

**The British Empire and International Students at the
University of Edinburgh, 1880 - 1914.**

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS(Regulation
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This thesis is concerned with the response of the University of Edinburgh to the educational challenges and opportunities which arose outside its domestic environment between 1880 and 1914. Focusing mainly on the formal and informal British Empire, it seeks to determine the manner in which the University contributed to wider political, social and economic developments of the period. It examines how the University met the demands posed by the growth in overseas student numbers and by the new opportunities arising from the expansion of British interests abroad. An attempt is made to assess the University's role in the transmission overseas of its educational knowledge and cultural values as well as of its ideas of Empire.

Chapter One outlines the background to and context of the study. Quantitative statistics are provided in Chapter Two to show how many individuals born outside the British Isles came to study at Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914, to establish where they came from and what courses of study they undertook. Chapters Three and Four then discuss some of the wider international dimensions of the University to estimate how far the University engaged with bodies and institutions outside the British Isles, and the extent to which its growing involvement in matters of imperial interest influenced the life of the academic and student community. Through a quantitative and qualitative analysis, Chapters Five to Ten consider on a regional basis the employment patterns of those Edinburgh graduates who went abroad during the period. They review the role graduates played in the communities in which they lived and how far the culture and values nurtured by Edinburgh University were promoted abroad, particularly within the British Empire. Through an examination of their involvement with institutions and individuals overseas, the ideas of Empire espoused by Edinburgh graduates of this period, and how these were articulated, are explored. Chapter Eleven summarises the principal conclusions of the thesis and indicates where further research might be undertaken on the impact within the British Empire of ideas, practices and values fostered by Scottish Universities.

Declaration.

This thesis has been composed by me and is my own work. It has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Ian Wotherspoon

June 2002

Abbreviations and acronyms used in the text.

(1) Abbreviations

AMD	Army Medical Department.
CMS	Church Missionary Society.
EUC	Edinburgh University Calendar.
GCR	Register of Members of the General Council.
GMC	General Medical Council, (UK).
ICS	Indian Civil Service.
IFS	Indian Forest Service.
IMS	Indian Medical Service.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MAB	Matriculation Album, covering four or five academic years.
MBK	Matriculation Book, covering one academic year.
PWD	Public Works Department.
RAMC	Royal Army Medical Corps.
SRC	Students' Representative Council.
UEJ	University of Edinburgh Journal.
WAMS	West African Medical Service.

(2) Acronyms

The acronyms below are used in data provided in the text in respect of geographic regions and graduate employment categories -

(a) Geographic Regions

The following geographic regions have been used to identify the area of origin of matriculates born outside the British Isles. They have also been used to identify the area of employment and/or residence of graduates proceeding overseas. The contemporary identity of States within each region is shown below -

IND	India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Sri Lanka.
ASA	China, Japan, Malaysia, Thailand, Taiwan, Singapore.
AUS	Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Pacific islands.
SAF	South Africa, Botswana, Lesoto, Swaziland, Namibia.
RAF	Rest of Africa including Indian Ocean Islands and the Seychelles.
MEA	Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Cyprus, Israel.
EUR	Continental Europe including Gibraltar.
CAN	Canada.
USA	United States of America.
CCA	Caribbean and Central America.

- SAM** South America including the Falkland Islands.
BRI United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland in respect of overseas born graduates pursuing a career in the British Isles.
VAR Various. Employment in more than one region.

(b) Employment Categories

The undernoted employment/vocation categories have been used for graduates proceeding overseas -

- BUS** Business/ Commerce/ Law.
CHR Church/ Missionary/ Religious.
EDU Education.
MED Medical.
MIL Military.
PUB Administration/ Bureaucracy/ Government.
SCI Agriculture/ Engineering/ Science.
NVR Not verifiable.

There is some possibility of overlap in the classification of graduate employment/vocation categories. For example, a graduate with a degree in Medicine who served in the military could be classified as MED or MIL; similarly, a Medical missionary with degrees in Medicine and Divinity could be classified as MED or CHR. In such cases, the categorisation normally used has been that which best appears to reflect the primary aspect, or institutional framework, which gave rise to the employment of the individual overseas. Thus, the Medical graduate serving in the armed forces is classified as MIL whilst the Medical missionary is CHR.

Chapter One - Introduction.

Aims

It has often been alleged that, by their nature, universities are cosmopolitan bodies and agencies for international cultural transmission, but these claims have been little studied.¹ This work focuses on one University, Edinburgh, which, it has been suggested, might offer particular insights into the non-domestic impact of Scottish educational institutions.² The research objective is to examine how a leading Scottish University in a key period in its development responded to the educational challenges and opportunities arising outside its domestic environment. It concentrates on a period of high imperialism when Britain's political and economic expansion required the University to embrace new academic fields of interest and to encompass a student body drawn from a more diverse range of backgrounds. By using one case study, the intention is to gain some insights into the role overseas of universities in this period, and into the ways in which their work both responded to and contributed to the wider political, social and economic developments of the period. In its broader setting, the research is concerned, using Kenneth Charlton's words, "not merely with what went on in the classrooms of the past but with the transmission and modification of culture; not simply with the institutions through which culture is transmitted, modified and acquired, but also with the ideas which those institutions sought to put into effect, with the ways in which those ideas were set in motion, and most important of all, with the context in which and for which these ideas were developed."³

¹Pelikan, J., The Idea of the University - A Reexamination, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992, pps. 142-45; Cairns, A. C. The University and Society; Historical and Sociological Reflections in Nielson, W. A. W. and Gaffield, C., (Eds.), Universities in Crisis - A Mediaeval Institution in the Twenty-First Century, Montreal, The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1986, pps. 262-66.

²Hargreaves, J. D., Academe and Empire: Some Overseas Connections of Aberdeen University. 1860-1970, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1994, p.116.

³Charlton, K., Education in Renaissance England, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, Preface.

My general thesis (Chapter One) is that the University of Edinburgh responded to and benefited from its position as a metropolitan educational institution within a world in which developing Empires were becoming dominant politically, economically and socially. Britain's imperial role involved not only safeguarding British investments and trade but, in differing forms, promoting the transfer of ideas, values and technology within the communities and societies with which the United Kingdom was formally and informally engaged.⁴ Edinburgh became an increasingly important centre for the transmission overseas of its educational knowledge and cultural values as well as of its ideas of Empire. The ideology which the University promoted was absorbed by those who came to Edinburgh to study and was then diffused by Edinburgh graduates overseas. There was a growth in the overseas influence of the University between 1880 and 1914. This derived partly from the academic standing of the University itself, particularly in Medicine, partly from the interest of the University in securing overseas appointments and opportunities for its graduates, and partly from the readiness of those graduates - professional, educated, largely middle class students, many imbued with a strong sense of religious conviction, public duty and patriotism - to envisage overseas residence or employment as an opportunity to achieve personal objectives.

Quantitative statistics have been assembled (Chapter Two) to show how many individuals born outside the British Isles came to study at the University of Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914, and to establish where they came from, what their educational background was, what courses of study they undertook and what corporate groups they formed. Chapter Three explores the international dimensions of the University in order to estimate the extent to which it engaged with bodies and institutions outside the United Kingdom, and how its growing involvement in matters of imperial interest influenced the life of the academic and student community. Through an examination of

⁴Said, E. W., *Culture and Imperialism*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1993, pps. 129-33.

curricular innovations in the Faculty of Medicine, and of some of the MD theses submitted between 1880 and 1914, an assessment is made in Chapter Four of the insights these provide into non-medical social and political issues in parts of the tropical and sub-tropical world which were then coming under British administration or influence. A quantitative assessment is then made (Chapter Five) of how many Edinburgh graduates took up employment outside the British Isles and the nature and location of that employment. Chapters Six to Ten consider on a regional basis the employment patterns of those Edinburgh University graduates who went overseas to the British Empire (and a few elsewhere) and the role they played in the communities in which they lived. Throughout the formal and informal Empire, Edinburgh graduates took part in, to take key examples, the delivery of a range of medical services, the development of tertiary education and the support of missionary, commercial and scientific activities. These endeavours are examined to determine what (if any) influence their time as students at Edinburgh University had upon them and their subsequent careers, looking particularly at the transmission of cultural values, educational standards and, more generally, ideas of Empire. Where appropriate, reference is made to individuals whose careers start before and extend beyond the period between 1880 and 1914 so that the extent of the University's overseas influence is seen more fully. Chapter Eleven summarises the principal conclusions and suggests where further research could be undertaken on the influence and role of Scottish Universities within the British Empire.

Setting

When the University of Edinburgh celebrated its Tercentenary in April 1884, the Principal, Sir Alexander Grant, felt able to look back on its recent record with some pride. He cited its achievement in implementing the academic, administrative and financial reforms of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, and looked forward, with a measure of confidence, to the continuing development of the University. "The University of Edinburgh has ... been making progress not only in the drill of pass(ing) Students, but in the work of producing Students of a higher calibre, and ... she has improved her position

relatively to the other Universities of Scotland.”⁵

Even if not clearly articulated, this confidence derived in part from the fact that Edinburgh, as Scotland’s largest tertiary institution, could by then claim to have begun to develop an extensive range of connections abroad through the enrolment of greater numbers of overseas born students. In the next thirty years, the University’s international perspectives would be further enhanced by graduates and staff who would go abroad to work and teach at a time when the British Empire was growing rapidly. In some small way, the University served that Empire and benefited from the multicultural exposure Empire provided.

Contemporaries certainly took that view. Speaking at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute in 1892, Sir James Crichton Browne (MD 1862, LLD 1933) recalled that, when he was a student at Edinburgh University thirty years before, “there was a large contingent of Colonial students - young men from Canada, South Africa and Australasia - who in the absence of Universities near their own homes had flocked to Scotland to seek there the benefits of professional education. It helped to broaden the views of the native (British) students ... (and) ... knit closer those bonds that unite the Mother Country with her offspring beyond the sea.” Nor was this influence purely one way. “The Colonial students living in Edinburgh at that formative period of life, and drawing from her University their intellectual culture, carried back to their distant homes not only new attainments but a feeling of affection for the old country, and a feeling of respect for her institutions.”⁶ Within the imperial framework, Edinburgh University can be portrayed as an important vehicle for expounding and transmitting abroad the cultural values and technological expertise of late Victorian and Edwardian Scotland. But, in the process, the disciplines which the University sought to inculcate and promote were

⁵Grant, A., *The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its first three hundred years*, 2 Vols., Edinburgh, Longmans Green & Co., 1884, Vol. 2, p. 235.

⁶Browne, J. C., in discussion following presentation of a paper on *University Life in Australasia* by Professor T. P. Anderson Stuart in *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, 1891-92*, London, Royal Colonial Institute, 1892, p.131.

themselves modified and developed. Edinburgh graduates overseas would further refine this influence by adapting their inherited knowledge and applying it within the context of their cultural and social milieus.⁷

The institutional role of metropolitan educator was assumed quite self-consciously. The United Kingdom in general, and Scotland in particular, saw itself as the envy of other countries. "We are too prosperous to please them, possessing as we do many things which foreign nations long for but can never even hope to attain," the University Rector, Lord Dufferin, told cheering students in 1901. "They envy us the popularity of our Throne, the freedom of our institutions, our glorious historical traditions, our naval supremacy, the stability of our social system, our manufacturing resources, the extent of our mercantile energies and, above all, our Colonial possessions."⁸ He reminded his listeners that, whatever their future career, they would be "part and parcel of that larger life which you will be required to lead as patriotic Scotsmen, as citizens of a mighty Empire, and as responsible for the welfare of those millions of human beings to whom the British Crown and the British flag are the emblems of peace, safety, liberty and justice."⁹ Clearly, service in the Empire was a lofty ambition to which, in Dufferin's view, students could and should aspire. Speaking in 1898 Lord Rosebery told the University's Associated Societies that "we in Scotland wish to continue to mould the Empire as we have in the past - and we have not moulded it by stopping at home. When you go forth from these learned precincts and enter the actual business of life - you will in the course of your lives help maintain and build the Empire. This Edinburgh, though it may not be the capital of the Empire, is yet, in the sense of the sacrifices that it has made and in the generations of men that it has given to the Empire, in the truest, and highest and largest

⁷The influence and role overseas of Edinburgh graduates of the period from 1880 to 1914 is examined in Chapters Five to Ten.

⁸Dufferin and Ava, Marquess of, *Inaugural Address by the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, Lord Rector*, Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1901, p. 38.

⁹Dufferin and Ava, *Inaugural Address*, p. 4.

sense an Imperial City.”¹⁰ Edinburgh University was perceived to be uniquely placed to play an important role in fostering the imperial mission and encouraging the imperial ethos.

As the overseas possessions grew between 1880 and 1914, so did the academic standing of the University itself, particularly in Medicine. Moreover, as more students graduated in various disciplines over this period, the University sought to facilitate the employment overseas of those whom it had trained.¹¹ For a variety of reasons, it was a path many Scots had long followed.¹² Addressing the University in 1879 the Rector, the Marquis of Huntingdon, reminded his audience that Scots had long played a key role in “the maintenance of that complex system, without precedent in history, which is called the British Empire ... Scotsmen have done their share, and more of their share, in founding it.”¹³ And the record was soon held to have included Education, not only pioneering, but in its broadest sense. “Scotland has perhaps distinguished herself in the exploration and development of Africa more than any other nation,” wrote Arctic explorer and naturalist, W. S. Bruce, in a 1914 appreciation of famous Edinburgh students. “Its history bristles with Scottish names headed by men of world-wide repute such as Mungo Park ... and Joseph Thompson ... alumni of the University of Edinburgh.”¹⁴ It was even claimed that, as Scots, they brought particular qualities to developing an empire. Writing some twenty years after Bruce of the contribution Scotland had made to the British Empire, Andrew Dewar Gibb repeated a now familiar refrain. The Scot is “a hard worker, and less

¹⁰Rosebery, A. P. P., *The Service of the State; Presidential Address to the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh, 25 October 1898* in *Miscellanies : literary & historical*, 2 Vols., London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1921, Vol 2, p.185.

¹¹The measures taken by the University to secure the overseas employment of its graduates between 1880 and 1914 are discussed in Chapter Three.

¹²Devine, T. M., *The Paradox of Scottish Emigration* in Devine, T. M., (Ed.), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society*, Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1992, p. 3.

¹³Stodart-Walker, A., (Ed.), *Rectorial Addresses Delivered Before the University of Edinburgh, 1859-1899*, London, Grant Richards, 1900, p. 193.

¹⁴Stevenson, W. S., *Famous Edinburgh Students*, Edinburgh, T. N. Foulis, 1914, p. 61. W.S. Bruce studied Medicine at Edinburgh from 1887-1892, but did not graduate. *Who's Who 1909*, London, A. & C. Black, 1909, p. 250.

interested than the Englishman in the artificial distinctions between classes. He is more democratic and less insular. There is, generally speaking, a far lesser degree of antipathy to coloured people in Scotland than in England.”¹⁵

This was, of course, a claim made primarily by Scots about Scots. But there was some evidence which allowed Scots to make claims for their educational system. This lay in the ability of its higher education institutions to attract applicants from beyond its shores. Since its inauguration, scholars and students from outside Scotland had come to study at Edinburgh.¹⁶ This credibility had resulted, it may be suggested in part, from three causes: the location of the University in Scotland’s celebrated capital city, Edinburgh’s proximity to the western seaboard of continental Europe, with which economic and shipping links were well established through Edinburgh’s port at Leith and, above all, the absence of religious barriers to undertaking courses of instruction such as operated south of the border.¹⁷

By the nineteenth century, imperial expansion and emigration had created a growing pool of potential students in the children of Scottish administrators, missionaries and settlers with links to the Capital, as well as amongst foreigners (“natives”) over whom Scots had influence in new areas of British

¹⁵Gibb, A. D., *Scottish Empire*, London, Alexander MacLehose & Co., 1937, pps. 308-09.

¹⁶Of the 81 students who graduated from Edinburgh University in 1697, 18 (22%) had been born outside Scotland. Horn, D. B., *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh, 1556 -1889*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1967, p. 31.

¹⁷One of the things which differentiated the Scottish universities from their English counterparts (or at least Oxford and Cambridge) was that, except very briefly, they were non residential. This meant that the strict and close supervision meted out to English undergraduates was not really replicated in Scotland. Hill, G. B., (Ed.), *The Memoirs of The life of Edward Gibbon with various observations and excursions by Himself*, London, Methuen & Co., 1900, pps. 47-52 and 66-67.

control and informal interest.¹⁸ One of its graduates, R. J. A. Berry (MBCM 1891), who later became Professor of Anatomy at Melbourne, thought Edinburgh at the end of the nineteenth century was “the most cosmopolitan university in the world,” albeit that it was “just a gigantic day school where students were left to their own devices. It either made you or marred you.” He remembered that “English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh - they were all there. West Indians, black men from the Sudan, Princes from India - the Thankor Sahib of Gondal had a special seat reserved for him in all the classes - yellow men from China and Japan - we were a motley crowd. Australians, South Africans and New Zealanders, and even one or two Americans from Buffalo and California.”¹⁹

Edinburgh’s appeal was, of course, not limited to those from abroad. It attracted the largest number of domestic students of the four Scottish Universities throughout the period from 1880 to 1914. Between 1882 and 1891 (and in 1894) more than half the students matriculating in Scotland did so at Edinburgh. Whilst Edinburgh’s share of total matriculations declined gradually from a high of 52.2% in 1889 to 42.2% in 1913 - largely because of the growing level of enrolments at Glasgow University and the emergence of University College in Dundee - Edinburgh remained the largest tertiary institution in terms of overall student numbers. The total number of students matriculating annually at Edinburgh between 1880 and 1913 was 48.5% of all Scottish enrolments; the comparative figures for Glasgow, Aberdeen and St. Andrews (with University College, Dundee) were 33.5%, 13% and 5%

¹⁸In the case of New Zealand, for example, Rosalind McClean has noted that, between 1850 and 1858, more ships left Scotland for New Zealand from the port of Leith than the port of Greenock. Emigrants from Scotland going to Otago, New Zealand, during the 1850s, both assisted and paying passengers, came predominantly from the east of Scotland - the Lothians and Borders - and south and east Perthshire, being particularly over - represented. McClean, R. R., *Scottish Emigrants to New Zealand, 1840-1880*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished PhD thesis, 1990, p.134.

¹⁹Berry, R. J. A., *Chance and Circumstance*, Typescript autobiography, University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (DK 2.36.), Undated, (probably 1952), pps. 24-25.

respectively.²⁰

University Reform

David Horn has suggested that Edinburgh's appeal, and the size of its student body in this period, partly resulted from the University's willingness to embrace reform by implementing the provisions contained in the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858 - the subject of Sir Alexander Grant's boast in 1884.²¹ For a variety of differing reasons, the reforms proposed did not command the same level of support at the other Scottish Universities whose origins had been more purely ecclesiastical. They did not have to defend academic freedoms so rigorously as Edinburgh did against the demands posed by a corrupt, extravagant and overweening Town Council. Speaking at the opening of the 1859 Academic Year, the recently appointed Principal, Sir David Brewster, noted that, in his view, the 1858 legislation would be beneficial to all sections of the University community, staff, graduates and students alike. "The Session of College which we are now assembled to open, commences under very favourable circumstances." The 1858 Act "contains as might have been expected, many new and important provisions affecting the position and the rights of parties; and though it may be characterised as a measure which in other Universities has reduced the powers and privileges of Professors, and increased those of the Students and Graduates, yet in this University it has greatly increased the powers and privileges of both."²² In Edinburgh's case there was also a different agenda. The University saw in the new legislation the real possibility of diminishing the influence of the Town Council in University affairs and this ensured that the new proposals were actively supported in Edinburgh where disputes about the Council's role had been increasingly contentious and irritating.²³ More importantly, by supporting the curricular and structural reforms implicit in the new legislation, the

²⁰The data on matriculations at Scottish Universities has been extrapolated by the author from Appendix 1 of Anderson, R. D., *Education & Opportunity in Victorian Scotland*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1989, pps. 346-57.

²¹Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh, 1556-1889*, p.170.

²²Brewster, Sir. D., *Introductory Address on the opening of Session 1859-60*, Edinburgh, Thomas Constable and Co., 1859, p. 6.

²³Turner, A. Logan, *Sir William Turner: A Chapter in Medical History*, Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1919, p. 89.

University of Edinburgh placed itself in an advantageous position to attract students from overseas, many of whom were already aware of the academic standing of the University.

The 1858 legislation had been long in gestation.²⁴ Edinburgh's considered and willing endorsement of its provisions created an environment which encouraged the appointment of eminent academics and the enrolment of domestic and overseas students alike. What particularly appealed was the opportunity to widen the scope and structure of tertiary education and the view that instruction should be provided in emerging academic areas such as applied science. The reform of Oxford and Cambridge in the 1850s, and the foundation of new, mainly civic, universities in England, had added impetus to an ongoing debate about the nature of universities and the content and relevance of the curriculum.²⁵ Moreover, the emergence of France, Germany, and the United States as potential rivals to British manufacturing and trading interests highlighted the importance of scientific education and pointed up some deficiencies in the British production of science graduates for industry.²⁶

In Scotland, the changes to the curriculum introduced following the 1858 Act [subsequently to be enhanced and further extended by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889] sought to meet these challenges and to provide a

²⁴The 1858 legislation derived from the recommendations in the final (1831) Report of the Royal Commission on the Scottish Universities. The delay in taking forward these recommendations arose, in part, because of political indifference by the Whigs, effectively in power from 1830 to 1841, hostility between the University and Edinburgh's Town Council in regard to their respective rights in University affairs, and the 1843 ecclesiastical Disruption of the Church of Scotland which split the academic community and led to the formation of independent theological colleges by the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church. See Evidence, Oral and Documentary taken and received by the Commissioners...for Visiting the Universities of Scotland, 4 Vols., Vol. 1, University of Edinburgh, (Parliamentary Papers 1837 xxxv.) London, W. Clowes and Sons, 1837 and Cheyne, A. C., Studies in Scottish Church History, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1999, p.116.

²⁵Roach, J., Public Examinations in England, 1850-1900, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 21. University and Kings Colleges in London were founded in 1828 and 1831 respectively. Durham University was founded in 1832.

²⁶Sanderson, M., The Universities and British Industry 1850-1970, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972, p.15.

measure of scholastic bench marking throughout the Scottish university system whilst improving academic standards overall.²⁷ Towards this end, preliminary entrance examinations, jointly administered by the four Universities, were introduced in 1892.²⁸ Degree course programmes were overhauled, and provision made for a greater measure of specialisation in certain subjects through additional study at “Honours” level.²⁹ New Chairs were established and further teaching resources provided through the employment of paid Assistants and Lecturers.³⁰ Women were permitted to matriculate in Medicine from 1869, though it was not until 1892 that they were given unimpeded access to undergraduate degree programmes.³¹ That these changes had an appeal for international students is certain. Women

²⁷General Report of the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858. With an Appendix, (1863), (Parliamentary Papers 1863, xvi.) Edinburgh, Murray and Gibb, 1863. General Report of the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889. With an Appendix, (1900), (Parliamentary Papers, 1900, xxv.) Edinburgh, HMSO, 1900.

²⁸Edinburgh had earlier introduced a Local Examinations Scheme in 1863. Grant, Story of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, p.157.

²⁹Graduation with Honours in Arts was introduced in 1861. Commissioners Ordinance No. 14. - General, No. 3, 1861 in Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.), The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858 together with Ordinances of Commissioners under said Act, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1916, pps. 50-53. Further amendments to the scope of the Honours Arts curriculum were made in 1892. Commissioners Ordinance No. 11. - General No. 6, 1892 in Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.) The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, together with Ordinances of the Commissioners under the said Act and of University Court Ordinances, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1915, pps.19-27.

³⁰New Chairs established after 1858 were Sanskrit (1862), Engineering (1868), Geology (1871), Political Economy and Mercantile Law (1871), Education (1876), Fine Art (1880), Celtic (1881), History (1893) and Public Health (1898). Commissioners' Ordinance 17 of 1891 (Assistants & Lecturers) regularised the system of appointment of Lecturers and Assistants whose remuneration became the responsibility of the University Court. Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.) The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, pps. 66-68.

³¹Commissioners Ordinance No. 18. - General, No. 9, 1892, Regulations for the Graduation of Women and for their instruction in the universities in Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.), The Universities (Scotland) Act 1889, pps. 68 -71. Resistance by elements of the medical profession, and within Edinburgh's Faculty of Medicine, to the full participation of women in the undergraduate medical curriculum was partially overcome in 1876 when an Enabling Bill was introduced to Parliament which gave permissive legislation to universities throughout the UK to provide for the comprehensive medical education of women, including clinical studies. Established in 1868, the Edinburgh Ladies Education Association pioneered a University Certificate in Arts for Women, introduced in 1874, which provided for limited access to certain lectures in the Faculty of Arts.

from overseas were amongst the first female students to graduate in Medicine from Edinburgh University.³²

The constitutional and administrative structure of the University was progressively overhauled to ensure an academic culture and framework appropriate for a new imperial age. Front line curricular changes enhanced this development. An eight member University Court, responsible for the overall management of the University's affairs, was established under the presidency of the Rector elected by the matriculated students of the University. The Court served as an appellate and review body for the Senatus Academicus which regulated academic and teaching matters. To secure graduate interest and participation in University affairs, and so to respond more sensitively to the needs of those beyond the groves of academe, a General Council was constituted by Section 6 of the 1858 Act "to take into consideration all questions affecting the wellbeing and prosperity of the University, and to make representations from time to time to the University Court who shall consider the same."³³ Perhaps more importantly, a start was made with securing adequate capital and recurrent funding for the University from both public and private sources to allow execution and consolidation, in the short and medium term, of the changes envisaged by the Acts.³⁴ Thus, central government legislation changed much of the academic and administrative infrastructure at

³²The first overseas born women students to graduate in Medicine were E. I. Hudson (MBCM 1898) and D. E. Pratt (MBCM 1898), both of whom had been born in India, A. L. Bennett (MBCM 1899) and M. Booth (MBCM 1899) from Australia, together with E. G. Macdonald (MBChB 1899) from India, K.W. Hogg (MBChB 1900) from Australia, K. Southon (MBChB 1901) from India and A. Wilkinson (MBChB 1902) from New Zealand.

³³Clapperton, *The Universities (Scotland) Act 1889*, p. 532.

³⁴An Association for the Better Endowment of Edinburgh University was established in 1864 to solicit donations from graduates and others to meet identified University needs. Whilst state support for one-off capital projects, such as the new Medical buildings completed in 1889, could normally be obtained, determining the level of recurrent Treasury support proved more problematic. In the case of Edinburgh, the 1889 Act provided for an annual grant of £15,120 which was topped up with a further £10,800 (a total of £25,920) under the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act of 1892. This level of support remained unchanged for over twenty years when a Standing Committee (The University Grants Committee of HM Treasury) was established in 1919 to provide for the funding of universities throughout the UK.

Edinburgh in the period between 1880 and 1914, when the outbreak of hostilities in Europe resulted in the disruption of teaching programmes and research.³⁵ Edinburgh emerged invigorated from this process of change during which it developed a broader international focus, but without undue loss of its identity as a specifically Scottish institution.³⁶

The debate which took place in this period on how best tertiary education should be delivered underscored a growing awareness at Edinburgh and in the other Scottish Universities of the important financial contribution students and graduates made through fees and donations to the economic stability of the University. "The Revenues of the University," the 1880-81 *University Calendar* noted gloomily, "are scanty, and inadequate to the encouragement of the higher education and learning in the Scotch Metropolis."³⁷ Being related to student numbers, revenue from fee income fluctuated considerably. From a high of 3,602 matriculations in 1885, total enrolments at Edinburgh fell throughout the late eighties and nineties to reach 2,780 in 1897 - a drop of nearly thirty three per cent. This decline, which was mirrored in the other Scottish Universities, probably reflects both the world economic downturn from the late 1870s to the mid 1890s and the introduction from 1892 of more rigorous entry requirements.³⁸ The number of matriculations subsequently climbed back to 3,283 in 1913, but never in this period exceeded the highs of the early and mid eighteen eighties.³⁹ The recovery in the level of matriculations arose in part from the admission of women to full time degree courses. But it also resulted from the growing numbers of overseas students

³⁵On the outbreak of hostilities, 600 students, and recent graduates, who had been members of the Officers' Training Corps, immediately received commissions in the British Army. See the introduction to *University of Edinburgh Roll of Honour, 1914-1919*, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1921.

³⁶Withrington, D. J., *The Idea of a National University in Scotland, c 1820 - c 1870* in Carter, J. J. and Withrington, D. J., (Eds.), *Scottish Universities: Distinctiveness and Diversity*, Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1992, p. 54.

³⁷*EUC 1880-81*, p. 384.

³⁸*Commissioners Ordinance No. 11. - General No. 6, Regulations as to examinations, 1892* in Clapperton, *The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889*, pps. 31-36.

