburgh a lang space thaireftir, and that they shuld not prieche in ony wyis in tymes cumming". The "clarkis," however, defied the Assembly, by returning to their old ways.

But the end was drawing near. The Church lost its greatest champion in the North when the Earl of Huntly was utterly defeated (28th October, 1562) at Corrichie by the Earl of Moray. Huntly ~~himself~~ was slain, his body being brought to the town and flung into the Tolbooth. The situation was aggravated by the execution of the dead earl's second son, in the Castlegate, four days after the fatal battle. Queen Mary was in Aberdeen at the time, and it is said that the Regent Moray made her witness the execution of the gallant knight, for whom she entertained a kindly interest, from a window in the house of Earl Marischal. It was probably in the same mansion that she penned her letter granting protection to the University. At

1562?
Mary grants
protection to
the
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any rate, one would like to think that it was under the ancestral roof of the founder of the younger College that this recognition of the older one was made. King's College, indeed, stood much in need of succour. It had reached a very low ebb, as at the time of the Queen's visit it had but fifteen or sixteen "scollers". Mary, however, guaranteed (on paper) its "maintenance, defence, and saifgarde," ordaining that it should be "unhurt, unharmit, unmolestit, inquietit in ony maner of way be quhasumever our leige or lieges of what stait or degrie thatevir thai be".

This royal recognition may have strengthened the resolve of the University officials not to budge from their position. The other Universities had gradually given way. St. Andrews had been "pretty soon looked after"; Glasgow had been "extremely low every way, till Mr. Andrew Melville was sent to it". But Aberdeen still stood out, and "a good many of the Popish masters made a shift to continow in their places". The Assembly could stand it no longer. In July, 1569, the Regent Moray, with his ecclesiastical advisers, went North and commanded the masters of the University, to wit, Principal Anderson, Sub-Principal Galloway, and Andrew Anderson, Thomas Owsten, and Duncan Norrie, Regents, to subscribe the Covenant. But the masters "most obstinately contemned his grace's most godly admonitions," and were summarily deposed. Erskine of Dun, the Superintendent of Angus and Mearns, who had been

educated at the College, pronounced a sentence to the same effect with the advice and consent of the ministers, elders, and commission present; thus, in Bellesheim's view, "investing the act of the civil power with a quasi-ecclesiastical sanction".

What became of the deposed professors we know not. The Principal himself lived obscurely in Aberdeen for eight years, dying in 1577, "excommunicatt contrayr to religione, and at the kyngis horne". Some of his colleagues may have found a refuge in the houses of the ruling families who still resisted the Kirk. The younger alumni sought the Continent, teaching throughout the length and breadth of Europe, and in this way repaying the debt which the northern University was under to its Continental prototypes.

So ended the rule of the Roman Catholic Church over the University. Henceforth the mass was heard no more within the chapel, and the lamp before the Holy Sacrament, which had troubled the soul of Galloway, only a few years before, was extinguished. Yet towards the close of the sixteenth century the hope seems to have been entertained that the Church might once more regain its power. In 1593, William Meldrum, the Perpetual Vicar of Peterculter, who was superintendent of the singing in the Cathedral, left an annual rent of eighty-seven florins and ten stivers of Brabant (due him by the widow of a Belgian State Councillor) for the foundation of four bursaries in the University, but only in case of the restoration of the Roman

c. 1570
diaspora

Catholic Church in Scotland. Until that miracle came to pass, the legacy was to be given to the Scots Seminaries at Douay and Louvain. It is easy to understand the bitterness with which the Church regarded the turning against itself of the educational weapon which it had forged after years of trouble.

IX. THE PROTESTANT REFORMS.

C.
1574
1569

THE suppression of the Roman Catholic Church did not rid the University of the supervision of ecclesiasticism. As a matter of fact, the bonds of religion tightened. The ecclesiastical Reformers, well aware of the difficulty of influencing their immediate contemporaries, were keenly alive to the necessity of moulding the "youth-heid". This educational theory was strongly insisted on and elaborately outlined in the *Book of Discipline*, which was the manifesto of the new movement. The country was not without an educational system, but the Reformers saw room for improvement and for extension. They therefore resolved to establish a school in every church and a college in every "notable toun"; while the three existing Universities were to be reorganised. It was this scheme that put the capital, hitherto strangely negligent of the higher forms of education, in possession of a college, for Edinburgh University was started in 1583, after twenty-one years' struggle to obtain a footing. The operation of the scheme was more far reaching in Aberdeen and the North. There, it not only had to reorganise the existing University, but it also indirectly established two

new Universities—Marischal College, which arose in 1593, and the University of Fraserburgh, which came into existence in 1600 (to vanish five years later). King's College was to have a hard time, for it had to wage war without, as well as within, its own walls—struggling first against the rival institution in the New Town, and then against the efforts that were made to put itself on a new basis. The whole period was one of attempts at tinkering; of efforts from without to keep the University up to an ideal state; of failures from within to live up to that ideal; and, consequently, of discontent and ultimate decay.

The new era began, so far as the leaders are concerned, under circumstances very similar to those which were responsible for the foundation of the University seventy-four years previously. In the latter case, there arose an inspiring educationist in the person of Bishop Elphinstone, who found a trusty lieutenant in Hector Boece, the first Principal of the College. The era of reform brought forth another educationist of even greater and wider capabilities in Andrew Melville, and an earnest disciple in Alexander Arbuthnot, the first Protestant Principal of the University. The parallel extends still further, for in each case these leaders had received in the Universities of the Continent the training that really moulded them—Paris being the inspirer of the original University, Geneva of its later development.

The new educational programme effected few

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was
model

changes in the Catholic curriculum. Greek was introduced, but philosophy retained much of its old form. Luther, it is true, regarded Aristotle as a "godless bulwark of the papists," and Peter Ramus, the great logician of this period, who fell a victim to the Church on St. Bartholomew's Day, undertook in his graduation thesis to prove the proposition that everything taught in Aristotle is false. On the other hand, Melancthon saw that theology would crumble into "fanatical dissolution" but for the co-operation of some philosophy. Yet there was no philosophy but that of paganism. Aristotle was the least objectionable pagan, and he was retained in a greatly amended form. Thus, as Dr. Bain has neatly put it, Aristotle was no longer despotic, but a limited constitutional monarch.

The man who effected the change in Scotland was Andrew Melville. He had as a boy learned Greek at the Grammar School of Montrose, and astonished his teachers at St. Andrews by his proficiency in the language "quhilk his maisters understood not". He became a complete disciple of the new learning by going to Paris, where he sat at the feet of Ramus, and he emerged a thorough convert by coming into contact with Theodore Beza and Joseph Scaliger at Geneva, where he taught Latin. The death of Knox left the field open for him in Scotland, and when, in 1574, he became Principal of Glasgow University, he drew up an educational programme, which forms the basis of what is known as the New Foundation of King's

reduction in the
authority of
Aristotle

biog. of
Melville

College. His scheme included the introduction of Greek, the extended reading of the Latin classics, and a more minute study of mathematics. As a prelude to logic, he introduced the dialectics of Ramus instead of the ~~three treatises of the old logic, contained in the *Categories*, the *Propositions*, and in Porphyry,~~—all of which might have been mastered in three weeks. He enlarged the scope of moral philosophy by combining Cicero's ethical works and some of Plato's dialogues with the ethics and politics of Aristotle. Last of all, he supplemented the physics of Aristotle with a more modern treatise. It was with a good conscience indeed, that Melville's nephew could write of him:—"Scotland receavit never a greater benefit at the hands of God nor this man".

Arbuthnot, though Melville's senior by four years, became his apt pupil. Educated at St. Andrews, and in law at Bourges, he got the living of Logie-Buchan in 1568, and spent part of the period of his pastorate in revising for the General Assembly a quasi-heretical book called *The Fall of the Roman Kirk*. The actual fall of that Kirk made him Principal of King's College in 1569.

—The guidance of the University at this crisis must have been a trying task. It had stood out for Rome to the very death, and in the course of the dreary struggle the number of its students had fallen away, and its finances had dwindled. In short, from one cause or another, the place had become utterly demoralised. In the total absence

of documentary evidence, it is difficult to measure Arbuthnot's success in dealing with the invertebrate academic body that came under his control. He is known to have introduced Greek, and, indeed, of his educational qualifications there can be no doubt. The testimony of his friend James Melville, who speaks of him as one of "the three learnedest" men in Europe, and of Andrew himself, who describes him in an epitaph as "*patriae lux oculusque*," might be dismissed as biassed; but that objection does not extend to Spottiswood, an ecclesiastical opponent, who bears testimony to his having been "a good poet, mathematician, philosopher, theologian, lawyer and in medicine skilful". But there is a suspicion that the statesman did not equal the scholar in him. The "sweetness" of his nature was scarce the quality fitted to subdue the elements of opposition that still surrounded the University. One, indeed, may take the words which Arbuthnot puts into the mouth of "A Pure Scholar," written in 1572, as autobiographical:—

Faine wald I leif in concord and in peice;
 Without divisoun, rancour, or debait.
 Bot now alace! in every land and place
 The fyr of hatrent kindlit is so hait,
 That cheretie doth ring in nane estait;
 Thoch all concur to hurt the innocent—
 Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament.

One can scarce help seeing in Arbuthnot a pathetic figure not strong enough to cope with the difficulties in this critical period of the University's history.

1595
reform

It was actually in 1575 that Melville found the ear of Arbuthnot as to reforms in "the haill ordour of his college in doctrine and discipline". In the previous year, Melville formulated his scheme for Glasgow; but the Universities remained in a bad state—"misvrit be particular personis to ther awin advantage without respect of the education of the youth in werteu and gude lettrez". By a Parliamentary Act (1578), the first of a long series of attempts to grapple with the academic problem, a Commission—composed of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Earl of Buchan, and three ecclesiastics—was appointed to examine the University. Another set of Commissioners (among whom was Melville), appointed for St. Andrews, reported next year on that University, and had their finding ratified in Parliament, but it took the Aberdeen Commissioners over three years to prepare their report, which, when laid before Parliament, was no more heard of. Then the General Assembly took up the inquiry, and in 1582 appointed a Commission, which included Earl Marischal, who, fifteen years later, was to found the College called after him. A report was presented at the end of six months to the Assembly, which finally adopted it.

The work of reform was not thereby accomplished. The Assembly had reckoned without its host, for the King, jealous of his rights, meanwhile had asserted his dignity. He suddenly woke to the claims of the University, "established be our

Crown tries
to assert
authority
over
the
university

progenitors and estaites of our realme," commanding the Assembly not to tamper with its Foundation or funds—"and this ye do upone your obedience as ye will answer unto us thereupone". He vented the full force of his wrath upon Arbuthnot, who was desired by the Assembly in April, 1583, to request the King to dismiss the Popish French Ambassador. On the same occasion he had been appointed a Commissioner to examine St. Andrews University, while he also had received the parish church there. All these things combined brought down the royal wrath on the gentle Arbuthnot, and he was commanded to return to his duties at King's College, which would by his absence be "heavilie damnifiet". The Assembly remonstrated—in vain; and Arbuthnot (like Elphinstone over Flodden) never recovered the humiliation. He fell into decline and died four months later, being buried in the College chapel. He passed away at the comparatively early age of fifty-three, without having had the satisfaction of seeing the University he came from a quiet country manse to take in hand placed on a satisfactory basis. Well might he say in the closing words of his imaginary "scolar":—

I thinke this warld sa wrappit in mischeif
 That gude is yll; and yll is callit gude.
 All thing I see dois bot augment my greif—
 I feil the wo, and can nocht se releif.
 The Lordis plaig throuhout the warld is went—
 Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament?

The University, indeed, was a far way from finding salvation. In 1584, Parliament appointed a third Commission. This body took thirteen long weary years to prepare its report, during which time another Principal, Walter Stuart, had risen and vanished, while Earl Marischal, grown hopeless of any reform, had founded the College known by his historic name, on lines almost identical with those suggested for King's College. The report, known as the New Foundation, was long a bone of bitter contention, and is still a great mystery. It was ratified by Parliament in December, 1597, and was ordered to be extended as an Act, but there is no evidence whatever that it was really placed on the statute book. While there is perhaps no actual proof of the legality of the measure, and while it is certain that many of its provisions proved abortive, the tenor of the New Foundation was undoubtedly an expression of the aspirations of the Protestant Reformers.

New
Foundation
1597

The most striking feature of the scheme was the specialisation of teaching and the abolition of "regenting". In view of the few reforms made in the curriculum, the measure was premature. As such, it proved a failure, for down to nearly the end of last century, with a single break (1628-41), "regenting" was pursued. The real effect of Protestantism was to further its own particular creed, and to supply the bare needs of the moment by curtailing the theoretic equipment

of the University, which Elphinstone had drawn up on such an elaborate scale. First of all, the Commissioners eliminated ~~all the sub-eccelesiastical members of Dunbar's Foundation~~—the six theology students, the eight prebendaries, and the six choir boys. Of course, as part and parcel of the Papal Church, these officials had long since been abolished, but the New Foundation formally confirmed their disappearance. One bursar was struck off, possibly from the lack of funds. A much more radical step was the attempt to reduce the University to a mere school of Arts and Divinity, for the offices of the Canonist (with the three law students), the Civilist, and the Mediciner were ~~abolished~~. All these offices were soon restored, despite the constant tendency to subordinate them to Arts and Divinity. Twenty-six members of Dunbar's Foundation were thus done away with, leaving sixteen, while four new officials of an unimportant character were added, namely, an Economist, a cook, and two servants for the Principal and Sub-Principal.

The Protestants, who prided themselves on a more democratic form of ecclesiastical polity than was possessed by the Roman Catholic Church, curtailed the privileges of the students; for, though the four Nations are mentioned for the first time in the New Foundation, they lost their power in the election of the officials. The appointment of the Principal, who was to act as professor of theology and incumbent of St. Machar's Church,

mark of the
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authority on
high

introduced a novel feature of stranger-electors, for the Principals of the New College of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, as well as the minister of New Aberdeen, had a voice in the matter along with the Chancellor of the University, the Rector, the Dean of Faculty, the Sub-Principal, and the other three Regents. The annual salary of the Principal was fixed at four and twenty bolls of corn and 200 merks Scots; and he was liable to dismissal for inefficiency after a thrice-repeated warning. The salary of the Sub-Principal was twenty-four bolls, and £80 Scots, and the other three Regents, who ranked after him, received one chalder and £47 17s. Scots. The Grammarian had a school outside the College walls. The Economist, who was not only purveyor but purse-bearer as well, was elected for three years, while the cook had to act as gardener.

This, then, in brief, is the result of the twenty years' struggle which followed the ousting of the Roman Catholic Church from the University. The true inwardness of the movement will never be known, for we have nothing to go upon but the bald details of desired reforms. The local colouring is wanting; and we cannot distinguish the moving spirits behind the various sets of Commissioners, who were the merest puppets, manipulated by local influences of various kinds. The conflict must have had an unsettling effect on the work of the College. And yet beneath the different streams of tendency there remained a bed, more

or less secure, formed by the personal influence of the teachers. Fortunately, that in the main was good, so that the essential work of educating the people was carried on with some measure of continuity.

X. THE RISE OF MARISCHAL COLLEGE.

ALTHOUGH King's College proved a wayward child under the rod of correction wielded by its new masters, the Reformers had no lack of enthusiasm, and their labours were not fruitless. It was part of their programme, as we have seen, not only to reorganise the existing Universities, but to set up new colleges in every "notable town". Thus, when the remedy of reconstruction failed in Aberdeen, the remedy of rivalry was invented, and a new element was introduced into the life of the University, which has had to be reckoned with during the whole course of subsequent history.

One has only to think of the vigour and hot-blooded enthusiasm of the early Reformers to estimate the dissatisfaction that must have been roused by the dilatory conduct of the Commissioners, who had been appointed in 1584 to give King's College a new charter. As year followed year of inaction or of wrangling, impatience increased, and, at last, found vent almost simultaneously in two different quarters.

In July, 1592, Sir Alexander Fraser, the lineal ancestor of the Barons Saltoun, was granted a novodamus of the lands of Philorth by James VI.,

by which the town of Faithlie was erected into a burgh of barony, called the Port of Fraser, transformed in after years into Fraserburgh. The laird's ambition did not end there. He wanted to erect a University in his embryo Utopia, and his wish was gratified, for the King granted him the right to establish a seat of learning in the little town. Five years later, Sir Alexander began to build his University, which was to tend "to the great de-coirement of the country," as well as to the advancement of the "loist and tint youth in bringing them vp in leirning and vertew". On the very day that Parliament ratified the New Foundation for King's College, it also dealt with the equipment of the University of Fraserburgh. An Act was adopted granting to the University the four Parish Churches of Philorth, Tyrie, Crimond, and Rathen, and constituting their ministers its teachers. One of these was created Principal, Charles Ferme, "a man of obscure parentage but exceeding pious," who had been a Regent in the infant University of Edinburgh; while another, the parson of Rathen, had occupied a similar position in King's College. For five sessions, 1600-5, the work of Sir Alexander's University went on. Ferme was a champion of his Church—"a Tydeus in body, a Hercules in spirit". He went to Aberdeen in July, 1605, to attend the Assembly which was held there in disregard of the King's command, and he was rewarded for his trouble with a lengthened period of imprisonment, first at Stirling, and latterly on the

Isle of Bute. The little University did not survive the blow, although its Principal was afterwards allowed to return to his cure, where he wore himself down with incessant toil, in 1617, at the age of fifty-one. All that remains of Sir Alexander Fraser's patriotic effort are some stones bearing an inscription, taken from the three-storeyed quadrangular tower which formed part of the University buildings, and which was in existence so late as 1793. When the plague broke out in Aberdeen in 1647, the students of King's College were removed to Fraserburgh—in all probability to the buildings once occupied by the University.

But the University of Fraserburgh was only one protest against the stubborn spirit of King's College. A much more carefully considered plan of tactics came from another and more powerful landlord, curiously enough in the same neighbourhood—George, fifth Earl Marischal, the chief of the ancient house of Keith. Marischal was one of the three noble families that ruled Aberdeenshire. The Earl of Huntly had stood by the Catholic Church, and was still very powerful. To counteract his influence, Marischal and Lord Errol joined forces and battled the Gordons in the name of the Covenant. This warfare is reflected in the history of the University. The Huntly family took the side of King's College, where two scions of the house had been Chancellors at different periods. Marischal opposed them vigorously from the other camp, as much from his jealousy of

1542-
1605

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Huntly took the
side of
King's

Huntly, as from his sincere sympathy with the new tenets. His grandfather, whom he succeeded in 1581, had taken the side of the Reformers, somewhat timorously, it is true, but yet with sufficient firmness to ally himself with the anti-Catholics. The inherited heresy had been strengthened in young Marischal (who as an undergraduate had witnessed the whole struggle at King's College) by a course of study at the enterprising school at Geneva. ~~There he came in contact with Beza,~~ who had a high opinion of the young nobleman. From one European Court to another the earl had wandered, widening his outlook and making a great impression on the dignitaries with whom he came in contact. When he returned home he threw himself with great eagerness into the religious struggle of the moment.