³⁹The matriculation data for Edinburgh University has been extrapolated by the author from Appendix 1 of Anderson, *Education & Opportunity in Victorian Scotland*, pps. 349 and 353.

matriculating at Edinburgh who made an important contribution to the stability of the University's revenue base.⁴⁰

Overseas Students at Edinburgh University

Why did Edinburgh University prove so attractive to students from overseas and, indeed, from other parts of the British Isles? As noted earlier, one reason must be that Edinburgh had a long history of contact with scholars and academic institutions outside Scotland. In the early eighteenth century, many Edinburgh students had studied at the University of Leyden where Boerhaave was promoting a scientific, clinically based, approach to the practise of medicine. The collective experience and expertise gained at Leyden was progressively assimilated by the Faculty of Medicine at Edinburgh after it was established in 1726.⁴¹ Indeed, Edinburgh passed on the tradition. Two American born students who had studied at Edinburgh, William Shippen (MD 1761) and John Morgan (MD 1761), successfully introduced the Edinburgh style of medical education to the College of Philadelphia which subsequently became part of the University of Pennsylvania.⁴² In addition, throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Edinburgh was attracting students from English dissenting families, such as the son of Edward Calamy, the Nonconformist minister and biographer, whose religious beliefs impeded university entrance elsewhere in the British Isles.⁴³

There is also little doubt too that the University played a major role in, and long benefited from, the internationally recognised artistic, cultural and

⁴⁰Details of the number of overseas born students matriculating at Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914 are given in Chapter Two, Table 2(a).

⁴¹Underwood, E. A., *Boerhaave's Men*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1977, pps. 88 -126.

⁴²Brunton, D. C., *The transfer of medical education teaching at the Edinburgh and Philadelphia Medical Schools* in Sher, R. B. and Smitten, J., (Eds.), *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 1990, pps. 242-58.

⁴³The son of Edward Calamy (1671-1732), the Nonconformist Minister and biographer, who was a friend of William Carstairs, and visited Edinburgh in 1709, was a student at Edinburgh and graduated in Arts in 1717. Lee, S., and Stephen, L., (Eds.) *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 Vols., London, Smith Elder and Co., 1908, Vol. 3, pps. 682-87; *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity and Law of the University of Edinburgh since its Foundation*, Edinburgh, Neill and Company, 1858, p.191.

intellectual advances which took place in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ In Daiches' view, Edinburgh scholars in this period "called Edinburgh the 'Athens of the North' and consciously practised civilisation. They were patriotic Scotsmen making their contribution to the cultural life of Scotland's capital city ... and saw Scotland's vindication as the vying with or even surpassing of England in the production of a common British culture."⁴⁵ Professorial appointments at Edinburgh may still have been influenced by domestic political patronage, but "talent" was now recognised as essential for raising the status of the University. And the goal was to "draw strangers in abundance."⁴⁶ Many of the leading figures in what became known as the Scottish Enlightenment had either studied or taught at Edinburgh - and the University was able later to bask in the recognition of their achievements.⁴⁷ Nor did this reputation fade away rapidly. Birse has attempted to collate a number of comparative quantitative studies of the activities of eminent Scottish savants, engineers and innovators. For him, the evidence suggests there was "a great upsurge of intellectual activity in Scotland early in the eighteenth century ... that, far from dying away before the end of that century ... continued to increase until the middle of the next and ... was still at a high level at the beginning of the twentieth century."⁴⁸ Throughout the nineteenth century, there were certainly men of outstanding calibre teaching at Edinburgh across a range of disciplines and their reputation sustained the academic standing of the University far beyond Scotland.

⁴⁴For a full discussion of the origins and scope of the Scottish Enlightenment see Phillipson, N., *Towards a Definition of the Scottish Enlightenment* in Fritz, P. and Williams, D., (Eds.), *City and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Toronto, Hakkert, 1973, pps. 125-47, and Chitnis, A. C., *The Scottish Enlightenment - A Social History*, London, Croom Helm, 1976, pps. 11-42.

⁴⁵Daiches, D., *The Paradox of Scottish Culture - The Eighteenth Century Experience*, London, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 73.

⁴⁶Lord Kames to John Milton quoted in Rendall, J., *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment 1707-1776*, London, Macmillan, 1978, p. 59.

⁴⁷Examples include the philosophers David Hume, (1711-1776), Adam Ferguson, (1723-1816), and Dougald Stewart, (1753-1828); the historian William Robertson, (1721-1793) and the churchman, and literary critic, Hugh Blair, (1718-1800).

⁴⁸Birse, R. M., *Science at the University of Edinburgh, 1583-1993*, Edinburgh, The Faculty of Science and Engineering, The University of Edinburgh, 1994. p. 39.

The Faculty of Medicine

Nowhere was this more remarked upon than in the field of Medicine. In the case of medical education, Edinburgh's position was both as a centre of theoretical learning and vocational training. In the practice of Medicine, Edinburgh became widely known in the eighteenth century through the work of Rutherford, Cullen and Munro.⁴⁹ In the nineteenth century, through (William) Gregory's work on morphia, Laycock's on hysteria and morbid psychology, Simpson's research on chloroform and the introduction of anaesthesia and, above all, Lister's promotion of antiseptic surgery, Edinburgh's stature was sustained and enhanced.⁵⁰ This was complemented by the development of then modern hospital facilities, notably the Royal Infirmary, which opened in new accommodation in October 1879 to international acclaim.⁵¹ Speaking at the bicentenary of the Faculty of Medicine in 1926, Sir George Newman (MBCM 1892), Chief Medical Officer at the Ministry of Health, affirmed that "no medical school in Britain has behind it such a record as Edinburgh ... From all over Great Britain, and from remote parts of the earth, men came to be nurtured in this cosmopolitan centre, and thus attained to a sense of citizenship of the world."⁵² Whatever the political hyperbole, this claim to international eminence could be

⁴⁹John Rutherford was Professor of Medicine from 1724 to 1747. He initiated the close relationship between the University's Medical School and the Royal Infirmary with the introduction in 1748 of clinical lectures in the Infirmary itself. William Cullen was Professor of Chemistry from 1755 to 1766 when he transferred to the Chair of Institutes of Medicine (or Physiology) which, initially, he held with John Gregory until the latter's death in 1773, and then solely till his own death in 1790. Cullen also gave clinical lectures at the Royal Infirmary, and authored *First lines in the practice of physic* in 1784. Alexander Munro (secundus) was Professor of Anatomy from 1754 to 1798. He made a pioneering contribution to the development of modern anatomy with his work on the structure of the lymphatic system and nervous system.

⁵⁰Comrie, J. D., *History of Scottish Medicine*, 2 Vols., London, Bailliere Tindall & Cox., 1932, Vol.1, pps. 601-02, 613, 623, 636-37; Devine, T. M., *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000*, London, Allen Lane, 1999, p.296.

⁵¹Other hospitals dating from this period include the Royal Edinburgh Hospital for Sick Children (1860), the Royal Maternity and Simpson Memorial Hospital (1879) and the Bruntsfield Hospital for Women and Children (1886). Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine*, Vol. 2, pps. 453-56.

⁵²University of Edinburgh, *Bicentenary of the Faculty of Medicine*, Edinburgh. James Thin, 1926, pps. 49 and 53; *The Medical Who's Who*, London, Grafton Publishing Company, 1927, p. 607.

defended.

In terms of both medicine and surgery, Edinburgh also benefited from the creative academic tension arising from the presence of a strong extra-mural school (formally incorporated as The School of Medicine of the Royal Colleges of Edinburgh in 1895) which “far from being a rival to the University assisted in many ways, and was a most valuable adjunct to University teaching. In its life of fifty-three years, the School supplied no less than thirty-five professors to the Faculty of Medicine of Edinburgh University and, if other universities are included, a total of sixty-one professors”⁵³ Notable examples include Sir T. R. Fraser (Materia Medica), Sir J. Halliday Croom (Midwifery), and Sir H. Littlejohn (Medical Jurisprudence), all of whom taught at the Extra Mural School before taking up professorial appointments at the University.⁵⁴

Development of Medical Education Abroad

Whilst the University’s position as a leading centre of excellence in the teaching of Medicine was one important consideration influencing overseas born students to come to Edinburgh, the low level of development of medical education elsewhere in the Empire, particularly in India, Australasia, and Southern Africa, was another important contributory factor which is examined further below. In many cases, students from these areas were also returning “home”. They were often of Scottish descent, and had existing family connections with Edinburgh and the Lothians.⁵⁵

The shortcomings of medical education elsewhere added to Edinburgh’s appeal. In India, nineteenth century medical education faced a number of administrative and curricular constraints.⁵⁶ Whilst teaching emphasis and

⁵³Ross, J.A., *The Edinburgh School of Surgery after Lister*. Edinburgh, Churchill Livingstone, 1978, p. 33.

⁵⁴Guthrie, D., *Extramural Medical Education in Edinburgh*. Edinburgh, E. & S. Livingstone Ltd., 1965, pps. 34-36.

⁵⁵This aspect is discussed further in Chapter Two where data is provided in respect of “colonial” students matriculating to study Medicine and other disciplines at Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914.

⁵⁶Newton, A. P., *The Universities and Educational Systems of the British Empire*. London, W. Collins & Co. Ltd, 1924, p. 35.

practice varied across the subcontinent, the pattern was usually to have an English language class in which students were trained over a five year period as sub-assistant surgeons (or as apothecaries over three years), and a Hindi language class training local medical practitioners over three years.⁵⁷ Although the Presidency Universities founded in 1857 (at Bombay, [Mumbai] Calcutta [Kolkata] and Madras [Chennai]) all had Medical Colleges of some standing, their effectiveness was constrained by their size and the demands placed upon them to meet a variety of curative objectives, not least those of the army. University status did not make an immediate improvement to throughput. By 1896-97 the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and the Punjab (established in 1882) together had a combined enrolment of only 1.067 medical students, of whom just 76 graduated that year.⁵⁸ The demand for medical education far outstripped the availability of places, and many students, either sufficiently independent, wealthy, or sponsored by some organisation or individual, went to Britain or the United States to study.⁵⁹ Although qualifications from established Indian Medical Schools were recognised by the (British) General Medical Council (GMC) in 1892, thereby providing opportunities for Indian trained doctors to practise throughout the Empire, many Indian students, and the children of long term British residents, continued to go abroad, some to Edinburgh, for training throughout the period. Other factors which encouraged the enrolment of students from India during this period were the disintegration of opposition by orthodox Hindus to study abroad, the development by certain social groups in India of a lifestyle that embraced overseas study and the recognition by local political leaders that elements of Western based knowledge could be useful to the future economic and social development of India.⁶⁰

The problems facing the development of medical education in Australasia

⁵⁷Kumar, D., *Science and the Raj. 1857-1905.* Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 134.

⁵⁸Jeffrey, R. *The Politics of Health in India.* London, University of California Press, 1988, pps. 78-82.

⁵⁹Jeffrey, *Politics of Health in India.* p. 205.

⁶⁰Useem, J. and R. H., *The Western-Educated Man in India: a Study of his Social Roles and Influence.* New York, The Dryden Press, 1955, pps. 2-3.

were not too different from those met in India and, again, led to significant numbers of students coming to Edinburgh University to study. Australia's first Medical School was opened at the University of Melbourne in 1862. Two further Schools were established subsequently at the Universities of Sydney and Adelaide in 1883 and 1885 respectively. All of these new institutions faced constraints on student numbers arising from the limited extent of teaching and restricted availability of hospital training facilities. The scope of the curriculum was, in the case of Melbourne at least, locally perceived as being too structured and exacting, and there was a dearth of suitably trained and motivated staff. When Melbourne's new Professor of Anatomy arrived from Scotland in 1906 to take up his appointment he found a visit to his Department disillusioning: "It contained literally nothing, not even a skeleton, though later I discovered quite a lot in the cupboard. There were no diagrams, models, osteological specimens, dissected parts for study, lantern slides, no books, no anything, not even a room for the professor to sit in."⁶¹ Although Melbourne's conjoint degrees of Bachelor of Medicine and Master of Surgery came within the provisions of the Medical Act of 1890, by which the British Government recognised colonial medical degrees, overall Medical Faculty matriculations in colonial institutions remained modest. In the case of Melbourne for example, medical matriculations did not exceed 300 in total until 1907.⁶² In the same year 1,487 students matriculated to study Medicine at Edinburgh.⁶³

In New Zealand, dearth of provision was actually linked to opportunity in Edinburgh through conjoint degrees. It was Edinburgh University's recognition in 1878 of the proposed two year medical curriculum at the University of Otago, together with the instruction given in the wards of the Dunedin Hospital, which gave a significant boost to the development of medical education in New Zealand. It hastened the formal establishment of a Medical School in 1883, and the evolution of a comprehensive curriculum. Medical students could either undertake the full medical degree course at

⁶¹Berry, *Chance and Circumstance*, p.110.

⁶²University of Melbourne, *Medical School Jubilee, 1914*, Melbourne, Ford and Son, 1914, pps. 107-08.

⁶³MAB 1907-11.

Otago, or return "Home" to complete their studies by entering directly into the third year of the medical degree course at Edinburgh.⁶⁴ But the throughput capacity of the Otago School was limited by the number of staff and the capacity of the facilities - the School had only 155 students overall in 1914 - and many students continued to come to Edinburgh to take the medical course there.⁶⁵ Edinburgh's standing in New Zealand was unrivalled. Sir Francis Gordon Bell (MBCChB 1910) recalled that Edinburgh was considered then to be "the Mecca for prospective medical students" coming from New Zealand to study in Britain between 1880 and 1914.⁶⁶

The absence of comprehensive tertiary medical education in Southern Africa occasioned an even closer relationship, which lasted for almost a century, between the University of Edinburgh - "the most powerful medical magnet in Europe" in Burrow's words - and students from that region.⁶⁷ Largely as a result of the differing needs and objectives of the various political and social groups in the Cape, formal medical education was slow to develop in Southern Africa. It was not, in fact, until 1904 that this began when the University of Edinburgh recognised the first year of the medical course at the South Africa College in Cape Town.⁶⁸ W. A. Jolly (MBCChB 1906, DSc. 1911, LLD 1926) was subsequently appointed Professor of Physiology there in 1912.⁶⁹ As Dean, he led the College into becoming the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Cape Town in 1918.

The Faculties of Arts and Science.

The appeal of Edinburgh for medical students is clear but, whilst most overseas born students came to study Medicine, others came to study other

⁶⁴Thompson, G. E., *A History of the University of Otago. (1869-1919)*, Dunedin, J. Wilkie and Co. Ltd., 1920, pps.106-08.

⁶⁵Thompson, *A History of the University of Otago*, p. 285.

⁶⁶Bell, Sir F. G., *Period Piece: 1905-10* in *UEJ*, Vol. 20, (1961-62), p. 215.

⁶⁷Burrows, E. H., *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, Capetown/Amsterdam, A. A. Balkema for the Medical Association of South Africa, 1958, p.149. The nature of the relationship between the University of Edinburgh and Medical students from Southern Africa is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

⁶⁸*Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 12 Vols., Cape Town, NASOU Limited, 1971, Vol. 7, p. 290.

⁶⁹*GCR 1912/4981*.

disciplines in the University, particularly in the Faculty of Arts and, later, from 1893, in the Faculty of Science. Many overseas born students studying for the Degree of Master of Arts (MA) between 1880 and 1914 seem to have done so as a precursor to gaining admission to the Faculty of Medicine.⁷⁰ A few even read for a degree in Arts prior to taking a degree in Law or Science.⁷¹

Arts also had its own appeal. Though it experienced problems posed by the administrative and curricular reforms of the period, the Faculty managed to attract and retain able staff across a range of liberal arts disciplines. Of particular note are George Saintsbury, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature from 1895 to 1915, Richard Lodge, Professor of History from 1899 to 1925, and Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics from 1891 to 1919. Although very different in background, outlook and temperament, they epitomised the ethos of the Faculty in these years with its stress on rationalist based learning within an intellectually demanding framework that was broad in outlook. Such an approach had emotional pull and intellectual appeal to overseas students, particularly those of Scottish descent. "Few moments of my life," recalled Sir Robert Falconer who was born in Canada, "have been charged with more eagerness than that on a beautiful afternoon in late June 1885, when my father pointed out to us, as we came from Falkirk, the Castle of Edinburgh on its Rock in the distance, which he had not seen since he was a student." Falconer knew academic standards at Edinburgh were demanding. "In Edinburgh were the picked pupils of the best Scottish schools, prepared by teachers who knew what the University required. They had learned how to study, or as the phrase ran 'to apply themselves'. Our undergraduate society was one in which 'men' (not 'boys') worked hard at intellectual pursuits, one in which if there was much that was commonplace

⁷⁰Admission to the Faculty of Medicine was dependent either on passing Preliminary Entrance Examinations or holding a Degree recognised by the University. *Commissioners Ordinance No. 13. - General, No. 8, Regulations as to Examinations, 1892* in Clapperton, *The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889*, pps. 31-36.

⁷¹M. Amiruddin (MA 1913) from India went on to graduate LLB. in 1914. M.V. Krishna from Turkey graduated with an MA, and a BSc in Engineering, in 1914.

there was also an abundance of sheer ability.”⁷² A motto on the wall of the Greek lecture-room in Old College read ‘The gods sell us all our blessings in return for toil.’⁷³

The inauguration of the Faculty of Science in 1893 provided a stimulus to what was already an established and active scientific community within the University. The period up to 1914 saw increasing specialisation within the new Faculty, the development of new courses, including Forestry, and the establishment jointly with the Faculty of Medicine of the Bruce and John Usher Chair in Public Health in 1898. Engineering studies within the Faculty also developed, covering both theory and practice. These aimed to show “the practical application of Science to some branches of Engineering ... Works and Factories are, from time to time, visited by the Class.... A course of Practical Instruction in Surveying, Levelling, Setting Out and Calculation of Quantities is ... undertaken in the field and in the office.”⁷⁴ As further discussed in Chapter Two, this level of curricular innovation had a wide appeal to many students from overseas who saw ready application for their newly acquired skills in their home environment. Staff of the Faculty reciprocated the interest. Robert Wallace (MA 1920, LLD 1923), Professor of Agriculture and Rural Economy from 1885 till 1922, travelled extensively throughout the Empire and in the United States; Edward Stebbing, appointed Lecturer in Forestry in 1910, had served in the Indian Forest Service; and James MacGregor, appointed to the Chair of Natural Philosophy in 1901, had been Professor of Physics at Dalhousie University in Canada since 1879.⁷⁵

Conclusion

The period between 1880 and 1914 saw the emergence of the University of Edinburgh as an important institution for the transmission overseas of the

⁷²Falconer, R. A., *In Edinburgh Fifty Years Ago* in Queens Quarterly, Kingston, Queens University, 1937, Vol. 44, pps. 441, 443 and 445.

⁷³Falconer, *In Edinburgh Fifty Years Ago*, p. 442.

⁷⁴EUC 1896 -97, pps. 382-83.

⁷⁵Birse, Science at the University of Edinburgh, pps. 91-97; Burnett, J. H., Howarth, D. and Fletcher, S. D., The University Portraits, Second Series, Edinburgh, The University Court of the University of Edinburgh, 1986, p. 186; Who's Who 1909, London, A. & C. Black, 1909, p.1209.

ideas, learning and culture of late Victorian Scotland. The growth in the University's overseas influence arose largely because increasing numbers of students from abroad came to study at Edinburgh during this period. Traditionally, the University had been receptive to scholars and students from "furth o' Scotland". This stance was strengthened and redefined to meet the demands posed by imperial growth. Students came not only from India and settlement colonies but also from new areas coming under formal British control and informal influence.⁷⁶

The University was well placed to take advantage of the opportunities imperial expansion offered. Its support for administrative and curricular reform ensured it a level of efficiency and status which attracted able academics who contributed to the growth of the University's international standing, particularly in Medicine. Invention, innovation and a curriculum that was clinically focused ensured the Faculty of Medicine a growing reputation. The low level of development of professional medical education elsewhere in the overseas Empire merely added to it. At the same time, new courses of instruction were introduced in the Faculties of Arts and Science, many of them of obvious relevance to students from abroad. More importantly, newly gained knowledge and professional skills acquired at Edinburgh were propagated overseas where they would take root, and be nurtured, within the administrative and institutional framework of the Empire. Meeting imperial educational needs provided the University with a new multicultural exposure and expanded connections and influence overseas. Trained in an institution that was a major stakeholder in the Empire, Edinburgh graduates served British needs overseas attesting, in the words of a student newspaper of 1902, to "the magnificent imperialism of our *Alma Mater*."⁷⁷

⁷⁶As discussed in Chapter Two, these included parts of East and Central Africa, China and Japan.

⁷⁷*The Student*, 16 October 1902, p.12.

Cultural and Political Factors

The notion that an international student community in British universities is a recent phenomenon is dispelled immediately by any reference to the University of Edinburgh. Overseas born students accounted for an average of 14% of total annual student enrolments at Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914, ranging from 11% in 1895-96 to 21% in 1913-14. The number and percentage of annual matriculations by domestic and overseas born students during this period is shown in Table 2(a) below.¹

Table 2(a) - Domestic and Overseas Student Matriculations, 1880-1914

Year	Domestic	Overseas	Total
1880-84	14,442 (87%)	2,132 (13%)	16,574
1885-89	15,679 (88%)	2,081 (12%)	17,760
1890-94	14,128 (88%)	1,958 (12%)	16,086
1895-99	12,347 (88%)	1,726 (12%)	14,073
1900-04	12,793 (87%)	1,938 (13%)	14,731
1905-09	13,744 (85%)	2,456 (15%)	16,200
1910-14	10,939 (82%)	2,482 (18%)	13,421

Whilst the number of overseas born matriculations broadly followed the trends in domestic student matriculations at Edinburgh University throughout the period, the largest increase in annual overseas student matriculations took place between 1900 and 1914. The level of domestic matriculations increased by 17% from 2,811 in 1900 to 3,283 in 1914; overseas matriculations increased by 77% from 380 in 1900 to 674 in 1914.

Students born outside the British Isles who matriculated at the University of

¹The statistical information in this Chapter has been calculated by the author from the University of Edinburgh's *Matriculation Albums* for 1880-84 to 1911-15 and the University's annual *Matriculation Books* for 1880-81 to 1914-15. To provide an overview of the level of overseas student involvement with the University between 1880 and 1914, the data provided in Tables 2(a) to 2(h) relates to the number of matriculations recorded by the University during the time periods noted. As the data is derived from the multiple counting of *annual* matriculations, it does *not* refer to the actual number of individuals studying at the University in the time periods or Faculties shown. For example, a student successfully completing a three year Arts course would be identified as matriculating three times at the beginning of each academic year of his studies.

Edinburgh between 1880 and 1913 fall into two main groups. The overwhelming importance of Britain's imperial associations is demonstrated by the larger group, which comprises students born in the British Empire overseas; the smaller group of students was born in locations as diverse as Italy or Siam which were not part of the formal Empire. The number and percentage of annual matriculations arising from students born in the Empire overseas, and those coming from elsewhere, is shown in Table 2(b) below.

Table 2(b) - Empire and Non Empire Born Matriculations, 1880 -1914

Year	Born in Empire O'seas		Non Empire Born		Total
1880-84	1,899	(89%)	233	(11%)	2,132
1885-89	1,834	(88%)	247	(12%)	2,081
1890-94	1,723	(88%)	235	(12%)	1,958
1895-99	1,523	(88%)	203	(12%)	1,726
1900-04	1,723	(89%)	215	(11%)	1,938
1905-09	2,104	(86%)	352	(14%)	2,456
1910-14	2,134	(86%)	348	(14%)	2,482

The proportion of annual matriculations by students born in the British Empire overseas fell only slightly from 89% of total annual overseas matriculations in the period 1880-84 to 86% in 1910-14, the average for the period 1880 to 1914 being some 88%. Although the composition of both the Empire born and non Empire born groups changed during the period, students born in the British Empire overseas clearly predominated throughout, thereby assuring that, however different their backgrounds, issues of common imperial interest could be addressed across a broad spectrum of University life.

Although many overseas students were conscious (indeed proud) of being stakeholders in the British Empire through birth, the cultural and ethnic diversity of the overseas student community is better understood if two primary distinctions are considered. The first is represented by those who came from areas where European culture, ideas and values predominated; the second by those who came from the non-western world, where this was not the case. The former must include settlement colonies like Canada, European states like Portugal, and areas of informal western influence and migration like the Argentine. The latter needs to embrace non-settlement colonies, like

India or Sierra Leone, parts of the Muslim world, such as the Ottoman Empire, and China and Japan, embattled but still independent. Details of annual matriculations by overseas students broken down in this way into those born in the western and non-western world, are given in Table 2(c) below.

Table 2(c) - Western and Non-Western World Born Matriculations.

Year	1880- 1914		Total
	Western World	Non-Western World	
1880-84	1,160 (54%)	972 (46%)	2,132
1885-89	1,295 (62%)	786 (38%)	2,081
1890-94	1,049 (54%)	909 (46%)	1,958
1895-99	968 (56%)	758 (44%)	1,726
1900-04	1,163 (60%)	775 (40%)	1,938
1905-09	1,555 (63%)	901 (37%)	2,456
1910-14	1,311 (53%)	1,171 (47%)	2,482

Whilst this shows that students from the “western world” accounted for the majority of annual matriculations by overseas born students between 1880 and 1914, matriculates from the “non-western world” made up a considerable proportion of such matriculations, ranging from 38% (in 1885-89) to 47% (in 1910-14). There was a decline in the number of matriculations by “non-western world” born students between 1885 and 1894, which may be partly attributable to the increasing local provision of tertiary education places overseas, particularly in the Indian subcontinent.²

Settlers, Expatriate and Foreign Born Students

Apart from the broad cultural and political contexts considered above, overseas born students can also be grouped conveniently into three other significant categories, namely the children of settlers, expatriates and foreigners. The term *settler* is used to apply largely to persons of British descent (who had often been born in Scotland) who had taken up permanent residence in settlement

²Matriculations by students from India fell by some 44% from 123 in 1890 to 69 in 1897. *MBK 1880-81*, and *MBK 1897-98*. In addition to the Presidency Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which were all established in 1857, the University of the Punjab was set up in 1882, and the University of Allahabad in 1887. Newton, A. P., *The Universities and Educational Systems of the British Empire*, London, W. Collins Sons & Co., 1924, p. 35.

colonies such as New South Wales or New Zealand.³ By the term *expatriate* is meant students who again were children of British citizens (who had usually been born in Scotland) but who had taken up temporary employment overseas and would normally return to the British Isles on completion of their overseas employment. *Foreigners* is here used for the children of nationals of other than British descent who were indigenous to locations as diverse as India, Japan or Peru.

The number and percentage of annual matriculations in the settler, expatriate, and foreign categories is shown in Table 2(d) below.

Table 2(d) - Settler, Expatriate and Foreign Born Matriculations.
1880-1914

Year	Settler	Expatriate	Foreign	Total
1880-84	1,145 (54%)	716 (33%)	271 (13%)	2,132
1885-89	1,297 (62%)	501 (24%)	283 (14%)	2,081
1890-94	1,146 (57%)	502 (26%)	310 (17%)	1,958
1895-99	1,068 (62%)	359 (21%)	299 (17%)	1,726
1900-04	1,183 (61%)	392 (20%)	363 (19%)	1,938
1905-09	1,419 (58%)	337 (14%)	700 (28%)	2,456
1910-14	1,142 (46%)	279 (11%)	1,061 (43%)	2,482

These categories are not precise and some overlap between them is inevitable. But real differences emerge. Viewed within these categories, it is clear that these three groups differ in key ways in their development, numbers, academic interests and in their employment after graduation.

The Settler Group

Students in the settler group form the largest component of overseas student enrolments between 1880 and 1914. In 1880-84 this group accounted for 54% of total overseas enrolments and for 46% as late as 1910-14. The region of origin of settler students in respect of the number of annual matriculations is shown in Table 2(e) below.

³In the context of Southern Africa the term "settler" is used to encompass those of either British descent or Dutch descent.

Table 2(e) - Region of Origin of Settler Born Students, 1880-1914

Year	AUS	CAN	SAF	CCA	Total
1880-84	446	186	292	221	1,145
1885-89	597	200	281	219	1,297
1890-94	531	103	205	307	1,146
1895-99	410	66	303	289	1,068
1900-04	511	68	382	222	1,183
1905-09	625	60	534	200	1,419
1910-14	383	71	529	159	1,142
Total	3,503	754	2,526	1,617	8,400

Important distinctions can be made within the settler category. The level and timing of matriculations by students from different settlements overseas differed. For example, taking the period as a whole, students from Australia and New Zealand accounted for the largest number of matriculations overall. But the make-up of the Australasian group changed between 1880 and 1914. In the 1880s and 1890s the majority of students came from New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and Western Australia, but from New Zealand from the early 1900s onwards.⁴ This change illustrates the relevance of the availability, and scope of development, of tertiary education in individual settlement colonies to matriculation levels at Edinburgh during this period. In this regard Table 2(e) indicates that, in the case of Southern Africa where professional Medical education was slow to evolve, the number of matriculations at Edinburgh University by students from the region almost doubled between 1880 and 1914. By contrast, matriculations by students from Australasia started to decline after 1910 as existing higher education facilities in that region were expanded and new ones came on stream.

In most cases, the pattern was for students from the settler group to return overseas after graduation to take up employment in their settlement colony of origin. In a number of cases, such students often undertook further study or

⁴For example, of the 113 students from the Australasian region who matriculated in 1892, 72 (64%) were from Australia and 41 (36%) from New Zealand. In 1912, when the total number of matriculated students was broadly the same as in 1892, there were 95 students from the Australasian region, of whom 55% came from New Zealand, and 43 (45%) from Australia. MAB 1888-93 and MAB 1911-15.

travel in Europe before returning home. For example, F. P. Marais (MBCM 1882, MD 1888) from the Cape Colony went on to study in Vienna before returning to Wellington in South Africa where he became a “busy country general practitioner”.⁵ Francis (later Sir) Gordon Bell (MBCbB 1910, MD 1913) from New Zealand considered that such study abroad “served much the same purpose in an education for a surgical career as the Grand Tour did in the education of fortunate young gentlemen in the eighteenth century, rubbing off some corners, adding a patina, and establishing congenial contacts.”⁶ On the other hand, having completed his studies at Edinburgh, P. D. F. Cremona (MBCbB 1902) from the West Indies returned directly to St. Vincent where he practised in Georgetown.⁷ However, some graduates in the settler group either remained in the United Kingdom on a long term or permanent basis, or took up employment elsewhere, though still usually in the British Empire overseas.⁸ C. H. Adamson (MBCM 1894), for example, was born in Australia but, after graduation, practised in Britain, latterly as Medical Officer of Health at Edmonton in London and then in Dover where he died in 1957.⁹ Also born in Australia, D. W. Sutherland (MBCM 1893, MD 1902) joined the Indian Medical Service (IMS) after graduation and, other than service during the First World War, spent the rest of his career in India until 1926 when he retired to South Africa.¹⁰

The Expatriate Group

The second group, the children of expatriates or temporary residents abroad,

⁵Marais, F. P., *On the Nature and Cause of an Epidemic of Fever at Wellington, South Africa, in 1887*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1888. Letter from Dr. Marais of 14 November 1887 to the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Edinburgh University, enclosed with thesis.

⁶Bell, F. G., *Surgeon's Saga*, Wellington, A. H. & W. Reed, 1968 in Nutton, V. and Porter, R., (Eds.), *The History of Medical Education in Britain*, Amsterdam - Atlanta, Editions Rodopi B.V., 1995, p. 290.

⁷*UEJ*, Vol. 4, (1930-31), p 179.

⁸Details of graduates taking up employment abroad, returning overseas, or remaining in the British Isles, are given in Chapter Five, Tables 5(e), 5(f) and 5(g).

⁹*The Medical Directory*, London, J. & A. Churchill, 1920, p. 468. *UEJ*, Vol 19 (1957-78), p 44.

¹⁰*GCR 1912/9846*; Crawford, D. G. *Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615 - 1930*, London, W. Thacker & Co., 1930, p. 230.

formed a significant part of the group of matriculates born overseas, but their numbers declined from 147 in 1880 to 56 in 1914, and their proportion of total annual matriculations from 33% in 1880-84, to 11% in 1910-14. This decline may have arisen, in part, because of increasing competition for university places from other sources. In the case of India, of the 124 students who matriculated in 1880, 117 were the children of expatriates; of the 214 students matriculating in 1913, only 38 were the children of expatriates.¹¹

The region of origin of the children of expatriates in respect of the number of annual matriculations is shown in Table 2(f) below.

Table 2(f) - Region of Origin of Expatriate Born Students, 1880-1914

Year	ASA	EUR	IND	RAF	SAM	Total
1880-84	48	35	574	35	24	716
1885-89	25	24	395	26	31	501
1890-94	23	23	377	48	31	502
1895-99	23	9	276	34	17	359
1900-04	31	15	303	33	10	392
1905-09	38	8	252	32	7	337
1910-14	25	19	199	31	5	279
Total	213	133	2,376	239	125	3,086

Most students in the expatriate group came from India. Others were born as far apart as Hong Kong or Santiago in Chile, both areas of extensive British commercial interests. The nature of parental employment covered *inter alia* the British armed and civil services overseas, commercial and trading firms, and teaching and missionary work. The subsequent career history of this group is more complex than that of the settlers. The majority of expatriate students took up employment in the United Kingdom following graduation, though some returned to their country of origin and others went elsewhere in the Empire to pursue careers there. Many continued to be interested in the development and welfare of the countries in which they had spent all or part of their childhood.

One could cite, for example, the careers of G. A. O' Brian Reid (MBCM 1887) who was born in India, but pursued his medical career at Southsea in the

¹¹Calculated by the author from MBK 1880-81 and MBK 1913-14.

United Kingdom.¹² By contrast, C. C. Manifold (MBCM 1886), also born in India, returned there in 1887 to join the IMS, retiring to the United Kingdom as a Major-General in 1917 after a varied career in military service.¹³ Born in Ceylon in 1862, W. V. M. Koch (MBCM 1884) represents the wider imperial career. He was Medical Officer in Trinidad from 1889 to 1903 and, thereafter, until his retirement in 1917, Medical Officer in Hong Kong.¹⁴ J. U. MacGregor (MA 1886), the son of the Free Church missionary William MacGregor, was born in Amoy (Xiamen) in China in 1865. Ordained into the Free Church of Scotland, and based in Scotland, he still maintained a lifelong interest in missionary work, being appointed in 1926 as Home Organising Secretary, and Candidates' Secretary, of the United Free Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission Department.¹⁵

Foreign Born Students

The third category also shows some variations. The number of foreign students arriving to study at Edinburgh increased from 58 in 1880 to 303 in 1914. Whilst this group accounted for only 13% of total annual overseas enrolments in 1880-84, this had increased to 43% by 1910-14. However, although this is the general pattern, once more, important internal distinctions can be detected. The region of origin of foreign students in respect of the number of annual matriculations is shown in table 2(g) below.

**Table 2(g) - Region of Origin of Foreign Born Students,
1880-1914**

Year	ASA	EUR	IND	MEA	RAF	SAM	USA	Total
1880-84	5	60	39	37	60	11	59	271
1885-89	8	45	45	43	46	14	82	283
1890-94	21	43	101	41	27	5	72	310
1895-99	12	73	95	25	22	7	65	299
1900-04	2	107	150	20	34	4	46	363
1905-09	42	192	304	26	66	5	65	700
1910-14	87	181	619	40	102	3	29	1,061
Total	177	701	1,353	232	357	49	418	3,287

¹²UEJ, Vol. 3, (1929-30), p. 261.

¹³Who's Who 1924, London, A. & C. Black Limited, 1924, p 1861.

¹⁴UEJ, Vol.10, (1939-40), p. 143.

¹⁵UEJ, Vol.10, (1939-40), p. 220.

The increase in the number of students born to foreign parents is largely accounted for by students from India, though there were also significant increases over the period in student numbers from Europe, Africa (other than Southern Africa) and Asia as well. Matriculations by students from the United States and South America declined gradually during the period, probably in response to the growth of new Medical Schools (and the introduction of compulsory graded medical courses) in the United States.¹⁶

The background of those foreign students varied considerably. Students from Europe brought to Edinburgh a wide diversity of cultures. For example, the 16 students enrolling in 1883 came from 9 separate European states.¹⁷ By contrast, many students from the USA were clearly of Scottish descent. Of the 11 from the USA who graduated between 1880 and 1889, 6 had surnames of Scottish origin.¹⁸ Of the African and Asian students, one distinguishing feature is clearly wealth. B. W. Quarty-Papafio (MBCM 1886, MD 1896) from the Ga ethnic group on the Gold Coast was the son of a merchant trading family in Lagos.¹⁹ Sir Bhagvat Sinhji, KCIE (MBCM 1892), from Gondal in India, came from a wealthy landed family, whilst R. A. Belilios (MBChB 1901) from Hong Kong, was the child of a well-established mercantile family.²⁰ But Japanese born students may well have been sponsored under Meiji government regulations of 1882 which sought to facilitate the acquisition of western derived knowledge and skills.²¹ The Japanese diplomatic mission led

¹⁶In 1880 the 100 Medical Schools in the United States had 3,241 graduates and 11,826 students. By 1900 there were 160 Medical Schools with 5,214 graduates and 25,171 students. In 1880 10 Medical Schools had adopted a compulsory three-year graded curriculum. By 1890, this had increased to 26 schools. Rothstein, W. G., American Medical Schools and the Practice of Medicine, New York, Oxford University Press, 1987, pps. 92 and 104.

¹⁷These states were Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Russia. MAB 1880 - 84.

¹⁸MAB 1880 - 84, MAB 1884 - 88; MAB 1888 - 93.

¹⁹Patton, A. Jr, Physicians. Colonial Racism and Diaspora in West Africa, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1996, p.110.

²⁰The Belilios family had made its fortune out of the opium trade with China. Welsh, F., A History of Hong Kong, London, Harper Collins, 1993, p. 311.

²¹Burks, A. W., (Ed.), The Modernisers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees and Meiji Japan, Boulder and London, Westview Press, 1985, pps.161-86.

by Iwakura Tomomi had visited Edinburgh some ten years earlier in October 1872 and had toured the University in the company of Professor Archer.²² Subsequently, Buyata Iwata matriculated to study Arts (Science) in 1888, whilst 4 Japanese students matriculated to study Law in 1891, both areas of major interest to “The Modernisers”.²³

Generally, foreign born students returned to their country of origin after graduation, though a number kept up their connections with Edinburgh University. D. N. P. Datta (MBCM 1885) practised in Mussoorie in the United Provinces, India, until just before his death in 1930. But he returned to Scotland in 1899 to graduate MD with a thesis on Bubonic Plague.²⁴ However, as with some in the settler and expatriate group, a number of foreign students either stayed on in the British Isles or worked in third countries. M. M. Mamourian (MBChB 1904) from Smyrna on the Levant (Izmir in present day Turkey) practised for much of his life in Lancashire in England, whilst C. V. Delepine (MBCM 1881) from Switzerland made his career in the USA.²⁵

Study Patterns of Overseas Students

Using the three categories of settler, expatriate, and foreign also allows for an analysis of different choices of Degree and discipline. Between 1880 and 1914, most overseas born students came to Edinburgh to study Medicine, which accounted for some 82% of total annual matriculations during this period. The remainder studied Arts (10%), Science (4%), Law (2%), Divinity (just over 1%) and Music (under 1%).²⁶ However, there were marked differences between students from different regions as to their choice of Faculty of study and course of instruction. Students from the “western world” studied across a

²²Anthony, D. W. and Healey, G. H., (Eds.), *The Itinerary of the Iwakura Embassy in Britain*, Sheffield, The University of Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies, 1987, p. 31.

²³*MAB 1888 - 93*, Entry. Nos. 91/2,621, 91/2,911, 91/2,963 and 91/2,970.

²⁴*UEJ*, Vol. 4, (1929 -30), p.180; Datta, D. N. P., *Bubonic Plague*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1899.

²⁵*The Medical Directory 1920*, p. 860; *GCR 1897/1648*.

²⁶As detailed in Table 2 (h), of the 14,773 annual matriculations between 1880 and 1913 by students born outside the British Isles, Medicine accounted for 12,110, Arts 1,518, Science 615, Law 321, Divinity 199 and Music 10.

broad range of subjects. Students from the “non-western world”, where the West had gained a reputation for technological preeminence, tended to undertake courses of study which involved the transfer of western based empirical knowledge in subjects such as Engineering and Medicine. Between 1880 and 1914 students from the non-western world accounted for some 44% of annual Medical Faculty matriculations by overseas born students. Between the inauguration of the Faculty of Science in 1893 and 1914 some 68% of annual matriculations by those from overseas were by students from the non-western world.²⁷ In this sense, these students were involved in a process which might now be called “technology transfer”.

Underlying these differences in study patterns, a number of factors can be detected. The availability or extent of local tertiary educational facilities in the countries of origin, the reputation of Edinburgh University in certain fields of study, and the development at Edinburgh of new courses of instruction, particularly in the sciences, would have influenced overseas students to consider studying at Edinburgh. The University’s appeal would have been enhanced where specific training requirements in disciplines such as Agriculture and Medicine matched the needs of areas coming under British influence or control. In the case of India another motive can be detected. Political initiatives to encourage the wider participation of “middle class” Indians got under way following Morley’s appointment as Secretary of State for India in 1906.²⁸ Thereafter, increasing numbers of students came to Edinburgh to study Arts and Law, probably in an attempt to qualify for careers opening up in the private and public sectors in India, Burma and Ceylon.

²⁷These percentages have been calculated by the author from the data in Table 2 (h) in respect of those students born in the IND, ASA, RAF, MEA and CCA regions.

²⁸Appointed Secretary of State following the landslide Liberal victory in 1906, John Morley, together with Gilbert Elliot, the fourth Earl of Minto, who succeeded Curzon as Viceroy, set about introducing political measures to win the support of moderate Indian opinion. Announced in 1908, the Indian Councils Act provided *inter alia* for elected Indian representation on the Viceroy’s Executive Council and in provincial legislative Councils. James, L., *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, London, Little, Brown and Company, 1997, p. 432.

The development of tertiary education overseas, particularly in India, Australasia and Southern Africa, has earlier been discussed in the context of why Edinburgh proved attractive to so many overseas born students wishing to study Medicine. But the same was also true in other Faculties, particularly Science, where annual matriculation levels by overseas born students increased tenfold between the inauguration of the Faculty in 1893 and 1914.²⁹ Table 2(h) below shows in respect of the number of annual matriculations the Faculty of study of overseas students by region between 1880 and 1914.³⁰

Table 2(h) - Faculty of Study of Overseas Students by Region, 1880-1914

Reg/Fac	Arts	Div	Law	Med	Sci	Music	Total
IND	504	11	89	2,843	279	3	3,729
ASA	47	3	17	268	55	-	390
AUS	153	16	27	3,261	45	1	3,503
SAF	104	15	14	2,350	40	3	2,526
RAF	35	1	3	510	47	-	596
MEA	30	6	4	182	10	-	232
EUR	257	54	97	352	73	1	834
CAN	166	57	37	477	15	2	754
USA	135	31	7	224	21	-	418
CCA	66	5	17	1,503	26	-	1,617
SAM	21	0	9	140	4	-	174
Total	1,518	199	321	12,110	615	10	14,773

Arts

Students from India accounted for some 33% of annual Arts matriculations by overseas born students between 1880 and 1913. Significant levels of annual matriculations in Arts also arose from overseas born students from Europe (17%), Canada (11%), Australasia (10%), the United States (9%) and Southern Africa (7%). As noted earlier, some students from overseas who enrolled to study Arts did so as a prerequisite to gaining admission to the Faculties of Medicine, Divinity or Law, which were seen as vocational studies. Arts matriculations by overseas born students declined sharply during the 1890s along with the decline in the number of children of expatriates pursuing

²⁹In 1893 there were 8 matriculations by overseas born students in Science; in 1913 this had increased to 85 annual matriculations. MBK 1893-94, MBK 1913-14.

³⁰The data in respect of the Faculty of Science covers the period from 1893 to 1914.

Degree courses at Edinburgh.³¹ It may also be explained, in part, by the growing availability in India and the settlement colonies of similar courses of instruction which were less expensive overall since they did not entail passage costs and boarding expenses. However, numbers increased steadily between 1903 and 1913 as a result of the arrival of further students from the Indian subcontinent and also from Europe.³² Many of the students from India read Arts or Law with a view to pursuing a career at the Indian Bar which was perceived to be a respectable alternative to service in the ICS, the entrance requirements for which were weighted against Indians.³³ Most of the students from Europe are harder to classify. They came from all over the continent and usually studied at Edinburgh for one year only.

Divinity

The number of overseas born students studying Divinity was small, accounting for less than 200 annual matriculations between 1880 and 1913. Of these, nearly 44% were by overseas born students from Canada and the United States, usually from centres associated with the reformed tradition, such as Knox College in Toronto. Other Divinity students also came from similar backgrounds in Europe (28%), particularly Germany and the Netherlands and some from locations as diverse as Japan and Persia.³⁴

Law

Overseas born Law students came largely from Europe (30%) and the Indian subcontinent (28%). The level of matriculations was again low with just over 300 annual matriculations between 1880 and 1913.

³¹In 1884 45 overseas born students matriculated to study Arts as against 9 in 1895. MBK 1884-85; MBK 1895-96.

³²In 1903 7 students from India, and 7 from Europe, matriculated to study Arts. In 1913 65 students from India, and 20 from Europe, matriculated to study Arts. MBK 1903-04; MBK 1913-14.

³³James, Raj, pps. 308-10 and 346.

³⁴Knox College in Toronto was founded in 1844 following the 1843 schism in the Church of Scotland. Korchin S. Kurakna from Japan matriculated to study Divinity in 1890, and Nestorius Inareus from Persia in 1896. MAB 1888 - 93, Entry No. 1890/2926; MAB 1893-98, Entry No. 1896/2382.

Medicine

Nearly 60% of annual matriculations by overseas born students studying Medicine came from settlement colonies in Australasia (27%) and Southern Africa (19%) and from the Caribbean (12%). Whilst the total number of students admitted to the Faculty of Medicine fell by over a third from 2,003 in 1889 to 1,304 in 1914, the overseas born component of total annual matriculations remained reasonably constant at some 20% of total matriculations per year between 1880 and 1903, but then increased dramatically from 24% in 1904 to 34% in 1913, largely because of the matriculation of increasing numbers of students from India.³⁵

Science

Inaugurated in 1893, the Faculty of Science quickly attracted the interest of overseas born students who accounted for 615 annual matriculations between 1893 and 1913.³⁶ Over 45% of these matriculations came from students born in India, Burma and Ceylon, almost all of whom can be classified as foreign or non-European. Smaller groups came from Africa (14%) and Europe (12%).³⁷ Although small, the increase in the number of students from the non-western world (from 6 in 1893 to 60 in 1913) underscores the perceived relevance and popularity of the Science curriculum, particularly in disciplines such as Agriculture, to students from areas undergoing integration into the imperial economy. Additionally, a small number of students born overseas matriculated to study for the post-graduate degree of Doctor of Science. Many subsequently had distinguished careers in teaching and research.³⁸

³⁵Extrapolated by the author from the MAB 1880-84 to MAB 1911-15. In 1904 359 (24% of 1,481), and in 1913 444 (34% of 1,304), overseas born undergraduate students matriculated to study Medicine. Of the overseas born students matriculating in 1913, 97 (21%) came from India.

³⁶The Degrees of DSc and BSc were first introduced in 1864. The administration of these degrees was undertaken by a Science Degrees Committee presided over by two Conveners, the Professor of Botany, and the Professor of Chemistry, until the inauguration of the Faculty of Science in 1893.

³⁷Extrapolated by the author from MAB 1893-98 to MAB 1911-15. Between 1893 and 1913 279 Indian born undergraduate students (45% of 615) matriculated to study Science.

³⁸Examples include P.C. Ray (BSc 1886, DSc 1887) from India who taught at the Presidency College in Bombay, and J. F. Marais (BSc 1890, DSc 1892) from Cape Colony who taught at Stellenbosch.

Music

Between 1893, when the Faculty was inaugurated, and 1914, there were only 10 annual matriculations by overseas born students to study Music. Nearly all of the students were the children of expatriates or settlers, though one of the first to matriculate in the new Faculty, Jan Spiganovich, came from Russia.³⁹

Educational Background of Overseas Undergraduates

The majority of overseas born students had received their primary and secondary schooling within a Western (and often English language) educational framework. But, prior to matriculating, some were educated entirely in their country of origin. Others were educated partly in their country of origin and partly in the United Kingdom. In many cases, those educated overseas attended institutions which were modelled on the English public schools and which sought to inculcate imperial values.⁴⁰ Some overseas born undergraduates completed, or partially completed, tertiary studies overseas before coming to Edinburgh, often requiring this to meet Degree entry requirements, or to obtain exemption from part of an Edinburgh Degree course curriculum. For example, J. A. Crawford from Prince Edward Island in Canada graduated BA from Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, before coming to Edinburgh to read Divinity in 1896.⁴¹ Ba-Ket Maung (MBCbB 1900) studied Medicine for three years at Madras University in Southern India prior to matriculating to study Medicine at Edinburgh in 1897.⁴²

³⁹MAB 1893-98, Entry No.1894/1553.

⁴⁰For a discussion on the structure and influence of such secondary schools in, for example, Australia, see Sherington, G. and Connellan, M., *Socialisation, imperialism and war; ideology and ethnicity in Australian corporate schools* in Mangan, J. A., (Ed.), *'Benefits bestowed'? Education and British Imperialism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, pps.133-49.

⁴¹MBK 1896-97, Matriculation No. 2302. A first degree in Arts, or some other discipline, was required as a prerequisite to study in the Faculty of Divinity. Crawford studied in the Faculty of Divinity during the 1896-97 academic year only.

⁴²MBK 1897-98, Matriculation No. 299. The exemptions offered by the Faculty of Medicine are discussed further in this Chapter.

India

Matriculates from the Indian region account for by far the largest number of overall annual overseas matriculations between 1880 and 1914. As we have seen, students from India comprised chiefly the children of expatriates working in the region initially but this changed over the period. The level of annual matriculations by indigenous Indian students increased gradually from 7 in 1880, to 44 in 1904, and 176 in 1913, representing 82% of all students from that region.⁴³ Many of the children of expatriates were educated in their early years in India, but completed their education at schools in Britain, particularly in Scotland. W. L. Stephen (MA 1893), for example, was born in India in 1871 and came, firstly, to Kelty Public School, when he was eight years old. He later attended Dunfermline High School, before enrolling to study Arts at Edinburgh University.⁴⁴ J. G. Walker (MBCM 1893) came to Scotland from Calcutta in India when he was ten, and was educated at Edinburgh's Royal High School before matriculating to study Medicine in 1888.⁴⁵ However, a few students received all their primary and secondary education in India prior to coming to Edinburgh University to study. Matriculating in 1888, J. H. MacDonald (MBCM 1894), for example, had previously studied at the Scottish High School, Elphinstone College and the Free Church College, all of which were located in Bombay.⁴⁶

The Rest of Asia

Asian born students came from a wide variety of educational backgrounds. The children of Asian expatriates almost always completed their secondary education in Britain before matriculating at Edinburgh. For example, V. G. Alexander (MBCbB 1897) from Hong Kong was educated at Bedford County Grammar School and the Edinburgh Institution, before matriculating to study Medicine in 1892.⁴⁷ Similarly, R. F. M. Scott (MBCM 1898) from Singapore, who also matriculated to study Medicine in 1892, received his secondary

⁴³MBK 1880-81; MBK 1904-05; MBK 1913-14.

⁴⁴MBK 1888-89, Matriculation No. 1674.

⁴⁵MBK 1888-89, Matriculation No. 125.

⁴⁶MBK 1888-89, Matriculation No. 78.

⁴⁷MBK 1892-93, Matriculation No. 594.

education at Montrose Academy and Ebor House School in Cambridge.⁴⁸ Students of Chinese origin by contrast, such as C. Y. Chau, usually completed their secondary education in China, often at Christian missionary institutions such as the Baptist College in Shanghai.⁴⁹ A few Chinese students had even completed tertiary studies before coming to study in Edinburgh. For example, H. T. Chiang (MBChB 1912) from Wuchang held a BA in Arts and Science from St. John's University in Shanghai before matriculating to study Medicine in 1907.⁵⁰ Almost all medical students, like H. T. Chiang or C. Y. Wong (MBChB 1910), were sponsored by missionary organisations, such as the London Missionary Society, or institutions like the Universal Love Hospital at Hankow (Hangzhou) in Zhejiang Province.⁵¹ As one would expect, students from China generally came from the coastal provinces and major cities such as Shanghai, where western influence and ideas were prevalent, but a few came from more inland areas, such as Hunan Province in south-central China.⁵² Almost all Japanese students undertook tertiary studies in Japan before coming to Edinburgh. M. Koide, for example, studied at the Agriculture College at Tokyo's Imperial University before enrolling to study Agriculture in 1910.⁵³ However, Inoaye Chinsei, who matriculated to study Arts in 1892, claimed to have studied in Tokyo's Chinese Legation and "in China."⁵⁴ Perhaps unsurprisingly given the lateness of Korea's opening to the West, only one Korean student, T. S. Chang, who matriculated to study Arts in

⁴⁸MBK 1892-93, Matriculation No. 3026. He graduated BA (Cantab.) before coming to Edinburgh.

⁴⁹MBK 1912-13, C. Y. Chau, Matriculation No. 3187, was educated at the Baptist College, Shanghai.

⁵⁰MBK 1907-08, Matriculation No. 2781.

⁵¹MBK 1908-09, C. Y. Wong, Matriculation No. 2354, was sponsored by the London Missionary Society to study Medicine. H. T. Chiang, Matriculation No. 587, was sponsored by the Universal Love Hospital in Hankow (Hangzhou).

⁵²MBK 1913-14, S. S. Yan, Matriculation No. 2748, came from Hunan Province.

⁵³MBK 1910-11, Matriculation No. 2914.

⁵⁴MBK 1892-93, Inoaye Chinsei, Matriculation No. 2736. The surname is unusual and difficult to clarify without seeing the Japanese characters. It is possible that he was part Chinese, or a Chinese living in Japan who had changed his surname to a Japanese name, or to the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese language character of his name. He matriculated in 1891 to study Law, and in 1893 to study Arts. He did not graduate from Edinburgh University.

1913, enrolled at Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914.⁵⁵

Australasia

Matriculates from Australasia were mainly educated in Australia or New Zealand before coming to Edinburgh, though a few undertook all or part of their secondary education in Britain prior to matriculation. In Australia, schools and colleges, such as the Scotch College and the Presbyterian Ladies' College in Melbourne, both distinctly Scottish in outlook, prepared the children of the urban middle class for entry to local and overseas universities and for careers in commerce.⁵⁶ A number of students, such as A. Gilfillan, (BSc 1892), studied on a non-graduating basis at local tertiary institutions (in his case the University of Melbourne) before proceeding to Scotland and matriculating in the Faculty of Science at Edinburgh.⁵⁷ In New Zealand, several schools, such as Otago Boys' High School and Christ's College at Christchurch, educated a number of students who came to Edinburgh University to study.

Southern Africa

This process by which feeder institutions carried students on to Scotland was at its most obvious perhaps in Southern Africa. Nearly all undergraduates arriving from there came from a small number of recently established institutions which catered largely for the secondary education of middle class children. These included such private institutions as the South Africa College in Cape Town and the Victoria College at Stellenbosch, and also Church sponsored schools, like the Diocesan College at Rondebosch and St. Andrew's College at Grahamstown.⁵⁸

⁵⁵MBK 1913-14, T. S. Chang, Matriculation No. 3230, may very well have been of Chinese origin.

⁵⁶Davidson, G., *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1978, pps. 205-06.

⁵⁷A. Gilfilland studied Arts for two years at the University of Melbourne before matriculating at Edinburgh to study engineering. MBK, 1889-90, Matriculation No. 1700.

⁵⁸Pells, E. G., *Education in South Africa*, Cape Town, Jinta & Co. Ltd., 1938, pps. 34 and 73.

The Rest of Africa

Although significantly smaller in numerical terms, students arriving from the rest of Africa increased gradually from 7 in 1880 to 29 in 1913.⁵⁹ These students fall into two main groups. The largest was of students from Mauritius almost all of whom had been educated at Royal College in Port-Louis. Royal College had been restructured as an English type College in 1840 and it catered mainly for the needs of English speaking boys of mixed race from settler families rather than those from the African and Indian communities.⁶⁰ Students from West Africa (the Gold Coast, the Gambia and Sierra Leone) comprise the second group. Most had received their early education at mission or grammar schools, such as those on the Gold Coast operated by the Wesleyan and Basel Missions, or in Fourah Bay College established by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at Freetown in 1827.⁶¹ M. J. Da Rocha (MBChB 1913) is a typical example. He spent five years at the CMS Grammar School at Lagos prior to matriculating to study Medicine in 1896.⁶² However, occasionally West African students also completed their secondary education in Britain. For example, B. Omoniyi was educated at the CMS Grammar School in Lagos and then at the Edinburgh Tutorial Institution before matriculating to study Medicine in 1906 and then moving to study Arts and Law in 1907.⁶³

Canada and the United States

Students from Canada and the United States generally had completed all their secondary education in these countries before matriculating at Edinburgh. Up to the early 1890s, a significant number of students from Canada matriculated in Medicine, but numbers declined thereafter, doubtless as a result of medical

⁵⁹Extrapolated by the author from MAB 1880-84 and MAB 1911-15.

⁶⁰Ramdoyl, R., The Development of Education in Mauritius. Reduit, The Mauritius Institute of Education, 1977, p. 69.

⁶¹Wise, C. G., A History of Education in British West Africa, London, Longmans Green and Co. Ltd., 1956 pps. 8 and 10; Fafunwa, A. B., History of Education in Nigeria, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1974, pps. 138-39.

⁶²MBK 1895-96, Matriculation No. 1762.

⁶³MBK 1906-07, Matriculation No. 1551; MBK 1907-08, Matriculation No. 924.

education expanding at institutions such as McGill and Dalhousie.⁶⁴

Caribbean and Central America

Matriculates from the Caribbean and Central American region came to Edinburgh almost exclusively to study Medicine. The majority were educated both in the region and in Britain. An example would be G. L. H. Milne (MA 1882) from Jamaica who was educated at the Collegiate School in Kingston and Fettes College in Edinburgh prior to matriculating to study Arts in 1877.⁶⁵ A few, such as C. A. R. Farrell (BSc 1892) were wholly educated in the West Indies at schools such as Queens Royal College, Port of Spain, Trinidad.⁶⁶

South America

Because of the limited availability in the region between 1880 and 1914 of English language schools preparing students for university entrance in Britain, most undergraduates from South America were educated in the United Kingdom. George Anderson (MBCM 1895) from Buenos Aires in Argentina, for example, came to Scotland when he was seven years old and studied at the Dollar Institution for eleven years prior to enrolling at Edinburgh University in 1888.⁶⁷

Edinburgh and Schools

In many cases, educational connections with Scotland were probably reinforced by Edinburgh graduates who held senior school or university teaching posts overseas. J. F. W. Kupferburger (BSc 1890) was Inspector of Schools, Orange River Colony; A Mackie (MA 1900) was Principal of the Teachers' Training College, Sydney, New South Wales; W. J. T. Mulligan

⁶⁴McGill's Faculty of Medicine was established in 1829 and modelled on that of the Medical Faculty at Edinburgh. Dalhousie established a Faculty of Medicine in 1868. MacLennan, H., (Ed.), *McGill: The Story of a University*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1960, p. 63. Dalhousie University, *One Hundred Years of Dalhousie, 1818-1918*, Rous & Mann, Printers, Halifax, 1919, p. 45.