Earl M.

He was appointed one of the Commissioners who were selected in 1582 to deal with the University, and whose labours had ended in naught. On the new Commission of 1584 he had no place. His attention was taken up with the constant Commissions against the Catholics, including that which convicted Huntly of treason in 1589. Affairs of State also occupied much of his time; for example, he was sent, in 1589, to Denmark, with the expedition fitted out at his own expense, to complete the match between the young Princess Anne and the King. A greater honour fell to him shortly afterwards, for, in 1592, he received the whip hand of the North by being appointed King's



Commissioner for Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine. In this way his attention was once more called to the state of King's College.

The Commission, that had been considering its affairs since 1584, had done nothing, although the reforming party had drafted a scheme. Two courses were left open to Lord Marischal to bring the King's College Commissioners to a definite decision. He could either use coercion, or induce a decision by creating opposition. He selected the latter plan, for he was on the whole of a pacific disposition. The King had in September, 1592, granted him a number of estates that had belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, notably the Abbey of Deer, the lands of the Knights Templar in Kincardine, and the properties of the Black and the White Friars in Aberdeen. Six months later (2nd April, 1593), Marischal used the bulk of this property to erect a new College and University. In view of the genesis of this institution, which was created to defy King's College, Lord Marischal's motto, which was transferred to his College, has a peculiar significance. It runs:—"Thay haif said. Quhat say thay? Let thame say."

The great point to notice is that Marischal founded a University, not a mere College; a separate degree-granting body, entirely independent of, and antagonistic to, the University in Old Aberdeen. This was a very remarkable step to take, a most summary way of dealing with what,

1593
m.c.

after all, would have proved only a temporary block at King's College. Marischal must have been ignorant of the far-reaching effects arising from the creation of a second University in Aberdeen. This point of view is strengthened by the fact that in his charter he only once calls his institution "Universitas". In the majority of references, he speaks of it as "Gymnasium". Much doubt, indeed, existed for a long time as to whether Marischal College was a real University, but the House of Lords, in 1745, removed all shadow of doubt by deciding in the affirmative. Thus, Aberdeen had the unique distinction of possessing for 267 years two distinct Universities—and the possession has caused infinite trouble.

The difficulty of the situation has been increased by the site chosen for Marischal College. It was only natural that Elphinstone should have founded his College in Old Aberdeen, the home of the Cathedral. But with the fall of the Roman Catholic Church, the Aulton, never a place of commercial importance, sank into nothingness, even though it retained a separate municipal organisation. The New Town, on the other hand, soon became a leading port of the kingdom, and its commercial value increased year by year. Lord Marischal was intimately connected with the New Town, where he had a mansion. He was also on good terms with the Town Council, who, following the example of their brethren in Edinburgh thirty years before, came to the aid of his

1745 - ultimate
confirmation that
M.C. was a
university

new venture by granting the monastery of the Grey Friars as the home of the College. In this way the Roman Catholic Church was the means of endowing both the Universities in Aberdeen.

The lines on which Marischal based his College were the same as those laid down in the New Foundation of King's College. The two documents are almost identical, word for word. Marischal, in fact, simply took the scheme that the Reformers wished to impose on King's College, drew up a new preamble, and made a few verbal changes in the text to suit the difference of location and the exigencies of the case. At one place, for example, he prohibits "all vacations formerly allowed," the epithet, of course, being meaningless in a College that had had no previous existence. The Earl was in close league with the would-be academic reformers, for of the five signatories to his charter, one, Peter Blackburn, had been on the King's College Commission of 1582, while another, David Cunningham, was a member of the Commission of 1584-97, which Marischal had failed to spur into action.

The *raison d'être* of the new charter, addressed as it was to "true Christians," was its plea for Protestantism, and its provision for teaching under the altered conditions. Terrified at the "cunning of Satan," who endeavours to "lead youth away from the Gospel back to the darkness of Popery," the founder laid down that every student had to subscribe the Covenant before the Principal on

What covenant?

entrance, before the Rector on matriculating, before the Dean of Faculty on graduation, and at least once a year. Marischal College was, indeed, aggressively Protestant. The Universities Commissioners so late as 1836 noted that its entrance oath, abolished in 1887, was "directly calculated to exclude Roman Catholics". In the course of the flowery preamble to his charter, in which we are told Colleges were erected to be "abodes sacred to the Muses," Marischal makes a hit at the older institution, remarking that "an honourable, liberal, and Christian education and training is in many places *here* either wanting or neglected"; and at another place he specifies the "*here*" more definitely as being "*here* in the northern parts of the kingdom of Scotland".

The Reformers had aimed at reducing the older University to a school of philosophy, and Earl Marischal created only the Faculty of Arts in his College, which was equipped on half the scale of the older institution. This will be seen more clearly by giving the membership in tabulated form:—

KING'S COLLEGE,

1597.

A Principal.
Four Regents.
Twelve Bursars.
Economus.
Cook.
Two Servants.
A Grammarian.

Total, 22.

MARISCHAL COLLEGE,

1593.

A Principal.
Three Regents.
Six Bursars.
Economus.
Cook.

Total, 12.

N.B.
not smaller
more members
M.C.

The emoluments at King's College were also double those at Marischal; architecturally, too, the younger College was very much inferior to the stately pile in the Aulton, for the monastery of the Grey Friars, never intended for an educational seminary, became more and more incongruous as unsightly extensions became necessary.

The constitutions of the two Colleges were identical. All the members had to sleep in the College buildings; students who did not do so were not allowed out (except to meals) between six in the morning and nine in the evening. Their yearly fees varied from five pounds to twenty shillings, while the poor were educated free. Care was to be taken in the case of bursars (who had to wear long gowns with white leather belts) to provide against the admission of the rich in place of the poor, and "the plundering of the poor by the drones". Special emphasis was laid on the exclusion of women, and celibacy was as strictly enforced as at King's College, for it was stipulated, as late as 1626, in the case of a professor who was being appointed, that he "remaine a single persone and nowayes marie nor tak ane wyff so long as he remains in the said office". Should he marry, his honeymoon was to end with the pleasing prospect of his "tyning" the post.

Marischal evidently intended to keep in close touch with his University, for he retained the power of nominating all the members, though their admission was to be in the hands of others, among

whom was the Principal of King's College. This shows that he did not bear the older College the implacable hatred which was manifested by the Marischal College authorities in after years. The power of patronage he used by benefiting the men who had stood round him. Peter Blackburn was made Dean of Faculty of the new College; and Robert Howie, minister of Aberdeen, and afterwards Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, was its first Principal. Both of these had been witnesses of the foundation. Four years later, Marischal had the satisfaction of seeing Parliament ratify the New Foundation of King's College, and of noting the immediate success of his own College, which was greeted with much practical enthusiasm.

1593.
17?

XI. ERA OF EPISCOPALIAN CULTURE.

THE expectations that the foundation of Marischal College would force the hands of the authorities of the older University were very imperfectly realised. The creation of a new heaven and a new earth in the Aulton was not to be the work of a moment, and was certainly not to be a matter of coercion. It is true that the two Chancellors of King's College between 1577 and 1616, David Cunningham and Peter Blackburn, belonged to the party of reform, and had witnessed the charter founding Marischal College. The similar charter which applied to King's College proved abortive. Probably the working officials stood in the way. This remark applies especially to the Principal, David Raitt. Educated at the College in its Catholic days, he succeeded the last Catholic Humanist, and in 1592 he was appointed to the Principalship, retaining the post for forty years. He was deficient or negligent as a teacher, and the probability is that he stood out against any attempts to reform the College. Thus, while Marischal College flourished, the position of King's College was almost entirely negative. It existed, and that was all, and it lost the active sympathy

C. 1600-1630
M.C. Flower
K.C. Flower

of the public. This is strikingly shown in the matter of bequests. Within thirty years of its foundation, Marischal College received in hard cash from private individuals 26,000 merks, while during the same period all that King's College got was a miserable feu-duty of fifty shillings. The discrepancy, after making all deductions for the natural run on any new thing, is too remarkable to be quite accidental.

But the Crown was in sympathy with the conservative party which held King's College, and in 1617 the king confirmed what seems to have been the original, and not the New, Foundation. The ecclesiastical tide, too, was turning in favour of the Aulton party; the feeling was growing that Protestantism might be assimilated to the old Church by the adoption of Episcopacy instead of Presbyterianism. This movement was strengthened in the North by the advent of a remarkable man in the person of Bishop Patrick Forbes, the laird of Corse, who succeeded to the See in 1617. He combined all the qualities necessary to deal with the crisis—learning, piety, and strong administrative ability; so that the remark is justified that he was the best prelate the Church had had since the days of Bishop Elphinstone. Born in 1564, he had known the Melvilles since boyhood, and had accompanied the elder in his flight to England, visiting Oxford and Cambridge in 1584. His leanings towards theology, always strong, and cultivated assiduously while he was still attending to his estates, culminated in

his becoming parson by profession, so that at the mature age of forty-eight he found himself in a pulpit, as minister of Keith, and author of a commentary on the Apocalypse. Within four years he was Bishop of Aberdeen.

Forbes at once turned his attention to the condition of King's College, which had not remained even stationary under the negative conditions of its existence. He wrote off to the King in horror at the "abominable delapidation" of its funds, which had been wasted as if "nather a Gode hade been in heavene to count with, nor men on earth to examine their wayes". The enforcement of the New Foundation did not strike him as a way out of the difficulty. Indeed he is credited with having thrown that mysterious document into the fire—"wher it ended". He wanted to begin *de novo*, and the King gratified his desire by appointing a Commission, the fourth within forty years, to visit both the Colleges. A very disappointing state of matters was disclosed. King's College was found to be in a "miserable estait". No formal elections or admissions had been observed, the greater part of the founded members had been "quyte abolisched and out of use," and a sack of debt hung around its neck. Though, for instance, every bursar had on entry paid a silver spoon or the price of it, there was in "all the Colledge but sex siluer spoones and no moir siluer wark of ony kynd". What a change was this from the days when the College boasted a goodly array of precious vessels, and required a

C. ?
1628
jewel-house to store them. The very kitchen was equipped with but "twa dossen of plaittis and als many trinceris, no naperie but tua buird-clothes and fyue servittis". The Principal did not teach efficiently; the "hail place had becum ruinous"; and there was withal "no ministrie of the gospell in the kirkis of the deanrie, but lamentable hethenisme and sic lowsnes as is horrible to record, albeit evin about the cathedral kirk of the dyocie".

Marischal College thoroughly resented the Bishop's interference with its affairs. When the Commissioners visited it they found the gates shut. The porter greeted them from a window with the lament that he himself "wes loket in and hade not the keyis," which had been taken away by the Rector. The Principal and one Regent asserted their willingness to stand examination. The Commissioners arrested the Rector, but he declined to "deluyer ony keyis or open any yettis," for Lord Marischal had forbidden him to do so. Four days passed and Lord Marischal was applied to personally. The Principal was sent with letters to my lord, but he returned next day with the news that he had not seen the earl, and that "my ladie had told him he might carie bak againe these lettres, for he wald not find my lord or any ansuer to them at that tyme".

The result of the Visitation, so ineffective at Marischal College, was that King's College buildings were repaired and that the offices of Canonist and Mediciner, abolished by the New Foundation,

were restored—a clear indication that Forbes, while eager for reform, was opposed to the method pursued by the Presbyterian party. The office of Mediciner was conferred on Dr. Patrick Dun, who was intimately connected with Marischal College, and who afterwards practically refounded the Grammar School of New Aberdeen. In 1634 the office of Cantor was revived.

Forbes effected another reform when he visited King's College in 1628. The students on graduating were in the habit of entertaining the professors at banquets. But the parents complained of the "coist, charges, and expensis of the saiddis banquettis," and the Bishop abolished these "feastings, ather in private or in publict". He was not averse to the embryo graduates giving the professors "ane drinke upoune fute for recreatioun allanerlie without anie forder additioun," although the youths might, if they chose, make a money gift in addition to the usual fees paid to the masters; but the money formerly spent on banquets was ordered to be diverted to the library, every student on graduating having to pay £4 Scots, to be spent on books. This measure can hardly have been popular with the young merry-makers, though it may have consoled them in after years to think that their enforced generosity would be remembered by posterity, for the names of the donors were written on the books presented "in toikin of thair thankfull remembrance of thair educatione" at the University.

Bishop Forbes, however, was much more than an administrator. He was essentially a scholar and a theologian. His enthusiasm was infectious, and thus there sprang up around him a body of divines, who made Aberdeen, first the most brilliant, and then the most oppressed, town in the kingdom. As Chancellor of King's College, he had the opportunity of influencing the University in the same direction, and this he did in 1620 by inducing the clergy of the diocese to subscribe 10,000 merks, for the establishment of a chair of divinity in the College, to which his second son, John, was appointed. He had been anticipated by Marischal College, which already began to lead the way in reform. In 1616, the Town Council of Aberdeen had created a readership in theology there for William Forbes, one of the city ministers, and afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh. In the same year, Patrick Copland, who had been preacher in the East India Company's Navy, bequeathed 2000 merks to the College for a professorship in the subject. It may be noted, in parenthesis, that Copland wanted to see Charles Ferme, who had been Principal of Fraserburgh University, transferred to the same post at Marischal College, at that moment vacant. By two subsequent wills, Copland increased the sum to 6000 merks, and in 1625 Robert Barron, who had succeeded Bishop Forbes at Keith, was presented to the chair. This appointment was a great stroke in the Bishop's favour, and showed the far-reaching effects of his

inspiring personality, for, while Marischal College had formally repudiated his interference with its affairs by locking him out, it practically acknowledged his authority and took on the colouring of his philosophy by accepting as its teacher of theology one of the most prominent exponents of his teaching.

Gradually and almost unconsciously, the Bishop ranked himself on the side of the anti-Presbyterian party. At first he had been so opposed to the attempt of the Crown to influence religion that he had been loth to accept the bishopric, assenting to the Episcopalian tendencies, typified by the Five Articles of Perth, only on the ground that they were not very vital. His attitude was that of the philosopher and scholar rather than of the active Church politician, and by degrees he gathered round him a body of disciples who monopolised the culture of the day. A great stimulus was given to culture by the introduction of the printing press into Aberdeen, for in 1622 Forbes induced an Englishman, Edward Raban, to bring his types from St. Andrews to the northern city, just as Bishop Elphinstone, more than a century before, had introduced printing into Scotland by establishing Chepman and Myllar in the capital to print the Aberdeen Breviary. The part played by the University in Scots typography is greatly to its credit, and should not be forgotten. The extreme Presbyterians, on the other hand, represented locally by the zealous, if unromantic, Andrew Cant, regarded "such as wer knowing in an-



*Pat. Forbes
Sponsored
revival in
printing*

tiqwittie and in the wryttings of the Fathers" as men who "smelled of Popery; and he was most esteemed of who affected novellisme and singularitye most". They took their theology direct from the Geneva Bible, abhorring any liturgical aid to worship and discouraging theological speculation. Forbes and his disciples were gradually travelling in the opposite direction, and they soon adopted a positive and aggressive attitude. William Forbes, the reader in theology at Marischal College, showed his tendencies at an early stage by quarrelling with his Principal over the question of prayers for the dead, and he may be said to have triumphed, inasmuch as he succeeded his opponent in the Principalship. The philosophy of the school found able exponents in several of the officials of the two Universities, notably in six of them, familiarly known as the "Aberdeen Doctors". King's College claimed four of them; Marischal College two. They were: William Leslie, Principal of King's College, "eminent in all the sciences above most of his age"; John Forbes, the Bishop's son, its professor of divinity, the author of *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*; Dr. Alexander Scroggie, the minister of Oldmachar, who was Rector of King's College in 1636—"not verie corrupt, yet perverse in the Covenant and Service Book"; and Dr. Alexander Ross, minister of the third charge of St. Nicholas, Rector in 1638. Marischal College, though founded by the extreme Presbyterian party, furnished, by a strange stroke of irony, the most able advocate of Episco-

pacy in Barron, its professor of divinity, who boldly wrote—or, as an opponent said, “fyled” paper—in defence of the Liturgy. Dr. James Sibbald, “ane eloquent and painefull preacher,” who had held the chair of natural philosophy there from 1620 to 1623, completed the “Doctors”.

The “Doctors” were thoroughly in touch with Laud, the protagonist of the situation. In 1633—the year “that an extraordinar tempest of stormie wind” blew down the crown of King’s College Tower, “to the greit grieff of the Universitie”—the King once again confirmed the original Foundation of King’s College, and, in the following year, the authorities of the College requisitioned the good offices of Laud to clinch His Majesty’s approval of the step by re-establishing the University in “hir jurisdiction, conservatorie, and priviledges, according to her ancient rightis”. This effort at first sight seems to have been directed against the New Foundation. It was not really so. That measure, drafted by the Protestant party, had aimed at reducing the University to a mere school of philosophy by abolishing the offices of Canonist and Mediciner, but meantime the Protestant party had split into two sections, Presbyterian and Episcopalian. Now, while Bishop Forbes was theoretically opposed to the New Foundation, and though he had revived the two abolished offices, the practical outcome of his life-work was to make the University primarily a school of philosophy to the overshadowing of a practical art like Medicine. So that

the only real difference between him and the party who drafted the New Foundation was the difference of their theological philosophies.

The moving spirit in this effort to bring the University back to its original state was William Gordon, the Mediciner. He waited personally on Laud at Lambeth, and interested graduates resident in London in the business. The King shuffled, appointing a small Commission to examine what the ancient rights of the University really were. But Gordon was not to be put aside, and the breach which had gradually been created between him and the other professors quickly widened. The Canonist, James Sandilands, his brother-in-law, petitioned against the majority in the College. The King found himself on the horns of a dilemma. He was urged to decide between the two professorial parties, who, at one with him and with each other on the matter of ecclesiastical polity, were at daggers drawn in the keenly personal matter of the constitution of the University. With characteristic fickleness, His Majesty wavered. In 1637 he wrote a letter establishing the New Foundation. Six months later he wrote a second letter impeaching the Principal, the Regents, and the Grammarian, who had abolished the "ancient and true foundation," and had brought in a new one of "their awin forgeing, both to palliat thair past malversations". The two documents were thus in direct contradiction of one another, as the majority of the professors took occasion to point out in a

very sarcastic letter which they wrote to the King.

The grotesqueness of the crisis was not diminished by the fact that the King sent three staunch Episcopalians—Lord Huntly, Lord Findlater, and Bishop Bellenden—to hear the dispute, and that they found that the Principal, who was on their side ecclesiastically, had proved negligent in his office and worthy of censure. But it was more than their flesh and blood could stand to “pas any rigorous censure” on him, for, as they diplomatically put it, they knew him to be “ane man of gude literature, lyff, and conversation”. The majority, with a curious forgetfulness of their past objections to the New Foundation, announced their adherence to that measure, and, though it had been “secretlie destroyed,” they produced a copy of it. In any case, they retorted—and their argument is an excellent example of the famous method of sarcastic negative adopted by the “Aberdeen Doctors”—the Mediciner and Canonist were useless. “We most humblie request your lordships to try exactlie, both by the schollers and others, what fruit and benefit the countrey hes received of the publik lectures in medicin and the canon law, these sundry yeirs bygone, and what schollers the professours hawe had, either privat or publict, that the countrey be not gulled any longer be meer cifers and shaddous.”

The “meer cifers and shaddous” on their side described the “alledgit tenour of this New Funda-

tion" as being too "ridiculous and vickid" to have been created at all. The Commissioners were at their wits' end what to do. As a matter of fact, they did not grapple with the principle involved in the dispute. They adopted the attitude of opportunism, and "for quyet and settling" the College, they begged the members to go back to the position held during the year prior to the King's first letter, which had ordered the establishment of the New Foundation. Though not deciding what the position had been, this was a vague way of snubbing the Mediciner and the Canonist, who had brought the matter into public notice.

All local differences, however, were lost sight of in the greater struggle of the time, for the University was being threatened from without by a great religious crisis which it had done much to create. Happily for himself, Bishop Forbes had passed away before the crash came. He had made a deep impression on his contemporaries by his piety, his kindliness, and his learning; and those more immediately associated with him poured forth a torrent of dirges from the pulpit and from Parnassus, which his *protégé* Raban duly issued in book form. The Bishop must have seen quite clearly how things were drifting, and one can read into the lines, which he wrote on his sixty-third birthday, the melancholy which arose, not merely from his physical disablement, but from his mental anxiety over the trend of theological opinion:—

Heart broken, but that firmlie I believe,
 My death, an ende shall set to sinne and sorrow.
 Gladlie come on then, grateful guest, to-morrow.

The crisis soon developed after his death. In the following year, 1636, Laud prepared his obnoxious Book of Canons, the first edition of it being issued at Aberdeen from Raban's press. This was followed by the still more hateful Liturgy which was appointed to be read in the churches at Easter, 1637. Its adverse reception, dramatically illustrated by Jenny Geddes, and the events leading up to its repudiation by the Tables, are familiar. Matters reached their climax on 28th February, 1638, when the Covenant was promulgated in Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. Measures were at once taken to get it adopted all over the country, and a majority in every town accepted it—except in Aberdeen. There, it was scornfully rejected, for the town had gradually been brought by the "Doctors" into line with the Episcopalians. Thus, for the first time in its history, the University affected the country in a great national crisis, and became the very centre of the ecclesiastical struggle.

A committee was despatched North in July under the Earl of Montrose, specially supported by three ecclesiastical controversialists, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant (once Humanist at King's College), to fight the battle of the Covenant. But Aberdeen would have none of them. The visitors had at once offended the Magistrates by declining to drink from the famous cup of Bon-Accord until

1638

the Covenant had been signed. This repudiation of the city's hospitality aroused great wrath, for "the like was never done to Aberdeen in no man's memory". The Commissioners had one powerful ally in the town in the person of Earl Marischal, the son of the founder of the College, who had died in 1623; and when they were refused licence to preach in the city churches they adjourned to his residence at the north end of what is now Marischal Street. The mansion consisted of several buildings with galleries surrounding a courtyard, and from these galleries the three Covenanting ministers held forth from eight o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, trying to convince the people of the truth of the Covenant. The children of granite proved absolutely impervious to the "apostles," whom they scornfully pelted with mud. And the "apostles" fared still worse when they ventured to attack the "Doctors," who rallied to the defence of the people. After a week of useless argument the Covenanters retired from the town in disgust, and they were pursued by an amazing mass of pamphlets—of "Replies," "Answers," and "Duplies"—which found their way into England itself. The position of the "Doctors," summarised by Hill Burton, was briefly this: "Whatever the Covenant might be—good or bad—and whatever right its approvers had to bind themselves to it, how were they entitled to force it on those who desired it not? And when their adversaries became eloquent on its conformity to Scripture and the privileges of the Christian

Church, the 'Doctors' ever went back to the same negative position—even if it were so, which we do not admit, yet why force it upon us?" The "Doctors" received the thanks of the King for their loyal service, and particularly for "hindering some strange ministers" from preaching in their churches.

But their triumph was only temporary. In the following year, 1639, the Covenanters sent an army to the North, under Montrose, and on 3rd April the inhabitants were summoned together to sign the Covenant in Greyfriars Kirk. The members of King's College, however, did not appear, for on the news of the advent of the army the students had been sent home. Bishop Bellenden, the Chancellor of King's College, was deposed, while Earl Marischal, the Chancellor of the rival College, was installed Governor of the town, which he mulcted of 100,000 merks. King's College had declined to go to the Assembly, so the Assembly representatives went across to King's College and deposed Principal Leslie and Alexander Scroggie, one of the Regents, son of the "Doctor" of the same name. The other officials, except Forbes, the professor of divinity, who was absent, subscribed the Covenant. The office of Cantor was once more abolished, and the Canonist was dismissed, although he managed to get a subsequent Assembly to restore him, on condition that he was to teach only the law referring to marriage, wills and teinds, as the other laws "smellit of poperie". In April, 1640, the office was once more abolished, to be again revived, but it dis-

1639
Sufferings of
King's

appeared finally in 1687. "Doctor" Forbes rejected all attempts at conversion, and was finally dismissed in April, 1641, "to the gryte greif of the youth and young students of theologie".

Thus, for the second time in its history, King's College was purged, and "Popery" was finally extinguished. The first purging had occurred seventy-five years after the foundation of the University, the second after another lapse of seventy years, in 1639. That and the following year proved a terrible time for Aberdeen and the North, the town being constantly harried by Montrose and the Covenanters. The Royalists triumphed at the Trot of Turriff (20th May, 1639), but they were defeated at Megray Hill (14th June), and at the Bridge of Dee (19th June). After the last defeat, the town would have been burned but for the interference of Marischal, who figured conspicuously for the Covenant during the whole struggle. Strangely enough, though Marischal saved the town from being burned, his College narrowly escaped destruction by fire in September of the same year. One night the east quarter of the building "suddantlie took fyre—none knowing the manner how". With the help of the citizens the fire was "quenshit—while it burnt to nocht".

Finally, on 28th May, 1640, the Magistrates were compelled to sign the Covenant, and a Covenanting regiment kept possession of the town until February, 1642. The citizens suffered much oppression. Well might Spalding exclaim, "O woful

Abirdene! By thy sinis this heavie scourge is laid upon thee bye [above] all the burrows in Scotland—much to be bemoned and lamented.” Another chronicler has recorded that “ther wes no citie in Scotland which did suffer more hurt then Abirdene did, nor oftener”.

If the town and the Universities suffered great sorrow, it was surely the sorrow that comes of the increase of knowledge. Under Episcopalian rule, the University had become a centre not merely of divinity, but of the highest culture of the time, especially in classical scholarship. In the galaxy of its alumni four pairs of brothers stand out conspicuously—the Johnstons, the Leeches, the Wedderburns, and the Reids. Arthur Johnston rivalled Buchanan himself as a writer of Latin verse, and sought to immortalise his fellow-alumni in the anthology of their verses which he edited under the title, *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, published in Amsterdam in 1637, the year in which he was Rector of his Alma Mater, King's College. His brother, William, was also a skilled Latinist, while his kinsman, John Johnston, who died in 1611, as professor of divinity at St. Andrews, had anticipated both of them with his *Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum* and his *Heroes ex omnia Historica Scotia lectissimi*, written in elegiacs. David Leech, who was Sub-Principal of King's College in 1632, wrote Latin verse, while John Leech gave the world a famous collection of epigrams, and increased the reputation of Aber-

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(3) deen as an authority on grammar by writing a Latin primer. That tradition was further enhanced by David Wedderburn, whose Latin grammar was in use as late as last century, and who was appointed Latin laureate of the town in 1619. His brother, Alexander, distinguished himself as the editor of the Elzevir Persius. Thomas Reid, who created Marischal College library—"the best that ever the north parts of Scotland saw"—was Latin secretary to James VI. His brother, Alexander, who is said to have been the first to read "physical lectures to the company of Barbers-Chirurgeons at London," helped to make Aberdeen medical men famous by his manual on anatomy, his treatise on surgery (1634), and his work on the muscles (1637). He bequeathed all his "medical" books to Marischal College, where a third brother, Adam, was Regent. There were four other brothers, although they did not rise to any eminence. A kinsman of the Reids, William Reid, who practised at Windsor, was the author of a book called *Miscellanea Medica*. In the region of research excellent work was done. Robert Gordon of Straloch revised and published, through Bleau of Amsterdam (1654), Timothy Pont's atlas of Scotland, while his son, the gossipy Parson of Rothiemay, who graduated at King's College in 1636, carried on the tradition of chronicler, which had been started in the University by Hector Boece. The *Trubles* of this period, by Spalding, who was Commissary Clerk of Aberdeen, is a piece of real literature.

Its value has been almost entirely overlooked by the mere antiquaries who have quarried it. George Jamesone, the painter, though a University man only by family connection with the Gregorys, owed something to the University, which had at least had a hand in shaping a society competent to appreciate his work. This was, indeed, the Augustan age of the University, and if there was a dash of pedantry about it, that, as Cosmo Innes has remarked, was the misfortune of the age, rather than the fault of Aberdeen.

The fall of Episcopacy meant a great loss to real culture. In the words of the Parson of Rothiemay: "From that tyme fordwards, learning beganne to be discountenanced; and the very forme of preaching, as wealle as the materialls, was chainged for the most part. Learning was nicknamed human learning; and some ministers so farr cryed it doune in ther pulpitts, as they wer heard to saye 'Downe doctrine and upp Chryste'."

XII. THE FIRST UNION OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

THE history of the two Universities during the half-century (1640-90), beginning with the suppression of Episcopacy, which resulted in the purging of King's College, and ending with the appointment of the Royal Commission, which marks the first real recognition of the Universities as State institutions—the history of this period was largely influenced by the political condition of the country. Waves of unrest, of uncertainty, of tyranny, swept over the State, and the conditions under which academic education was carried on, and of the factors which went to shape the University, were of an equally stormy kind. The period divides itself into distinct sections marked by the three great national movements—the suppression of the Monarchy (1649); the establishment and reign of the Commonwealth (1649-1660); and the restoration of the Monarchy (1661). The leading events in the University synchronise with these steps in the national history. Thus the head of the State, Charles I., and the head of King's College, the Marquis of Huntly, who had been Chancellor since the deposition of Bishop Bellenden, were

executed within three months of each other. With the advent of Cromwell, the Principal of King's College, Dr. William Guild, was deposed. The Protector ruled the country with a rod of iron for eleven years, his troops garrisoning Aberdeen and the North; and Guild's successor, John Row, proved himself as strict a disciplinarian in the University as the Protector did throughout the country. Then came the Restoration, by which the hands of the legislative clock were deliberately put back to 1640, the Act uniting the two Colleges being rescinded, while Principal Row was deposed.

The note of the period was the spirit of inquisition which possessed the Church. Buckle, perhaps in an excess of the anti-religious bias, has declared that "when the Scotch Kirk was at the height of its power, we may search history in vain for any institution which can compare with it except the Spanish Inquisition". Inquisition certainly overtook the University, which, during the fifty years under discussion, underwent a score of Visitations, emanating from the General Assembly, the Crown, Parliament, and the College authorities themselves. The same spirit may be traced in the history of the town, which was harassed by the opposing factions. Within three years Aberdeen was raided by four royalist leaders—Sir George Gordon of Haddo (the ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen), the Marquises of Huntly and Montrose, and Leslie of Harthill, each of whom ended on the scaffold. One wonders, indeed, that under such

Cromwellian

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conditions the University was able to exist at all. Yet it weathered the storm, and was, in fact, the one haven of rest in Aberdeen, King's College Chapel being at times the only place where religious services could be held. It was only when the plague came, in 1647, cutting off a fifth of a population of nine thousand in the town, that the University had to stop operations. The churches were closed for four months, and the students of King's College were transferred for safety to Fraserburgh ; while the Marischal College undergraduates were sent off to Peterhead, which owned the sway of Earl Marischal.

The times were so full of danger that King's College would have needed an unusually strong man to administer it. It cannot, however, be claimed that Dr. William Guild, whom the Presbyterians put into the Principalship in place of the deposed Dr. Leslie, was distinguished for strength of purpose. Dr. Guild had neither the temperament nor the training which characterised the Covenanters. The son of a wealthy Aberdeen armourer, who had vigorously opposed the suppression of the ancient city sports which the Reformers hated, he was educated at Marischal College. Beginning life in 1608, as the minister of King Edward, he increased his patrimony by marrying one of the Rollands of Disblair, and in 1631 he bettered his position by getting translated to the second charge of Aberdeen. He cast in his lot with the Episcopalian party, signing the Covenant

with three limitations, which shows how shaky a convert he was. He declined to forswear the Articles of Perth, although agreeing that the peace of the Church forbade their practice; he refused to condemn Episcopacy absolutely; and, lastly, he reserved his loyalty to the King—to whom he had been chaplain. But even then, his mind was not clear on the subject, for on the approach of the Covenanting army in March, 1640, he betook himself to Holland for a time. Yet this was the man that the Presbyterians, six months later, made Principal of King's College, of which he was actually Rector at the time; and the appointment is stranger still when we remember that he was deliberately preferred to such a staunch Presbyterian as Robert Baillie, the Pepys of Scotland, for whose services the other three Scots Universities afterwards contended, Glasgow ultimately securing him as its Principal.

The prospect of the Principalship had soothed Guild's troubled spirits. He accepted the Covenant *in toto*, and began to carry out, as far as in him lay, the policy of its supporters. The King, "out of his pious and religious disposition," granted the Bishop's palace as a house for the Principal, and Guild speedily undertook its demolition—"which was odiouslie thocht of". In order to spread the principles of the Covenant, he began a week-day preaching in the College Chapel to the inhabitants of the Old Town and the University authorities. "This ardour semit strange to

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preiche outwith Maucher Kirk, and bring down the people, man, wyf, and maidis to the College Kirk among young scollers and students. His auditoures war fey, for they had little feist of the doctrein." Spalding is not an unbiassed chronicler, but the fact remains that within a few weeks, Guild gave over his experiment, "moir foolishilie nor it began".

*Principal of K.C.
Dr. William
Guild*

The most prominent event which occurred during Guild's reign was the union of the two Universities, effected in 1641, by the King, under the title "King Charles' University". The revenues of the suppressed bishopric were divided between the Colleges—two-thirds to King's, and a third to Marischal College. The union existed on paper for twenty years; but it was an accomplished fact only intermittently. Several joint Commissions were appointed to visit the Colleges, and there was undoubtedly much private, and not unfriendly, intercourse between the two. Officially, however, the authorities were jealous of one another.

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katholick union to
throw off most of
the weight of
ecclesiastical
authority*

The union of the Universities in Aberdeen was the immediate forerunner of a course of joint action among all the Universities of the country. They were growing thoroughly impatient of the incessant interference of the Church, and came to the conclusion that it was "expedient to communicat to the Generall Assembly no more of our Universitie affairs, but such as concerned religion, or that had some evident ecclesiastick relatione". So the Universities appointed a set of Commissioners in 1642,

allotting to each University the task of suggesting courses of study in different subjects. St. Andrews was empowered to draft a suitable course of metaphysics. Glasgow took up logic, Edinburgh physics, while Aberdeen had to turn its attention to ethics and mathematics. The Commission sat for six years, reporting in 1648. How far its labours had any practical result is not clear, but the theory of joint University action is interesting in view of the Universities Act of 1889, which assigns to a joint board the conduct of examinations.

The Church, however, was not to be deprived of the right of "sighting" the Universities. In 1649 a Commission of forty-three members—including Andrew Cant and Samuel Rutherford, two of the most dissimilar supporters of a common cause—was appointed to visit both the Colleges. They expelled Dr. Guild, the Principal, Alexander Middleton, the Sub-Principal, and two of the Regents. It was one more example of the irony of circumstance to find the representatives of the Church which had enthroned Guild, in 1640, calmly dethroning him, in 1649; and his colleagues must have seen the humour of the situation, for they declined to be deposed, and calmly restored the Principal to his post.

Guild's respite was brief, for a more powerful factor than either Cant or the General Assembly had arisen in the land. Oliver Cromwell's day had come. In September, 1651, the Protector's troops, under General Monk, entered Aberdeen, "with an

order and discipline and a face of gravity and piety among them that amazed the people". The attention of the Protector was soon drawn—probably at the instigation of Cant, who was its Rector at the time—to King's College. One day, five of his colonels stepped across to Old Aberdeen. Once more Dr. Guild was dismissed from the Principalship and Alexander Middleton from the Sub-Principalship, their places being taken by John Row and Gilbert Rule. The latter had been an Independent minister in England, and afterwards became Principal of Edinburgh University. Middleton's day was not over, for ten years later his chance came with the Restoration, and he superseded Row. But Guild drops out of the history of the University. It is impossible to say how he had filled the post of Principal, though his assiduity may be inferred from the fact that between 1639 and 1649 he allowed his untiring pen to rest altogether. None of the twenty-one volumes attributable to him appeared during these years, although he started to publish once more after his expulsion. He did not forgive King's College. At any rate, he left it nothing at his death, whereas he bequeathed to Marischal College, his Alma Mater, a property in Castle Street, long known as the Bursars' House, which, by careful nursing, is now represented by a capital of £5000, and has come round, after all, to provide Arts bursaries at King's College. In 1653 Guild had equipped Marischal College with a suitable entry, and in 1659

*John Row
installed*

his widow mortified several estates in favour of the College.

John Row, his successor, was a man of very different birth and breeding. The son of the Church historian of the same name, he had been educated at St. Andrews University, and, after gaining some experience as a teacher—he was “well seen in the Latin and Greek languages, and not ill in the Hebrew”—at the Grammar Schools of Kirkcaldy and Perth, he was transferred, in 1641, through the influence of Cant, to the third charge at Aberdeen. His connection with the University began in the following year, when he was appointed lecturer in Hebrew at Marischal College, and in 1644 he published the Hebrew grammar on which his reputation long rested. As soon as Guild was got rid of, Row was put in his place, and retained possession for ten years.

Just as Guild had resembled his King in a certain moral shiftiness, Row resembled Cromwell in his instinct for almost dictatorial administration. The spirit of dictator was forced on him rather than created by him, for the University had been bereft of the old governing authorities. It had no Chancellor, that office having lain in abeyance between 1649, when Huntly was executed, and 1660, when the ambitious Earl of Lauderdale was appointed. No Visitations of the College were made by Parliament, by the Church, or by the Rector, and during the same period Lord Marischal was a prisoner in the Tower of London. Row, in fact, was left sole

director, and he utilised his opportunities to the fullest extent by promulgating a series of the strictest regulations.