⁶⁵*MBK 1877-78*, Matriculation No. 777.

⁶⁶Farrell was educated from 1874 to 1879 at the Boys' Model School, and from 1879 to 1887, at Queens Royal College, Port of Spain, Trinidad. He matriculated to study Science (Engineering) in 1889. *MBK 1889-90*, Matriculation No. 565.

⁶⁷*MBK 1887-88*, Matriculation No. 3305.

(MA 1887) was Headmaster of the Smith Institute, Delhi, India; J. H. Duff (MA 1906) was Inspector of Schools, Jamaica, and D. A. Bishop (MA 1904) taught at the Raffles Institute in Singapore.⁶⁸ They would all have been familiar not just with the University but with the Scottish education system, entrance requirements for courses and programmes of instruction. Whilst it is difficult to make direct linkages between individual graduates working in education overseas and the enrolment at Edinburgh University of students from abroad, it is at least likely that some positive encouragement would have been given by these graduates to those students considering studying for an Edinburgh Degree.

Edinburgh's fee paying day schools all catered in some measure for the needs of students whose parents were not resident in Britain. Institutions such as George Watson's College, operated by the Edinburgh Merchant Company, the Royal High School, under the management of the Town Council, and the privately funded Edinburgh Academy, all provided a university entrance focused education for boys aiming to go on to Edinburgh or other Scottish Universities. Similar facilities were provided for girls in the Edinburgh Merchant Company schools such as George Watson's Ladies' College and the Edinburgh Ladies' College.⁶⁹ Overseas students usually stayed with relatives in the city whilst attending such schools or lived in accommodation provided by the school. An alternative was to board with a landlady, or with one of the masters teaching at the school.⁷⁰

Although the educational fare and school environment had a decidedly Scottish - indeed Edinburgh - flavour, overseas contacts were fostered. For example, W. MacDonald (MA 1867, LLD 1878), one of the classics masters at

⁶⁸GCR 1901/4008: GCR 1909/5811: GCR 1895/4959: GCR 1912/2656: GCR 1911/781.

⁶⁹The Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh, The Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh and its Schools, Edinburgh, The Merchants Hall, Edinburgh, 1920, pps. 28-34; Young, J. R. S., Edinburgh Institution, 1832-1932, Edinburgh, George Waterson & Sons Ltd., 1933, p. 91.

⁷⁰Magnusson, M., The Clacken and the Slate: The Story of the Edinburgh Academy, 1824-1925, London, Collins, 1974, p.110.

the High School in Edinburgh, was invited to become Rector of Otago Boys' High in Dunedin in New Zealand in 1877.⁷¹ Other graduates held influential teaching positions elsewhere. J. A. Murray (MA 1910) was School Principal at Moulmein in Burma and J. Fowler (MA 1910, BSc 1912) became Science Master at the Collegiate Institute at Calgary in Alberta, Canada.⁷² Nearly 40% of those who were Dux at George Watson's College between 1871 and 1914 had a connection with the British Empire either through future career or employment.⁷³ Many of these students, such as J. T. Morrison, Dux in 1878, and J. Anderson, Dux in 1899, went on to graduate from Edinburgh University before working overseas.⁷⁴

University Entrance Requirements for Overseas Students

Entrance requirements for admission to the University changed over the period from 1880 to 1914, the most significant modifications being introduced in 1892 when a Joint Board (representing the four Scottish Universities) was established to supervise the operation of Preliminary Examinations to screen students prior to entry to different courses of study. Some of the parameters related to overseas students. They had to have sufficient ability in the English language to be able to understand the courses of instruction, their overseas academic qualifications had to be genuinely comparable to those of domestic students and, in the case of Medical students, they had to conform with the

⁷¹EUC 1878-79, p.145; Barclay, J.B., The Tounis Scule, Edinburgh, The Royal High School Club, 1974, p. 95.

⁷²GCR 1920/8731; GCR 1920/3733.

⁷³Waugh, H. L., George Watsons College History and Record, 1724 - 1970, Edinburgh, George Watson's College, 1970, p. 213-19. In Scotland, and several other countries, the most able pupil in a school is known as the Dux.

⁷⁴J. T. Morrison (MA 1883, BSc 1888) was successively Professor of Natural Philosophy, Professor of Pure Physics, and Professor of Applied Mathematics at Victoria College/Stellenbosch University, South Africa. J Anderson (MA, BSc. 1903), latterly Viscount Waverley of Westdean, took first place in the ICS examinations in 1905 and, after a distinguished career in the British Civil Service, was appointed Governor of Bengal in India in 1932. UEJ, Vol.19, (1958-60), pps.78-81.

requirements of the (British) General Medical Council established in 1858.⁷⁵ The University clearly had begun to formulate a policy to facilitate the enrolment of students from overseas.

Overseas born students completing secondary education in Britain had, of course, to meet exactly the same entrance criteria as domestic students. However, for those educated at secondary level overseas, there was some flexibility in that the Joint Board of Examiners was empowered to determine what examinations, other than those of the Scotch (Scottish) Education Department, might be accepted as equivalent to the Preliminary Examinations in whole or in part. The Board interpreted its remit in this respect fairly broadly. By 1914 overseas students could be exempted from all the Preliminary Examinations if they produced evidence "that they had passed examinations which would admit them to Universities or Technical Colleges affiliated to a University in their own home country."⁷⁶ In addition, students holding a degree in Arts or Science from a British, Indian, Foreign or Colonial University recognised by Edinburgh were exempted from the Preliminary Examinations and might be allowed advanced entry into undergraduate courses.⁷⁷

In the case of the Faculty of Arts, the arrangements introduced in 1892 provided that, before starting on a course of study, each student had to pass a preliminary examination in English, Latin or Greek, Mathematics and one of the following - Latin or Greek (if not already taken), French, German, Italian, or Dynamics (Kinetics). Higher and lower grade standards were defined for Latin, Greek and Mathematics, with a pass at the higher standard being

⁷⁵The Joint Board of Examiners was established under *Commissioners Ordinance No. 11.- General No. 6, 1892. Regulations as to examinations* in Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.), *The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 together with Ordinances of the Commissioners under the said Act and of University Court Ordinances.* Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1915, p. 31-36..

⁷⁶*EUC 1913-14*, p. 95.

⁷⁷M.A. Ansari (MBChB 1905) was educated at Muir Central College and at the Nizam's College, in Deccan, India where he obtained a BA degree before coming to Edinburgh to study Medicine. He was exempted both from the Preliminary Examinations and the First Year of his Medical course. *UEJ*, Vol. 8, (1936-37), p.182.



required in one of these subjects. The English examination was to include grammar and composition, geography and British history. However, a specific concession was made in the case of students whose native language was "other than European" for the Senate to "accept such language as a substitute for a modern European language." In addition, the Senate could also "accept as an alternative to Latin or Greek any other classical language such as Sanskrit or Arabic."⁷⁸ Languages accepted by the Senate between 1892 and 1914 included Chinese, Dutch, Gaelic, Polish, Turkish, Spanish and "various Indian languages."⁷⁹ Moreover, as increasing numbers of African students came to study at Edinburgh, African vernacular languages were also accepted. In 1912, for example, at the request of J. C. Moroka from Bechaunaland (Botswana), the Senate agreed to recognise his native language, Setswana, as a subject in the Arts preliminary examination.⁸⁰ Similar exemptions for entry requirements as were granted by the Faculty of Arts were provided later in respect of the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Law. But a Degree in Arts was still required for entry to the Faculty of Divinity.⁸¹

The entry requirements for the Faculty of Medicine broadly followed those for the Faculty of Arts, the Preliminary Examinations comprising English, Latin, Elementary Mathematics, and Greek or French or German. The same language concessions as were provided by the Faculty of Arts were extended to students from overseas intending to study Medicine at Edinburgh.⁸² In

⁷⁸*Commissioners Ordinance No. 11. - General No. 6, 1892, Regulations for Degrees in Arts* in Clapperton, *The Universities (Scotland) Act 1889*, pps. 19-27.

⁷⁹*EUC 1913-14*, p. 84.

⁸⁰University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da 31.5), *College Minutes*, (Minutes of Senatus), Meeting of 6 February 1913, Vol. 16, p.180.

⁸¹*Commissioners Ordinance No. 12. - General No. 7, 1892, Regulations for Degrees in Science; Commissioners Ordinance No 39. - General No. 11, 1893, Regulations for the Degree of Bachelor of Laws, (LLB) ; Commissioners Ordinance No .40.- General No. 12, 1893, Regulations for Degree of Bachelor of Law, (BL), and Commissioners Ordinance No. 63. - General No. 25, 1895, Regulations for Degrees in Divinity* in Clapperton, *The Universities (Scotland) Act.1889*, pps. 27-31, 129-31, 131-33 and 195-96

⁸²*Commissioners Ordinance No. 16 - Edinburgh, No. 1, 1892, Regulations for Degrees in Medicine* in Clapperton, *The Universities (Scotland Act 1889*, pps. 56-66.

addition, where overseas students held a Degree in Arts or Science “granted in either case after a course of study and an examination in Botany, Zoology, Physics and Chemistry”, the University Court was empowered to exempt them from studying these subjects as part of their degree course at Edinburgh.⁸³

Overseas Student Associations

Once accepted for a course of study at Edinburgh University, overseas students faced similar problems to other students arriving from elsewhere in Britain. These included difficulties in finding accommodation and adapting to the demands posed by living and learning in a new environment.⁸⁴ Having completed his secondary education in Trinidad, Robert Falconer (MA 1889, BD 1892) may have looked forward with anticipation to studying at Edinburgh University but, fifty years later, he first remembered the climate. “How cold that walk was; how we bent close-buttoned against the driving rain, sleet or snow, a long line hurrying to class, threading the dingy streets down to the South Bridge when we turned through massive, high vaulted portals into the Quadrangle of the Old University.”⁸⁵ Historic it may have been, but perhaps not a few homesick overseas students shared Logan Turner’s wistful recollection that, whilst the building was noble in its outward architecture, it had “in the complicated recesses of its interior many unlovely and comfortless places, whose furnishings of desks and benches seem(ed) designed to humble the body without elevating the spirit.”⁸⁶

Adding to the problems of settling down in Edinburgh, overseas students, particularly those unfamiliar with British social customs and practice, often faced animosity from their fellows. It was easy to fall foul of existing social conventions. Hugh Robert Mill (BSc 1883), for example, recalls how, in the

⁸³Commissioners Ordinance No. 56, - Edinburgh, No. 10, Regulations for Degrees in Medicine supplementary to Ordinance No. 16 1892, 1894 in Clapperton, *The Universities (Scotland) Act 1889*, pps.175-77.

⁸⁴Bell, Sir F. G. Bell, *Period Piece: 1905-10* in *UEJ*, Vol. 20, (1961-62), pps. 215-16 and 224-26.

⁸⁵Falconer, R. A., *In Edinburgh Fifty Years Ago* in *Queens Quarterly*, Kingston, Queens University, 1937, Vol. 44, p. 442.

⁸⁶Turner, A. L., *History of the University of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1933, p. 225.

Chemistry Class of 1880 under Professor Crum Brown, “an Oriental student” failed to remove his hat. Uproar ensued with some 350 students chanting “Take off that hat!” whilst thumping the floor with their sticks. All this “stiffened the neck of the offender, who sat covered and unmoved.” Eventually order was restored when Crum Brown shrilled: “Customs differ in different countries. Probably the gentleman from the East has, to show his respect, already put off his shoes.” A “roar of laughter” stopped the storm, “the hat came off, the lecturer went on.”⁸⁷

Undergraduate perceptions of overseas students probably changed very little at Edinburgh University over the period between 1880 and 1914. Writing of his time as a student in the years before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, Charles L. Warr (MA 1914) recalled a measure of envy and prejudice in what was then recognised as “the most colonial of the universities of Great Britain”⁸⁸ “As a rule,” he wrote, “the Canadians, South Africans, Australians and New Zealanders had far more money than the average Scottish undergraduate. They also seemed very much more grown-up and sophisticated. During their time at Edinburgh, the University was, to the great majority of them, merely a place where they had to attend lectures. Their amusements and their social life were centred elsewhere. The colour bar, I’m afraid, was much more evident then than now, and the Indian and other coloured students mixed but little with their white contemporaries, to their great loss and ours.”⁸⁹

To minimise cross cultural misunderstandings, and to assist students from overseas to integrate better into undergraduate life at Edinburgh University, five associations, each with a specific regional focus, were formed between

⁸⁷ Mill, H. R., *An Autobiography*, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1951, p. 23. The student involved was almost certainly Y. S. Sanitwongse (MBCM 1884) from Siam (Thailand), one of four non-caucasian students in a class of three hundred and sixty three. University of Edinburgh, University Archives, *Matriculation Index and Class Lists, 1880-82*.

⁸⁸Warr, C. L., *The Glimmering Landscape*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1960, p. 61.

⁸⁹Warr, *The Glimmering Landscape*, p. 62.

1880 and 1914. Reflecting the needs of undergraduates from Australasia and Southern Africa, the Australasian Association was established in 1874 and the South African Union in 1881. The Edinburgh Indian Association came into being in 1883, whilst the Afro-West Indian Literary Debating Society had its first meeting in October 1899.⁹⁰ A Canadian Club was formed in 1913 “for the purpose of bringing together undergraduates and post-graduates from Canada, and to welcome newcomers to Edinburgh”⁹¹ In addition, a Society for the Benefit of Indian and Colonial Students was in existence in 1899, but its precise role is not known.⁹² The activities of these associations of overseas students, and the views of their members, provide an insight into the life and interests of the overseas student community at Edinburgh University during this period. As well as associations serving the interests of overseas students on a regional basis, the Edinburgh Islamic Society was formed in 1908 to assist Muslim students and “promote the religious, social, moral, intellectual, and commercial advancement of the Muslim world.”⁹³

Australasian Association

The oldest of the overseas student bodies, the Australasian Association, played an active role in the student community between 1880 and 1914. By 1900 it had a membership of some 200, many of them Medical students, or recent graduates, from Australasia.⁹⁴ With the objective of furthering Australasian interests “in any part of the world,” it arranged social meetings, debates and an annual dinner to which members of the University staff, and other members of the University community, were invited.⁹⁵ Members of the Australasian Club took a prominent part in University sports, particularly

⁹⁰Edinburgh University Student Handbook, 15th. Edition, 1910-1911, Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Students' Representative Council, 1910, pps. 281-282.

⁹¹Edinburgh University Student Handbook, 20th. Edition, 1915-16, Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Students' Representative Council, 1915, p. 251.

⁹²The Student, 19 October 1899, p.7.

⁹³Edinburgh University Student Handbook, 20th. Edition, 1915-16, pps. 225-26.

⁹⁴The Student, 13 December 1900, p.263.

⁹⁵Edinburgh University Student Handbook, 15th Edition, 1910-11, p. 281; The Student, 11 December 1902, p. 211-12.

athletics and cricket.⁹⁶

South African Union

The number of students from Southern Africa matriculating to study at Edinburgh University was no doubt an influential factor in the formation of the South African Students' Union.⁹⁷ "Students should mix with others, but also keep in close contact with those of their own country as the best protection against temptations", an 1892 fund raising circular noted. "It minimises the risk of the inexperienced coming over from South Africa from being led astray and finally lost to their friends at home, or practically wasting an academic career. In the Union we shall be directly under the notice of the University and the extramural schools."⁹⁸ With funds provided by the Government of the Orange Free State, De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited and various individuals, rooms were purchased in 1894 at 14 Buccleuch Place for use as a club house that remained in use until 1935 when the premises were sold.⁹⁹

Afro-West Indian Literary Debating Society

The Afro-West Indian Literary Debating Society represented the interests of students from Africa and those of African origin from the Caribbean. At the time of its formation in 1899, 11 African students and 51 students from the Caribbean had matriculated at Edinburgh University.¹⁰⁰ The Association was probably spawned by the growth in Pan-African sentiment and may have been formed in imitation of the African Association established during Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee by West Indian and West African students in London. This sought to "encourage a feeling of unity ... (and) ... promote and protect the interests of all subjects claiming African descent, wholly or in part,

⁹⁶Usher, C. M., *The Story of Edinburgh University Athletic Club*, Edinburgh, Athletic Club of the University of Edinburgh, 1966, pps. 54 and 137.

⁹⁷40 students from Southern Africa matriculated in 1893, 80 in 1903 and 156 in 1913. *MBK 1893-94*; *MBK 1903-04*, and *MBK 1913-14*.

⁹⁸Burrows, E. H., *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, Cape Town/Amsterdam, A. A. Balkema for the Medical Association of South Africa, 1958, pps. 347-48.

⁹⁹Burrows, *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, p. 348.

¹⁰⁰*MBK 1899-1900: The Student*, 26 October 1899, p. 29.

in British Colonies and other places.”¹⁰¹ The promotion of Pan-African objectives was not, however, something new to Edinburgh University. Barbadian Dr. A. Thorn (MBCM 1893), a lifelong supporter of schemes to take Negroes from the Americas back to Africa, had collected donations for this purpose within the University between 1895 and 1897.¹⁰²

The political focus of the Edinburgh Society quickly became apparent when it was represented by three delegates at a Pan-African Conference held in London in July 1900.¹⁰³ The Edinburgh representation comprised two Trinidadians, J. Alcindor (MBChB 1899) and W. C. B. Meyer (MBCM 1901) and R. A. K. Savage (MBChB 1900) from West Africa. Savage spoke at the meeting on the progress of African people in the light of their recent history, whilst Meyer launched an attack on then current pseudo-scientific racism which tried “to prove that negroes were worthless and depraved persons who had no right to live.”¹⁰⁴

The attachment of the Society to Pan-African ideals, and the intensity with which they were espoused, is reflected in the the future careers of some of its members. After graduation, former members of the Afro-West Indian Literary Debating Society continued to promote Pan-African objectives, and the political interests of people of African origin living or working in Britain. For example, working as a Medical Officer in London, Alcindor remained active in political life, becoming president of the African Progress Union in 1921 and chairing the second Pan-African Congress in the same year.¹⁰⁵ Whether the Afro-West Indian Literary Debating Society’s contribution to the Pan-African movement in Britain during this period is of importance is debatable.

¹⁰¹Langley, J. A., Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1945, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1973, p. 27.

¹⁰²Shepperson, G., An Early African Graduate in Donaldson, G., (Ed.), Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1983, p. 96.

¹⁰³The Times, 24 July 1900, p.7.

¹⁰⁴Langley, Pan-Africanism, p. 27; Fryer, P., Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain, London, Pluto Press, 1984, p. 283.

¹⁰⁵The Medical Directory 1920, London, J. & A. Churchill, 1920, p.70; Fryer, Staying Power, p. 293.

However, it did foster African awareness, provided a forum in which its student members could articulate their views and, in the longer term, probably contributed to the evolution of Black consciousness movements.¹⁰⁶

Edinburgh Indian Association

It is possible that the formation of the Edinburgh Indian Association was prompted by the establishment of the London Indian Society in 1872. Consisting mainly of students, and with Dadabhai Naoroji as President, the aim of the London Society was “to bring into closer union the Indians residing in England, and to furnish an opportunity for the exchange of thought and feeling on all matters related with India.”¹⁰⁷ As with the London Society, the objects of the Edinburgh Indian Association were to offer personal assistance to “Statutory Natives of India” who came to Scotland for business or study, and to promote social activities and debates.¹⁰⁸ From an initial 6 members in 1883, the Association claimed 50 members in 1903.¹⁰⁹

Like the other associations of overseas students, the Edinburgh Indian Association organised regular meetings, debates and social functions. The programme for 1908-09 included, for example, debates on topics such as the need for physical education in India and Indian students’ responsibilities towards India. However, unlike many other student associations, most of the meetings had a political focus and, indeed, political matters, and issues related to India, dominated the agenda.¹¹⁰ During the same year the Association

¹⁰⁶Holmes, C., *John Bull's Island: Immigration & British Society, 1871-1971.* London, Macmillan Education Ltd, 1988, pps.136-37.

¹⁰⁷Visram, R., *Avahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain 1700-1947.* London, Pluto Press, 1986, p. 77.

¹⁰⁸University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da 67Ind), *Laws and Regulations of the Edinburgh Indian Association, 1905.*

¹⁰⁹University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), *Circular fund raising appeal letter from the President and Hon. Secretary of the Indian Association dated February 1903.* In 1903, 85 Indian born students matriculated of whom 60 were the children of expatriates. *MAB 1903-07.*

¹¹⁰University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), *Syllabus of Meetings-Session 1908-09.* Thirteen meetings of the Association were held in 1908-09 of which only three were concerned with non Indian matters of more general interest.

debated political movements in India, the development of tertiary education on the subcontinent and national development under British rule.

The political interests of the Association, and the concern of its members to retain “Indian” control of its day to day activities, led “the ‘Black Men’ of the University” (as they were described by a leading Advocate) to bring an action in 1911 in the Court of Session on the rights of the Association to disburse funds earlier raised for the Indian student community for a “Habitation”, or Club House, for its members. “The Indian Association insist that the Trustees (of the Association) are to have no control or say in the internal management of the Association’s affairs, unless to such extent as the Association allow.”¹¹¹ The strength of feeling by the Association’s members can be better understood if seen against the wider background of the concerns of the Indian student community in Britain at that time.

A revolutionary Indian student movement in Britain began to emerge in the early years of the twentieth century under the leadership of Shyamaji Krishnavarma, a retired Oxford educated barrister.¹¹² It had a much more radical agenda than the earlier generation of Indian nationalist leaders who were content to seek reforms and improvements in India within the context of continuing British rule. Nothing short of complete independence was now envisaged. The movement centred on India House, a hostel established by Krishnavarma for Indian students in London.¹¹³ National awareness was heightened through Martyrs’ Day celebrations organised to honour those Indians who had died in the Mutiny/Rebellion of 1857.¹¹⁴ The movement was strong on idealism and rhetoric rather than action, but the British and Indian Governments viewed the activities of the students with alarm. Following the assassination in London in 1909 of Sir William Curzon Wylie, the Political

¹¹¹University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Letter of 1 November 1910 from Messrs. Pearson, Robertson and Findlay, acting for the Association, to the University Factor, Sir. H. Cook, WS.

¹¹²Visram, R. Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History, London, Pluto Press, 2002, pps. 89 and 150.

¹¹³Visram, Avahs, Lascars and Princes, pps.102-04.

¹¹⁴The Times, 23 May 1908.

ADC, by M. L. Dhingra, who had associations with the radicals, India House was closed in 1910.¹¹⁵ Indian students in Scotland would have been aware of these developments as a number from Edinburgh had earlier attended Martyrs' Day celebrations in 1908.¹¹⁶ University officials and staff dealing with the proposals for a "Habitation" for Indian students in Edinburgh would also have been familiar with the potential problems posed by an Indian student centre which, perhaps, accounts for the inflexibility of their subsequent response. Certainly, Sir T. R. Fraser, Professor of Materia Medica, was keen to ensure that the Association would not become involved with any political or religious matters¹¹⁷

The background to the Edinburgh dispute was, however, innocuous enough. In 1903 the Association had launched an appeal for funds to establish a "Habitation" in order to "increase the comfort and well being of the members of the Edinburgh Indian Association during their residence in a distant country, and to promote the cause of education among the Indians." In making such an appeal the Association was careful to note that "the possession of habitations by kindred associations has not discouraged intercourse between their members and the other students, or the citizens in general, and has thus enhanced the great educational advantages derivable from friendly relations between students of different nationalities". Professor Kirkpatrick, Professor of Constitutional Law and Constitutional History, was appointed Hon. Treasurer of a Fund in which any monies raised would be held "in the name of the Association". Five Trustees, some of whom were to be replaced during the fundraising process, were also appointed. An Indian Fair was later held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh from 5 to 7 December 1907 as a result of which some £500 was raised for the Fund. Further donations, including £3,365 from the Maharani of Vizianagram, provided (with accrued

¹¹⁵Visram, *Asians in Britain*, p. 161.

¹¹⁶Visram, *Avahs, Lascars and Princes*, p. 106.

¹¹⁷University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Letter of 11 June 1910 from Sir Thomas R. Fraser to the University Factor, Sir H. Cook, WS.

interest) over £5,500 from the appeal.¹¹⁸

The essence of the dispute between the Association and the Trustees arose initially, not with regard to the disbursement of the funds raised, but in connection with the status and powers of the Trustees. The Association came to perceive them as seeking to play a supervisory role in connection with the details of the Association's constitution and its internal activities. The Trustees were unwilling to support an amendment to the Association's constitution which would have allowed non-Indians to attend classes in the "Habitation" in Indian languages, history and law. They were suspicious that the real, if covert, effect of the proposed amendment was to establish that, apart from Honorary Members, Association membership would thereby be "conferred (only) to Indians."¹¹⁹ When the Association additionally proposed that membership should be extended to ladies (there were no female Indian students at Edinburgh at that time) the Trustees were affronted. They then flatly refused to hand over any of the funds raised, or the keys of the premises which had been leased for the use of Indian students at 11 George Square, until arrangements acceptable to the Trustees had been framed with regard to the membership and management of the Association.¹²⁰

There was reluctance on both sides to resort to litigation. Writing to the University Factor, Sir Henry Cook, in February 1911, Dr. A. H. L. Barbour, Lecturer in Systematic and Clinical Gynaecology, who had actively supported the provision of premises for the Association, said he had been approached by the President of the Indian Association to ask that the Principal bring about an understanding between the Trustees and the Association.¹²¹ But he worried

¹¹⁸University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Closed Record in the action at the instance of The Edinburgh Indian Association against Emeritus Professor Kirkpatrick and Others, December 12 1911, pps. 3 and 9.

¹¹⁹University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Marginal note on memorandum to Counsel from Messrs. W. & J. Cook, 1911.

¹²⁰University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Minute of Meeting of the Trustees of the Indian Habitation Fund held at 61 Castle Street, Edinburgh, on 1 August 1911.

¹²¹University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Letter of 17 February 1911 from Dr. A. H. F. Barbour to the University Factor, Sir H. Cook WS.

that the Principal would wish to be seen to safeguard the interests of all the Indian students at Edinburgh and not just those of the Association's members, who were sometimes perceived to be a minority clique.¹²² Lord Salvesen, one of the original patrons of the project, thought there "must be some way out of the deadlock ... and it would be very gratifying ... if such a way could be found and the Club premises opened for use".¹²³ On the other hand, the University Factor took a more legalistic view of the Association's proposals, perhaps mindful of the advice of his friend, Sir A. R. Simpson, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, that "they are dour fellows these Indians. Perhaps the summer examinations may let away one or two of the more determined sort."¹²⁴

Compromise was not to be achieved and the matter proceeded to Court. In a judgment dated 22 February 1912, Lord Cullen dismissed the action, finding for the Trustees and ruling that the Association's claims in law were insufficient and irrelevant in regard to the management of the funds raised. Costs were awarded from the finance raised, thereby diminishing the quantum of funds available for the establishment of a "Habitation" and penalising the students.¹²⁵ Although the victory by the Trustees and, by default, the University, was complete, the Association survived and went on to become an important meeting point for Indian students studying at Edinburgh University.¹²⁶ The issue of how the "Habitation" was to be managed is important because it highlights the hierarchical organisational culture within the University and the attitude of important members of staff to corporate initiatives by foreign students to assert their cultural and national identity.

¹²²University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Letter of 9 November 1910 from Dr. A. H. F. Barbour to the University Factor, Sir. H. Cook, WS.

¹²³University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Letter of 15 May 1911 from Lord Salvesen to the University Factor, Sir. H. Cook, WS.

¹²⁴University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Letter of 20 July 1910 from Sir. A. R. Simpson, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, to the University Factor, Sir. H. Cook, WS.

¹²⁵University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da67Ind), Opinion of Lord Cullen in causa The Edinburgh Indian Association against Emeritus Professor Kirkpatrick etc. 22 February 1912.

¹²⁶Mehta, P. D., First Hundred Years in Edinburgh Indian Association, 1883-1983. Edinburgh, Edinburgh Indian Association, 1983.

Conclusion

The composition and dynamics of the overseas student community at Edinburgh University were varied and changed significantly between 1880 and 1914. Although the children of settlers and expatriates together made up the bulk of overseas born students during this period, their numbers declined. The children of settlers accounted for 54% of annual overseas matriculations in 1880-84, but only 46% in 1910-14. Expatriate students' share of annual enrolments fell from 33% in 1880-84 to 11% in 1910-14. In contrast, annual matriculations by foreign born students increased dramatically from 13% in 1880-84 to 43% of total overseas enrolments in 1910-14. The broader profile of the overseas student community also changed during the period. Although nearly all were born in the British Empire overseas, by 1910-14 nearly 50% of annual matriculations were effected by students from the non-western world rather than traditional areas of British influence such as the settlement colonies. This reflects the expansion of British control in parts of Africa and Asia as well as the demand for tertiary education by often privileged elites living in these societies.