The drift of these laws was mainly ecclesiastical. The principles of Christianity as understood by the Presbyterian Church were indoctrinated in every conceivable way. The bursars had to read the Scriptures in the vernacular four times daily—in the morning, after dinner, in the evening, and after supper, the Principal enforcing lessons therefrom. Prayers were offered in the early morning; and in the evening at six. The regimen of the table was to be "Christian". Once a year the members had to repeat the Sabbatical hymn and the rhymes of Hildebert, Bishop of Tours, on the Trinity; and thrice a year the first principles of Christianity were recited in Hebrew. It has sometimes been said that the pre-Reformation University became a mere school of Catholic ethics, but the post-Reformation University of this date was as markedly a school of Presbyterian ethics. Indeed, Scots thought in the seventeenth century was exclusively theological, and the intellect of the country was monopolised by the pulpit. Sermons of inordinate length were delivered Sunday after Sunday. Spalding tells us that on one occasion the people "keipit churche all day," and it is recorded that John Menzies, who was professor of divinity at King's College (1678-1680), possessed such fervour that he used to moisten two or three napkins with tears during every sermon, and had to change his clammy

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regime of
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John Row

the intellect of the
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the pulpit

shirt after preaching. While the greater part of Row's rules relate to the religious side of College life, he was not forgetful of the purely secular. The day was well filled up, morning to night, Saturdays included, when declamations were held on all questions except theology, politics, or private persons; and all conversation had to be carried on in Latin, Greek, French, or Hebrew. It would be exceedingly interesting to know how this polyglot system actually worked. The constant reiteration of its necessity suggests its constant failure in practice.

Row showed his administrative capacity in another direction, by keeping elaborate accounts of the College expenditure; and still more by his extension of the fabric. An addition was made (1658) in the shape of the building, known as Cromwell's Tower, at the north-east corner of the quadrangle. The name is easily accounted for, the Protector's officers in the North having contributed about £500 Scots to the structure, including £120 from Monk himself. Cromwell, indeed, acted well by the University, for he not only confirmed the grant of the bishopric revenues made by Charles I., but also augmented it by annexing 200 merks yearly from the customs of Aberdeen. The erection of Cromwell's Tower seems to have spurred the Marischal College into building extension, for a new school was erected there in 1659, Eton, Oxford and Cambridge contributing together £2900 Scots. The building additions to the Universities in the seventeenth century were thus made possible largely through English gold.

A severe disciplinarian—"some crymes were punished corporallie, others by pecuniall mulct, and grosser crymes by extrusion"—Row was no enemy of recreation. He made room in the day's programme for two hours' play every afternoon, although he also took care to appoint a spy to look after any of his flock who might play truant on the Links, where, doubtless, golf had the same attractions it possesses to-day. Most curious of all, he fitted up a billiard-room in Cromwell's Tower. It was probably about this time that one John Rose took a lease of the bowling-green and "bulziard" table of the College. He stipulated that the professors should give him for his encouragement "tuelve paires of boules and a rolling stone compleitlie mounted with two sythes for man[ag]eing the grein; and that the sde masters shall inhibite there students from discouraging the sd John Rose, but in the contrairie shall order them to make thank and fulle payment". Target practice was also a favourite form of amusement. Indeed it became a nuisance at Marischal College, where the butts were erected in the quadrangle. The good man who stayed on the south side of the quadrangle complained to the Town Council in 1657 that he had been shot "throw the breaches be ane arrow which did come over the Colledg yard dyke"; while a baillie who lived on the north side, declared that he was in "great hazard be the saids arrowes". Football was a favourite pastime. A rule was made in 1659—following the early practice by which

the Paris Bajans had to treat their seniors to wine—that the Bajans (or first year's students) should “furnis upon thair charges futeballs to the remanent classes”. These evidences of the lighter side of the Universities are pleasant interludes in the repressing life of the times; and it is equally pleasant to find that the professors themselves were not Spartans. When the Regents of Marischal College went across to Old Aberdeen, they had “wyne and tobacco and pyps,” while the Earl of Mar, as a visitor, had “seke” and “bear” thrown in. The dignity of the Senatus of to-day would collapse if tobacco were introduced at their deliberations, although it might be argued that the weed would have a desirably soothing effect in times of wordy war.

Yet Row's careful administration of the College did not save him from the ingratitude of politicians. The Reformers were still dissatisfied. John Strachan, one of the Regents in the Aulton, though “the best scholar that ever was in the College,” was so badgered by the Covenanters, especially by Cant—who waged a historic battle royal with him at a graduation ceremony in St. Machar Cathedral, 1659—that he threw up his post, went abroad, and turned Catholic, and died as Rector of the Scots College in Rome. With the Restoration, the entire policy of the Protectorate was swept away. The Act creating the union of the Colleges was of course repealed, and Principal Row was dismissed (1661). Unlike his predecessor, Row was entirely without resources, and he eked

out a miserable and precarious existence in New Aberdeen by keeping a private school.

The inquisitorial spirit did not cease with the revival of Episcopacy; for during the twenty-eight years which remained to the house of Stuart, two Commissions were appointed—on both of which Earl Marischal served—and five Visitations of the University were made. The most notable points insisted on were the necessity of Rectorial meetings, and the revival of the old law that Regents should serve only six years. Still later, the Regents were cautioned to be sober in their “apperell”.

It was during this period that the two Colleges reached an acute stage of rivalry, condescending to means that were not always honourable. The dislike between the two places was fanned by the practice that the Regents had of wandering through the country during the vacations and “intyseing the scholleres of the one College to the other”. This was the great academic problem of the moment, and it needed all the tact of the various Commissions to put an end to the “animosities,” which were “too apt to arise betwixt the maisteres of the two Colledges”. Many schemes were suggested, and at last a measure was adopted by which a professor in one College who received a student from the other was compelled to hand over the young deserter’s fees to his first professor.

This rivalry had, however, a distinctly positive effect, the Colleges trying to outstrip each other by perfecting their equipment. In this effort Maris-

chal College took the lead, and forced the hands of the older College, just as its establishment had been intended to do. During the seventeenth century three new subjects were added to the curriculum at Marischal College—namely, divinity, Hebrew, and mathematics; and in each case King's College followed suit at a later date. Thanks to the liberality of Duncan Liddell of Pitmedden, who had gained fame and fortune as a professor in the Universities of Helmstadt and Rostock, a chair of mathematics was founded in the younger College. Its first occupant—Dr. William Johnston, the brother of the more famous Arthur—was appointed to the post in 1626, after the Town Council had failed during seven years to find “a scolar of any worth” from the south to “undertak the charge of the mathematical professioun”. King's College did not follow its rival's example until 1707. Marischal College also took the lead (1642) in providing for the teaching of Hebrew, although the subject subsequently dropped out of the curriculum during a whole century. Once again, King's College lagged behind, thirty-one years elapsing before it founded a chair of Hebrew. Humanity was another subject which Marischal gave up at different times, for the chair was in abeyance between 1624 and 1650, and again between 1661 and 1826. The Colleges also became strengthened by the enlargement of their libraries. Marischal College had perhaps the richer collection, thanks to the liberality of Thomas Reid. King's

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College library was improved by Bishop Scougal and his son, who created the precedent of making a divinity student "bibliothecary".

The structures were improved and extended. King's College was first in the field with the erection of Cromwell's Tower in 1658. Marischal College projected bolder extension, the Grey Friars Monastery having become thoroughly ruinous. Building operations went on for thirty years (1682-1712), and were carried out entirely by voluntary subscriptions, the Scots communities on the Continent, more especially at the Baltic ports, contributing generously towards the scheme. Finally, as a proof of the growing success of the Universities, an increase of students must be recorded. While the average number of students at King's College during the first ten years of the seventeenth century did not exceed nineteen, the number had risen to seventy during the decade succeeding the Restoration, and possibly the same thing occurred at Marischal College. Altogether, the seventeenth century stands out in the history of the Universities as a period of great activity, which was rendered all the more remarkable from the fact that education was carried on side by side with a long succession of political and ecclesiastical struggles.

XIII. THE UNIVERSITIES UNDER STATE CONTROL.

FROM the accession of William and Mary dates that modern era which has placed the Universities in the position of State institutions, and consequently more directly under the protection of the Crown. Up to this point they had been the products and the representatives of the Church, first of Catholicism, and then of Protestantism. In short, during the seventeenth century the Church ruled the Universities, during the eighteenth the Universities returned the compliment. ?

It was in July, 1690, that the Scots Parliament passed a measure, which marks the final transfer of the Universities from the Church to the Crown.

A Commission, which was to sit for ten years, was appointed to overhaul the academic equipment of the country; and a test was imposed on the professors in such a way that both the Crown and the Church were to be benefited. The test provided that none were to be admitted to chairs or allowed to retain them but such as subscribed, first, the

Test (1) Confession of Faith—to satisfy the Church—and, secondly, the Oath of Allegiance—to satisfy the Crown. As a matter of fact, the Crown got the

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most out of this compact, for the Confession of Faith was at least tolerated by the Bishops of the Episcopalian Church, to which most of the professorial authorities belonged. Thus, provided that the Oath of Allegiance was swallowed, the professors were not driven out when they did not belong to the Presbyterian Church. At Aberdeen, the imposition of the test did not rouse much opposition. Whatever may have been the private views of the academic authorities on the change of sovereign, only one professor, Dr. Garden, who held the chair of divinity in King's College, declined to subscribe. Yet he was leniently treated, for, though ultimately deposed, he was allowed to dilly-dally with the question for years, and no one was more struck with the "clemency and myldnes of the Government" than himself. This submission to the new settlement was, it is true, only lip allegiance, for when the possibility of restoring the Stuart dynasty presented itself, the academic authorities, almost to a man, openly avowed themselves on the side of the Revolutionists—with disastrous consequences.

The test imposed, the Commission settled down to work out a system of educational reform. The main body sat in the capital, having deputed local sub-committees, the composition of which was remarkable for the small representation of the clerical element, which had hitherto dominated the Universities.

There were three great planks in the platform

3 plans

of the Commissioners—the throwing open of professorial vacancies to public competition; the drafting of a course of philosophical study which would be common to all the Universities; and lastly the attempt to modify “regenting,” which had long been subject to abuse. Nepotism had crept in, and there is more than a presumption that bribery and corruption were not unknown. So the Commissioners ruled that chairs were to be thrown open to competition and advertised. The various candidates had to dispute for a place, on any “problematicall subject”. The first occasion when such a combat occurred at Aberdeen was in 1709, when James Urquhart, assistant to his father, the Mediciner, and John Gordon, the son of the minister of Cluny, competed for a Regentship at King’s College. Gordon objected to his rival on the ground that Urquhart was “knowen to be of principalls and sentiments contrarie to the established Government of the Church by his open and avowed dishanting the publict ordinances thereof, and frequenting a form of worship disallowed by law”—Episcopacy of course. Thus, he argued, it was “most dangerous to trust the Educatione of youth to a young man of such disaffected and pernicious principalls”. That objection was, however, overruled. The Senatus then imposed the test of examination. They “put in ane hatt ten litle peices of paper, upon every one of which was writtine a distinct subject or head of philosophie, one of which the competitors was appoynted to draw,

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each of them one, and to have a discourse and sustain theses thereupon". Urquhart held forth "De natura et causis gravitatis," and was adjudged the winner. His conservative tendencies, however, proved his ruin eight years later.

2 The second feature in the programme of reform, namely, the drawing up of a philosophical course which should be common to all the Universities, was a revival of the policy inaugurated in 1647-8. This was really an attempt to create a native school of philosophy. Text-books of foreign origin were tabooed, for the Commissioners held that it was "altogether dishonourable" to the Universities and the nation that a course of philosophy should be made the standard of teaching, when none belonging to the Universities had composed it. "The course that runs the fairest is *Philosophia Vetus et Nova*, which is done by a Popish author, and bears marks of that religion; but therein the logics are barren, the ethics erroneous, and the physics too prolix." Henry Moir's ethics were "grossly Arminian," Le Clerc "merely sceptical and Socinian," while "Cartesius and others of his gang" were equally objectionable. As in 1647, each University was called on to draw up a syllabus in different subjects, Aberdeen dealing with physics; and a committee of nine, composed of four lawyers and five ministers, was appointed to receive the reports. The treatises were placed before Parliament in 1697, and, at least, two of them were printed, but the scheme ended in smoke, like its predecessor.

The inquiry cost King's College £1500 Scots, which was refunded.

The corollary of this scheme was the theory of specialisation which involved the abolition of "regenting," the third great plank in the Commissioners' platform. Specialisation had been the ideal aimed at in the New Foundation, but there was little real encouragement from the state of knowledge during the seventeenth century to do away with the old "ambulatory" system. With the eighteenth century, the intellectual horizon widened in directions antagonistic to theology. The century is studded with the names of great thinkers in different ranges of ideas—Adam Smith in the region of economics, Black in physics, Hume in metaphysics ; of men who had wandered far afield in their searching for knowledge, neglected by the old theology. Thus, as subjects other than theological got more prominence, it became desirable that academic teaching should be specialised.

In Aberdeen, Marischal College led the way. An unsuccessful attempt had been made in the latter half of the seventeenth century to create a Greek chair, but it was not until 1717 that the ideal was realised. At King's College, one Regent taught philosophy and Greek together. In 1698, the Commissioners made two propositions to King's College—not only to separate Greek from philosophy but to divide philosophy into two separate parts, logic and metaphysics : that is to say, they wanted

*regenting seemed
and was much attended
to the academic
redundancy of the subjects of
moral philosophy and
natural theology*

to split one Regent into three. The scheme was drastic, and the Senatus, entirely conservative as it had always been, deprecated the suggestion. A Greek chair, they pointed out, had failed in the case of "our neighbours in Marischall's College"—the epithet is instructive—"nor do we see any necessity of renewing it, it being mor difficult for us to find men eminent in the knowledge of philosophie than the Greek tongue". To "sett" logic "wholly assunder" from metaphysics seemed even more revolutionary, inasmuch as it seemed to involve "mutilating them both". The Commissioners waived the latter objection, but insisted on the creation of a separate Greek chair, and in 1700 the Senatus told off one of the philosophy Regents, Alexander Fraser, to confine himself to Greek. If we except the period 1628-1641, this was the first attempt to adapt the Arts curriculum at King's College to the modern system of professorships.

Among the minor points of reform which the Commissioners insisted on was the enforcement of a preliminary examination of Arts students in Latin, and of the wearing of gowns "constantly" during the session—the professors being arrayed in black and the students in red—that "thereby vaging and vice may be discouraged". About the same time an attempt was made to introduce the picturesque scarlet gown at Edinburgh, an effort that has never been successful. The Commissioners were also called on to decide the question of the validity of the New

Foundation, which was once more (1696) repudiated by the Mediciner and the Civilist. The office of the latter had drifted into a mere sinecure, being frequently held by advocates at the Scots bar, who were absentees. Even when they were local men, the Civilists did not act, and up to the modern union of the two Universities the work was done by substitutes. It was at this period that the parish school system of education was firmly established, and that the Universities came to have a voice in the government of the schools. Thus, in 1700, the Town Council and the Marischal College authorities drew up a set of rules for the government of the Grammar School of Aberdeen.

The Commissioners finished their labours in 1700, but the impetus they had given to the better equipment of the Universities lingered locally. In 1700, Marischal College, which had always shown a bias for science as against the humanities, was equipped with a chair of medicine. Medicine was one of the elements of the broader knowledge of the eighteenth century to which Scotland contributed some remarkable additions, notably through Cullen and John Hunter; but it was not until the middle of the century that Aberdeen took a prominent share in medical teaching. In 1703, King's College provided itself with a chair of mathematics, but the experiment was not very successful. Thomas Bower was appointed, but he lapsed almost immediately into an absentee professor. In 1707, he competed

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then reviewed
131-137
the work of
the
State
Commission of
1690-1700

for the same chair at Marischal College, vacant by the deposition of George Liddell, who had been dismissed for immorality. Liddell, however, was restored, and Bower sued the Town Council for "cost, skaith and damage," managing to get a pension from the town of £40. He seems never to have taught at all, and had at last, in 1717, the good grace to retire. In 1732, the chair was revived in favour of Alexander Rait, but it was not till 1800 that it was firmly and finally established, when William Jack and William Duncan were created professors of mathematics and natural philosophy respectively.

The crowning evidence of the State recognition of the Universities came in 1709, when the united Parliaments granted to each of the Scots Universities the right to receive a copy of every book registered at Stationers' Hall. This right was bought up by Parliament in 1836, Aberdeen getting an annual compensation of £320. A further privilege was granted in 1711 in the shape of a "drawback" of the duties on the paper used at the presses attached to the Universities. This privilege was abused; the University presses—notably that of Glasgow—printing books not for the benefit of scholars, but for the purpose of underselling English editions, and two Acts were passed (1814 and 1817) restricting the issue of such books to editions for the use of the Universities themselves only. The paper duties were abolished in 1861.

It cannot be said that the Universities in Aber-

deen served their Crown benefactor loyally, for they supported the party that tried to restore the Stuarts to the throne. Although the professors at both Colleges had, with one exception, taken the oath of allegiance to support the new dynasty, they had never ceased to cast a longing look behind on the old *régime*. These aspirations, tacitly entertained, found voice when the Chancellor of Marischal College, the tenth and last Earl Marischal, and his brother, the famous Marshal Keith, both of whom had been educated at Marischal College, flung themselves enthusiastically into the cause of the Stuarts. They had been suckled on Jacobite principles by their mother, who wrote the pathetic lament which sings of "the day the King comes ower the water". Their inherited bias was strengthened by their tutor, William Meston, afterwards a Regent in the younger College, whose enthusiasm found vent in verse. Aberdeenshire, indeed, contributed its fair share to the outburst of poetry which the cause of the Pretender called forth, and although most of it is anonymous, there is a strong presumption that it was written by University men. When Queen Anne died, young Marischal, who had just attained his majority, was prevented only by his timidity from proclaiming the Pretender at the head of his regiment, the Scots troop of mounted Grenadier Guards. He plucked up enough courage to attend the meeting held (27th August, 1715) under the "Standard on the Braes o' Mar," when it was resolved to take arms

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in favour of the Pretender; and a month later, he and his brother proclaimed James King at the Market Cross of Aberdeen, where the professors and students of the Universities foregathered. When James actually did come "ower the water," landing at Peterhead in December, he passed his second night on Scots soil in Marischal's house at Newburgh. A few days later he proceeded south to the Earl's mansion at Fetteresso, of which Meston had been created governor, and held his first Privy Council there. The story of the flight of James from Montrose, and the general fiasco of his visit, is matter of familiar history. But the spirit of rebellion did not die with his Majesty's cowardly desertion; for in February, 1716, the students of King's College forced the drummer of the Aulton to make a proclamation, "desiring all persons to come and see the Duke of Brunswick brunt in effigy" in a bonfire lit at the College gate. They also added to their sins by drinking the health of the Pretender "with the title of King James Eight," for which escapade eight of them were expelled, or "rusticated".