The importance of the Faculty of Medicine in attracting a diverse range of overseas born students cannot be understated. Some 82% of total annual matriculations by overseas born students between 1880 and 1914 were to study Medicine. Overseas students enrolling in other Faculties did so for a variety of reasons. In the case of the Faculty of Arts, for example, we have noted earlier that many students took an Arts Degree as a precursor to studying Medicine, Law or Divinity, or to pursuing a career at the Indian Bar. Meanwhile, the expansion of the Faculty of Science provided a range of courses in emerging disciplines, such as tropical Agriculture or Forestry, which were of obvious relevance to overseas born students. The educational background of such students varied considerably. Whether educated partly, or wholly, in their country of origin, or in Britain, nearly all came from established institutions which used the English language and followed a British orientated curriculum. Whilst overseas born students had to meet the same entrance

requirements as domestic students, the University of Edinburgh sought, where appropriate, to provide some flexibility in, for example, allowing a student from India to substitute Sanskrit for Latin at the Preliminary Examinations.

Overseas born students participated fully in the corporate life of the University between 1880 and 1914. Associations of students from abroad, mostly with a specific geographic focus, were formed to facilitate settling into the local community and the promotion of matters of common interest. The civil action by the Edinburgh Indian Association to which reference has been made earlier does indicate, however, the extent to which foreign students at least felt the need to assert their own national interests at a time when the legitimacy of British rule in parts of the Empire, such as India, was beginning to be questioned. However, despite the problems which arose in this case, the University took a largely positive approach to the growth of its overseas undergraduate community between 1880 and 1914. The University's broadening international perspectives were reinforced by the scope of its overseas connections which began to expand rapidly during this period.

The increase in the number of overseas students was paralleled by the growth of the University's other overseas connections between 1880 and 1914. This Chapter explores some of these international dimensions through an assessment of the nature and scope of the University's involvement abroad. The connections which the University developed during this period, and the issues with which it was concerned, extended far beyond traditional contacts with European institutions. They point to a close association with, and involvement in, issues arising from the evolution of Britain's formal and informal empire. During this period the University of Edinburgh pursued an ongoing process of engagement with governments and institutions, both within and outside the British Isles, in relation to matters of academic or political interest perceived to be of importance to it, or its graduates. This process was reinforced locally and overseas by contact at various levels with a wide range of individuals, many of whom were Edinburgh graduates.

This analysis looks at how far the University was involved with educational issues and with individuals abroad, what it sought to achieve for, and how it sought to protect the interests of, its graduates overseas. It also looks at how the life of the academic and student community was influenced by the University's growing involvement with the developing Empire. As one example, a study is made of which individuals with overseas connections were laureated by the University with the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws (LLD). Consideration is also given as to how far the University's curriculum was influenced by overseas exposure. In disciplines such as Agriculture and Forestry, for example, many new courses were introduced between 1880 and 1914, some of them with a strong overseas related content which clearly was of significance to employment in the Empire and the furtherance of imperial ideals.

The University and a Wider World

Through its students and staff, Edinburgh University had traditionally been

associated with other European universities.¹ This international association was extended and strengthened between 1880 and 1914 as new academic institutions developed in Europe, North America and throughout the Empire. It became the custom for the University to be represented at celebrations by leading international universities, or for it to send formal fraternal greetings. For example, in 1884 Professor Crum Brown was appointed to represent the University at the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Berne in Switzerland, whilst congratulatory telegrams were sent to the University of Moscow in 1881, and Harvard University in 1886, both in response to invitations to the University to associate itself with similar academic festivities in Russia and the United States.² In cases where it was either impractical because of teaching commitments or too expensive to send a delegate, the University sometimes arranged for representation either through graduates resident overseas or others who had connections with the University. In Australia, for example, Dr. J. L. Gibson (MBCM 1881) represented the University in 1911 at ceremonies marking the inauguration of the University of Brisbane.³ In the United States another Edinburgh graduate, Professor A. Smith (BSc 1886) of Columbia University, who expressed himself "much gratified at being asked," attended for Edinburgh University the dedication of the State Education Building in New York in 1912.⁴

In addition to these celebratory occasions, University staff now regularly attended overseas conferences and meetings of learned organisations and societies. Professor Eggeling was at a gathering of orientologists in Berlin in 1881, Sir T. R. Fraser at an international medical conference in Lisbon in 1906, and Dr. R. S. Macdougall at a conference of the Entomological Society of

¹Lochart Walker, A., *The Revival of the Democratic Intellect*, Edinburgh, Polygon, 1994, pps. 32-33.

²University of Edinburgh, University Archives (Da 31.5), *College Minutes* (Minutes of Senatus), Meeting of 27 June 1884, Vol. 8, p.166; *College Minutes*, Meeting of 27 May 1881, Vol. 7, p. 241; *College Minutes*, Meeting of 18 October 1886, Vol. 8, p. 474-75.

³*College Minutes*, Meeting of 11 May 1911, Vol, 15, p. 392.

⁴*College Minutes*, Meeting of 7 November 1911, Vol.16, p.131.

Ontario in 1913.⁵ Visits to Edinburgh by overseas academics or educational authorities provided the University with an opportunity to offer or reciprocate hospitality. In 1897, for example, the Senatus gave “a cordial welcome” to Members of the French Academy “and other distinguished Frenchmen” who visited Edinburgh in the summer of that year.⁶ Where practical, through the loan of exhibits, or gifts of literature, the University ensured it had a presence at important international academic and cultural occasions. A copy of Principal Grant’s *Story of the University of Edinburgh during its first three hundred years* was forwarded for display at the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition in 1888, whilst books, plans and photographs relating to the University were sent in 1889 to the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition Committee.⁷

All this may seem of little import to an academic organisation, but the scope of Edinburgh University’s overseas interest and involvement was not restricted to formal contacts and representation at the institutional level. Between 1880 and 1914, the University was willing to assume an advisory and consultancy role on a wide range of issues of concern to the international educational community. In 1880, for example, in response to a request by the French Minister of Public Instruction for advice on its curriculum, the University provided details of its teaching programme and publications.⁸ Similar information was forwarded to the Japanese Commissioner on Education in 1884.⁹ Books were sent to the University of Toulouse in 1910 to help replenish the Library there following a fire, and medical textbooks were gifted through the British Embassy to the new Medical School at Constantinople.¹⁰ The opinion of the University was sought by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1910 on plans for the establishment of a university in China, the Senate responding

⁵College Minutes, Meeting of 20 April 1881, Vol. 7, p. 230: College Minutes, Meeting of 4 March 1905, Vol. 13, p. 325: College Minutes, Meeting of 8 May 1913, Vol. 16, p. 214.

⁶College Minutes, Meeting of 28 May 1897, Vol. 11, p. 163.

⁷College Minutes, Meeting of 27 July 1888, Vol. 9, p. 206: College Minutes, Meeting of 28 June 1889, Vol. 9, p. 299.

⁸College Minutes, Meeting of 30 July 1880, Vol. 7, p. 135.

⁹College Minutes, Meeting of 27 October 1884, Vol. 8, p. 188.

¹⁰College Minutes, Meeting of 1 December 1910, Vol. 15, p. 327.

cautiously that “the matter was one rather for private effort on the part of individuals interested” rather than for direct action by the University.¹¹

Whilst the breadth of the University’s engagement with the international academic community was extensive, there was, from the early 1900s, an increasing emphasis on matters of imperial interest. The University was involved with the Imperial Education Conference in 1911, the Congress of the Universities of the Empire in 1912 and in the establishment of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire.¹² Moreover, issues deriving from, and related to, the Empire were perceived as being of importance to the University. In response to a request by the President and Secretary of the League of the Empire, for example, the Senatus appointed the Vice Chancellor and Professors Lodge and Darroch to represent the University at a League of Empire conference on Education in 1907.¹³ Similarly, the Senate expressed warm support for a proposal by the Honorary Secretary of a Committee “formed in England” for the purpose of holding an Allied Colonial Universities Dinner in London in the summer of 1904.¹⁴

The importance of overseas connections to the University is highlighted by the establishment of some University Committees between 1880 and 1914 and by the measures taken to address the needs of specific groups of foreign students. At the request of the Students’ Representative Council (SRC), a Committee of Patronage for Foreign Students was established in 1891. It comprised the Principal, Deans of Faculties and one professorial representative, Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit.¹⁵ This Committee was superseded in 1897 when an International Committee for “the assistance and guidance of Foreign Students” was established by the Senate to complement the work of the SRC’s International - Academic Committee which aimed “to give every assistance to

¹¹College Minutes, Meeting of 5 February 1910, Vol. 15, p. 200.

¹²College Minutes, Meeting of 2 February 1911, Vol. 14, p. 376; College Minutes, Meeting of 7 December 1912, Vol. 16, p. 4; College Minutes, Meeting of 8 May 1913, Vol. 16, p. 221.

¹³College Minutes, Meeting of 30 March 1907, Vol. 14, p. 212.

¹⁴College Minutes, Meeting of 14 February 1903, Vol. 13, p. 23.

¹⁵College Minutes, Meeting of 31 July 1891, Vol. 10, p. 41.

Foreigners desirous of studying in the University of Edinburgh, and to Edinburgh University Students desirous of studying in foreign universities.”¹⁶ The Committee had a much broader basis. It comprised the Principal, Professors Kirkpatrick and Eggeling, the Secretary to the Senatus, Sir Ludovic Grant, and Dr. C. Sarolea and Mr. O. Schlapp who lectured in French and German respectively.¹⁷ The International Committee clearly had some success in encouraging students from Europe to come to study at Edinburgh University. British expatriates, who had local contacts and were familiar with course requirements at Edinburgh, were appointed to represent the University in some European cities such as Budapest.¹⁸

Between 1880 and 1914 the University came to realise that its overseas interface, particularly with the Empire, was changing. More students than ever before were coming to study at Edinburgh. “From India, for example, and from the Colonies,” Principal Muir mused in 1885, “what numbers does not our Matriculation register now increasingly contain!” Assisted by improved communications throughout the Empire, Edinburgh University was at the forefront of disseminating knowledge, professional skills and values by way of its many graduates throughout the Empire. “And so men run to and fro, and knowledge is increased.”¹⁹ But there were some constraints on expanding the scope of the University’s overseas influence. Despite the fact that many Scots held “high and distinguished” posts in India and elsewhere, Muir regretted that Edinburgh University afforded “so few facilities of special training for such of our youth as aspire to labour there.” Britain was closely involved with all matters related to the East and could not be “indifferent to the literature and history, the antiquities and the social problems, attaching to the Oriental world.”²⁰ To avoid being surpassed by other institutions of higher learning, Edinburgh’s curriculum needed to embrace “the whole range of Oriental

¹⁶EUC 1897-98, p. 468.

¹⁷College Minutes, Meeting of 28 May 1897, Vol. 11, p. 176.

¹⁸The Student, 25 October 1900, pps.111-12.

¹⁹Muir, W., The Principal’s Opening Address for the Session of 1885-86, Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh, 1885, p. 6.

²⁰Muir, Opening Address.1885-86, p.16.

study ... the whole learning of Asia.”²¹ But institutional factors sometimes played a role in constraining the level of the University’s overseas engagement. In 1893, when preparing a new Will, which provided *inter alia* for the funding of scholars from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada to study in Britain, Cecil Rhodes chose Oxford rather than Edinburgh University which lacked collegiate facilities.²²

Some of this interest in international students was prompted by external circumstances. The welfare of Indian students studying at Edinburgh University and elsewhere was, for example, a matter of concern to the India Office, particularly after 1900 when, as we have noted earlier, the number of such students increased significantly.²³ Individual students and staff gave evidence to the Government Committee on Indian Students in 1907, but the University appeared reluctant to become too closely involved with the Indian student community, largely because of the problems earlier discussed which were arising at that time with the establishment of a “habitation” for Indian students.²⁴ By 1912, the Senate had come to believe that there were considerable “difficulties” involved in taking forward India Office proposals to appoint a Local Adviser to Indian Students in Edinburgh. A compromise was reached in 1913 when Dr. J. Miller (BSc 1896, MBChB 1899, MD 1903), who lectured in Pathology in the extramural school, was appointed in a personal capacity as Local Adviser.²⁵ His remit was to be of service to Indian students who wished to consult him, but particularly to exercise financial supervision over “those students whose parents desire to place them under the charge of the Representative of the Secretary of State.”²⁶ Dr. Miller’s appointment was a

²¹Muir, Opening Address. 1885-86, p.17.

²²Newbury, C., *Cecil Rhodes and the South African Connection: ‘A Great Imperial University’* in Madden, F and Fieldhouse, D. K., (Eds.), Oxford and the Idea of Commonwealth, Croom Helm, London and Canberra, 1982, p. 85.

²³Visram, R., Avahs. Lascars and Princes, London, Pluto Press, 1986, pps.178-79.

²⁴College Minutes, Meeting of 5 July 1907, Vol. 14, p. 270: College Minutes, Meeting of 7 November 1912, Vol. 16, p. 148.

²⁵The Medical Directory 1920, London, J. & A. Churchill, 1920, p. 1422.

²⁶College Minutes, Meeting of 9 January 1913, Vol.16, pps. 171-172: College Minutes, Meeting of 5 May 1913, Vol.16, p. 214.

practical measure by the India Office to provide guidance and support for what were perceived to be inexperienced young students coming from India to study in Edinburgh at that time.

The overseas focus of the University is also reflected in some of the scholarships and prizes established between 1880 and 1914 and in gifts to the University by graduates and others. A few examples will illustrate this point. In response to concerns expressed by the Faculty of Medicine, the initial period of tenure of scholarships funded by the Government of Trinidad, which permitted students to study for three years at Edinburgh University, was amended in 1898 to cover the whole five year study period required for the MBChB Degree.²⁷ Reflecting Edinburgh University's interest in the subject, a Prize in Tropical Medicine, funded by the Straits Settlements, was inaugurated in 1901.²⁸ After service with a Medical unit in Southern Africa during the Boer War, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (MBCM 1881, MD 1885, LLD 1905) financed a Prize in the Faculty of Medicine in 1902 "to be competed for by Students of South African Birth."²⁹ However, it is perhaps the scholarships funded from the estate of John Borthwick Gilchrist, "for the Benefit, Advancement and propagation of education and learning in every part of the world", that best reflect the international standing of Edinburgh University in this period, as well as the extent to which it was enmeshed in the teaching and training of future leaders of the Empire.³⁰

As earlier noted, in 1865 Gilchrist's Trustees had financed three scholarships at Edinburgh University for native born students of India who had passed the competitive examinations of one of the Presidential Universities of India.³¹

²⁷College Minutes, Meeting of 22 October 1898, Vol.11, p. 337.

²⁸College Minutes, Meeting of 25 November 1901, Vol.12, pps. 9-10.

²⁹Higham, C., The Adventures of Conan Doyle, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1976, pps. 160-64. College Minutes, Meetings of 4 July and 25 July 1902, Vol. 12, pps. 394 and 402.

³⁰Falconer, R. A., The Gilchrist Scholarships - an Episode in the Higher Education of Canada in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa, The Royal Society of Canada, Series III, May 1933, p. 8.

³¹They were Bombay University, Calcutta University and Madras University all of which were constituted in 1857.

Further scholarships were instituted by Gilchrist's Trustees in 1868 to permit other students from India, and the "principal British Colonies", to prepare either in University College London, or at the University of Edinburgh, for graduation in the University of London. The arrangements requiring graduation in London for a student studying in Edinburgh were never widely welcomed by those awarded scholarships and led to anomalies. For example, many recipients of the scholarships, some of whom already held a first degree, used their time for postgraduate study in parallel with preparing for the London University undergraduate BA or BSc Degrees.³² However, given the constraints imposed by the necessity of graduating at London, Edinburgh University attracted a sizable number of scholars. This is perhaps best illustrated in the case of students from Canadian universities which were major competitors for the awards. Of the 18 Canadian scholars who came to Britain between 1868 and 1887, 8 studied in London, 7 in Edinburgh, and 3 partly in Edinburgh and partly in London. The scholars all had careers overseas.³³ Those who studied at Edinburgh University during this period demonstrate the high level of attainment which recipients of the scholarships were required to have. They also illustrate the careers which could be open to those who were successful. An example is J. G. Schurman (DSc 1878). He was President of Cornell University between 1892 and 1920 and subsequently US Minister to China in 1921 and then US Ambassador to Germany from 1925 to 1930.³⁴

Gifts from those with overseas connections, some of whom were Edinburgh graduates, complemented prizes and scholarships. F. H. Parker (MA 1877), who was Registrar of British Honduras, donated his collection of "ancient pottery and Indian remains" to the University in 1886.³⁵ F. H. Balfour presented Chinese translations of English and other works to the University Library in 1890.³⁶ A highly successful East India Merchant, D. M. Forbes (MA

³²Falconer, *The Gilchrist Scholarships*, pps. 8 and 10.

³³Falconer, *The Gilchrist Scholarships*, pps.11-13.

³⁴*GCR 1920/10520: American National Biography*, New York, American Council of Learned Societies, Oxford University Press, 1999, pps. 445-47.

³⁵*College Minutes*, Meeting of 30 July 1886, Vol. 8, p.465.

³⁶*College Minutes*, Meeting of 29 November 1890, Vol. 9, p. 439.

1860), left a very generous bequest of over £100,000 to the University in 1916 plus a collection of books on the Philippine Islands where he had spent part of his life.³⁷ Gifts of books were particularly welcome as the University Library had difficulty in meeting the demands posed by new and enhanced courses, particularly in Arts and Medicine.³⁸ Books donated covered a wide range of topics. Many were gifted by organisations abroad and related to matters of overseas interest.³⁹ All this no doubt made the University sensitive to the importance of the overseas world as a source of funding and academic support.

Forbes had carved out his own career in East Asia, but the extent to which Edinburgh University tried to facilitate the overseas employment of its graduates, and to promote their interests, provides a useful indication of how far it was drawn into, and exposed to, matters of wider imperial and international interest between 1880 and 1914. Recognising the value of employment abroad, the University tried to open up new opportunities for its graduates whilst ensuring that existing avenues to advancement overseas were fully exploited. In 1906, for example, the Principal took up with the Under Secretary at the Finance Ministry in Cairo the need to include Edinburgh University candidates when considering appointments to the Civil Service in Egypt and the Sudan. Eventually, the Selection Board agreed "to treat Edinburgh University on the same footing with the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Dublin." It further promised to give "mention of Edinburgh University in the precis of information to candidates," and to give consideration to "all applications and recommendations which (the Principal)

³⁷EUC 1917-18, p.742.

³⁸Simpson, S. M., *The history of the Library 1837-1939* in Guild, J. R. and Law, A., (Eds.), Edinburgh University Library, 1580-1980, Edinburgh, The Edinburgh University Library, 1982, pps.105-06.

³⁹For example, donations of books to the University Library recorded in the University Calendar for 1897-98 included many with a non domestic focus such as those donated by the Royal Geographical Society, the American-Jewish Historical Society and the Geological Survey of India. In addition to contributions of books in 1897-98 by the Governments of Canada, France, India, Italy, New South Wales, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Victoria and others, donations of books were also received from a large number of overseas tertiary institutions including the Universities of Buenos Aires, Leyden, Madras, Tokyo and Warsaw. EUC 1898 -99, p.441.

put forward.”⁴⁰ Of course, not all attempts to widen the influence of the University were successful. In 1887, for example, the Secretary of State for India declined to support a proposal by Principal Muir to extend to Edinburgh University six recently established scholarships which allowed Indian students to study at Oxford or Cambridge.⁴¹

As noted earlier, a large number of Edinburgh graduates found employment in India and, again, the University sought to facilitate this. Having been asked in 1900 by the India Office to comment on proposals for the selection and training of officers for the Indian Forest Service (IFS), the University then encouraged its students with suitable qualifications to seek appointment in that Service.⁴² In 1912, and no doubt partly as a result, the India Office recognised Edinburgh University as one of the three centres in Britain where probationers selected for the IFS could undertake their probationary course.⁴³ The University liaised closely with the Civil Service Commissioners to ensure Edinburgh students were adequately prepared for the Indian Civil Service Examinations. In the Faculty of Medicine additional *ad hoc* courses were provided for “the benefit of candidates preparing for the examinations for the Navy, Army and Indian Medical Services.”⁴⁴ A Senate Committee was established to advise Honours Arts students intending to sit the Civil Service Commission Examinations so that they were well prepared to secure “important posts in India and at home.”⁴⁵ And success was warmly welcomed. The appointment in 1913 of two recent graduates to the Indian Public Works Department was noted with satisfaction.⁴⁶

⁴⁰College Minutes, Meeting of 12 January 1907, Vol. 14, pps. 164-65.

⁴¹Muir, W., The Principal's Opening Address for the Session of 1887-88, Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh, 1887, p. 6.

⁴²College Minutes, Meeting of 29 June 1900, Vol.12, p.105; College Minutes, Meeting of 14 October 1905, Vol.13, p. 408.

⁴³College Minutes, Meeting of 2 March 1911, Vol.15, p. 366. The other two centres were Oxford and Cambridge.

⁴⁴College Minutes, Meeting of 2 March 1911, Vol.15, p 373; College Minutes, Meeting of 12 May 1905, Vol.13, pps. 360-61.

⁴⁵EUC 1902-03, p. 115.

⁴⁶College Minutes, Meeting of 10 July 1913, Vol.16, p. 255.

The University, of course, did not confine its attention solely to the Indian subcontinent. The importance of employment in other parts of the Empire was also recognised. As new avenues of employment opened up to Edinburgh Medical graduates in the Colonies, the University appreciated that they should be treated on the same basis as those serving elsewhere. In 1910, for example, the Faculty of Medicine recommended that “the Colonial Medical Services should now be placed on an equal footing with the other Public Medical Services as regards time spent in qualifying for the higher degrees in Medicine and Surgery.”⁴⁷ For its part, the University sought to facilitate an interchange of medical knowledge and expertise with areas where tropical medicine was relevant. In 1906, for example, the University recognised for purposes of graduation in Public Health part of the course of instruction provided by the first Government Bacteriologist in Hong Kong.⁴⁸ Similarly in 1910, though in this case at the request of the Colonial Office, the University agreed to provide *ad hoc* courses of instruction in the mounting and preparation of entomological specimens for personnel serving in the West and East African Medical Services.⁴⁹

The interest in securing jobs for its graduates overseas could be taken to impressive lengths. The University regularly monitored the number of appointments secured by its graduates in the Indian Medical Service and the Royal Army Medical Corps.⁵⁰ The importance of these organisations continuing to be able to provide good employment opportunities for its graduates was lost on nobody. Writing to the British Medical Association in 1897, the University noted that “the causes of discontent that exist in the Army Medical Service are matters of much concern as many of the Graduates of the University are members of that Service, and many students look forward to it

⁴⁷College Minutes, Meeting of 3 November 1910, Vol. 15, pps. 314-15.

⁴⁸College Minutes, Meeting of 13 March 1906, Vol. 14, pps. 32-33; Hong Kong Museum of Medical Sciences, Grand Opening Commemorative Publication, Hong Kong, Museum of Medical Sciences, 1996, p. 23.

⁴⁹College Minutes, Meeting of 26 March 1910, Vol. 15, p. 227.

⁵⁰College Minutes, Meeting of 1 December 1906, Vol. 14, p.142; College Minutes, Meeting of 3 March 1906, Vol. 14, p. 20.

as a desirable career.”⁵¹ Professor Crystal and Dr. J. Bell were subsequently appointed as representatives of the University on the Army Board of Selection “constituted for the purpose of making suggestions to the War Office regarding the General Regulations with respect to the instruction and selection of University candidates for Commissions in the Army.”⁵²

The University clearly took an active role in protecting the employment prospects of its graduates outside the United Kingdom. Another interesting illustration of this arose in 1898 when a number of Edinburgh graduates practising in Italy drew the University’s attention to proposals which they felt, if implemented, would have curtailed their right to practise there. The University quickly wrote to the Secretary of State for Scotland remarking that “a movement has been set on foot among the native practitioners of Medicine (of Italy) to abrogate an Article in the Italian Sanitary Law which permits foreign medical men to practise their profession among non-Italian residents and visitors.”⁵³ As a result, the matter was raised with the Italian Government by the British Ambassador in Rome and confirmation obtained that the proposal would not be pursued.⁵⁴

Laureations

The extent to which the University of Edinburgh was involved with the international community can also be illustrated by reference to the award between 1880 and 1914 of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws (LLD) to individuals who lived abroad, or had overseas connections. The Degree had first been conferred in 1695, but was inaugurated in its present form in 1894 with the objective of honouring individuals selected by the Senatus.⁵⁵ The Degree had traditionally been awarded to British politicians, eminent

⁵¹College Minutes, Meeting of 28 May 1897, Vol.11, p. 173.

⁵²College Minutes, Meeting of 5 November 1904, Vol. 13, pps. 261-62.

⁵³College Minutes, Meeting of 26 February 1898, Vol.11, p. 261.

⁵⁴College Minutes, Meeting of 27 May 1898, Vol.11, p. 286.

⁵⁵Commissioners Ordinance No.41. - General, No. 13, Honorary Degrees in Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.), *The Universities (Scotland) Act 1889. together with Ordinances of the Commissioners under the said Act and of University Court Ordinances*, Glasgow, James Maclehose and Sons, 1915, pps. 134-35.

academics, or individuals in professions which had a close association with the University's teaching programme, or with the future careers of its graduates. Examples of such awards between 1880 and 1914 include the Rt. Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P. (LLD 1890), the then Minister of Agriculture, the Rev. Dr. William Cunningham (MA 1870, DSc 1876, LLD 1895), Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics at King's College, London, Sir Alfred Keoch (LLD 1909), Director General of the Army Medical Service and Sir Dietrich Brandis (LLD 1896) of the Indian Forest Service.⁵⁶ Normally three or four Degrees were awarded each year but on special occasions there were more.

1884 Tercentenary LLD Awards

The Tercentenary celebrations of 1884 were used, not just as an occasion to emphasise the international character and interests of the University, but as an opportunity to confer an unprecedented number of Honorary Degrees on distinguished academics, graduates and benefactors of the University who either lived abroad, or had overseas connections. Over half of the 123 LLDs awarded on this occasion went to such individuals. Principal Grant had been one of the first to recognise the broader significance, and potential importance to the University, of the Tercentenary celebrations, first calling attention to the matter in 1872. At his behest a Tercentenary Committee was appointed in 1879 to prepare a programme, and invite representatives "from all the great Universities of the world and distinguished authorities in all departments."⁵⁷

An extensive list of guests from Scotland and overseas was invited to a round of celebrations that highlighted the international standing of the University and which contemporaries thought "was among the most distinguished of that

⁵⁶EUC 1890-91, p. 319, EUC 1895-96, p. 571; EUC 1909-10, p. 454; EUC 1897-98, p. 303. The importance of a career for Edinburgh University graduates in the armed forces Medical services is highlighted by earlier awards of an LLD to T. Crawford (LLD 1884), Director-General of the Army Medical Department, and Sir John Watt Reis (LLD 1884), Director-General of the Medical Department, Royal Navy.

⁵⁷University of Edinburgh, Records of the Tercentenary Festival of the University of Edinburgh Celebrated in April 1884, Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1885, p. 3.

kind in our time.”⁵⁸ The programme included Receptions, Lunches, Banquets, Concerts, an Organ recital, a Torchlight Procession and Fireworks.⁵⁹ Showcasing the academic and international standing of the University, a *Conversazione* was held in the Library Hall to the accompaniment of a student choir. “The staircase and Hall were adorned with palms, ferns and hot-house plants, the galleries were provided with seats for ladies, commanding an admirable survey of the brilliant scene below. At the west end of the Hall was placed a dais, covered with crimson cloth, while most of the deep window-recesses were transformed into miniature boudoirs. In other recesses stood tables, covered with amber coloured cloth, on which several of the Professors exhibited interesting objects illustrative of the subjects they teach.” These too had an international aspect ranging from Professor Tait’s deep-sea thermometers used in the Challenger Expedition, to Professor Turner’s “heads of savages in good preservation.”⁶⁰ The University of Edinburgh was on show, and happy to claim its place as a leading imperial institution. “The recent progress of our University is so well known throughout the world,” Professor Calderwood told a Graduation Ceremonial attended by many overseas guests, “that there is no need for dwelling upon details.”⁶¹

Grant and his colleagues strongly asserted that Edinburgh University played a key role in disseminating knowledge and professional skills throughout the overseas Empire. This was seen both in the growing number of students from throughout the Empire who came to study at Edinburgh and in the contribution Edinburgh graduates were making to the development of tertiary education abroad. The future of the University of Edinburgh, and its Medical School in particular, was perceived to be intimately bound up with future imperial growth which would reinforce a web of established relationships and provide opportunities in new areas of British influence.⁶²

⁵⁸Knight, W., *Some Nineteenth Century Scotsmen*. Edinburgh and London, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903, p. 155.

⁵⁹University of Edinburgh, *Records of the Tercentenary*, pps. 22-29.

⁶⁰University of Edinburgh, *Records of the Tercentenary*, pps. 78-80.

⁶¹University of Edinburgh, *Records of the Tercentenary*, p. 36.

⁶²University of Edinburgh, *Records of the Tercentenary*, pps. 69-70.

Speaking at a Tercentenary luncheon celebration, the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Professor T. R. Fraser, spelt out quite clearly how this would be achieved. "The great ability of many of the (medical) practitioners sent out from Edinburgh, and possibly, it may be, the insight they had here acquired into methods of instruction, led to their taking that important share in the formation and organisation of medical schools in all parts of the world. The establishment of these schools naturally lessened the number of students who had previously been received by Edinburgh; but as new colonies were formed, and as new outlets for enterprise were opened, it has been the great good fortune of this school to maintain its former position." The continuing growth of the Empire provided Edinburgh University with an ongoing non-domestic training role. "At the present time the largest number of our students is not derived from Scotland," Fraser went on. "Many come from England, and a very considerable number from the great Australian colonies, and from India, Canada, and South Africa. We must no doubt anticipate that the formation of well-equipped schools in countries which greatly assist in filling our classrooms, will result in again lessening our supplies from these sources. It might be for us a subject of interesting speculation to inquire from what regions of the world this contingent of our students will in future be obtained; and if any gloomy forebodings should be entertained, I think they must be removed by the consideration that large areas of the earth's surface still remain uncolonised, and that the enterprise of this country does not appear to languish as time proceeds."⁶³

The range of individuals from abroad honoured with the award of an LLD at the Tercentenary celebrations reflected the international interests and outreach of the University. Of the 64 Doctorates conferred on those resident overseas, 55 were awarded to foreigners, the greater majority of whom held academic posts in European Universities. Examples include E. L. V. de Laveleye, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Liege in France, M. von Pettenkofer, Professor of Hygiene at the University of Munich and A. Vera, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Naples. Edinburgh

⁶³University of Edinburgh, *Records of the Tercentenary*, p.70.

University's connections with the New World were also acknowledged with the award of an LLD to F. Barker, President of the New York Academy of Medicine and S. W. Gross, Professor of Surgery in Jefferson College, Philadelphia.⁶⁴ The remaining 9 Degrees were conferred on those who either had associations with the British Empire or were resident in the Empire overseas. All were individuals with significant imperial exposure, such as the oriental scholar, and the University's future Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Sir William Muir, and "the suppressor of the slave-trade in east Africa, one of England's great Proconsuls, a promoter of missionary enterprise and of geographical discovery", Sir. Henry B. Frere.⁶⁵ The claims of those who had sought to promote British interests overseas were not restricted to the formal Empire. The Rev. James Legge, Professor of Chinese Language and Literature at Oxford, and "long a missionary in China", was also awarded an LLD.⁶⁶

Other LLD Awards between 1880 and 1914.

Building on the impetus created by the overseas awards at the Tercentenary celebrations in 1884, those on whom the degree was awarded progressively came to reflect the widening international focus of the University. Table 3(a) shows that, of the 520 individuals honoured between 1880 and 1914, over a third lived outside the British Isles.

Table 3(a) - Edinburgh University LLDs, 1880-1914

Year	British Isles	British Empire	Foreign	Total
1880-84	87	12	57	156
1885-89	35	5	15	55
1890-94	48	2	10	60
1895-99	40	6	18	64
1900-04	35	15	5	55
1905-09	35	9	17	61
1910-14	49	4	16	69
Total	329	53	138	520

Although those associated with the British Empire who were awarded an LLD

⁶⁴University of Edinburgh, *Records of the Tercentenary*, pps. 90, 93-4, 97, 98.

⁶⁵University of Edinburgh, *Records of the Tercentenary*, pps. 93 and 96.

⁶⁶University of Edinburgh, *Records of the Tercentenary*, p. 94.

by the University between 1880 and 1914 account for just over 10% of total awards during this period, nearly all of those honoured exerted considerable influence in imperial affairs and were well placed to promote the best interests abroad of Edinburgh University and its graduates.

In the area of tertiary education overseas, one notable group comprised Edinburgh *alumni*, many of whom, as we have seen, played a pivotal role in securing appointments for Edinburgh graduates. For example, D. Duncan (MA 1867, DSc 1880), Principal and Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at the Presidency College, Madras, T. P. Anderson Stuart (MBCM 1880), Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Sydney, and T. Gilray (MA 1876), Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Otago, were awarded an LLD in 1896, 1900 and 1913 respectively.⁶⁷ Given the University's wish to secure appointments for its graduates in India, another influential group comprises Indian public figures in positions of power such as Sir Charles A. Elliott (LLD 1896), late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the Maharaja of Jaipur (LLD 1908), who, dressed in his academic robes, held a *darbar* to celebrate the award.⁶⁸ A further group comprised business leaders, such as Sir Donald Currie (LLD 1906) of the Union Castle shipping line who played an important role in facilitating commerce and communications within the Empire.⁶⁹

Perhaps the most important grouping to be honoured by the University of Edinburgh was of politicians from across the Empire, nearly all representing areas overseas from where Edinburgh students from abroad originated, or where graduates found employment, or both. From 1902 onwards Edinburgh University awarded a series of LLDs to colonial politicians and officials. Subsequent to the Coronation of Edward VII, the University awarded an LLD to the Prime Ministers of Australia, Canada, Cape Colony, Natal, Newfoundland and New Zealand as well as to the Governors of British Guiana,

⁶⁷EUC 1896-97, p. 534; EUC 1900-01, p. 323; EUC 1914-15, p. 629.

⁶⁸EUC 1897-98, p. 303 : EUC 1908-09, p. 403: College Minutes, Meeting of 22 July 1909, Vol. 15, p.131.

⁶⁹EUC 1907-08, p. 400.

Ceylon, Lagos and Malta.⁷⁰ The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope was laureated in 1904.⁷¹ In 1907 the new Prime Ministers of Cape Colony and of New Zealand were laureated together with the Prime Minister of Natal.⁷² In 1911 LLDs were conferred on the Premier of Newfoundland, the Governors of Fiji, Jamaica, Southern Nigeria and the Straits Settlements, the High Commissioner of Cyprus and the Commissioner of the British Central Africa Protectorate. Clearly, the University's laureations kept pace with imperial growth.⁷³ As new areas of empire were colonised, and potential sources of student recruitment or graduate employment identified, local political leaders, were honoured. A case in point is Sir Walter Egerton (LLD 1911), the Governor of Southern Nigeria who was honoured at a time when the new empire in Africa was evolving.

In establishing and renewing connections with individuals of influence with overseas connections, the University of Edinburgh sought to reinforce its position as an important provider of trained manpower for the Empire whilst, at the same time, adding lustre to its standing as an institution with an imperial focus. As "Great Britain stands in the relation of Mother to the Colonies," the Dean of the Faculty of Law, Sir Ludovic Grant, told a Graduation Ceremonial in July 1902, "so amongst British Universities this University has long been *par excellence* the *Alma Mater* of colonial youth."⁷⁴ As befitted an institution which helped mould the Empire, the imperial refrain was rehearsed, and repeated, when LLDs were conferred on those with overseas connections. Support for the Empire, imperial involvement and upholding imperial ideals, were all perceived as valid and worthy reasons for conferring the University's highest academic distinction. The Maharaja of Jaipur, to whom an earlier reference has been made, was commended in 1908

⁷⁰EUC 1903-04, p. 363.

⁷¹EUC 1905-06, p. 383.

⁷²EUC 1907-08, p. 400.

⁷³EUC 1911-12, p. 473.

⁷⁴University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da 81.2), Laureation Addresses by Professor Sir Ludovic J. Grant, Bart., Dean of the Faculty of Law, 1894-1910, 2 Vols., Vol. 1, p.132.

for “the loyal interest which he evinces in the welfare of the British Empire.”⁷⁵ It was the “watchful patriotism” of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, who “defended and extended the frontiers of our Empire”, that was highlighted at his laureation in 1899.⁷⁶ In awarding an LLD to Kitchener in 1898, his Nile campaign of 1896-97 was characterised as “not merely an epic which appeals to our imperial instincts, but ... rather a dream whose final act is the triumph of civilisation over barbarism, the vindication of order in place of chaos, the gift of light to them that sat in darkness”.⁷⁷ Whatever the rhetoric, the Empire and the University of Edinburgh were bound closely together across a broad spectrum of imperial activity and the University was happy to publicly acknowledge that union.

Curricular Changes

The ongoing process of overseas engagement and involvement by Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914 brought not only an outreach to individuals of imperial influence and standing but also changes in the University’s curriculum. Reference has been made earlier as to how the University’s disciplinary coverage evolved during this period with the foundation of new Chairs and a broadening of the curriculum. One of the factors which probably facilitated curricular innovation was the unitary, rather than college-based, structure of the University itself.⁷⁸ It is evident, nevertheless, that components of the curriculum at Edinburgh University evolved, in part, both deliberately and unintentionally to meet the needs of overseas students. This is best illustrated during this period by reference to the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Science, and the Faculty of Medicine.

⁷⁵University of Edinburgh, *Laureation Addresses*, Vol. 2, p. 287. He made substantial financial donations to the Permanent Famine Fund for India and the Transvaal War Fund.

⁷⁶University of Edinburgh, *Laureation Addresses*, Vol.1, p. 79.

⁷⁷University of Edinburgh, *Laureation Addresses*, Vol.1, p. 76.

⁷⁸In contrast, John Darwin has suggested that, at Oxford, individual colleges were reluctant to support curricular diversification since this would have entailed additional expenditure on the employment of further staff as well as requiring all to hone up on new skills. Darwin, J., *The Growth of an International University* in Prest, J. (Ed.), *The Illustrated History of Oxford University*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, pps. 341-42.

There were several significant changes in the curriculum and course structure of the Faculty of Arts between 1880 and 1914, though the modifications were generally made to meet the requirements and perceived needs of local, rather than overseas, students. One example is the long-debated justification for commercial education at the tertiary level which, in the case of Edinburgh at least, was not resolved until 1918 when the Bachelor of Commerce Degree was introduced.⁷⁹ Another example is the creation of the Department of Modern Languages and Literature in 1894 when instruction in French and German became available. Initially, attendance at an overseas university as part of that course was not compulsory but interest began to stimulate a demand for that.⁸⁰ The University's Franco-Scottish Society assisted French students in Scotland and Edinburgh students studying in France.⁸¹ Following pressure from such organisations as the Royal Geographic Society, a Lectureship in Geography was inaugurated in 1908.⁸² The programme envisaged covered cartography, meteorology and climatology as well as economic and physical geography.⁸³ A Chair of History was also inaugurated in 1894. Whilst Prothero and Lodge, the first two occupants tended to focus on British and European diplomatic and political history, Professor Kirkpatrick, who held the other History Chair (which from 1908 was designated as the Chair of Constitutional Law and Constitutional History) regularly gave lectures on Colonial and Foreign Constitutional Law and History.⁸⁴ Indeed, in 1912 a separate Lectureship was created in Colonial and Indian History, the course content covering the growth of the British Empire, the evolution of the self-governing Dominions and the

⁷⁹Anderson, R. D., *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1989, p. 280; *EUC 1918-19*, pps.127-28.

⁸⁰*EUC. 1894-85*, pps. 5 and 85-87; Dhondt, P., *A Thesis, a Compulsory Stay Abroad and a Well-Established Class Library; Research and the Study of Modern Languages in Edinburgh University History Graduates Newsletter*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University History Graduates Association, 2001, p. 10.

⁸¹*EUC. 1902-03*, p. 565.

⁸²*College Minutes*, Meeting of 14 December 1901, Vol. 12, p. 312: *University Court Ordinance No. XII, (Edinburgh No. 5.), Inclusion Of Geography Among The Subjects Qualifying For Graduation In Arts in Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.), The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 together with Ordinances of the Commissioners*, Glasgow, James Maclehose and Sons, 1915, p. 374-75.

⁸³*EUC 1908-09*, pps.114-15.

⁸⁴*College Minutes*, Meeting of 29 June 1900, Vol. 12, p. 102: *EUC 1903-04*, pps. 109-10.

recent history of India and British Crown Colonies and Dependencies.⁸⁵ The introduction of such new courses generally made the domestic student less Euro-centric and thereby made the courses more accessible for non - European students.

The increasing interest in the Faculty of Arts in the wider world, in foreign languages, world geography and the recent history of territories coming within Britain's imperial sway, was matched in the Faculty of Science. As earlier noted, the Faculty went through a process of accelerated curricular innovation, and increasing specialisation, from its inauguration in 1893. The new teaching programmes included Agriculture, Forestry, Engineering, and Public Health, all of which had an overseas as well as a domestic focus. The course content was, from the start, of relevance to students from abroad and to those intending to work overseas.

The inauguration of the BSc in Agriculture in 1886 marked the start of a vigorous period of expansion in agricultural teaching and research at Edinburgh University.⁸⁶ The impetus for the new degree course came from Robert Wallace (MA 1920, LLD 1923), the fourth Professor of Agriculture in what is the oldest Chair in this subject in Britain.⁸⁷ Wallace had himself attended classes in Agriculture in 1878 under his predecessor John Wilson, who had extensive overseas involvement with foreign agricultural societies and whose lectures attracted students from Europe and around the Empire.⁸⁸ As the British Empire was expanding, new opportunities for trained agriculturists emerged. Wallace sought to promote the teaching of colonial and tropical agriculture to better prepare Edinburgh graduates for the varied conditions and responsibilities they might meet overseas.⁸⁹ The career of E. Shearer (MA 1901, BSc 1904) illustrates the diversity of challenges which might be met in a

⁸⁵ EUC 1912-13, pps.148-49.

⁸⁶ EUC 1886-87, pps. 228-29.

⁸⁷ UEJ, Vol. 10, (1939-40), p.76.

⁸⁸ Fleming, I. J., and Robertson, N. F., Britain's First Chair of Agriculture at the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, The East of Scotland College of Agriculture, 1990, p. 44.

⁸⁹ Fleming and Robertson, Britain's First Chair of Agriculture, pps. 47-48.

career in colonial agriculture. Shearer was successively Imperial Agriculturalist to the Government of India, Assistant Inspector-General of Agriculture in India, Principal of the Giza Higher College of Agriculture in Egypt and Chief Technical Officer in the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture.⁹⁰

The overseas focus of agricultural teaching at Edinburgh University was boosted with the endowment of the Garton Lectureship in Colonial and Indian Agriculture in 1901.⁹¹ At the same time, formal teaching was supplemented by *ad hoc* lectures on matters of overseas agricultural interest, ranging from tea planting and manufacture in India to the development of agriculture in the Argentine.⁹² Equally important, Wallace was an inveterate traveller, visiting and reviewing agricultural conditions and practices in Europe, India, Canada, the United States, Mexico, South Africa, Rhodesia and Australia.⁹³ Much of his published work resulted from his travels, including, for example, *The Rural Economy and Agriculture of Australia and New Zealand* (1891), *Special Report on the Agricultural Resources of Canada* (1894) and *Argentine Shows and Live Stock* (1904), all of which added to the corpus of knowledge which agricultural teachers and students at Edinburgh University were expected to master during this period.⁹⁴

Although a Lectureship in Forestry had been established at Edinburgh University in 1889, it was not until 1906 that regulations were framed for a BSc Degree in Forestry.⁹⁵ The appointment of Edward Stebbing in 1910 ensured that course content and emphasis would have a broad appeal to students both from Britain and overseas. With his background in the Indian

⁹⁰UEJ, Vol 13, (1944-45), p.131.

⁹¹College Minutes, Meeting of 29 June 1900, Vol. 12, p. 102; EUC 1901-02, p. 854.

⁹²College Minutes, Meeting of 13 October 1900, Vol. 12, p. 130: College Minutes, Meeting of 2 February 1911, Vol. 15, p. 363.

⁹³UEJ, Vol. 13, (1944-45), p.131.

⁹⁴Fleming and Robertson, Britain's First Chair of Agriculture, p.55.

⁹⁵University Court Ordinance No. XV, (Edinburgh No. 6.), Regulations For The Degree Of Bachelor Of Science In Forestry in Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.), The Universities (Scotland) Act 1889 together with Ordinances of the Commissioners, pps. 377-80.

Forest Service, Stebbing brought to Edinburgh University considerable overseas experience and knowledge of conditions beyond the domestic environment.⁹⁶ Like Wallace, he was extremely well travelled and wrote extensively about overseas forestry management and problems.⁹⁷ Prior to his appointment, he had visited all the major Forestry Schools in Europe to examine how the subject was taught both in the lecture room and in the forest.⁹⁸ In arguing a case for additional staff, accommodation and teaching resources, Stebbing emphasised the importance of his subject to the overseas employment of Edinburgh graduates. He particularly stressed the need to be familiar with conditions abroad.⁹⁹ His approach was to emphasise those problems which the Forestry Officer would encounter "in whatever country and clime he may serve in."¹⁰⁰ The appeal of this approach is evident from the fact that the international standing of Edinburgh University's Forestry programme was acknowledged in 1912 when, as noted earlier, the India Office recognised the University as one of three centres in Britain where probationers selected for the Indian Forest Service could undertake their probationary course.¹⁰¹

Inaugurated in 1868, Edinburgh University's Chair of Engineering, and its engineering course structure, were well regarded. However, difficulties in obtaining adequate teaching space and appropriate workshops and equipment placed a severe constraint on student numbers until 1906, when new accommodation was provided in High School Yards.¹⁰² Between 1884 and 1910 a total of 148 students graduated in Engineering from Edinburgh University. Very few had overseas connections and most graduates found employment within the British Isles. One of the exceptions was Edinburgh's future Principal, Sir James Alfred Ewing (BSc 1878), who, on graduation, moved

⁹⁶ *The Gambolier*, Vol. IV., No. 17, 2 May 1912, p. 242.

⁹⁷ For example *The Forests of India*, London, J. Lane, 1922.

⁹⁸ Stebbing, E. P., *Forestry Education: Its Importance and Requirements*, (s.l:s.n., 19--?), Edinburgh University Archives, p.1.

⁹⁹ Stebbing, *Forestry Education*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Stebbing, *Forestry Education*, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ See footnote 43 above.

¹⁰² Turner, A. L., *History of the University of Edinburgh, 1883-1933*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1933, pps. 273-74.

directly to be Professor of Mechanical Engineering and Physics at the Imperial University of Tokyo.¹⁰³ It is possible that the number of overseas students studying engineering at Edinburgh University was kept low by the availability of a much better-known course at Glasgow University with a specific international focus. A large number of Japanese students studied engineering and other related disciplines there.¹⁰⁴

Many students from abroad enrolled in courses in Public Health at Edinburgh University, the teaching of which was given a significant boost in 1898 with the establishment jointly in the Faculties of Science and Medicine of the Bruce and John Usher Chair in Public Health, the first of its kind in Britain.¹⁰⁵ The primary focus of the BSc programme in Public Health was on needs and problems arising in the United Kingdom. But much of the course content was relevant to conditions overseas and students such as Ba-Ket Maung (MBCM 1900, BSc 1901) from Burma came to Edinburgh to study the subject.¹⁰⁶

The small number of overseas born students seeking qualifications at Edinburgh University in Public Health reflected, in part, a broader interest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in all aspects of tropical medicine. The curricular changes introduced by the Faculty of Medicine to meet this interest are considered separately in Chapter Four.

Conclusion

Between 1880 and 1914 the University of Edinburgh moved to embrace a wider international vision, much of it focused on the British Empire. Traditional links with European institutions of higher learning were extended to newly established universities elsewhere as well as other educational bodies and cultural organisations. Edinburgh University's growing interface with the

¹⁰³ GCR 1882/1241.

¹⁰⁴ Brock, W. H., *The Japanese Connection; Engineering in Tokyo, London and Glasgow at the end of the 19th. Century* in *The British Journal for the History of Science*, Keston (England), The British Society for the History of Science, 1981, Vol.14, pps. 227-43.

¹⁰⁵ EUC 1897-98, p. 440: EUC 1899-00, p. 846.

¹⁰⁶ EUC 1902-03, p. 290.

Empire also manifested itself in active involvement in imperial issues and institutions, often on an advisory or consultancy basis, in areas such as the development of educational facilities and training abroad. In response to a widening international exposure, the University's curriculum was adapted to better meet the needs of overseas employment in key areas such as Medicine and Public Health. New courses were also introduced in Foreign Languages and, of particular relevance to students from abroad, in disciplines such as Agriculture and Forestry. In many cases, University staff played a pivotal role in the introduction of new areas of study which were usually based on extensive overseas experience. Where practicable, Government recognition was sought, and obtained, for these new teaching programmes where they were relevant to the needs of the Empire.

The University actively sought to promote abroad its own interests as well as those of its graduates, whilst, at the same time, seeking to attract overseas students to study in Edinburgh. Overseas connections were further enhanced through the provision of scholarships for students from abroad. Building on its established academic reputation, and growing imperial involvement, the University used major academic celebrations and other occasions to reaffirm its imperial standing and commitment to the Empire. Eminent academics, graduates and politicians with overseas connections, who might be able to assist the University achieve its ambitions overseas for its graduates, or whose association with the University reinforced its status as a major imperial institution, were laureated with an Honorary Degree.

These efforts were largely successful. By 1914, the University had established itself as having a very real stake in the ongoing success of the imperial mission across a spectrum of its academic interests ranging from Christian evangelism to Public Health. In public and private, University officials and staff missed no opportunity to restate their commitment to the imperial ideal. No longer simply the *Tounis College* with a largely domestic vision, the University's international dimensions were well established and broadly based by 1914, allowing it to play an important cultural and educational role in the

development of the Empire.

Chapter Four - Overseas Aspects of Edinburgh University Medical Teaching and Research, 1880-1914.

Edinburgh University's involvement with the teaching of tropical medicine, and in medical research with an overseas focus, provides another perspective of the University's exposure to the formal and informal Empire between 1880 and 1914. Imperial expansion encouraged growing numbers of Edinburgh University Medical graduates to seek specialist post graduate qualifications in tropical medicine in order to better meet the health needs of colonial communities abroad, or to research for the degree of Doctor of Medicine (MD) some of the medical and related issues arising from their experience overseas.

Tropical Medicine

The emergence of tropical medicine as a discrete discipline at the end of the nineteenth century arose for a variety of reasons, not least the acceleration of British overseas expansion, particularly in Africa.¹ Medical practitioners were influenced by the novel diseases, and dangers to health, they encountered in warm climates and were keen to address them. This attitude evolved early. Writing in 1867, James Africanus Beale Horton (MD 1859), Edinburgh University's first African graduate, looked forward to the time when West Africa, earlier seen as "the whiteman's grave", would become "one of the healthiest of Her Majesty's intertropical possessions since many of the causes of disease are being systematically, energetically, and effectually exterminated by rigid sanitary reform."² Combating the problems arising in what Horton called the "most deadly" part of the Empire also made sound commercial and political sense since there could be little positive economic development in British possessions in the tropics whilst disease and illness were endemic.³

¹Haynes, D. M., *Social Status and Imperial Service: Tropical Medicine and the British Medical Profession in the Nineteenth Century* in Arnold D., (Ed.), *Warm Climates and Western Medicine: The Emergence of Tropical Medicine, 1500-1900*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1996, pps. 208-09.

²Horton, J. A. B., *Physical and Medical Climate and Meteorology of the West Coast of Africa with Valuable Hints to Europeans for the Preservation of Health in the Tropics*, London, J. Churchill, 1867, pps. vi-vii.

³Horton, *Physical and Medical Climate*, p. ix.

The establishment of specialist teaching and research facilities for tropical medicine in Liverpool (1898) and London (1899) attracted the enthusiastic support of Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies as they were seen as contributing to his policy of “constructive imperialism”.⁴ For the same reason, he wrote approvingly to Principal Muir in 1899 to express his “satisfaction” at the appointment of a Lecturer in Tropical Diseases at Edinburgh University.⁵ A. Davidson (MD Brussels) held the post initially until 1907 when he was succeeded by D. G. Marshall (MBCM 1885).⁶ Both men had extensive experience of medicine in warm climates. Davidson had been resident medical officer to the Royal Court in Madagascar, and had authored *Hygiene and Diseases of Warm Climates*, one of the then standard texts on tropical medicine.⁷ Marshall had served with the IMS in various capacities, including Professor of Pathology at Lahore Medical College, Sanitary Officer of Rawalpindi and Staff-Surgeon for the British Headquarters at Tientsin (Tianjin) during the Boxer rising in 1900.⁸ The content of the course covered the main endemic diseases in the tropics as well as climatology and tropical hygiene. Students completing the course satisfactorily were awarded a post graduate Certificate in Diseases of Tropical Climates.⁹

The University saw the establishment of courses in tropical medicine as a natural extension of its training role in relation to the settlement colonies and tropical dependencies. It had “a peculiar and special interest in consideration of the large number of the students of this University who carry on their life-work entirely or in part in the tropical possessions and Colonies of Great

⁴Worboys, M., *Manson, Ross and colonial medical policy; tropical medicine in London and Liverpool, 1899-1914* in Macleod, R, and Lewis, M., (Eds.), *Disease, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*, London, Routledge, 1988, pps. 25-26.

⁵*College Minutes*, Meeting of 14 April 1899, Vol.11, p. 424.

⁶*EUC 1899-00*, p. 5; *EUC 1909-10*, p. 7.

⁷Comrie, J. D., *History of Scottish Medicine*, 2 Vols., London, Bailliere Tindall & Cox, Vol. 1, p. 781.

⁸*The Gambolier*, Vol. IV, No. 18, 16 May 1912, p. 252.

⁹*EUC 1899-00*, p. 346; *EUC 1906-07*, pps 488-89.

Britain.”¹⁰ The University’s overseas involvement in this regard was partially historic. From the 1860s, it had provided a substantial number of recruits for the IMS. It also trained growing numbers of medical students from the warmer settlement colonies, such as Queensland, where their professional career inevitably exposed them to illnesses associated with tropical medicine. By the early 1900s the University was also providing specialists in tropical medicine for the medical services in newly acquired possessions in Africa and elsewhere.¹¹

The Certificate course in Tropical Medicine proved so popular that the University decided to provide more advanced training by instituting a Diploma in Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in 1905. The Diploma course was said to have been introduced partly because of the increasing importance of tropical medicine to scientific exploration and commercial expansion in the tropical and sub-tropical world. Additionally, the British Government had “indicated an intention to require on the part of the Medical Officers in the Public Services a special training in the Diseases of the Tropics, and in the Measures for their treatment and prevention”.¹² The programme of study for the Diploma was based on that prepared for the Certificate, but included additional study in Natural History and Tropical Hygiene as well as special clinical instruction.¹³ The Diploma course also proved to be extremely popular with those planning to work overseas. Between 1906 and 1914 45 students were awarded a Diploma in Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, nearly all of whom went on to practise in tropical areas.¹⁴

The introduction by the University of the Certificate and Diploma courses raises the wider issue of why “tropical medicine” came to be recognised at this

¹⁰EUC 1905-06, pps. 448-49.

¹¹The involvement of Edinburgh University Medical and other graduates in India and elsewhere is examined in Chapters Six to Ten.

¹²EUC 1905-06, pps. 448-49.

¹³EUC 1905-06, p. 450.

¹⁴EUC 1906-07, pps. 488 and 498; EUC 1907-08, p. 498; EUC 1908-09, p. 505; EUC 1909-10, p. 557; EUC 1910-11, p. 581; EUC 1911-12, p. 577; EUC 1912-13, p. 611; EUC 1913-14, p. 650; EUC 1914-15, p. 657.

time as constituting a distinct speciality, separate from other branches of medicine. Did it really seek to meet the health needs of those living in tropical areas controlled by the British (and other European colonial powers) or was it, in fact, merely another justification for, or tool of, Empire? Kumar certainly takes the latter view. "British medical policy primarily concentrated on how to provide the best of hygienic, sanitary and medical facilities to the military and civil population of their own race. Together with the geological, botanical, zoological and meteorological surveys of India, the medical men aimed to understand the Indian environment and render it habitable and bountiful for the Europeans".¹⁵ Jan Morris agrees, concluding that, not just in India but across the tropical Empire, the colonial authorities appeared to have given more attention to the medical needs and welfare of expatriates rather than of natives.¹⁶

As the tropical Empire expanded, particularly in Africa, Edinburgh medical graduates often found themselves in positions of public authority as pioneers of western medicine. The application of their professional skills frequently ran in tandem with the achievement of political objectives, including the acquisition of territory.¹⁷ The provision of public health measures was used also to facilitate economic development as well as to protect the health of the local European population. The growth of the colonial medical services institutionalised and reinforced a process through which Britain, as the imperial power, adopted a more invasive stance in respect of the medical treatment of civilians and public health measures in the tropical and subtropical parts of the Empire. "British doctors were posted to the four corners of the world to service the imperial outposts that secured markets, trade and raw materials for the British economy," Michael Worboys

¹⁵Kumar, A., *Medicine and the Raj: British Medical Policy in India, 1835-1911*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1998, p. 216.

¹⁶Morris, J., *Pax Britannica*, 3 Vols., London, The Folio Society, 1992, Vol. 2, p. 275.

¹⁷A case in point is J. Sauer (MBCM 1881), an associate of Cecil Rhodes, who acquired gold mining interests on his behalf in the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal. Burrows, E. H., *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, Cape Town/Amsterdam, A. A. Balkema for the Medical Association of South Africa, 1958, p. 277.

comments. Formal training in tropical medicine increased “the quantity and quality of these Colonial Medical Officers as an integral part of late nineteenth-century imperialism, the strengthening of political control and attempts at more systematic exploitation.”¹⁸

Whilst Edinburgh University contributed, albeit indirectly, to this process, many Edinburgh medical graduates serving overseas in the colonies probably saw their role more as one of bringing much needed improvements to general living standards and public health, rather than providing a means of taking forward the imperial cause. As Arnold has noted, the medicine of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was “of a peculiarly confident and determined kind, believing that it was acting in the best interest of the people. It was confidently assumed that there could be self-contained technical solutions to what were in reality complex social, economic and environmental problems.”¹⁹

There is, none the less, little evidence to suggest that institutional methods of medical management and service delivery overseas were directly related to the professional training in tropical medicine provided at Edinburgh. The Certificate and Diploma courses did not differentiate between racial or social groups, the emphasis in both programmes being on the implementation of measures which would directly benefit any individual living in a tropical environment. Moreover, not all students completing these courses were destined for the colonial medical services. Many, such as A. M. Cowan (MBCbB 1906), became medical missionaries. They had a close, direct interface with largely “native” communities where their professional skills in tropical medicine were not applied within a government bureaucratic

¹⁸Worboys, M., *The Emergence of Tropical Medicine; a Study in the Establishment of a Scientific Speciality* in Lemaine, G., Macleod, R., Mulkay, M. and Weingart, P., (Eds.), *Perspectives on the Emergence of Scientific Disciplines*, The Hague, Mouton, 1976, p. 93.