Retribution was also at hand for the professors. A Royal Commission, the last of the century, visited the Universities in 1717, and swept the board almost clean. No fewer than ten of the professors were deposed—at King's College, Dr. George Middleton, the Principal; John Gordon, the Civilist; together with James Urquhart and Richard Gordon, Regents. Marischal College

1717 deposition
+ at the
colleges

suffered more severely, losing George Liddell and Patrick Chalmers, the professors of mathematics and medicine ; and four Regents, Alexander Moir, William Smith, George Keith and William Meston, the last of whom took to the hills. Only one professor, Thomas Blackwell, who held the divinity chair, was left. The College had already lost its Chancellor and patron, Earl Marischal, who had fled to the Continent when the Pretender vanished ; and with him the house of Keith ceased to guide the destinies of the College.

Thus ended the fifth purging of the Colleges. It was the fourth that had occurred within eighty-five years, and the last on record. Since that time the University has never allied itself officially with the great political issues before the country.

*pattern -
purses had
followed on
each new
political /
ecclesiastical
imposition*

XIV. THE REARRANGEMENT OF THE ARTS CURRICULUM.

THE purging of the Colleges in 1717 ended for a long time that troublesome period of academic life when the Universities were the sorry shuttle-cocks of Church and State: for during the next hundred and nine years no Commission interfered with their affairs. In fact, a Visitation came to be regarded with horror, and the suggested appointment of a Commission wrecked the last attempt made during the eighteenth century to settle the question of the union of the Colleges. Thus the Universities were left to work out their own salvation as best they might, and the prospects of reform were rendered more hopeful by the dismissal of the retrogressive professoriate, deposed in 1717, and by the introduction of young blood.

1717-on
This period of academic history is intensely local, and inseparable from the rapid commercial progress of the town of Aberdeen, which resulted from the spread of wealth brought about by the Union of Scotland and England. The harbour was enlarged and improved; and shipping, which figured at a tonnage of 60 in 1692, had risen to 17,131 in 1810. In 1749, Aberdeen had the honour of opening the

first county bank in Scotland, and also began flax spinning. A more striking object-lesson of the progress of the commercial spirit is given by the cruel system of kidnapping which prevailed in the middle of the century, and which is graphically described by the redoubtable Peter Williamson. As another example of progress, the rise of the newspaper must be noticed. A journal was started in Aberdeen as early as 1746, affording the Universities a new medium through which to discuss the problems that troubled their soul. X

And the Union was responsible in large measure for an interchange of new methods of teaching. It has always been the ideal, although not as invariably the practice, of the Scots Universities to supply the wants of the mass of the people, not merely of a wealthy or culture-seeking class. And when the wants of the people expanded, as they did in the eighteenth century, it slowly dawned upon the academic authorities that something would have to be done to bring the Universities more into touch with the life of the people. To do this it became necessary to modify the Arts curriculum, involving the rearrangement of the subjects taught, and the abolition of "regenting". It was further necessary to meet the popular demands by creating new curricula, notably those of Science and Law. The more popular side of science was naturally Medicine, while other branches of practical knowledge, such as mechanics, ~~craved~~ craved a place.

It was Marischal College that led the way in

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favour of science teaching and the rearrangement of Arts. In September, 1717, it secured the services of Colin MacLaurin, the one mathematician of the first rank trained in Great Britain in the last century. He was a West Highlander, and had taken his degree at Glasgow at the age of fifteen with a thesis on the power of gravity. In his nineteenth year he was appointed to the chair of mathematics at Marischal College, and within two years he made the personal acquaintance of Sir Isaac Newton, who had revolutionised his science. Aberdeen, indeed, must have bulked largely in Newton's eye, for the first man to teach his philosophy was a Marischal College graduate, David Gregory, who became Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford in 1691. Although MacLaurin stayed only eight years in Aberdeen, some of his best work, notably that on fluxions, was produced during his intermittent professoriate there; and his ability argues well for the standard of mathematical education in the College.

Almost coincident with MacLaurin's appointment, George I. made a grant, on the application of the College, "for purchasing proper instruments for the better advancing the knowledge of experimental philosophy"; and a telescope, a double-barrel air pump, and some other apparatus were bought. This was the origin of the teaching of natural philosophy in the College. One might trace the germs of education for the people in the movement, for when an appeal was issued, in 1726, to the

1717-
1725

county gentry for funds to set "on foot a compleat course of experimental philosophy," it was distinctly stated that care should be taken to "make everything as plain and easy as possible, so that even those who have not made progress in mathematics may understand some of the usefull and pleasant parts of natural philosophy—especially all sorts of machines in husbandry and common life". Such a scheme was not premature, for the state of agricultural implements in the North was lamentably deficient.

It was not, however, until 1760, that natural philosophy began to be taught in the College as a separate subject, the first professor being George Skene; but the great impetus came from his assistant and successor (in 1775), Patrick Copland. Copland was a red-hot enthusiast, and during a professoriate of forty-seven years—varied by a year as mathematical teacher—he made Marischal College famous as a school of popular physics. An expert mechanician, he renewed the old apparatus, and made many new additions to it. In 1781, he began to erect an astronomical observatory on the Castlehill. It had rooms for a quadrant, a transit, and an equatorial instrument respectively, the latter two being the gift of Lord Bute, Chancellor of the College. In 1795, the observatory was removed to the College to make way for a powder magazine at the barracks, then being erected under the direction of Thom, the Inverury poet's father. The University has gone back since then, for all

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astronomical work has fallen into abeyance since the erection of the new buildings of the College in 1840, and the "observatory fund" accumulates year by year. But Copland did not end there. With £150, which he managed to get from the Trustees of the Board of Manufacturers in Scotland, he established the first museum in Aberdeen, consisting of a collection of models of machines used in various arts and manufactures. He may also be called the pioneer extension lecturer of the University, for in 1785 he gave a popular course of lectures in mechanics thrice a week in the evenings, continuing them occasionally for close on thirty years. His successor, William Knight (1786-1844), who had been at school with Lord Byron, carried on Copland's work with success. In 1817, he published *A New Theory of the Earth*. His lectures are memorable for their "sarcastic scurrility," and to his caustic pen we owe some intimate gossip about the University (in manuscript), which bristles with pungent portraits and with incisive criticism of the curious inner life of the College.

King's College did not establish separate chairs of mathematics and natural philosophy until 1800, when Robert Eden Scott, the last representative of a family of Gordon, whose members had held posts at King's College since 1634, and William Duncan, who had previously been at Marischal College, were appointed respectively.

The progress of science was due to the rise of inductive philosophy, which had transformed the world

Note these
students of
J.B.

of thought and necessitated a complete change in the methods of teaching in Arts. So long as deductive methods of reasoning prevailed, it was necessary to start the student with a basis of general principles and then lead on to particulars. Thus the scholastics began with logic, and ended with natural philosophy, and the Universities proceeded on these lines till the beginning of the seventeenth century. This system involved a great waste of time, inasmuch as the student took so long to master general principles, before he came to the particular illustrations of them, that the particulars got scant notice. The corollary, from the rearrangement of the order of subjects, was the method of teaching them. Under the old system, it was natural that the teacher who expounded the general principles to the novice should continue to illustrate these principles to him throughout his curriculum. The moment that the primary value of particulars was realised and the limits of knowledge extended, it became necessary to find teachers who were specialists, who would devote themselves exclusively to one subject. Thus, professorships, which mark the beginning of the modern era of academic education, were created.

Aberdeen was the last of the Scots Universities to tackle the problem of rearranging the Arts curriculum. Edinburgh, as became the youngest of the Universities, abolished "regenting" in 1700. Glasgow followed in 1727, and St. Andrews in 1747. In Aberdeen, Marischal College, foremost in all reform, was the first to take up this question. The real

X

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A.G.'s
career at
academic
reform

reformer in the College was Alexander Gerard, the author of the essay on Taste, who had become a Regent in 1750 at the age of two and twenty. When we remember that his three grandsons, who were in the Indian army, all contributed to geographical knowledge, by exploring the Himalayas, we may surmise that their love for particulars was an inheritance from their grandfather. At the beginning of his career, Gerard burned with the zeal of the reformer. He was a strong supporter of an early scheme for uniting the two Universities, and he was an opponent of the residence of students in the College, on the ground that it "excites the inclination to vice, instead of repressing it," and that such confinement was the worst preparation for life and business. In the proposed union of the Universities in 1770, he deprecated the moving of the Marischal College students to Old Aberdeen, which he described as "a village inhabited by the lowest people, and those of the most corrupt manners". But the mantle of the reformer slipped from his shoulders, for, after he became a professor at King's College, he set his face bitterly against union.

His early services, however, must not be forgotten, for it was he who in 1753 induced the Senatus of Marischal College to rearrange their Arts curriculum, and to abolish "regenting" by fixing each teacher to a particular branch of philosophy. Thus the students of each year were assigned to the tuition of one man, Gerard himself taking the

and wrote his essay on Quantity, in which he denied that a mathematic treatment of moral subjects was possible. A poor preacher, he was an excellent teacher. His delivery was faulty, but such "was the simplicity and perspicuity of his style, such the gravity and authority of his character, and such the general interest of his young hearers in the doctrines which he taught, that he was heard uniformly with the most silent and respectful attention".

Reid
defends
regenting

Reid's common sense told him that the order of the Arts curriculum was radically wrong, but he thought that "regenting" had a moral influence on the students. Every Regent, he argued, was "a tutor to those who study under him; has the whole direction of their studies, the training of their minds, the oversight of their manners; and it must be detrimental to a student to change his tutor every session".

As the future author of the *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, which he directed as an unassailable counterblast to Hume, Reid was naturally very much interested in the philosophical course which absorbed the time of the Magstrand class. He outlined a scheme for teaching them "the philosophy of the human mind and the sciences that depend on it," defining the former as "an account of the constitution of the human mind and of all its powers and faculties, whether sensitive, intellectual, or moral; the improvements these are capable of,

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and the means of their improvement; of the mutual influences of body and mind on each other; and of the knowledge we may acquire of other minds, and particularly of the Supreme Mind". The "sciences depending on the philosophy of the mind" he defined as "logic, rhetoric, the law of nature and nations, politicks, oeconomicks, the fine arts, and natural religion". But he did not prescribe a particular plan to the Regents of philosophy, "as each of them have access to satisfy those concerned of their particular plan and method".

It will be noticed that the predominating idea of the Arts curriculum in both Colleges was mainly, as of old, the teaching of philosophy, classics being kept in the background. The truth is that the student was supposed to have had a good grounding in classics before he entered the University at all, the original system having been for the professor of Latin to teach the elements of his subject in the Grammar School. Latin, as we have seen, dropped out of Marischal College altogether, while in 1753 the King's College authorities freed the Humanist from teaching "the elements of Latin in the way of a Grammar School". But this slurring-over of classics did not quite satisfy the public. When King's College issued its Arts scheme, the authorities received a mass of correspondence insisting on the "great importance of classical learning, and the loss that students do generally sustain by neglecting this study

during their academical course". So it was resolved in 1754 that the professors of Greek and Latin should not only teach the Bajans, but read classics with the Semis, Tertians, and Magistrands, "though dealing with the subject from the more literary and philosophical point of view". This extensive classical education was appreciated by the students so little that an appeal had to be taken in 1762 to the Chancellor, Lord Deskford, who decided that the Senatus could enforce compulsory attendance in Latin.

For nearly half a century after this date, "regenting" prevailed in the College. At last, in 1792, the Greek Regent, James Dunbar, who figured as an advocate of the union scheme, tried hard to get the Senatus to fix the Semi, Tertian, and Magstrand classes, so that each of the professors of philosophy might have a distinct province assigned him in the regular plan of academical education. But the professorial system was not finally adopted until 1799.

*James
Dunbar for
professorial
plan*

Even then, much remained to be done, especially in the matter of granting degrees in Arts. The early method in the Universities had been for the candidate to write a thesis, which the Regent prescribed, embodying in it the substance of selected parts of the curriculum. The thesis system had gradually been abandoned, in favour of a degree examination, which was a sheer farce. At King's College, even as late as 1826, the candidates underwent an examination set by the professor of natural philo-

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sophy, none of the other professors attending. It was neither long nor difficult, and comprehended only mathematics and natural philosophy, classics and moral philosophy being excluded. Although intricate questions were sometimes put, nobody was ever rejected or prevented from taking the degree in consequence of this examination. In fact any person might graduate. Worse than that, the degree was occasionally given to men, who neither were members of the University, nor underwent any examination at all. All that the applicant had to do was to state the school, academy, or University he had attended, and what work he had subsequently done, accompanying the memorial with a certificate as to his moral, literary, and scientific qualifications. At Marischal College, theses continued to be written down at least to the middle of the eighteenth century, when they were replaced by a bastard form of the mediæval system. Professor Beattie instituted a degree examination at which the candidate was asked to answer a series of Latin questions in logic and rhetoric. The same set was used every year, the professor of moral philosophy dictating to the candidates copies of both questions and answers, hearing them recite by rote the answers, and then hearing them a week later repeat the same a second time in presence of the Faculty. By this plan no one could possibly be rejected. "On our repeating this well-conned catechism," says Donald Sage, an acute observer of men and manners, "the Principal rose solemnly,

and holding an old dusty piece of scarlet cloth in his right hand, whilst we all stood like so many wooden images before him, he went round the whole of us, and, touching our heads, dubbed each of us a Master of Arts. For this piece of literary mummary we had each of us to pay double fees to the professor of moral philosophy as the promoter, double fees also to the sacrist and janitor of the College, and half a guinea for a piece of vellum on which a skilful penman had written the diploma in Latin for our academical honours, and to which was attached in a tin box the College seal." The caustic Professor Knight has pointed out that "as if to sanction such a fraud on the College and the public the words of the diploma remained unaltered, '*ingenii sui ac eruditionis luculento specimine edito*,' which became an obvious untruth".

XV. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MEDICAL SCHOOL.

By far the most interesting feature in the University during the eighteenth century was the attempt to found a medical school. Although King's College had been endowed with a Faculty of Medicine and a Mediciner—the first in Great Britain—from the very beginning, the subject had scarcely had time to develop under Roman Catholic rule, while the Protestants had aimed, consciously and unconsciously, at reducing the University to a mere school of philosophy by suppressing Medicine and Law altogether.

Efforts had been made from time to time to make Medicine a living part of the University. The first notable step in this direction was taken by Dr. William Gordon, who held the chair at King's College between 1632 and 1649, and who fought with persistent energy for the full recognition of his subject. Having "exercised the students sufficientlie in the dissection of beasts," he made an application to the Privy Council in 1636 for the delivery of dead bodies to the "Colledge of Aberdeen". He pointed out that it was the custom at other Universities where Medicine was taught, for the municipal authorities to present several bodies

to be "publictlie anatomised". The Privy Council acceded to the request, by requesting the Sheriff and the Town Councils of Aberdeen and Banff to deliver annually to the applicant "twa bodies of men, being notable malefactors, executte in thair bounds, especiallie being rebells and outlawis; and failzeing of them, the bodies of the poorer sort, dieing in hospitalls; or abortive bairns, foundlings; or of those of no qualitie, who hes died of thare diseases, and hes few friends or acquaintance that can take exception". When it is remembered that this application was made within a century after the revival of anatomy, and in less than sixty years after its practical study by dissections had become general even in Italy and France, at that time the great schools of Medicine, it will be seen that the Mediciner of King's College was well abreast of the science of his day; and, however disagreeable to the Senatus was his bold insistence on the recognition of his chair, he was really the most modern of all his academic contemporaries. Of his immediate successors, Dr. Andrew Moore (1649-1672) and Dr. Patrick Urquhart, who held the chair for fifty-three years, little is known beyond the fact that the latter began public lessons in Medicine in 1719, and practised the art of embalming.

Then, for thirty years the chair was occupied by three members of the great Gregory family—a father and his two sons—who made their *régime* remarkable by lecturing in English instead of in the monkish Latin that had hitherto prevailed. The Gregory

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family split itself up into two sections. One branch, descended from David, the laird of Kinnairdie, who had been librarian of Marischal College, turned its attention almost exclusively to mathematics, four members of this extraordinarily gifted family holding chairs in different Universities. The other branch, descended from James, the professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, seemed to go instinctively towards medicine, no less than six of them devoting themselves to various branches of medical study. The two elements indeed inter-crossed; for while the ancestor of the mathematical branch was keenly interested in mechanics (he once invented a cannon), he was so "skeely" in medicine, that he narrowly escaped the reward meted out to those who practised witchcraft. On the other hand, the medical branch of the family was descended from a mathematician. In some cases the two elements were united in the same man. This was notably the case with John Gregory, who became Mediciner at King's College in 1755, in succession to his elder brother James. Having studied medicine at Edinburgh and Leyden, he began life as a Regent in the College, teaching natural philosophy, and it was during this time that he had the unpleasant task of entertaining his kinsman Bob Roy, who proposed to make the Regent's son, afterwards professor of medicine in Edinburgh, an expert cateran. Gregory, after his term of "regenting," went to London, from which he was recalled to succeed his brother, his intro-

Career of
John
Gregory

ductory lectures at King's College dealing with the "Duties and Qualifications of a Physician". Not only did he lecture on his subject, but he aimed at the creation of a medical school. In conjunction with Dr. Skene, he opened classes in Aberdeen and "persisted in giving lectures for two sessions, but they were attended by scarce any students of Medicine". It was probably through his influence, however, that in the rearrangement of the Arts curriculum in 1753-4, an effort was made to establish a museum of natural history, with "models of the most useful and curious instruments and machines, ancient and modern" and philosophical instruments. The erection of a chemical laboratory and a dissecting-room was also contemplated, "as soon as the funds of the College will permit". Though the furnishing of these apartments in any degree of perfection would be a work of time, the Senatus declared that they had been encouraged to begin "in hopes that time and opportunity may favour a public design which is intended, not for show or for gratifying the curiosity of idle people, the use that is too commonly made of such collections, but for the improvement of the students in the knowledge of the works of nature, and the most useful operations of art. And they hope that their alumni, in different parts of the world, and others who wish well to this University and the improvement of natural knowledge, will contribute some proper furniture for such apartments, and be assistant in such a way as they see most proper

for promoting so good a design." Unhappily for all chances of scientific progress in Old Aberdeen, Gregory stayed only eleven years, being transferred to Edinburgh in 1766, where he was succeeded by his son; while his grandson William became professor of chemistry at King's College.