¹⁹Arnold, D., *Disease, Medicine and Empire* in Arnold, D., (Ed.), *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, p.18.

framework.²⁰

Medical Research

The growth in interest in tropical medicine was complemented by an increase in research into different aspects of those particular medical issues and problems encountered abroad. One valuable source for this, which also demonstrates the international dimensions of the University's influence in this period, is its collection of MD theses. These theses, much neglected as a historical source, were the principal examination requirements for the post graduate Degree of Doctor of Medicine.²¹ As submissions for an advanced Degree, the theses had to display independent research and observation but on work derived from medical experimentation. This was interpreted very widely so that they afford real insights into the work, careers and views of the *Alumni*. They are especially rich on those who served overseas.²² In addition to highlighting matters of immediate clinical and therapeutic concern, many of the MD theses dealing with the tropical and sub-tropical world also provide a useful insight into non-medical issues, particularly social and political conditions.

The Degree of MD was first awarded by Edinburgh University in 1705, when the examinations were conducted by the College of Physicians. With the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine in 1726, the University took over this

²⁰GCR 1920/2285; EUC 1907-08, p. 498.

²¹Not all of the original theses are extant, having not been retained at the time, or lost subsequently. However, a complete listing of all MD theses awarded between 1880 and 1914 is given in the Edinburgh University Calendars from 1880-81 to 1915-16. Information on which MD graduates were born outside the British Isles has been extrapolated by the author from these Calendars, and from the Matriculation Albums covering the period 1880 to 1915.

²²An MD thesis is considered to have an "overseas content" if it deals specifically with circumstances, events or phenomena which are normally (though in many cases obviously not exclusively) location specific to a geographic area outside the British Isles. For example, theses dealing with leprosy in Australia, the incidence of tropical abscesses of the liver in India, or public health in Southern Africa are considered to have an "overseas" content. Theses which address matters of broader medical interest, such as surgical techniques used in an appendicectomy, have not been included even although the author was an Edinburgh graduate born or working abroad.

responsibility.²³ The course structure for the Degree, which was then at the undergraduate level, comprised a mixture of class work, clinical lectures and the submission of a dissertation.²⁴ Consequential to the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, a four year course of study, which was based on a structured programme and led to the award of the new joint MBCM Degree, was introduced at Edinburgh and elsewhere.²⁵ As a result, the MD Degree was awarded thereafter on a post graduate basis. To meet the requirements for the award of this higher Degree, candidates now had to have two years post graduate experience “in attendance on an hospital, or in the Military or Naval medical service, or in medical or surgical practice” and to submit a thesis “on any branch of knowledge comprised in the professional examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine which he may have made a subject of study after having received that degree.”²⁶

The research based remit for the new MD Degree was certainly broad and it proved popular. By 1867, when the first candidates started to meet the new post graduate requirements, 5 dissertations were approved for the award of the Degree.²⁷ By 1880 this had increased to 27 awards. Table 4(a) below shows that the level of awards increased significantly over the period between 1880 and 1914. In 1880-84, 163 MD Degrees were awarded. By 1895-99, this number had more than doubled to 373. The level of interest in the Degree continued to be sustained. In the period between 1905-09, 383 MD Degrees were awarded of which 40 had an overseas content, the highest percentage (10.4%) during the period under consideration for Degrees in this category.

²³Comrie, J. D., *History of Scottish Medicine*, Vol. 1, p. 300.

²⁴Bower, A., *The History of the University of Edinburgh*, 3 Vols., Edinburgh, Oliphant, Waugh and Innes, 1817, Vol. 2, pps. 210, 216-20.

²⁵ Ordinance No. 5.- Edinburgh, No. 2. Regulations for Degrees in Medicine and Ordinance No. 8 - Edinburgh, No. 3. Regulations for Degrees in Medicine, supplementary to Ordinance No. 5 in Clapperton, A. E., (Ed.), *The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858 together with Ordinances of Commissioners under the said Act*. Glasgow, James Maclehose and Sons, 1916, pps. 9-15 and 33-36.

²⁶Clapperton, *The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858*, pps. 33 and 35.

²⁷*EUC 1868-69*, pps.145-46.

Table 4(a) - MD Theses. Overseas Content, 1880-1914.

Year	Total MDs	O'seas MDs	Overseas MDs %	MDs O'seas Content	O'seas Content %
1880-84	163	21	12.9	9	5.5
1885-89	274	42	15.3	18	6.6
1890-94	280	47	16.8	21	7.5
1895-99	373	61	16.4	29	7.8
1900-04	317	50	15.8	22	6.9
1905-09	383	69	18.0	40	10.4
1910-14	324	70	21.6	33	10.2
Tot/Avg	2,114	360	17.0	172	8.0

Between 1880 and 1914 just over 2,100 MD Degrees were awarded, of which 360 went to graduates either born or resident abroad. Of the MD degrees awarded to such graduates, 172 were concerned with matters which were overseas location specific. A few examples of the range of subjects covered in these theses will illustrate the breadth of international medical experience and related expertise on which the University of Edinburgh was able to freely draw. In his MD thesis of 1884 T. A. Palm (MBCM 1873, MD 1884) wrote about disease in Japan. The problems of leprosy in Australia were addressed by A. W. Munro (MBCM 1883 MD 1892). K. T. Stewart (MBCM 1889, MD 1894), who worked for the Tobacco Company of British North Borneo, discussed beri beri. R. Seheult (MBCM 1892, MD 1904) described how he dealt with an epidemic of smallpox in Trinidad in 1902.²⁸

Table 4(b) below identifies the geographic region to which those theses concerned specifically with matters of overseas interest relate²⁹

²⁸Palm, T. A., Kakke: a study of Disease in Japan, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1884: Munro, A. W., Leprosy, with Special Reference to its Outbreak in Australia, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1892: Stewart, K. T., Beri-Beri, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1894: Seheult, R., An Epidemic of Smallpox of irregular type in Trinidad during 1902-04, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1904.

²⁹The category "Various" is used in Table 4(b) to refer to MD theses with an overseas content which relates to more than one region. An example would be the dissertation by R. Kirkpatrick (MBCM 1881, MD 1894) on *Malaria; its nature and origin*. More than half of the theses with an overseas content (96 out of 172) submitted between 1880 and 1914 were researched by graduates born in Britain who had obtained employment overseas. Calculated by the author from the MD Graduation Lists in EUC 1879-80 to EUC 1915-16.

Table 4(b) - MD Theses. Regional Content, 1880-1914.

Region	Theses by Region	% Theses by Region
IND	45	26.2
ASA	23	13.4
AUS	21	12.2
SAF	26	16.3
RAF	16	8.1
MEA	4	2.3
EUR	5	2.9
CAN	1	0.6
USA	-	-
CCA	9	5.2
SAM	1	0.6
Various	21	12.2
Total	172	100

By far the largest number of theses with overseas content related to the Indian region (26.2%). India was followed by Southern Africa (16.3%), the rest of Asia (13.4%) and then Australasia (12.2%). Those relating to the public health and medical problems of established areas of British control and interest, such as Australia, New Zealand and Southern Africa, provide an interesting commentary on the particular health problems of these regions. But for an illustration of the nature and process of British engagement in new areas of influence, the theses relating to Asia, Africa (other than Southern Africa), and those fragments of Empire coming under imperial influence in the Pacific, are more revealing.

Asia

The geographic diversity of Asian locations covered in the MD theses submitted to Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914 includes almost all regions of formal and informal British control. Some of the theses address problems, such as beri beri or liver disease, which were thought to be endemic and formed barriers to settlement in the region. For example, R. McL. Gibson (MBCM 1896, MD 1900) submitted an MD thesis in 1900 on beri beri in Hong Kong, whilst T. H. Jamieson (MBCM 1894, MD 1911) was awarded an MD in 1911 with a dissertation on abscesses of the liver in the Straits Settlements.³⁰

³⁰Gibson, R. McL., *Beriberi in Hong Kong*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1900; Jamieson, T. H., *Tropical Abscess of the Liver in the Straits Settlements. with notes on fifteen cases*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1911.

As the extent of British involvement widened, and Edinburgh Medical graduates found service or employment in a wider variety of locations in the region, so the experiences described in the MD theses also broadened. For example, between 1880 and 1914 two dissertations were submitted on diseases in Japan, one [on *Cancer in Japan*] by G. Munro (MB 1888, MD 1909) the Medical Director of Yokohama General Hospital, being an important contribution to the statistical analysis of the incidence of the disease in Asia.³¹

Contact with China was extensive and even reached into Tibet. What makes the theses here of interest is that they not only discuss illnesses of significance to the region, but the methods by which illness had been or was being treated traditionally. As noted in Chapter Six, J. C. Thomson's MD thesis in 1892 was concerned with current surgical practices in China.³² In 1903 and 1910, J. H. Dalziel (MBCM 1895, MD 1903) and J. E. Kuhne (MBCM 1888, MD 1910) respectively submitted MD theses on framboesia and lithotomy in South China.³³ In 1908 E. T. Pritchard (MBCM 1885, MD 1908) was awarded an MD for his thesis on general medical practice and opium abuse in Peking (Beijing).³⁴ E. W. Smerdon (MBChB 1908, MD 1913) sought to compare the historical development of Chinese and Western Medicine.³⁵ And H. M. Stumbles (MBChB 1902, MD 1910) submitted a dissertation on

³¹Palm, T. A., *Kakke: a study of disease in Japan*; Munro, N. G., *Cancer in Japan*. University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1909. Munro became a naturalised Japanese citizen in 1905, and subsequently wrote extensively on Japanese archaeology and anthropology as well as making generous donations of exhibits to the Royal Museum of Scotland. Wilkinson, J., *Gordon Munro: Ventures in Japanese Archaeology and Anthropology* in Nish, I., *Britain & Japan Biographical Portraits*, Folkestone, Japan Library, 1994, p. 221.

³²Thomson, J. C., *The History and Present Position of Chinese Surgery*. University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1892.

³³Dalziel, J. M., *Framboesia in South China*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1903; Kuhne, J. E., *The operation of Lithotomy in South China with some notes on the frequency of benign and malignant growth in that country*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1910.

³⁴Pritchard, E. T., *General Medical practice in the Chinese Capital. with a special reference to the Opium Habit in China*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1908.

³⁵Smerdon, E. W., *Chinese Medicine: a comparison with Renaissance and Stuart Medicine*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1913.

medicine and surgery in Central Asia.³⁶ Stumbles' dissertation provides a remarkable assessment of medical and social conditions in what he describes as the "Closed Land of Tibet" in the first decade of the twentieth century. It also points to the pioneering role Edinburgh medical graduates were taking in describing, not only a range of medical problems, but also in drawing attention to the importance of social and political factors for health issues arising in this period at the very limits of informal British influence.³⁷

Africa

As British involvement in Asia was different from that in Africa, so the MD dissertations on both regions also differ. From the 1890s onwards in Africa the imperial emphasis was largely on the acquisition and control of new territory. The content of the MD dissertations submitted in this period reflects this and also the changes of regional interest. Sixteen MD theses were submitted between 1880 and 1914 which related specifically to Africa (other than Southern Africa), two of which were authored by Africans, O. Johnson (MBCM 1886, MD 1889) and B. W. Quarty-Papafio (MBCM 1886, MD 1896).³⁸ To a large extent, these and the other African dissertations addressed problems arising from pushing forward and consolidating imperial rule. What arose medically was a call for treatments for unfamiliar diseases thereby encountered. For example, A. S. Rose (MBCM 1880, MD 1883) of the Army Medical Staff wrote about some of the more prevalent diseases encountered by the military on an expedition in Egypt in 1882-83.³⁹ Similarly, the main discussion in the dissertation submitted by H. H. Johnston (MBCM 1880, MD 1893), also of the Army Medical Staff, was on the problems posed by malaria to

³⁶Stumbles, H. M., Medicine and Surgery in Central Asia, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1910.

³⁷Being within four days journey of Lhasa, Stumbles had hoped to enter the city. But he was attacked by a group of Tartars who left him for dead by the roadside. He survived and, after seven months, eventually arrived back in India. Stumbles, Medicine and Surgery, pps 43-46.

³⁸Quarty-Papafio, B. W., Malarial Haemoglobinuric Fever, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1896.

³⁹Rose, A. S., Notes on some of the more Prevalent Diseases of the Egyptian Expedition of 1882-83, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1883.

European troops stationed in Mauritius.⁴⁰

The medical problems arising from British expansion into new areas of influence were a major theme in many other MD dissertations, not all of which derived from military experience or needs. Some of the common fevers met with in those attending a health resort south of Cairo were described by H. O. Hobson (MBCM 1899, MD 1902).⁴¹ W. H. Prentice (MBCbB 1901, MD 1904) provided information on the action of, and antidotes to, African cobra venom.⁴² A. H. Hallen (MBCM 1889, MD 1892) described the medical effects of climate in the intertropical coastal regions of Africa.⁴³ R. A. L. van Someren (MBCbB 1904, MD 1910) provided details of his research into sleeping sickness in Uganda.⁴⁴ W. Rogers (MBCbB 1900, MD 1911) commented on factors, such as poor sanitation and high infant mortality, which constrained the size and growth of the native African population.⁴⁵ Here, indeed, Rogers was directly and explicitly addressing the issue of empire-building. "The great problem in the opening up of Africa," he wrote, "is the procuring of sufficient native labour to cultivate the soil, and exploit the mineral wealth of the country." Arguing that if adequate education and health care were provided for

⁴⁰Johnston, H. H., Report on the Relation between Malarial Fever among Her Majesty's White Troops at Port Louis, Mauritius, and the Meteorological Elements of Temperature, Rainfall and Relative Humidity for the year 1889; with a Preliminary Sketch of the Medical Topography of the Island and the Epidemic of Malarial Fever in 1866-67, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1893. Johnston attributed the high incidence of Malaria in Port Louis "...to the Malaria produced in the soil of the town itself and in its immediate neighbourhood, and not to Malaria carried from any great distance by the winds." Report on...Malarial Fever, p. 29. Johnston published his thesis for private circulation immediately after being awarded the MD degree. Report on...Malarial Fever, Edinburgh, The Darien Press, 1894.

⁴¹Hobson, H. O., A Description of some of the Common Fevers met with in Lower Egypt, with Notes on the same, as personally observed by the Writer, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1902.

⁴²Prentice, W. H., Some notes on the action of African Cobra Venom, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1904.

⁴³Hallen, A. A., The Climate of the Western Intertropical Coast Regions of Africa, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1892.

⁴⁴Someren van, R. A. L., Sleeping Sickness with special reference to its occurrence in Uganda and the remedial measures instituted, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1910.

⁴⁵Rogers, W., Africa's small Population: its cause and remedy, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD thesis, 1911.

Africans by white colonisers, he could see “no reason why Africa should not become as rich a country as India.... The negro is passionately fond of children and multiplies rapidly in favourable circumstances. Unlike other uncivilised races ... he flourishes under white rule, as witness the natives in S. Africa.”⁴⁶

The Pacific

Three MD theses relating to the Pacific were submitted between 1880 and 1914, two of them being almost contemporaneous with the arrival of formal British administration in the region. Fiji had been ceded to Britain in 1874. Protectorates were declared over the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati) and Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) in 1892.⁴⁷ In the following year, a protectorate was declared over the southern Solomons, which was extended subsequently in 1899 to cover all of the Solomons group, excluding Bougainville. After considerable manoeuvring, an Anglo-French Condominium was eventually created over the New Hebrides in 1905.⁴⁸ J. W. Williams (MBCM 1891, MD 1898), a missionary with the Melanesian Mission, submitted his MD dissertation on malaria in the Western Pacific. He clearly felt that the interests of missionaries and administrators converged, as he commented, with evident sympathy, on the problems faced at Tulagi in the Solomon Islands by C. M. Woodford, the newly arrived “Deputy-Commissioner of the English Government”.⁴⁹ J. R. Boyd (MBChB 1911, MD 1914) wrote about filariasis and elephantiasis based on his experience as a District Medical Officer in Fiji.⁵⁰ Again, traditional medical practices attracted attention. A pioneering contribution to western understanding of Polynesian medicine was made by W. H. Goldie (MBCM 1897, MD 1899).⁵¹

⁴⁶Rogers, *Africa's Small Population*, pps. 2 and 5.

⁴⁷Palmer, A., *Dictionary of the British Empire and Commonwealth*, London, John Murray, 1996, pps.199 and 344.

⁴⁸Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1967, pps. 227-28, 254-55 and 263.

⁴⁹Williams, J. W., *The Type of Malarial Fever prevalent in the Western Pacific Islands*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1898, p. 3.

⁵⁰Boyd, J. R., *Some Observations on Filariasis and Elephantiasis in the South Pacific*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1914.

⁵¹Goldie, W.H., *Polynesian Medical Researches*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1899.

If Empire explains some of the interest displayed in the dissertations, imperial attitudes are not always endorsed. Goldie's doctoral dissertation, and others, such as those by J. C. Thompson of Hong Kong and O. Johnston of West Africa, are characterised by an enquiring, critical approach which can question imperial stereotypes. For example, Goldie refutes the suggestion that Polynesia "offered a particularly suitable field for the study of primitive man in his earliest and most elementary stages of development. This is in every way a misconception. In his religion, arts, social economy and even medicine the Polynesian has been considerably underrated." Quoting midwifery as an example, he argues that "Polynesian midwifery has developed to a degree perhaps equal to that practised by the Greek *omphalotomai* shortly before the time of Hippocrates, and it is no less advanced than that of the Siamese of the present day."⁵² If this flatters and then condemns as still backward, this was probably the effect intended. Goldie also recognised the importance of his research to promoting British imperial interests. He suggests that "information concerning the exact distribution of the various diseases in these regions ... is becoming necessary, owing to the enormous expansion of the British Empire, and the gradual spread of Europeans over these islands. Of great importance, too, is such knowledge to the medical officer about to enter the Polynesian branch of the colonial service, to the medical missionaries preparing to work among these cannibals and savages, for in many parts there are still thousands existing in their savage state, and to the colonists also."⁵³

MD Theses by Foreign Graduates

Most of the MD theses with an overseas content submitted during this period were written by British-born and British-descended colonial medical graduates of Edinburgh University. But the small number of MD theses submitted by foreign graduates of Edinburgh University are of special interest, particularly where they indicate the views of western educated foreign professionals on the interface between western scientific medicine and traditional medical systems

⁵² Goldie, *Polynesian Medical Researches*, pps. 337-38.

⁵³ Goldie, *Polynesian Medical Researches*, p.17.

and practices. Consideration is given in Chapter Eight to the views of O. Johnson (MBCM 1886, MD 1889) on the use of traditional medicines and on European perceptions of medical practice in West Africa. Two other MD dissertations, one by Sir B. S. Jareja (MBCM 1892, MD 1895), and the other by A. Mizra (MBCM 1892, BSc 1892, MD 1900), provide an interesting comparative perspective. They are written from the point of view of two Indians who took their first and MD degrees at more or less the same time. They both deal with how the foreign graduate had to reconcile or reject the rival approaches of Western scientific and traditional medicine.⁵⁴

Jareja's dissertation deals with the history of Aryan medical science. He clearly admired India's past. "India," he wrote, "was at the pinnacle of glory when other nations were either not in existence or wallowing in crass ignorance. Most of the sciences of which the present century boasts so much were not unknown to the ancient Hindoos."⁵⁵ Despite this, the British brought to India "a preconceived notion that the Indian medicine was quackery.... They established medical schools and colleges ... but looked upon the healing art of the land with supreme contempt."⁵⁶ He goes on to point up the areas in medicine, surgery, and in the treatment of specific conditions, where close analogies can be drawn between Aryan and Western medical practice.⁵⁷ "Indian Medicine does not deserve to be deprecated off-hand," he argues. "It has its faults, and its imperfections may be many, but it has also its good parts. The aim and object of the two systems are the same."⁵⁸ For Jareja, there was an unrealised possibility of synthesising professional skills acquired at Edinburgh with long standing traditional approaches to healing.

Jareja's muted criticism of the supremacy of Western medicine is not

⁵⁴Jareja, B. S., *History of Aryan Medical Science*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1895; Mirza, A., *Short Historical Sketches of Aryan Vedic, or Hindu System of Medicine, and of Unani, or Mahomaden System of Medicine*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1900.

⁵⁵Jareja, *History of Aryan Medical Science* p. 3.

⁵⁶Jareja, *History of Aryan Medical Science*, p.173.

⁵⁷Jareja, *History of Aryan Medical Science*, p. 98.

⁵⁸Jareja, *History of Aryan Medical Science*, p.177.

endorsed by Mirza. His dissertation is much less detailed and analytical when commenting on the Hindu and Mohammedan systems of medicine. He makes no criticism of Western medical science. But, probably because Mirza was Medical Officer of Health for the city of Hyderabad, over a third of the thesis is devoted to a detailed account of medical practice and administration in the Nizam's Dominions and of sanitary administration in Hyderabad itself. This historical sketch, however, is mainly used to highlight the importance he attaches to the alternative, western medical practice, and the benefits which he sees as arising from proper sanitation and a potable water supply.⁵⁹ He lauds the operation of the (Western) Medical School in Hyderabad, noting that "there is a separate lecturer for each subject and five of these are qualified men, holding the Edinburgh degrees in Medicine and Surgery." Similarly, the seventeen Military Hospitals in the area are under the control of a Director "who is a graduate of the Edinburgh University and a native of India."⁶⁰ He writes of the need for more public drainage, a Leper Hospital and a Poor House to accommodate beggars. He deplores local customs, regretting that "street-begging is encouraged by the higher classes of Mohammedans and Hindus, by means of a liberality entirely out of proportion to the object."⁶¹ For Mirza, the best way to improve community health and society would seem to be strictly to follow Western practice and ways.

Conclusion

The extent to which Edinburgh University Medical graduates were associated with formal and informal imperial engagements, and their interest in medicine relevant to the expanding needs of the Empire, is demonstrated by the introduction of courses on tropical medicine and by the subject matter of a substantial number of the MD theses submitted between 1880 and 1914. These provided an insight into medical and related issues arising from British commercial and political involvement in the tropical and sub-tropical world. Although the majority of these MD dissertations were submitted by British

⁵⁹Mirza, *Short Historical Sketches*, p. 6.

⁶⁰Mirza, *Short Historical Sketches*, pps. 4 and 9.

⁶¹Mirza, *Short Historical Sketches*, pps. 7-8.

born graduates, a substantial number were researched by graduates from abroad, many of them natives of India or Africa. Their dissertations did sometimes provide a different cultural perspective on the medical problems of local communities. Indeed, they frequently highlighted the tensions which arose from the application of western based medicine in societies which boasted venerable, traditional systems of treatment such as, for example, in China or India.

Whilst the principal research focus of many of these theses was the etiology of disease, there was a dramatic increase over the period in awareness of the medical problems arising in many parts of Asia and in Africa from the process of imperial expansion. In nearly every instance, the research topic arose through the personal involvement of graduates resulting from British expansion into areas such as Southern Nigeria or Rhodesia. The research topics addressed covered the causes and cure of tropical diseases, including malaria or beri-beri, which posed real problems to colonial expansion. They also examined the more intractable problems arising from poor public health which gave rise to serious, and often fatal, consequences in the emerging urban centres of the tropical and sub-tropical Empire.

The range of problems considered in these MD theses, which covered a wide geographic spread, ensured Edinburgh's Faculty of Medicine was kept fully abreast of the medical challenges and difficulties Empire brought. From the islands of the South Pacific to the foothills of the Himalayas, Edinburgh graduates drew on their training and experience to deal at first hand with the medical problems imperial expansion created. The growing number of theses submitted on topics related to imperial medicine also served to underline Edinburgh University's ongoing research and training commitment to the Empire manifested in the institution and growth of its Certificate and Diploma courses in tropical medicine and public health.

Chapter Five - Edinburgh Graduates Overseas. 1880 - 1914.

The number of students who graduated and then went abroad provides another useful dimension through which we can assess the broader aspects of Edinburgh University's overseas connections. This chapter overviews these connections which are then considered in detail on a geographic basis in subsequent chapters. By considering who went overseas, where they went, and what kind of employment or service they pursued, we can further define the scope and nature of the relationship between Edinburgh University and a then fast changing British Empire, as well as with areas outside formal British administration and control where some Edinburgh graduates also found employment. Through an examination of graduate employment, and involvement with entities and individuals abroad, it is possible to begin to profile what ideas of Empire they espoused and ascertain how these were articulated in a non-domestic environment. Moreover, graduate employment overseas was not a one way process. Many graduates born outside the British Isles pursued careers in Britain rather than return abroad and the reasons for this are also examined.

Graduates with Overseas Connections

The number of graduates with overseas connections increased significantly over the period of this study. Altogether, nearly 20% of those graduating between 1880 and 1914 had close overseas connections which derived either from birth outside the British Isles or through employment or service overseas after graduation. The number of degrees awarded between 1880 and 1914 to students with overseas connections increased by some 45% from 345 in 1880-84 to 500 in 1910-14. Details are given in Table 5(a) below.¹

¹The statistical information in Tables 5(a) to 5(h) has been calculated by the author from the graduation lists in the annual University of Edinburgh Calendar for 1879-80 to 1915-16 and the annual Register of Members of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh for 1879 to 1935.

Table 5(a) - Graduates with Overseas Connections

Year	Degrees Awarded	Grads with O'seas Connection	% Grads with O'seas Connection
1880-84	1,639	345	21.05
1885-89	2,153	429	19.93
1890-94	2,339	443	18.94
1895-99	2,093	444	21.21
1900-04	2,181	481	22.05
1905-09	2,562	494	19.28
1910-14	3,012	500	16.60
Total	15,979	3,136	19.63

Because of the overall increase in the number of degrees awarded during this period, the relative share by those with overseas connections declined from a high of 22% in 1900-04 to 17% in 1910-14. Some possible explanations (the growth of university places in the overseas colonies, for example) have already been suggested for the failure of international demand to keep pace with the availability of new places generated by the growth of the British economy.

As detailed in Table 5(b) below, the Faculty of Medicine accounted for 76% of students with overseas connections graduating between 1880 and 1914. Arts students followed with 16%, then Science with 6% and, taken together, Divinity, Law and Music, 2%.²

Table 5(b) - Graduates with Overseas Connections by Faculty

Year	Arts	Div	Law	Med	Sci	Music	Total
1880-84	49	8	3	285	-	-	345
1885-89	68	6	4	351	-	-	429
1890-94	55	5	2	373	8	-	443
1895-99	69	4	3	349	19	-	444
1900-04	110	1	3	342	24	1	481
1905-09	111	4	5	341	33	-	494
1910-14	108	-	1	329	62	-	500
Total	570	28	21	2,370	146	1	3,136

Although the Faculty of Medicine remained preponderant throughout the period in terms of total numbers with overseas connections, its share of all

²The data in respect of the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Music covers the period from 1893 to 1914. 12 students with overseas connections graduated in Science in the Faculty of Arts in 1880-84, 18 in 1885-89 and 19 in 1890-92.

graduates with such connections fell from 83% in 1880-84 to 66% in 1910-14. Again, the replacement of opportunities for study in Britain by new medical schools abroad offers one explanation as does the increasing enrolment by overseas born students in courses offered by other Faculties, particularly the Faculty of Arts and, from 1893, the Faculty of Science which, together, increased their total share of graduates with overseas connections from 14% in 1880-84 to 34% in 1910.

Graduates in the British Empire and Non-Western World

The extent to which Edinburgh University was involved with imperial growth in this period can be assessed by reference to the number of Edinburgh graduates who found employment and service opportunities in the British Empire overseas. Table 5(c) below shows that, between 1880 and 1914, nearly 90% of graduates who went overseas took up residence somewhere in the Empire. Given that the evidence shows that these graduates were not simply the second generation children of British born settlers abroad, this concentration on the Empire is clearly significant. It suggests that Edinburgh University had become an educational institution whose Degrees had a real imperial currency.

Table 5(c) - Graduates Residing in the British Empire

Year	Total Grads O'Seas	Total in Brit. Empire	% in Brit. Empire
1880-84	288	250	86.81
1885-89	336	293	87.20
1890-94	364	332	91.21
1895-99	397	364	91.69
1900-04	436	401	91.97
1905-09	456	404	88.60
1910-14	446	398	89.24
Total	2,723	2,442	89.68

The geographical spread of employment and service opportunities widened even further for students graduating between 1880 and 1914 as not only formal but informal British influence extended to areas where opportunities had earlier been either restricted or minimal. Whereas in the past graduates had looked mainly to the settlement colonies for employment, opportunities were now emerging in other parts of the world. Table 5(d) below indicates the extent

to which students graduating between 1880 and 1914 found employment in areas of the non-western world.³

Table 5(d) - Graduates Residing in the Non-Western World

Year	Western World	Non-Western World	Total	Non-Western World %
1880-84	203	85	288	29.51
1885-89	226	110	336	32.74
1890-94	229	135	364	37.09
1895-99	222	175	397	44.08
1900-04	250	186	436	42.66
1905-09	237	219	456	48.03
1910-14	216	230	446	51.57
Total	1,583	1,140	2,723	41.87

Between 1880 and 1914 the number of students who, after graduating during this period, worked in the non-western world almost trebled from 85 in 1880-84 to 230 in 1910-14. Whilst the principal region of employment was India, an area which had long appealed, new opportunities arose in areas coming more under British influence, such as Nigeria and Rhodesia, and in less formal areas of British interest, such as Manchuria and Japan. For example, between 1880 and 1889, 29 students graduating during this period found employment in Africa (other than Southern Africa); between 1905 and 1914, this figure had doubled to 58 graduates, largely as a result of accelerated British involvement in East and Central Africa. A similar picture emerges for those in Asia (other than the Indian subcontinent). Between 1880 and 1889, 26 students found employment in the region; between 1905 and 1914, 74 graduates nearly three times as many, were living and working throughout Asia, many of whom were either from the region, or involved in business or missionary work in areas being opened up to western influence.⁴

British Born Graduates Overseas

Before considering the nature of professional and other employment obtained overseas by Edinburgh University students graduating between 1880 and 1914,

³The terms "Western" and "Non-Western" are used herewith as defined in Chapter Two.