A heroic attempt to erect a medical school was made in 1786, the leading spirit in the movement being not a medical man, but the professor of Latin at King's College, William Ogilvie, who strongly argued in favour of a union of the Universities for this purpose. Ogilvie was a very remarkable man, an all-round reformer, though his chief claim to the recollection of posterity will be his statement of the doctrine of land nationalisation. A graduate of King's College—he also studied at Glasgow and Edinburgh—he was made a Regent in his Alma Mater in 1761. Three years later, he became Humanist, and continued his work as teacher for close on sixty years. He was a democrat of the democrats, strangely out of place in a hotbed of conservatism like King's College. This was probably the reason why he published his *Essay on the Right of Property in Land*, 1781, anonymously. He was also a firm believer in free libraries. To the University he rendered first-rate service. An excellent scholar, he was a skilful teacher, and turned out some notable pupils—Sir James Mackintosh and the Rev. Robert Hall among others. He made a strenuous, though vain, effort to found a picture gallery for the University, by getting back

refer this
Sketch of
William
Ogilvie

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a valuable donation of Italian paintings which had been left to King's College by an old student, but had been forfeited to the French Government; and he presented the College with his fine collection of coins.

The union of the Universities effected by Charles I. in 1641, under the title "King Charles' University," was premature and ended in a complete fiasco. So far from doing any good, it resulted in a greater rivalry and dislike between the two Universities, each of which had entrenched itself more firmly within its own borders. The feeling of resentment grew stronger. Thus, in the seventeenth century the Colleges used to entice away each other's students; but by the following century the students had such an attachment to the College which they had first entered, that they declined to attend even new classes opened at its rival. Nothing could be more evident than the waste of energy in having two Universities side by side, teaching the same subjects to a mere handful of students; but not until the eighteenth century does this fact seem to have dawned on the authorities. Four schemes of union were proposed and discussed during forty years (1747-87), each ending in smoke.

The first aimed at uniting the Universities on the King's College site. The second (1754) seems to have been proposed on the analogy of the Union of Scotland and England, by which wealth had increased by bounds. The raising of professorial salaries was the principle underlying this scheme.

for it was proposed to suppress eight of the double professorships so as to augment the funds of the remaining ones; and further financial aid was to be obtainable from the sale of buildings. By this proposal, however, Medicine and Law were abolished altogether. Fortunately the scheme collapsed, but it was followed by two others, each after a period of sixteen years. The third scheme, brought forward (3) in 1770, was much less selfish, for it sought, not only to augment salaries, but also to extend the educational equipment of the Universities. A Principal and eleven professors were to be provided for, science getting recognition by the introduction of anatomy. It was contemplated to make Marischal College mainly a school of science, for, while Latin, rhetoric, moral philosophy and logic, oriental languages, Divinity and Law were to be taught at King's College; Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, anatomy, and medicine were assigned to Marischal College. The authorities could not agree on details and this scheme also collapsed.

(u) The fourth and most important scheme, published in 1786, provided for the improvement of education alone, and aimed primarily at the equipment of a medical and a law school on the model of Glasgow. In season and out of season, Ogilvie urged the union with all the energy at his command. He published a remarkable pamphlet in its favour. Schools of Medicine and Law could be established, he argued, only by a union of the Universities, for

it would be impossible to complete each College with all the curricula. He also devised the financial principle of an accumulating fund, to be created by not less than £100 a year being set apart from the salaries of the suppressed professorships. Fifteen professorships, divided between the two Universities, were to be provided.

The negotiations went on smoothly until it was proposed to get a Royal Visitation to report on the situation, with a view to effecting the necessary changes. The mere suggestion of a Visitation was the death of the proposal; for, though the Marischal College men stood firm, the authorities at King's College, all of whom had assented, though somewhat timidly, to the outlines of the scheme, scurried off in retreat, and suddenly discovered a thousand and one objections to the union. Of the fifteen Aulton professors, seven, including the Principal, declared against the scheme, six gave no sign, and Ogilvie found himself supported only by one colleague, James Dunbar, the "acute frosty-faced little man of much erudition and great good nature," who taught Greek. Stuart, the Greek Regent at Marischal College, was Ogilvie's warmest disciple. It is curious that the claims of science should thus have been urged most strongly by the classicists of the Colleges.

Ogilvie, however, was not to be discouraged. The Rector of King's College, Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, was on his side, and probably was instrumental in getting the support of several

local noblemen in favour of the union, namely, the Duke of Gordon and the Earls of Aberdeen, Aboyne, Buchan and Kintore. The Town Councils of the whole North of Scotland, including Aberdeen, Inverness, Banff, Elgin and Wick, were canvassed by Ogilvie and decided in his favour. The physicians and lawyers of Aberdeen were also strongly impressed with the necessity of carrying out the scheme for the benefit of their professions. The controversy was carried on in a pamphleteering skirmish, and found its way into the *Aberdeen Journal* and the *Caledonian Mercury*, this being the first occasion that University affairs were discussed in the newspapers. Ogilvie enjoyed this method of controversy, in which he was aided and abetted by Stuart, for the two wrote letters innumerable over many signatures. To the *Caledonian Mercury* they contributed a letter, signed "Margaret Marshal," in which they described King's College as "a very cunning old woman much addicted to backbiting and abusing her neighbours, particularly her sister". They were also responsible for the humorous reply which appeared in the *Journal* over the signature "Janet Elphinstone," in which "Margaret Marshal" was told that she was "just like an unruly boy clamouring for gingerbread". "Don't let us take pains," wrote "Janet," "to make these country folks wiser than is good for them, lest it bring us also more trouble than we foresee." The most humorous contribution to the controversy came from John Skinner, who explained the familiar

prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer in lines that recall the sentiment of "Tullochgorum" :—

'Twas not that Don shold run to Dee,
Or Dee fall into Don,
But that their colleges should be
United into one.

In honour, then, of Scotland's bard
Let King and Earl agree ;
And Bishop Don submit, tho' hard,
To join with Marishal Dee.

So shall the old prophetic dream
Explain its mystic course,
And learning's long divided stream
Shall run with double force.

On the collapse of the proposal, each College tried to create a medical school for itself. At King's College, the Mediciner's office became a sinecure. Dr. William Chalmers (1782-1793) tried to bring the office back to life. In 1787, he set the first examination paper for the degree of M.D., which had hitherto been granted on the recommendation of doctors of reputation. Some years later, he made arrangements to give a course of weekly lectures on anatomy and physiology, but his death, in 1792, put an end to the scheme. From that time down to 1839, a period of forty-seven years, when the chair was occupied by Sir Alexander Bannerman and his son James, Medicine struggled feebly at King's College, for neither of them lectured, while James Bannerman, "proud, lazy and inefficient," actually let his manse to a tailor. An

attempt to right matters was made in 1801, when it was resolved that the degree of M.D. should be conferred only on those who were not, and would not be, concerned in the sale of quack medicines; while in 1817, some restrictions were imposed in a demand for guarantees of the candidates' classical, literary, and scientific equipment.

It was from Marischal College that the real impulse towards medical education came, although at first unofficially. Three of the early Principals in the College—Patrick Dun, who had been Mediciner at King's College, William Moir, and James Leslie—had been physicians, but Medicine was added to the curriculum only in 1700. Even then, it was a failure, for up to 1823 no lectures were delivered. The chair was filled by mere nonentities, one of whom kept a chemist's shop, while another combined the duties of teaching Medicine and Hebrew. Yet the claims of medical study were steadily forced on the attention of the College.

In 1742, the Infirmary was opened, followed forty years later by the Dispensary, and thus the fortunes of Marischal College, which had always been partly administered by the Town Council, became identified more closely than ever with the city and its needs. A remarkable movement of a much less ambitious character followed; for in 1789 twelve students from the College founded, under the guise of a debating club, the Aberdeen Medical Society. Its initiation was really due to James Robertson and James (afterwards Sir James)

M'Grigor, commemorated by the obelisk at Marischal College. Both of them had spent a year at Edinburgh University and had attended the meetings of the Medico-Chirurgical Society there. On returning to Aberdeen, they were fired with the desire to imitate it, and, with the aid of ten students, actually founded the Medical Society. The Society at first met in the houses of the members' parents, but it soon found a home in the Greek class-room at Marischal College, where weekly meetings were held. This was practically an official recognition of the existence of the enterprising Society. The first debate, on "How far is the knowledge of mathematics consistent with and useful to medicine?" shows the broad lines on which the Society was based, but it soon devoted its attention to subjects strictly medical. M'Grigor himself dealt with the history of gangrene, cancer, bloodletting, and fever, while others discussed such subjects as the necessity of teaching the medical student anatomy. If proof were wanted of the real power of the Society, it is to be found in the fact that within two years of its birth it had secured the patronage of Dr. William Livingstone, who was soon to become professor of medicine in Marischal College, and in whose house it met for fifteen years; while Dr. Chalmers, the Mediciner at King's College, and Sir Alexander Bannerman, his successor, became honorary members.

Gradually, the Society and Marischal College became more closely associated, and in 1815 the

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Principal and professors were made the custodians of its property. The Society initiated classes on different medical subjects, which were in course of time transferred to the College. In 1807, Dr. Charles Skene, afterwards professor of medicine in the College, was asked to lecture on anatomy to the Society. Some years before this, Marischal College had been equipped with a chair of chemistry, for in 1790 Sir William Fordyce, the most fashionable London physician of his day, who was a son of a provost of the city, and had been educated at the College, bequeathed £1000 for the establishment of a lectureship on agricultural chemistry and natural history. In 1793, the widow of Principal Thomas Blackwell, the younger, bequeathed the lands of Polmuir, which provided £40 a year, to found a chair of chemistry, and £10 a year for a prize essay. So far as Medicine was concerned, however, the bequest was nullified by the appointment to the chair of Dr. George French, a cranky druggist, who owed his success in life largely to the influence of his uncles, Sir William and George Fordyce. He had been a doctor in London, but was so unsuccessful that the Fordyces sent him to Aberdeen as a sort of convenient Back-of-beyond, easier to satisfy than the metropolis. A reactionary of the most pronounced type, a malcontent, and a misanthrope, French, unfortunately, held the chair for forty years (1793-1833). Not only had his lectures no connection with a medical course, but he was opposed to the teaching of Medicine in

Aberdeen at all, and resolutely declined to extend his blessing to the young Medical Society to which most of his colleagues had been pleased to extend their patronage.

In the matter of chemistry, King's College as usual lagged behind. In 1816, Rev. William Jack, who was M.D. as well as M.A., taught chemistry along with moral philosophy, while the Humanist, Rev. Patrick Forbes, actually delivered lectures on chemistry (in addition to natural history), five days a week. Forbes was an excellent Latinist—he introduced the study of prosody at King's College—and an enthusiastic chemist. One of his daughters attended his chemistry class one session along with the male students. She was the first woman student in the University.

As Ogilvie, however, had clearly foreseen, there was really no chance for a medical school at Aberdeen, unless the two Universities joined forces. This they determined to do, on the suggestion of Marischal College. In 1818 a joint scheme of medical instruction was drawn up, over which the two Universities were to have equal power. During the winter, lectures were to be given on anatomy, physiology, surgery, practice and theory of medicine, materia medica, clinical medicine, and midwifery, with a course of botany in the summer. The old jealous spirit of the two Universities was shown in the condition that an equal number of classes should be taught at each College. The scheme was not supported as it ought to have been.

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The Mediciner at King's College resisted all attempts to make him teach, although he promised to begin lecturing as soon as "the most distant chance of benefit" offered itself. At Marischal College lecturing was begun by the professor of medicine for the first time in 1823, but even then he was sometimes obliged to discontinue it, "insomuch that he took fees only one session". Lectures in botany were begun only in 1825, when Professor Knight started a class in addition to his duties in the chair of natural philosophy. Happily, he taught botany "in a manner strictly scientific, to render it useful for the medical profession". Midwifery was begun in 1826; but the accommodation for the medical lecturers was wretchedly inadequate. In 1825, the joint committee governing the medical school ordained that every candidate for the degree of M.D. should be twenty-five years old and have the Arts degree.

But the combination of the Universities in the matter of medical teaching was half-hearted, and consequently ineffective. Other attempts came to be made to put the subject on a proper basis, but it needed complete union to make a real school of Medicine, and to realise the Faculty which Elphinstone had dimly foreshadowed.

XVI. THE PERSONNEL OF THE UNIVERSITIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE total absence of Commissions and of interference from without during the greater part of the eighteenth, and the first quarter of the present, century, made the Universities, as has been noted, intensely local. The professoriate were left undisturbed to develop their idiosyncrasies, and they took full advantage of their opportunity by giving nepotism full sway. Chairs were handed on from father to son, or from uncle to nephew, as if a professorship was as much a hereditary right as a seat in the House of Lords. The Universities, in fact, became family affairs.

The most startling example of nepotism occurs in the case of the family of Gordon, which originally came from Kethock's Mills. Between 1634 and 1811 no fewer than eight members of the family, beginning with the two Principals Middleton, were professors at King's College. Patrick Gordon, his son, and grandson held the Hebrew chair for ninety-four years, while the same worthy with another son and grandson taught in Arts for a hundred and fifty-seven years without a break. Then there

*less authority
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was the family of Gregory, which furnished fourteen professors to British Universities. Four of them were Mediciners in King's College. Another member, Alexander Innes, was a Regent in Marischal College, and another, Thomas Reid, taught at King's—these six covering a period of a hundred and nineteen years. One of the Gregorys was married to a daughter of George Chalmers. He, and a distant cousin, retained the Principalship of King's College for nearly a century (1717-1800). Again, the Gerards, father and son, held the chair of divinity in succession, and the Bannermans, father and son, were the Mediciners of the College for forty-five years. The same thing prevailed at Marischal College. The Blackwells, father and son, were both Principals. The Donaldsons, father and son, held the Hebrew chair for sixty-two years. Dr. Beattie, his son, and his son-in-law in succession taught moral philosophy, while his nephew, an excellent Latinist, and the first discoverer of the *Linnæa Borealis* in Scotland, held the chair of civil and natural history. The Skenes were another family that long retained the reins of office, a father, his son, and his grandson occupying three different chairs for over a century without a break.

Theoretically, nepotism does not bespeak a particularly healthy tone, and yet both Universities during this period possessed some notable professors, whose common intellectual interests gave a semblance of unity to the educational schism that prevailed.

The most interesting group was that which gathered round Thomas Reid, to wit, James Beattie, George Campbell, and Alexander Gerard from Marischal College, and John Gregory from King's, each representing different aspects of intellectual pursuits, which found a rallying point in the Literary (nick-named the "Wise") Club. The Club, founded by Reid in 1758, held its meetings at Anderson's New Inn, in the Castlegate. Reid's interests were mainly philosophical. Beattie was more strictly literary, although his *Essay on Truth* and his *Elements of Moral Science*, following the anti-Hume line which Reid adopted, gave him a temporary reputation as a philosopher. It was his poetry, however, that made him popular, "The Minstrel" bringing him much fame. Yet his poetry, like his philosophy, has long since lost its potency. Its note was the craving for the dismissal of artificiality and for a return to Nature, just as the trend of academic education was in the direction of the newer and wider philosophies. Beattie, as Mr. Saintsbury has remarked, "would have been a poet if he could, and his sedulous efforts and gentle sensibility sometimes bring him within sight, though at a long distance, of the promised land". There is a distinct pathos about Beattie's actual life, as there was about his poetic aspirations; for he lived to see the death of his only son and successor, James Hay Beattie, who was even a feebler minstrel than his father. Young Beattie was succeeded by his brother-in-law, George

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Glennie, who is described by Donald Sage as "possessed of the least possible measure of talent or imagination," and whose lectures were "the very essence of dulness, and were an ill-digested compilation of the sayings and doings of more eminent men," particularly of his father-in-law. Alexander Gerard, another of the "Wise" Club, became rather famous by his essay on Taste, while his plea for the rearrangement of the Arts curriculum shows him to have had some appreciation of the altered conditions of thought. His son Gilbert was the author of a work on Biblical criticism—which was cultivated in Aberdeen as at no other Scots University. George Campbell, who was Principal of Marischal College between 1759 and 1796, joined the anti-Hume controversialists, more especially on the subject of miracles, though he is much better known by his book on rhetoric, which was long regarded as a standard work. With such members, the Literary Club must have seemed a marvel of brilliancy at the time, and it certainly gave hope for a measure of culture such as Aberdeen had never before witnessed.

A somewhat earlier generation had seen Thomas Blackwell, who was the only professor of Marischal College retained after the purging of 1717. His contributions to divinity were two works on revealed religion. It is curious that his brother-in-law, Sir William Fordyce, should have founded the lectureship of agricultural chemistry, while his daughter-in-law established the chair of chemistry,

at Marischal College. His son Thomas, who succeeded him in the Principalship, was the author of a mysterious book on Homer (1735), which was very popular in its day, although the same standard of excellence was not maintained in his subsequent work on the Court of Augustus.

The Universities at this time made two notable contributions to the study of economics. King's College, through Ogilvie, dealt with land nationalisation, while Robert Hamilton, the professor of mathematics at Marischal College (1780-1829), will be remembered by his work on the national debt, in which he showed the delusive nature of the sinking fund. Hamilton was the most eccentric figure in the younger College. He was a wretched teacher, and a hopeless disciplinarian. "His personal appearance," says Sage, in a telling pen picture of his old professor, "the odd intonations of his voice, the quizzical contortions of his countenance, the motions of his hands, his fidgety impatience and the palpable absurdity of the whole man, with his little scratch wig awry on his head, and his gown flapping around him and ever and anon in the way of his feet or his hands or his eyes—all taken together really held out a premium to every student, from the lightest to the gravest, to look and laugh." King's College possessed even a stranger character in Roderick Macleod, who held office for no less than sixty-seven years (1748-1815), the last fifteen years as Principal. He was a merry old gentleman, the very reverse of a "starched

pedantic North Briton," and probably suggested the portrait of Dr. Pangloss to George Colman, the younger, who was sent to Aberdeen to be tamed. The witty Dr. Kidd, professor of Hebrew at Marischal College (1794-1835), was a peculiarly unconventional parson, who gained a reputation as a humorist that lingers to this day.

The changes which occurred during the century reacted, of course, on the undergraduates. At King's College, a strict code of discipline was adopted in 1753 by Thomas Reid, who reintroduced into the College the system of residence which had fallen into disuse. By living in lodgings, the students, he held, were exposed to many temptations, besides being badly looked after in the matter of food. There were two scales of living in the College, the cost of the first being fifty marks per quarter, and of the second, where the food was less luxurious, forty shillings. The rent of a room varied from seven to twenty shillings per session, the only furniture being a bedstead, table, grate and fender. It was the duty of the Regents to offer public prayers every morning at eight, to visit and "perlustrate" the students' rooms at night, see the College gate shut at nine every evening and opened at seven in the morning. The Mediciner attended those who were "valetudinary"—almost the only service he did render the College. Altogether, Reid felt convinced that few boys were "so narrowly looked after, or so little exposed to temptations to vice"; and it was for this reason

that he advocated so strongly the retention of the system of "regenting," which Marischal College abolished, not merely on educational grounds, but also from the conviction that the system of residence was that of a convent, and that "experience has shewn the vanity of it".

Yet, in course of time King's College had to abolish residence as it had to do away with "regenting," although the office of Economist lingered on until 1836. Living in the College was inconsistent with the impoverished circumstances of those who sought University education, and who aimed at subsisting on the traditional oatmeal of the Scots undergraduate. Cheap as the rate of residence was—the students sometimes huddling two, three and four in a bed—it was more expensive than private lodgings. The system ended in the early years of this century. With its decay and the consequent loss of the opportunities for the professors to supervise the conduct of the students, a carelessness arose, which, added to the farce of degree-granting, reduced academic education to a very low level indeed. The picture of the College drawn in 1781 by Colman, who describes himself as an "extraneous animal in a crowd of young scholastick Yahoos," shows an utter lack of discipline, especially among the English students, who were looked up to by the "young barbarians," and sometimes *fêted* by the municipal authorities. To the professorial mind they set, what Principal Macleod in his homely way called, "unco bad examples o'

economy". The students began to develop that wild boisterousness which for long seemed their undisputed prerogative. To question it was scarcely dreamt of. Thus, there is truth in the spirit, if not the letter, of the legend about "Downie's slaughter," which tells how the students, resenting the disciplinarianism of the sacrist, summoned him to a mock execution, at which he expired from sheer fright. And the same may be said of the story which gave rise to the student being called "Buttery Willie Collie". The curious description of a capping ceremony at Master Collie's buttery was probably the work of the fertile imagination of the witty Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, who received the degree of M.D. from King's College in 1699, and whose elaborate diploma—still preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh—possibly suggested to him the rather ponderous humour of the skit; but the bacchanalian scene depicted found its counterpart in much of the actual life of studentdom. While the system of residence prevailed, riots between Town and Gown were not infrequent. The last siege of King's College occurred in 1770, when the students had a row with some young sailors at the harbour. The merry mariners, who had been defeated, gathered reinforcements and started for the Aulton in pursuit of the victors, who had just time to get behind the College gate to escape a sound thrashing. The sailors improvised a battering ram, and were on the point of swinging it against the gate,

when the "door opened voluntarily, and out walked Professor Gordon, who happened to be the hebdomadar, with his hat in his hand and his white hair falling on his shoulders, and implored the sailors to go home and return next day, by which time he promised that the whole facts should be inquired into, and that every satisfaction that was due would certainly be given. Thereupon the sailors marched off with a cheer, and they were too busy to return next day for the promised satisfaction."

It may have been the recollection of the exuberance of the undergraduate that made the Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray of Philadelphia, who had graduated at King's College in 1746, leave his Alma Mater a bequest (yielding about £190 yearly) for a course of lectures on Sunday mornings in the College chapel. He wished to see the students, who had hitherto attended St. Machar Cathedral, "tinctured with just and liberal notions of pure and undefiled religion and virtue". He seems to have hankered after a resuscitation of the grandeur of the old service. "It were to be wished," he said, "that the famous Seminary would agree upon a form of public prayers and worship, with or without responses and instrumental music, as is common in all other countries, to inure youth to the greater solemnity and order." The first lectures were not delivered until 1824. For long, they were given by local clergymen, afterwards being published in book form. The Marischal College

students had a special loft in Greyfriars Kirk, but attendance was gradually abandoned. The spiritual wants of the "ingenuous young souls," as Carlyle once called them, came to be specially provided for by the establishment, in 1825, of the Murtle Lectures, the professor of divinity discoursing weekly on practical theology.

The buildings of both Colleges fell into lamentable decay during the eighteenth century. The spire of Cromwell's Tower was blown down in 1715 and never restored. In 1717, the year of the purging of the Jacobites, the ruinous condition of King's College was brought before the notice of George I. Principal Chalmers went up to London and managed to interest Alexander Fraser, of Chelsea Hospital, in the unfortunate condition of his Alma Mater. Fraser rebuilt the library, which was ultimately destroyed by fire, and Dunbar's buildings on the south side of the quadrangle. His generosity was gratefully acknowledged by the University—officially, in the shape of an honorary degree, and unofficially, in the shape of a eulogistic poem entitled "Donaides," written by John Ker, the professor of Greek. In 1825, exactly a century after Fraser's additions, the present incongruous front of the College was built.

Marischal College got into a much worse state. It became so dangerous that restoration and extension had to be carried out (1737-41), under the direction of William Adam, the designer of Gordon's Hospital, whose sons became famous as the archi-

fects of the Adelphi, London, and the Register House and University of Edinburgh. It may be noticed in passing that James Gibbs, who designed among many other public buildings the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, was educated at Marischal College. But the genius of a Wren could not have redeemed the inherent ugliness of Marischal College. At the close of last century, the fabric consisted of a four-storeyed central building, with an unsightly wing at the south side, and a huge clumsy tower for the 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". Altogether "the prison-like dens" of Marischal College with their unplastered walls must have been extremely depressing, in striking contrast to the imposing architecture of the older portion of King's College.

XVII. THE FIRST REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE Visitation, which the eighteenth century opponents of the union of the Universities had dreaded, came in due season, and, curiously enough, it arose out of the localism in which the Scots Universities had proudly entrenched themselves for more than a century. Edinburgh University began to resent the interference of the Town Council with its affairs, and petitioned the Crown to institute an inquiry, with the result that Sir Robert Peel in 1826 appointed a Commission, not merely for this particular case, but for all the Scots Universities. The Commissioners sat intermittently for four years, and presented a report, which is remarkable for its minute history of the Universities. Their labours, however, were for the most part futile. Parliament was too occupied with the discussion of the great Reform Bill to pay much attention to anything else; and so the suggestions of the Commission, which included an elaborate scheme for a uniform curriculum in Arts leading up to the degrees of B.A. and M.A., and provided for the union of the two Universities in Aberdeen, were not realised in full measure for more than thirty years.

The Arts curriculum had become quite antiquated, for great progress had been made in academic education since 1753, when the order of subjects was rearranged. Besides, the number of students had increased. In 1812, when the system of every class having to matriculate yearly was introduced, the number at King's College, including divinity students, was 156. In 1826-7 it had risen to 235, of whom 128 had bursaries. Marischal College had 225 Arts students in the same year. The average age of the entrants at King's College was 14, and at Marischal 12. The consequence was that the classical education of the students was so poor that Latin and Greek were taught right through the curriculum. The classes were arranged thus:—

Bajan year—Latin and Greek.

Semi year—Chemistry (at King's: civil and natural history at Marischal), mathematics, Latin and Greek.

Tertian year—Natural philosophy, mathematics, Latin and Greek.

Magstrand year—Moral philosophy, logic, rhetoric, Latin and Greek.

The Commissioners recommended that classics should be taught on more advanced lines and only during the first two years of the curriculum; that the mathematical standard should also be raised, arithmetic to be excluded; that moral philosophy should be less extensive, natural theology, ethics, jurisprudence and political economy to be excluded;

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that logic should be taught separately; and that the teaching of natural history in the second year, practised at no other Scots University, should be deferred until the end of the curriculum. None of these suggestions was carried out. The Commissioners urged the creation of a Latin chair in Marischal College, and this was granted in 1839, Queen Victoria figuring for the first time as a patron of the University. The post was given to John Stuart Blackie, who was just thirty at the time, and was described in a local print of the period as "a boy in common sense, a very child in talents, a very infant of the classics". He started his public career characteristically, by declining to sign, except in his "public professional capacity," the Confession of Faith. The Presbytery maintained that he could not fill the chair under these conditions, and the famous Latinist, Melvin, was appointed to act during the first session. Blackie appealed to the Court of Session, which declared that the Presbytery had no *locus standi* in the matter. This was the first assault on the Test Act, which was modified in 1853 by being made non-applicable to professors holding lay chairs, and it was finally abolished by the Act of 1889.

One reform the Commissioners did manage to effect, by putting the granting of degrees on the basis of examination. At Marischal College, examinations, lasting six days, were instituted, and the names of the candidates were arranged in order of merit. At King's College, the system of allotting the

prizes by the votes of the students themselves, was abolished, the professors becoming the arbiters.

The Theological Faculty was dealt with minutely by the Commissioners, despite the fact that the subject really lay in the jurisdiction in the hands of the Church. In teaching theology, the two Universities had joined forces. Each College possessed chairs of divinity and Hebrew and the students had to attend the lectures of the two professors, who delivered their discourses at both the Universities. Here was material for an admirable course of divinity, and the Commissioners suggested that it might be utilised by assigning to each of the four professors a separate subject, namely, systematic theology, Biblical criticism, oriental languages, and church history. No examinations took place, so it was proposed to establish a degree of B.D.—instituted at King's in 1627, though granted between that date and 1793 but nine times (once to Calamy, and only twice to Scotsmen). Only one part of the scheme was realised, a chair of church history being founded by the Crown at Marischal College in 1833. The post was given to Dr. Daniel Dewar, who had once been professor of moral philosophy at King's College, and who was sarcastically described by Sage as "sitting in a vehicle, drawn by two horses, Ambition being the name of the one, and Avarice that of the other". This severe critic, indeed, gives a most depressing account of the divinity school in the early years of the century. He declares that during his four years' attendance

he learned nothing whatever, and of William Laurence Brown, the Principal of Marischal College, who taught divinity, he makes the extraordinary statement: "I never heard from his lips three consecutive sentences illustrative of any of the doctrines of the Bible ; and I can conscientiously say that I never heard him pronounce even once the name of Jesus Christ in his lectures during my four years' attendance at the Hall".

Law was also in a backward state. At King's College, the chair of civil law, although, like Medicine, it had survived all the Protestant attempts to suppress it, was a mere sinecure. At Marischal College, a lectureship in Scots law and in conveyancing had been established and was well attended. The Commissioners made some suggestions, but the Faculty of Law continued to be poorly represented until the Act of 1889 put it on a broader basis.

The main benefit which the Commissioners anticipated from a union of the Universities was the creation of a medical school. Though they were unable to do anything towards realising the proposal, the medical schools, such as they were, developed of themselves, and with wonderful rapidity, during the next nine or ten years, especially at Marischal College. Two monthly medical magazines were actually started, although they did not last long—namely, the *Aberdeen Lancet* in 1831, and the *Aberdeen Medical Magazine* in 1834, the object of the latter being to "redeem the character of

the medical profession in the North". In 1838, the Medical Society celebrated its Jubilee, and next year, as if to mark the event, medical study took an extraordinary leap forward, nearly every month adding a new feature to its equipment. In February, William Gregory was appointed Mediciner at King's College, being the fourth member of his family to hold the post. A son of the inventor of the famous powder, he had acquired a certain reputation as a chemist by discovering a new method of preparing muriate of morphia. He was a great admirer of Liebig and an admirable lecturer, and, although he stayed in Aberdeen only five years, passing to the chair of chemistry at Edinburgh, he did excellent work during his term of office. He founded the Aberdeen Philosophical Society and became its first secretary, just as, nearly a century before, his grandfather had been a leading member of the "Wise" Club. In April of the same year, 1839, the joint medical school collapsed owing to the jealous attitude of King's College, the Senatus of which declared that it was "inexpedient and even dangerous to maintain further intercourse with Marischal College". The joint school had not been a conspicuous success. It had in some ways aimed too high, by creating a degree under such severe conditions that between 1825 and 1839 only three students received it from King's College, and twenty-five from Marischal. The collapse of the school made union more difficult than ever, for King's College began to equip

itself with a set of medical lecturers of its own, establishing lectureships on anatomy, practice of medicine (to which Dr. Alexander Kilgour was appointed), physiology, botany (Dr. George Dickie), surgery, midwifery, and medical jurisprudence.

To the lectureship on anatomy an admirable appointment was made in Dr. Andrew Moir, a great enthusiast on his subject. Educated at King's College, he had given private lectures on anatomy in Aberdeen since 1828. He had a private dissecting room in St. Andrew Street, which he kept well replenished with the bodies he resurrected—his father, by the way, had been a sexton. The "Burking House," as this theatre was commonly called, was an object of intense popular dislike and suspicion, which ended in its being burned by an infuriated mob (1831). Moir's reputation spread rapidly, Sir Astley Cooper himself congratulating the North country anatomist. As his old pupil, Matthews Duncan, declared, Moir was the founder of the Aberdeen school of anatomy. It was this man, then, that King's College annexed, and, despite many discouragements, he threw himself eagerly into the work, lecturing ten hours a week instead of three as his colleagues did. A fatality seemed to attend the promising medical men at King's College, for Moir was cut off in the prime of life by typhoid fever. The value of his services may be estimated from the fact that the Government granted a pension to his young widow.

Marischal College was certainly no loser by the

collapse of the joint school. In October, six months after its dissolution, chairs of anatomy and surgery were created by the Crown, Dr. Allen Thomson being appointed to the former, and Dr. William Pirrie, who had been lecturer on anatomy at King's College, to the latter. The College was specially fortunate, too, in being able to replace the fossilised French, the professor of chemistry, by Thomas Clark; and the chair was put on a satisfactory financial basis in 1839 by having the salary attached to it raised to £250. In 1857 the College was further equipped with a chair of medical jurisprudence, founded by Dr. Alexander Henderson of Caskieben.

Five years before this, the King's College authorities had introduced the degree of Bachelor of Medicine, which was to be conferred after examination on students who had passed an *annus medicus*, and had completed the curriculum for the M.D. The latter degree was to be granted without further examination during a period of twelve years after the M.B. This step was taken by King's College to checkmate the success of the younger College. The jealousy between the two bodies had reached a painfully acute stage. The climax was reached in 1850 by the publication of a pamphlet, drawn up by Professor David Thomson at the instigation of the Senatus of King's College. The whole right of Marischal College to grant degrees was questioned, the suggestion being made that the medical degree granted there was

bogus. In the following year, a document was circulated throughout the country, intimating that "the University and King's College is the only institution in Aberdeen which has a legal power of granting degrees in medicine". For some time the Marischal College authorities remained silent, but early in 1853 a rejoinder came from Professor Clark, in which the case for the College was proved up to the hilt.

In short, Marischal College had found its true vocation, and had justified its existence. To meet the requirements demanded by the scientific turn its curriculum had taken, building extension became very urgent. As early as 1818, extension had been mooted, and it assumed a definite shape in 1824, when a grant of £2000 to King's College for building purposes drew forth a similar application to the Treasury from Marischal College. A long struggle ensued, complicated by the problem of the union of the Universities. It was not until 1834 that the Treasury made a grant (of £15,000), and in October, 1837, the foundation stone was laid with great ceremony, though the jealous King's College authorities, with the exception of Principal Jack, declined to attend. The buildings, which were designed by Archibald Simpson, the Christopher Wren of the Granite City, were completed in 1844 at a cost of some £30,000, just twenty years after the scheme had first been set going.

While these educational changes were going on, carrying the Universities farther than ever from their

original position, the balance was maintained by the movement which sought to realise the theoretic unity of the mediæval University system, by giving the graduates and undergraduates some share in the government of the body academic. By reducing the standard of education to the Grammar School level, much had been done to strengthen the position of the professors, inasmuch as the undergraduates were far too young to appreciate any sort of share in academic life. With the disappearance, however, of the system of residence, and with the raising of the standard of education, the students had gradually been drifting towards an independence which found various forms of expression. The Marischal College undergraduates were the first to strike out, by an attempt to revive the rights of the Rectorship, which had become a mere ornamental sinecure. The professors had appropriated the power of election, and returned noblemen, who were only figureheads. In 1824 a letter was addressed to the students advocating the return of Joseph Hume. "Elect no one," it boldly declared, "who is related in any degree to a peer or baronet. Elect none of these quiet, deceitful caterpillars, who look on the constituted authorities as infallible, and who would lick the very dust beneath his feet to gain the favour of a professor." The pamphlet had its desired effect, for Hume was returned. The first thing he did was to resuscitate the Rectorial Court, which had not been held since 1738, and at which the professoriate was now severely criticised.

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The reform, however, was very short-lived. In 1826, the graduates, who were quite unrepresented in the government of the University, attempted to acquire a right to vote for the Rector, only to be met with the reply that such a course would go to the "utter subversion of all order and subordination". The Commission of 1826-30 did little or nothing to help the undergraduates. It reported that the professoriate regarded the elective power of the students in the Nations as productive of the worst consequences, engendering "feelings of disrespect and insubordination". At King's College the same discontent prevailed. In 1763, the Procurators of the Nations had been calmly abolished by the Senatus. The reforming Ogilvie protested early in the next century against this abuse of the original Foundation of the University, but his protest was in vain. In 1834, the students took up the question, and got the length of inducing the Senatus to appoint a committee to consult the University archives on the point. Nothing was actually done, however, until 1856, when the Senatus agreed that the graduates should elect the Rector, and the Earl of Ellesmere was returned on this basis, defeating John (afterwards Lord President) Inglis. This experiment was never repeated. The graduates of the Scots Universities made a joint attempt in 1857 to have their rights in the government restored, and, though the professorial reply was that no such rights had ever existed, the

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Commission of 1858 put the graduates in possession of certain definite privileges.

The students, while still regarded by the officials as legislative deadheads, found an outlet for grievances in the magazines which began to be published by them—a new feature in the history of the Universities. The medical students, as we have seen, had issued a monthly journal as early as 1831. In 1836, appeared the *Aberdeen University Magazine*, which made a strong plea for reform. Two years later, appeared the *Aberdeen Universities Magazine*, which “expired a few hours after its birth”. In 1849, a more successful venture, under the same title, was started, mainly by the Marischal College men, Peter Bayne, Blackie, and James (now Principal) Donaldson contributing to it. In 1854, another attempt was made to start an academic magazine, but it was left to a much later generation to practise the gentle art of academic journalism with any manner of success.

XVIII. THE UNION OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

THE union of the Universities was one of those questions that simply decline to be shelved, none the less so that the proposal was one which roused the most divergent views. The report of the Commissioners of 1826-30, which advocated a complete union, led to no legislative action, despite the wishes of nearly all the professoriate. Aberdeen, however, came into close contact with the Government, and Parliamentary interference became more and more imminent. The Earl of Aberdeen, who was Chancellor of King's College and who was in favour of union, was hand in glove with Sir Robert Peel in the Ministry. The town itself had received political freedom, and returned as its first popularly elected member Alexander Bannerman, who was intimately connected with both Colleges, his uncle having been Mediciner at King's, and he himself having been educated at Marischal. In 1835, he tackled the academic problem by introducing into Parliament a bill for a union of the Universities (to be called the "United University of Aberdeen") on the basis of Arts, Law and Medicine being assigned to Marischal College, and Divinity

to the Old Town. Among other points, the measure gave far-reaching power to the Rectorial Court, which Joseph Hume, who had represented the town a few years before, had revived at Marischal College. It also suggested the appointment of graduates who were to teach in the University for three years under the title of "monitors"—a striking imitation of Elphinstone's teaching graduates. The bill created quite a panic in Aberdeen and was soon withdrawn. In 1836, the Premier, Lord Melbourne, introduced a bill for the Visitation of the Scots Universities and the consideration of the Aberdeen union question. Lord Aberdeen, to the disgust of the King's College authorities, warmly supported the measure, which, however, was also withdrawn. In 1837, another Commission was appointed and drew up a scheme of union on the compromise principle of single Faculties of Divinity, Law and Medicine, the last two to be located at Marischal College, and a Faculty of Arts in each College. This report led to no Parliamentary action.

The battle was not yet at an end. The noise of controversy died down for a time, but was revived with redoubled fury on the appearance of David Thomson, who had been appointed professor of natural philosophy at King's College in 1845. He insisted on the necessity of making the union complete, and demonstrated the futility of the compromise which favoured two Arts Faculties. A proposal was formulated in Aberdeen (1854) to place Arts and Divinity at King's College, and Medicine

and Law at Marischal; and, though it was, on the whole, favourably received by the academic authorities, it proved intensely distasteful to the mass of the alumni and to the citizens of Aberdeen. To the latter, the Faculty of Arts, symbolised by the striking scarlet gown worn by the students, *was* the University. To suppress Arts, then, at Marischal College was to blot out the University. The scheme was once more abandoned. In 1856, a bill was introduced by Lord Advocate Moncrieff, on the basis of two Arts Faculties, only to be withdrawn like its many predecessors.

Inglis became interested in the subject in 1856, when he contested the Rectorship of King's College (to be defeated by the Earl of Ellesmere). Ellesmere died in the following year and Inglis succeeded him, and almost immediately (April, 1857) a Commission was issued to deal with the Universities. There were twelve Commissioners, including Inglis as chairman, Lord Advocate Moncrieff, the Duke of Argyll, and Lord Aberdeen, who, however, was unable to attend the meetings, and died before the completion of the work. They were called upon, under Act of Parliament (August, 1858), to unite the two Universities in Aberdeen, it being left to their discretion whether there were to be two Faculties of Arts or not. To trace the tangle of petitions for and against the union, from the Head Court of the citizens summoned by the Town Council, to individual opponents, would be a weariness to the flesh. Suffice it to say, that the inevi-

table "fusion," as the union was popularly called, found its warmest supporters in Professor Thomson and Professor (afterwards Principal) Pirie, each representing a different College. The Commissioners, with a solitary exception, decided in favour of having only one Arts Faculty. They further resolved to retain the buildings of both Colleges, assigning Arts and Divinity and the library to King's College, and Law and Medicine to Marischal. Of the eight double professorships, the chairs of Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, oriental languages and chemistry were given to the King's College men who already held them; while those of Latin, moral philosophy, and divinity were given to Marischal College professors. The Principal of King's College, Dr. Peter Colin Campbell, became Principal of the united University, and the Sub-Principalship was abolished. For one month, the fifth Duke of Richmond shared the Chancellorship with Lord Aberdeen, and then the latter became sole Chancellor. He too died two months later, and in 1861 the sixth Duke of Richmond succeeded him and has since retained the post. Six new chairs were created—namely, logic, to which Alexander Bain was appointed, Biblical criticism, physiology, materia medica, midwifery, and botany, the last four having until then been only lectureships. In the rearrangement, King's College took three professors from Marischal College, to which it gave one professor in exchange. With the double chairs, the principle was adopted

of retiring the senior professors, except in the case of the remarkable physicist, Clerk Maxwell, who taught natural philosophy at Marischal College, and who, though the junior, retired in favour of the senior, David Thomson. As compensation, the full salaries were paid during the life of the holders. The extension of King's College, rendered necessary by the transference of the Marischal College Arts classes, cost £20,000. This included the rebuilding of two sides of the quadrangle for the class-rooms (1862), and the erection of the library (1870), which had for many years occupied the nave of the chapel. The operation of the Act of Union dates from 15th September, 1860, from which point the history of the University of Aberdeen begins.

The union, of course, was merely a local question, but Aberdeen shared with all the other Scots Universities a series of great reforms. Chief of these was a method of government, enlarged on the lines which the graduates and undergraduates had been advocating for some years. The democratic theory of the original Foundation of the University had been lost sight of, and the Senatus had become autocratic. The Commissioners created two new governing bodies, the University Court, which was a court of appeal from the Senatus, and the General Council, which was composed of the graduates. The Court consisted of six members; the Rector, representing the students, the Principal, and one Assessor each to the Chancellor, the Rector, the

General Council, and the Senatus. The University also got increased representative privileges in other bodies. Along with Edinburgh it had a member in the General Medical Council, and in 1868, under the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, it got, in conjunction with Glasgow, a member of Parliament. In the matter of finance, Parliament gave a yearly grant of about £4,000 to the University. A General University Fund was created, and the maintenance of the buildings was transferred to Her Majesty's Board of Works. Bursaries, of which there were a great number, several of them being of very small value, were rearranged.

The educational system of the University, especially Arts, was put on a new basis. The age of entrants had gradually risen, at King's from fourteen in 1826, to nearly eighteen in 1857; at Marischal from twelve in 1826, to nearly seventeen. Thus the raising of the standard of education, suggested by the 1826 Commission, was made easier. The Arts curriculum finally drawn up for Aberdeen was :—

Bajan year—Greek, Latin, English.

Semi year—Mathematics, Greek, Latin.

Tertian year—Natural philosophy, mathematics, logic.

Magistrand year—Moral philosophy, natural history.

The introduction of the last subject in the curriculum was purely an Aberdeen proposal, and a relic

of the old unique chemistry course at King's College and the natural history course at Marischal College. The Commissioners, adopting this suggestion, empowered the Courts of each of the Universities to introduce one branch of natural science in the curriculum. Aberdeen selected natural history, to be taught in Marischal College. St. Andrews in 1869 introduced chemistry, abandoning it nine years later. Edinburgh and Glasgow took no action. On one other point Aberdeen was cited as a model. When the advisability of graduation was urged, the Commissioners pointed out that "in Aberdeen only a degree in Arts had continued to be recognised as the proper termination of a student's course".

Medicine was for the first time put on a satisfactory footing. A preliminary examination, on extra professional education, was introduced in lieu of an Arts degree, and a four years' curriculum instituted. Two new degrees were created, the Bachelor of Medicine (M.B.), and the Master of Surgery (C.M.). They took the place of the old M.D. degree, which now came to be granted to those holding the M.B., C.M., who passed an advanced examination in some non-professional subject, and who wrote a thesis. Medicine, a subject constantly expanding, and more or less administered by the General Medical Council, underwent considerable changes from time to time, and gradually strengthened itself into a position rivalling that of Arts. In 1887, the University instituted a Diploma of Public Health. Under Professor Struthers, a medical

legislator of tireless activity, an anatomy museum was built in 1868-9. In 1882, the equipment of the Medical Faculty was completed by Sir Erasmus Wilson, who founded a chair of pathology, the Treasury granting £6000 for its accommodation. Some idea of the success of Medicine in the University is got from the increase of students. In 1860, they numbered only 145; in 1893, they had reached so high a figure as 367. The rapid increase of rewards shows the growing interest in Medicine. The John Murray Medal for the best graduate of the year was instituted in 1874. Medals were founded for the principles of surgery, 1879, commemorating Surgeon Major Peter Shepherd, killed in the Zulu War; for systematic surgery, 1881, commemorating Dr. William Keith; and for anatomy, 1882, commemorating Dr. Fife Jamieson; while a travelling medical scholarship was founded in 1886 by George Thompson of Pitmedden.

Law did not receive that recognition from the Commissioners which was anticipated by the reformers of the eighteenth century, for to Edinburgh only was the power of granting a degree (LL.B.) given. Divinity remained as before confined to the members of the Established Church of Scotland. The degree of B.D., however, was introduced, and the funds of the Murray Lectureship were utilised to provide £60 yearly each to three of the divinity professors, who were to preach in rotation during the session in the chapel at King's

College. In 1881, a lectureship was founded, taking the place of Burnett prize for essays in proof of Theism. Sir George Stokes was the first lecturer. In 1887, a strange lectureship on "natural religion" was created by Adam Gifford, one of the Senators of the College of Justice. Dr. E. B. Tylor was the first holder.

The whole tendency of the Commission of 1858 was really to create an academic corporation, a little republic, as it were, in the heart of the lay world. The graduates became linked, as they had never been before, by the increased difficulties of taking the degree and by the creation of the General Council. The undergraduates were recognised by the retention of the Rectorship, which was elevated to a position in the University Court. Unofficially, too, they aspired to that feeling which makes an English University man so proud of his Alma Mater. Student societies sprang up in rapid succession. The Debating Society, which had been started at King's College in 1848, with J. F. MacLennan, the great authority on primitive marriage, as its secretary, still flourishes. In 1871, a Literary Society was started by Mr. W. M. (now Professor) Ramsay and others. Four years later, a Choral Society came into life, combining the students of all the Faculties as no other association does. Several magazines conducted by the students themselves appeared, notably *Alma Mater*, which was established in 1883, and has appeared continuously during the session ever since. All

this culminated in 1884 in the remarkable movement which created the Students' Representative Councils. Started in France, in imitation of the mediæval Nations, the idea was adopted at Edinburgh in 1884, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Fitzroy Bell, afterwards Secretary of the Universities Commission of 1889. In December, 1884, Aberdeen imitated the capital, and the other Universities followed suit. These Councils seemed of sufficient importance to Parliament that, by the Act of 1889, it was ordained that the Rector may consult them in the choice of his Assessor in the University Court. A subsequent Ordinance of the Commissioners empowered the University Court to give the Councils an official status by ratifying, or emending, their existing constitution; and also to arrange for their being properly financed. The Councils meet in congress once a year at the four University towns in rotation. Their most notable joint action has been the publication of a Song Book, based on the German model, and intended to forward the theory of the universal brotherhood of the student.

XIX. THE PRESENT ERA.

It has been already premised that the history of the University has lain along the lines of adaptation to circumstances, and this is strikingly true of the era we have just entered, an era of change, in which it is yet too early to foresee any very definite results. Suffice it to say, that at no previous period have such radical alterations in the educational system taken place, and never before has the University had to undertake such far-reaching responsibilities. To the great majority of those interested in the subject, the reforms introduced by the Act of 1858, notably the union of the Universities, seemed to exhaust the possibilities of academic improvement in the North. Had the University been self-centred, this would possibly have been the case to a far greater extent than has actually occurred. But, the University is only a final stage in the educational system of the country, and the elementary forms of that system have been almost completely remodelled. The first element in the transformation was the introduction of compulsory education in 1870, when the State replaced the Church as schoolmaster. If the measure did not increase the well-being of young Scotland, so well attended

to by the parish school, as it did that of young England, it affected the later development of the pupil in a remarkable manner. When the school-master was compelled to bring all his pupils up to a dead level, as required by the Board Schools, his energies were so absorbed in training the dullards as to preclude the possibility of his paying special attention to the promising boys, who almost unconsciously separated themselves from the rank and file of the pupils for advanced instruction, with the view of passing on to the Universities. The consequence was that secondary schools had to be created, not only for those special pupils, but also to receive the growing number of scholars who wished to get a more complete training than the elementary schools could afford. To supply the want, the endowed schools, like Gordon's Hospital in Aberdeen, were reconstructed on lines which have converted them into rivals of the Grammar Schools themselves, and which have helped to meet the demands for technical education. Add to this, the demands for the systematic higher education of women—first met in Scotland by St. Andrews University, which created the diploma of L.L.A. in 1880, while Aberdeen created the Higher Certificate in the same year—and a rough idea will be got of the sub-University position.

The Universities were thus called upon to reconsider their position. In 1876, a Commission, the fourth one during the century, was appointed, and presented its report two years later. Bills for the

better administration of the Universities based on this report were introduced into Parliament in 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888, and one was finally adopted in 1889. Sixteen Commissioners were appointed by the Act, including Lord Kinnear as chairman, the Marquis of Bute (one of whose ancestors had been Chancellor of Marischal College), Sir Henry Roscoe, Lord Kelvin, and Professor Fuller, who had taught mathematics at Aberdeen.

A leading feature of the Act was the complete nationalising of the four Universities. For this purpose a new body was created, namely, a Standing Committee of the Privy Council. Its duty is to overlook all the Universities, so that, without its consent, no college may be affiliated to, or withdrawn from, a University, and no new professorship can be created. In each University the dominant governing body is the Court, the members of which were increased from six to fourteen, a new element being introduced by the representation of the municipality in the person of the Lord Provost and one Assessor from the Town Council, while the Senatus and the General Council were each given four Assessors instead of one. The jurisdiction of the Senatus was reduced to the administration of teaching and discipline.

The educational changes, especially in Arts, are even more radical. A new Faculty, that of Science, has been created, and the scope of the existing Faculties extended. Finally, the membership of the University has been enlarged by the power given to

women, who may study and take degrees. This is a startling innovation on the monastic nature of the original Foundation.

The Faculty of Arts has been transformed beyond recognition. To begin with, the entry of the student who desires to graduate has been narrowed down by the introduction of preliminary examinations, conducted by a joint board of examiners from the various Universities. On the other hand, his academic training has been widened by the replacement of the fixed curriculum, which had obtained for nearly four centuries, by a series of optional courses. These it is impossible to summarise, beyond stating the fact that with the subjects at present provided for at Aberdeen, the Arts student may graduate in 617 different ways. If all the subjects prescribed were taught, he might graduate in half a million curricula. The theory involved in these curricula is the combination (in a minimum of seven subjects) of the old general education with a technical training, which will enable the student to enter the specialised Faculties in a better state of preparation than was possible before. Theoretically, indeed, the inducements to graduate are fewer, while increased opportunities have been given to the private student, who takes single classes only. The scheme of honours imitates the "schools" of Oxford and Cambridge. Another notable feature in Arts is the introduction of a summer session, the curriculum now extending over not less than three winter sessions, or two winter and three

summer sessions. A chair of English, founded by J. G. Chalmers, a member of the family who started the *Aberdeen Journal*, a lectureship on French and German and one on education have been established, while a chair of history is contemplated.

In Medicine the curriculum has been extended from four to five years, physics being included. The degree of Master of Surgery (C.M.) has been replaced by the Bachelor of Surgery (Ch.B.), while the degree of Master of Surgery (Ch.M.) has been created on the basis of a thesis to match the Doctor of Medicine (M.D.).

In Law a lectureship in conveyancing has been established, and a course of Roman law is now given every alternate session by the Professor of Law. The curriculum extends over two years, and the degree of Bachelor of Law has been created for those who pass in civil law, Scots law, conveyancing, and medical jurisprudence.

The new Science curriculum extends over three years, the degree of B.Sc. being granted to those who pass a course of seven subjects, and the degree of D.Sc. to the Bachelors of five years' standing who write a professional thesis.

The question of educational reform has, as in 1858, been complicated by a reappearance of the union difficulty, or rather one phase of it, in the demand which was made in certain quarters for the Colleges to be combined on one common site. When the pathology chair was added to the Faculty of Medicine, extension became necessary

at Marischal College. A comprehensive scheme of building at both Colleges was launched in 1886, and Government was asked to subscribe £84,000. The appeal resulted in a grant of only £6000 for the accommodation of pathology alone. By the reforms of the Act of 1889, further extension became much more necessary, and once again the academic master builders set to work on a scheme. The Town Council, appealed to for aid, made a grant of £10,000 on certain conditions, notably that the completed quadrangle should present an elaborate frontage to Broad Street, and that Greyfriars Church, a malformed structure, should be provided for in the quadrangle. The municipality, in fact, wished to combine a city improvement with University extension. The scheme had accordingly to be worked round this offer, and it blossomed out into extensions which at Marischal College alone would have cost something like £100,000. Of this sum, Government agreed to contribute £40,000, pound for pound with private subscriptions. Then the question was raised whether it was necessary, or advisable, to make any extension at King's College at all. The overlapping of classes involved in the new regulations—medical students, for example, having to take the class of physics taught in Old Aberdeen, and science students having to attend both Colleges—was seized upon by those who advocated the transference of the Arts Faculty from King's to Marischal College. This practically involved the abandonment of King's College alto-

gether, and such a step appeared to the other party not only a waste of material, but an outrage on sentiment, all the more that the chapel had just been elaborately restored at a cost of over £3000.

It would be tedious and painful at this juncture, to discuss the angry controversy that ensued, or to detail the proposals for the retention of both Colleges, for the transference of King's to Marischal College, and the compromise scheme of a totally new site, on which both Colleges might be rebuilt. It is only necessary to say that the dispute had the effect of interrupting the flow of private subscriptions, but a gift from Dr. Charles Mitchell, who was an alumnus of the University and a member of the firm of Sir W. G. Armstrong, Mitchell & Co., of ordnance fame, Newcastle, saved the situation. Extension has taken place at both Colleges, though in Old Aberdeen to a very limited extent. A ladies' room and a pavilion in the recreation ground have been added to King's College, while certain improvements have been effected in the library. But the great portion of the money spent has been expended at Marischal College, where the anatomical department has been rebuilt, the north wing extended for class-room accommodation, the tower, ending in a spire, increased to 230 feet in height, and the graduation hall constructed.

Dr. Mitchell's gift took the form of a Students' Union, and a graduation hall named after its donor, while the tower was heightened at his expense. The Union, which is the latest attempt to create

that unity among the undergraduates already adverted to, has been accommodated in the old lower hall (much extended), which is on a level with the quadrangle. It contains a debating hall, a concert room, a luncheon room, a billiard and smoking room—one was supplied at King's College, it may be remembered, in 1658—and other accommodation. The graduation hall occupies part of the storey above. It has a gallery on three sides, above which the walls are of Corennie granite. There is a magnificent stained glass window at the end, in which the history of Marischal College is heraldically told on an elaborate scale, from designs by the University librarian, Mr. P. J. Anderson. The old upper hall has been converted into a picture gallery. A certain pathetic interest attaches to these parts of the extensions, from the fact that Dr. Mitchell, who took a warm personal interest in the new buildings, died some two months before the opening ceremony, on the occasion of which he was to have been presented with the Freedom of the City of Aberdeen.

The University has thus reached the four hundredth year of its existence in the midst of many palpable evidences of the renewed life which the latest Commission was intended to inspire. The University is old in years, but it is young in spirit. It bears the burden of four long centuries on its shoulders, but it is not decrepit. Its physical appearance has only begun to be altered; its transformed educational aspect is still in the un-

certainty of early development; but it opens its fifth century well equipped to meet the increased responsibilities of the time and the demands of modern civilisation. New demands will arise, and many changes will take place; but the University will be able to meet them all so long as it continues to be imbued with that indefinable spirit which is summed up in the inspiring epithet "Alma Mater," so long as it is endowed with the insight which makes the mother ever eager to forward the legitimate aspirations of her children.

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