⁴The figures used for graduate employment in Africa and Asia are extrapolated by the author from Tables 5(e) and 5(f) of this Chapter.

it is important to distinguish, on the one hand, between those graduates born in the British Isles who found first-time employment overseas and, on the other, those Edinburgh graduates who were returning "home" on completion of their education in Scotland to the country of their birth. Viewed in this way, it is clear that, although some graduates born in the British Isles did find employment abroad, they were not as numerous as those who already had an overseas connection, suggesting that the lure of Empire was not always in itself sufficient to attract graduates to go abroad. Table 5(e) shows the number of Edinburgh graduates born in the British Isles who obtained employment overseas between 1880 and 1914.

Table 5(e) - British Born Graduates Overseas

Reg/Yr	80-84	85-89	90-94	95-99	00-04	05-09	10-14	Total
IND	13	27	34	61	64	66	25	290
ASA	9	8	7	20	16	19	8	87
AUS	21	25	17	12	17	8	6	106
SAF	10	9	18	25	33	15	8	118
RAF	3	4	9	12	16	10	6	60
MEA	1	2	-	1	-	-	2	6
EUR	4	5	1	1	3	5	1	20
CAN	2	5	8	-	3	4	1	23
USA	5	2	4	3	5	1	1	21
CCA	5	2	2	2	2	1	1	15
SAM	-	3	-	-	2	1	1	7
VAR	14	5	28	37	30	15	13	142
NVR	2	-	-	1	2	-	3	8
Total	89	97	128	175	193	145	76	903

Graduates born in the British Isles accounted for about a third of total overseas employment taken up by Edinburgh graduates going abroad between 1880 and 1914. Of the remaining two-thirds who found employment and service opportunities overseas, all were secured by graduates born outside the British Isles. Comparing the data in Table 5(e) and Table 5(f), which provides details of where overseas born graduates found employment after graduation, it is clear that, in emerging areas of imperial activity and interest in Asia and Africa, British born graduates seem to have enjoyed more scope for employment. For example, nearly 50% of graduates who took up residence in Asia (excluding India) and some 40% in Africa (excluding Southern Africa) during the period were born in the British Isles. British born graduates also secured nearly 40% of the employment take-up in India with the remainder

going to those born in the region.

Overseas Born Graduates

Table 5(f) indicates that a large number of overseas born students returned to their country of origin after graduation to take up employment.

Table 5(f) - Overseas Born Graduates Returning Abroad

Reg/Yr	80-84	85-89	90-94	95-99	00-04	05-09	10-14	Total
IND	29	34	44	49	52	82	138	428
ASA	5	4	7	9	17	20	27	89
AUS	45	70	74	63	48	51	47	398
SAF	28	45	39	47	45	61	82	347
RAF	11	11	12	7	15	24	18	98
MEA	5	1	5	3	1	1	4	20
EUR	3	9	5	4	4	8	12	45
CAN	10	21	12	5	15	19	9	91
USA	14	8	8	3	7	10	6	56
CCA	16	19	21	23	23	14	15	131
SAM	4	3	1	1	-	7	-	16
VAR	2	2	1	1	5	2	5	18
NVR	27	12	7	7	11	12	7	83
Total	199	239	236	222	243	311	370	1820

A large number of Indian born graduates (some 60% of total employment take-up in India) returned to the subcontinent after graduation. Of those going to the settlement colonies in Australasia and Southern Africa, where there were long established communities of British settlers, 79% and 75% respectively had been born there. Although the numbers were somewhat smaller, a similar picture emerges for Canada and the Caribbean where 80% and 90% respectively of those obtaining employment in these regions had been born there. There is some variation within the figures for these regions. For example, the highest number of students returning to Australasia did so between 1885 and 1895 when, as we shall later discuss, there was only limited competition for appointments from a small number of graduates from local tertiary institutions. Similarly, reflecting the strong economic growth in Southern Africa, which was fuelled by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, progressively more graduates returned to that region where there were ample employment opportunities often, as we shall see,

directly related to the mining industry.⁵

Overseas Born Graduates in the British Isles

Of course, not all Edinburgh students born overseas returned to their country of origin after graduation. A small number stayed on to live and work in the British Isles. The largest grouping of graduates remaining in the British Isles were the children of Anglo-Indians and expatriates working in the Indian region on a short term basis.⁶ Two or three graduates born in Australasia stayed on in Britain each year, together with one or two from the Caribbean and Southern Africa. Details are given in Table 5(g) below

Table 5(g) - Overseas Born Graduates in the British Isles

Reg/Yr	80-84	85-89	90-94	95-99	00-04	05-09	10-14	Total
IND	27	37	21	10	13	8	11	127
ASA	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	11
AUS	4	13	29	15	10	16	19	106
SAF	3	4	2	4	6	4	8	31
RAF	1	4	2	3	1	2	-	13
MEA	1	3	5	1	1	1	1	13
EUR	11	7	2	1	2	2	5	30
CAN	3	11	3	3	-	2	1	23
USA	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	5
CCA	3	7	8	7	11	2	6	44
SAM	2	4	2	1	-	-	1	10
VAR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NVR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	57	93	79	47	45	38	54	413

Without further detailed research on the individuals concerned, it is not practicable to assess why these graduates chose to remain in Britain. Contributory factors, no doubt, were changing family circumstances and job opportunities. However, it is quite clear that the majority of those born overseas who remained in the British Isles came from India and the settlement territories. Only a handful of graduates from areas of the non-western world, such as Africa, stayed on in Britain, and those that did so were almost entirely

⁵Davenport, T. R. H., and Saunders, C., *South Africa: A Modern History*. London, Macmillan Press Ltd., 5th. Edition, 2000, pps. 95 and 213-15.

⁶The term Anglo-Indian is here used to identify people of British descent who were resident in India on a long term basis.

the children of expatriates working in the region.⁷ Indigenous Africans and Asians either had no wish to remain in Britain, or found it impossible to do so.

Graduate Employment Categories

Table 5(h) shows the employment or service category by region of Edinburgh students who went overseas having graduated between 1880 and 1914.

Table 5(h) - Graduate Employment Category

Reg/Cat	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
IND	43	55	59	178	231	96	45	11	718
ASA	7	47	7	92	-	14	6	3	176
AUS	5	11	28	454	-	-	5	1	504
SAF	11	17	51	367	1	6	4	8	465
RAF	3	16	17	105	1	7	7	2	158
MEA	-	3	1	19	1	-	2	-	26
EUR	1	2	19	32	-	-	8	3	65
CAN	11	14	28	51	-	1	5	4	114
USA	3	3	29	33	-	-	5	4	77
CCA	2	2	2	133	1	1	5	-	146
SAM	-	2	1	17	-	1	2	-	23
VAR	-	4	-	2	153	1	-	-	160
NVR	4	6	3	64	3	-	4	7	91
Total	90	182	245	1,547	391	127	98	43	2,723

Each of the major employment categories is examined below to obtain a broad profile of the role Edinburgh graduates of the period played abroad.

The Medical Profession

David Hamilton has suggested that, in the nineteenth century, "Scottish doctors were the pace-setters in the medical services of England, the Empire and the armed forces."⁸ This is certainly true in the case of Edinburgh University where large numbers of Medical graduates worked overseas or served in a professional capacity in the armed forces. Nearly half of Edinburgh's Medical students who graduated and went abroad between 1880

⁷For example, H. M. Hardcastle (MBCM 1882) was born in Egypt but practised in Newcastle-on-Tyne (*MAB 1893-98*, Entry No. 95/2763); D. W. Standley (MBChB 1905) was born in Mauritius but practised in Kent (*The Medical Directory 1920*, J. & A. Churchill, London, 1920, p.1038.). However, J. Alcindor (MBChB 1899) from West Africa worked as a Medical Officer in London (*The Medical Directory 1920*, J. & A. Churchill, London, 1920, p.70).

⁸Hamilton, D., *The Healers: A history of medicine in Scotland*, Edinburgh, Cannongate Publishing Ltd., 1981, p. xi.

and 1914 found employment in Australasia (26%) and Southern Africa (21%). Nearly all of these graduates were the children of settlers in the region, and were returning to practise in areas where there was often a strong Scottish immigrant population and where, as we shall see later, the medical profession was heavily dominated by Scottish trained doctors. A further 22% of Medical graduates found employment in the Indian region, many in the IMS which provided a career for over half of them.⁹ Between 1880 and 1914 growing numbers of Indian students graduated in Medicine from Edinburgh University such that, by 1912 for example, 11 of the 14 Medical students born in India who graduated MBChB that year were Indians.¹⁰ The acceleration of British influence and control in East and Central Africa provided new job opportunities for Edinburgh Medical graduates of this period, reinforcing a presence already established in West Africa where a number of Edinburgh trained British and African doctors, such as James Africanus Beale Horton (MD 1859), Edinburgh University's first African Medical graduate, already practised.¹¹ In other regions, employment opportunities were extremely varied and included, for example, government service in the Caribbean, medical missionary work in Manchuria, employment on a commercial plantation in British North Borneo, or appointment as a ship's Doctor on a P & O passenger or Clan Line vessel.¹² A large number of Edinburgh Medical graduates of this period were also appointed to teaching posts in Universities throughout the Empire and in the United States. As we shall see, they played an important role both in shaping the structure and curriculum of fledgling Medical Schools, particularly in Australasia, North America and Southern Africa, and in disseminating Edinburgh taught medical skills and practice, particularly

⁹A total of 390 Edinburgh Medical graduates of the period took up employment in India of whom 212 served in the Indian Medical Service between 1880 and 1914.

¹⁰EUC 1912-13, pps. 608-10; EUC 1913-14, pps. 646-47.

¹¹EUC 1859-60, p. 78.

¹²GCR 1911/2446; GCR 1908/5054; GCR 1911/7048; GCR 1912/4612. The Medical Directory, 1897, London, J. and A. Churchill, 1897, p.1,035 in respect of R. Scott (MBCM 1890) who served as a Surgeon on the SS Clan MacIntosh, and SS Clan MacGregor.

with regard to antiseptic surgery.¹³

The Military

The majority of students who pursued a military career overseas between 1880 and 1914 were Medical graduates who served in a non-combative capacity. Most joined the IMS which, as we shall discuss later, had a strong tradition of employing Scottish Medical graduates, many of them from Edinburgh University.¹⁴ In addition, Edinburgh Medical graduates of this period served with British regiments abroad through the Army Medical Department which was reconstituted in 1898 as the RAMC.¹⁵ These graduates saw service mainly in India, but latterly in Southern Africa as a result of the hostilities there between 1899 and 1902.¹⁶ A few Medical graduates also served as ship's surgeons with the Royal Navy. Some graduates in other disciplines obtained commissions in British or Indian regiments which, more often than not, saw them in service on the Indian subcontinent. An example would be J. A. Ferguson (MA 1911) who served with the North Staffordshire regiment in India.¹⁷ Some Divinity graduates, such as J. T. Bird (MA 1881) and C. E. L. Cowan (MA 1892), served as Chaplains to the Army and Navy respectively.¹⁸

Education

In addition to playing a significant role in the development abroad of tertiary medical education as earlier noted, Edinburgh graduates of the period between 1880 and 1914 also made a notable contribution to the teaching of other disciplines at the tertiary level overseas. The range of subjects taught was extensive, and covered both traditional areas of academic interest as well as

¹³The role of Edinburgh University graduates in the development of tertiary medical education overseas between 1880 and 1914 is considered on a regional basis in Chapters Six to Ten.

¹⁴Harrison, M., *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859-1914*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 30.

¹⁵Spiers, E. M., *The Late Victorian Army, 1868-1902*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 80.

¹⁶There was an upsurge of patriotic fervour at Edinburgh University during the South African War. Students served in the British armed forces both as combatants and non-combatants. *The Student*, 9 January, 1900, p.196.

¹⁷GCR 1920/3508.

¹⁸GCR 1897/531; GCR 1901/1526.

disciplines of more practical application to the needs of developing societies. For example, one can contrast J. M. Forsyth (MA 1899), who was Professor of Philosophy at Grey University College, Bloemfontein, Southern Africa, and J. W. Paterson (BSc 1894), who was Professor of Agriculture at the University of Western Australia.¹⁹ In addition, some graduates pursued careers as teachers at the secondary level. In most cases, such as D. Henderson (MA 1904), who taught in Albury in New South Wales, employment opportunities arose in established communities in settlement colonies.²⁰ However, there were also other openings in India where, for example, W. Grieve (MA 1907) became Headmaster of the High School in Karachi, and in newer areas of British influence, such as Egypt, where P. S. Hardie (MA 1898) taught in Alexandria.²¹ Nearly all Edinburgh graduates pursuing a teaching or lecturing career overseas remained abroad, became integrated in the communities in which they worked and did not return to Scotland on retirement. However, there was more flexibility at the tertiary level where academic skill and personal reputation flowed across national borders within the comparatively closed community of English speaking universities in Britain, the Empire and the United States. A couple of examples will make this clear. J. Seth (MA 1881) taught at three North American universities before returning to take up the Chair of Philosophy at Edinburgh University in 1898.²² In 1929 Sir Robert Falconer (MA 1889, BD 1892), the President of Toronto University, was offered the post of Principal and Vice Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh in succession to Sir Alfred Ewing, He declined the offer for personal and financial reasons.²³

Church and Missionary Work

Edinburgh University students who graduated between 1880 and 1914, and were involved in overseas missionary and church related work, fall into two

¹⁹GCR 1913/3356; GCR 1920/9185.

²⁰GCR 1920/4886.

²¹GCR 1920/4559; GCR 1908/3738.

²²GCR 1897/6487.

²³Greenlee, J. G., Sir Robert Falconer, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1988, pps. 324-26.

broad groups of approximately equal size.²⁴ The first group was of Medical missionaries, all of whom were graduates in Medicine. The second group, who were normally graduates in Arts and/or Divinity, were involved in evangelisation, mission management and, occasionally, elementary education. Between 1880 and 1900 both groups were concentrated in the Indian and Asian regions, but from 1900 onwards established a growing presence in Africa. Medical missionaries, such as F. V. Thomas (MBChB 1894), who worked for the Baptist Mission at Palawal in the Punjab, and T. M. Alexander (MBChB 1899), who was with the English Presbyterian Mission at Swatow (Shantou) on the South China coast, tended to serve in established mission hospital facilities.²⁵ Depending on the local political situation, those involved in ministering and preaching, such as H. W. Pullar (MA 1893), who was a United Presbyterian Church missionary at Mukden (Shenyang) in Manchuria, and M. A. J. Philip (MA 1907), who was with the Church of Scotland Mission at Tumutumu in Nigeria, served both in mission “stations” and the surrounding areas.²⁶ Of the remaining graduates who went overseas, most served as clergymen in expatriate or settler communities. For example, S. B. Blean (MA 1883) was minister of the Congregational Church at Demerara in British Guiana whilst J. T. Robertson (BD 1881) was minister at St. Andrew’s Church in Adelaide, South Australia.²⁷

Of whatever category, missionaries of this period, who were Edinburgh graduates, were sponsored by most of the mainstream British Churches, such

²⁴The number of Edinburgh University Divinity graduates proceeding overseas between 1880 and 1914 may appear small in comparison with those in other employment groups. However, it should be noted that, following the 1843 ecclesiastical Disruption of the Church of Scotland, many Scottish missionaries of the period, being denied access to University Divinity facilities, were not educated at Edinburgh University, or the other Scottish Universities, but at New College (the Free Church of Scotland then United Free Church of Scotland seminary), or the United Presbyterian Church College, both in Edinburgh. This may explain the relatively small number of Edinburgh University Divinity graduates of the period identified as entering the mission field or taking up other overseas appointments. For a full discussion of the role of New College during this period see Wright, D. F. and Badcock, G. D., (Eds.), *Disruption to Diversity: Edinburgh Divinity 1846-1996*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1996.

²⁵GCR 1920/11799; GCR 1906/105.

²⁶GCR 1901/6401; GCR 1920/12718.

²⁷GCR 1895/561; GCR 1897/6082.

as the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, as well as by British and foreign missionary organisations like the London Missionary Society. A. Currie (MA 1886), for example, was a Church of Scotland missionary at Blantyre, and W. P. Young (MA 1906) a Free Church missionary at Livingstonia in Central Africa. E. Landon (MBChB 1905) served with the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission in Bombay, and C. E. King (MBChB 1909) with the China Inland Mission.²⁸ Many of these organisations actively sought recruits as well as financial and spiritual support from the University community. Their efforts centred on the University Christian Union, the Missionary Association and the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. The latter sought to promote the claims of the foreign mission field and the systematic study of missions. Membership was open to students “who look forward to engaging in Foreign Missionary Work and who sign the declaration of the Union - ‘It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign Missionary.’ ”²⁹

Business and Commerce

As discussed earlier, the inauguration of the Faculty of Science in 1893, and the introduction of new courses in areas such as Forestry and Engineering, clearly provided enhanced opportunities for graduates intending to pursue a career overseas. In addition, a significant number of overseas students came to Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914 to study Arts and Law, thereby positioning themselves for a business or legal career abroad, particularly in India. However, the employment profile of those pursuing a career overseas in business, engineering or scientific work is characterised by wide diversity. For example, D. B. Bogle (MA 1889) was an estate agent in British Columbia, Canada; R. S. Craig (MA 1892, LLB 1898) an advocate in Bangkok, Siam; I. M. Kitabjizada (BSc 1914) an electrical engineer in Turkey; G. S. Reis (BSc 1909) a rubber planter in the Federated Malay States; and J. Wilson (MA 1893) a surveyor in Cape Town.³⁰ Nearly half of those taking up a business or

²⁸GCR 95/1470; GCR 20/13174; GCR 11/5190; GCR 1911/837.

²⁹EUC 1909-10, p. 744.

³⁰GCR 1895/583; GCR 1901/1572; GCR 1920/6006; GCR 1920/9809; GCR 1901/8760.

professional career in business, engineering or science did so in India. The remainder were scattered across other regions in very small numbers. Despite the concern earlier noted about providing appropriate tertiary education for those intending to work in commerce and trade, perhaps the only conclusion that can be drawn safely is that very few graduates of Edinburgh University, who took up employment overseas during this period, did so in these areas. It was not until after the end of hostilities in 1918 that new initiatives in business related training emerged with, for example, the introduction of Degree courses in Commerce (1918) and Accountancy (1919).³¹

The Public Sector

The principal area of overseas employment for Edinburgh graduates of the 1880 to 1914 period seeking a public sector career was India which accounted for nearly 75% of such appointments.³² In addition to administrative posts, held by graduates such as R. D. Bell (MA 1899), Edinburgh *alumni* also filled various professional posts in India.³³ P. T. Pillai (MA 1914, BSc 1914), for example, worked for the Indian Forest Service whilst C. Innes (BSc 1904) was an Engineer with the Public Works Department in Burma.³⁴ A smaller number of graduates obtained positions abroad under the Eastern Cadetships Scheme which provided staff, such as B. Horsburgh (MA 1888) and J. Lornie (MA 1898, BSc 1898), for British territories in East Asia, like Ceylon, Hong Kong and Singapore.³⁵ A few graduates were appointed to the Judiciary in various territories including V. L. N. Kannepalli (MA 1910, LLB 1910), who was a High Court Judge in Madras, and R. Irving (MA 1909) who became a Magistrate in Lagos in Nigeria.³⁶ As the modern Colonial Service began to emerge in the early 1900s, when British commercial and territorial ambitions were

³¹Turner, A. L., *History of the University of Edinburgh 1883-1933*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1933, p. 208; Walker, S. P., *Accountancy at the University of Edinburgh. 1919-1994*, Edinburgh, The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland, 1994, p.15.

³²The involvement of Edinburgh graduates with the ICS between 1880 and 1914 is examined in Chapter Six.

³³GCR 1909/633.

³⁴GCR 1935/14626; GCR 1911/462.

³⁵GCR 1908/4078; GCR 1908/5098.

³⁶GCR 1913/5232; GCR 1920/5475.

accelerating, a few Edinburgh graduates were appointed to administrative posts. G. J. Letham (MA 1908), for example, served in Northern Nigeria where he was the Resident in Ilorin.³⁷ Although Edinburgh University graduates competed actively for administrative and professional posts in the Empire overseas, very few appear to have secured appointments during these years to the British Diplomatic Service though a few, such as A. M. Simpson (MA 1914) who became HBM Consul in Montevideo, subsequently obtained appointments in the Consular Service.³⁸

Patterns of Overseas Graduate Engagement

Although there were considerable differences between employment categories abroad as regards numbers and area of residence, the overall pattern which emerges demonstrates the diversity and range of overseas engagement by Edinburgh University students graduating between 1880 and 1914. As we have seen, not only did increasing numbers of graduates find employment abroad but they did so in a growing number of locations. Moreover, whilst Medical graduates continued to monopolise overseas appointments, graduates of other disciplines were able to secure employment overseas to meet the accelerating demands created by imperial expansion.

How does the experience of Edinburgh University compare in this regard to that of other tertiary institutions in the British Isles during this period? Apart from Hargreaves' definitive assessment of the overseas connections of the University of Aberdeen, there is little other comparable institutional-derived data on graduate employment abroad in the period between 1880 and 1914.³⁹ Hargreaves calculates that, between 1881 and 1920, 1,386 Aberdeen graduates obtained employment abroad.⁴⁰ This represents 20% of total Aberdeen

³⁷GCR 1920/6354.

³⁸GCR 1935/16750.

³⁹Jarlath Ronayne's recently published study on the influence of Trinity College Dublin on Colonial Australia (*First Fleet to Federation, The Influence of Trinity College Dublin on Law, Learning and Politics in Colonial Australia*, Dublin, Trinity College Dublin Press, 2001) does not provide data on numbers, professions etc.

⁴⁰Hargreaves, J. D., *Academe and Empire: Some Overseas Connections of Aberdeen University*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1994, p. 125.

graduates during this period.⁴¹ In the case of Oxford University, Symonds has estimated that, of some 5,909 matriculates of Balliol, Keble and St. John's Colleges between 1874 and 1914, 1,298 (or 22%) worked in the formal Empire overseas.⁴² More generally, John Darwin has noted that, in 1897, some 11% of students matriculating at Oxford had been born abroad. He suggests that some 5% could have been the children of expatriates whose parents had subsequently returned to live in Britain.⁴³ This compares with 13% of overseas born students matriculating at Edinburgh University in that year, of whom 8% were the children of settlers, 3% the children of expatriates and the remainder foreigners.⁴⁴

The figures for Aberdeen and Oxford compare broadly overall with those for Edinburgh where 20% of graduates between 1880 and 1914 had overseas connections of one kind or other. However, there are some important differences. In the case of the Oxford Colleges examined, there is a heavy bias towards government/bureaucratic employment and religious/missionary work. At Balliol over 60% of overseas employment was in India, or the colonial services. About 40% of Keble matriculates took up religious work abroad between 1874 and 1914. St. John's matriculates were more evenly dispersed with about 30% involved in missionary work overseas and 36% in government/bureaucratic employment. More significantly, only a handful of matriculates of these Colleges took up medical or medically related employment overseas between 1874 and 1914. The Edinburgh profile for the period from 1880 to 1914 shows a heavy bias towards medicine and education as against the government/bureaucratic and religious/missionary preferences

⁴¹Extrapolated by the author from the data provided in Appendix VII to Johnston, W., *Roll of the Graduates of the University of Aberdeen, 1843-1914*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1906, and the Appendix to Watt, T., *Roll of the Graduates of the University of Aberdeen, 1901-1925: with Supplement, 1860-1900*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1935.

⁴²Symonds, R., *Oxford and Empire*, London, Macmillan, 1986, pps. 306-08.

⁴³Darwin J., *The Growth of an International University* in Prest, J., (Ed.), *The Illustrated History of Oxford University*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 343.

⁴⁴*MBK 1897-98*. 354 overseas born students matriculated at Edinburgh University in 1897 of whom 222 were the children of settlers, 77 the children of expatriates and 55 foreigners.

of the Oxford Colleges.

There are also significant differences between Oxford and Edinburgh as regards regional dispersal. Nearly 40% of matriculates from the three Oxford Colleges considered went to India as against 26% from Edinburgh. On the other hand, greater numbers of Edinburgh graduates found employment in Australasia and Southern Africa than their counterparts from Oxford. Between 1880 and 1914, 18% of Edinburgh graduates working abroad went to Australasia as against 12% from the three Oxford Colleges between 1874 and 1914. In the same periods, 17% of Edinburgh graduates working abroad went to Southern Africa and 14% from the Oxford Colleges above.⁴⁵

Against this background, it is clear that, between 1880 and 1914, the University of Edinburgh played a significant role in meeting part of the diverse manpower needs of the formal and informal Empire. Edinburgh's importance as a training centre in Medicine cannot be understated. However, like Oxford, and Aberdeen, it also produced graduates in other disciplines, many of whom secured appointments abroad. What is of particular interest is the large number of Edinburgh graduates of all disciplines going abroad. They represent almost double the number of graduates from Aberdeen and from the three Oxford Colleges considered who pursued a career abroad during approximately the same periods. Also of note is the wide geographic diversity of overseas employment secured by Edinburgh graduates between 1880 and 1914 which, from the data available, appears to be broader than that of Oxford.⁴⁶

Regional Studies

Edinburgh graduates going overseas between 1880 and 1914 shared a common tertiary educational background and, in some cases, professional training, but the nature of their involvement with the communities in which they lived was

⁴⁵Calculated by the author from Table 5(h) in this Chapter and the data provided in Symonds, R., *Oxford and Empire* pps. 306-08.

⁴⁶The data provided by Symonds does not cover employment outside the British Empire. He does not indicate the region of birth of matriculates or what proportion of such students remained in the United Kingdom after graduation.

different. A variety of economic, political and sociological factors combined in diverse geographic locations to affect the interests and role of different groups of graduates holding the same qualifications. A regional analysis of the impact of Edinburgh University and its graduates overseas between 1880 and 1914 is therefore necessary to allow an assessment to be made of the different factors which impinged on their careers and the influence they exerted in different societies. It also allows a broad comparison to be made of the similarities, as well as the differences, in their experiences overall. The objective is to obtain a composite picture of the influence of Edinburgh University, and the role of its graduates, in the formal and informal Empire of the day, as well as in areas outwith British authority.

Table 5(i) below summarises the data in respect of the regions in which Edinburgh University graduates of the period found employment overseas.⁴⁷

Table 5(i) - Regional Dispersal of Graduates, 1880-1914

Region	Total in Region	% in Region
IND	718	26
ASA	176	6
AUS	504	18
SAF	465	17
RAF	158	6
CAN	114	4
USA	77	3
Other	260	10
Var	160	6
Nvr	91	4
Total	2,723	100

Nearly a third of the students graduating between 1880 and 1914 who found employment abroad did so in India (26%) or other parts of Asia. (6%) As we shall consider in *Chapter Six*, in India many of these graduates were either Anglo-Indians or natives who had been born on the subcontinent. In other parts of Asia, graduates were mostly British born but there were growing

⁴⁷The category "Other" relates to Europe the Middle East, the Caribbean and Central America, and South America. Between 1880 and 1914 65 graduates of this period found employment in Europe, 26 in the Middle East, 146 in the Caribbean and Central America, and 23 in South America.

numbers of local graduates as well. *Chapter Seven* profiles the influence of those Edinburgh graduates of the period (18%) who found employment in Australasia. New opportunities arising both from the expansion of settler communities in Southern Africa (17%), and the acceleration of British influence and control elsewhere on the continent (6%), accounted for a further 23% of overseas graduate employment during the period which is considered in *Chapter Eight*. Although employment take-up in Canada (4%) and the United States (3%) gradually declined between 1880 and 1914, probably because of competition for positions by American and Canadian graduates of recently established, or expanded, local institutions of higher learning, Edinburgh graduates played an important role in North America and this is examined in *Chapter Nine*. Smaller numbers of graduates found appointments in Europe, (2%), the Middle East (1%), the Caribbean and Central America (6%) and South America (1%). The impact they had on these regions is considered in *Chapter Ten*. In addition, about 6% of graduates took up employment in the British Armed Services (excluding those in the British Army in India and in the Indian Army), and were posted to various parts of the world throughout their careers overseas. Where appropriate their involvement in different communities is considered in the context of individual regions.

Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter highlights the growing importance of the overseas world to Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914. During this period, there was an increase in the number of graduates with overseas connections, many of whom obtained employment abroad, usually in the British Empire. Nearly 20% of Edinburgh students graduating during the period had an overseas connection by birth or through employment. Most of them pursued careers or vocations outside the British Isles. The expansion of imperial influence during this period also changed the composition of this overseas graduate group. It evolved from one which found employment and professional opportunities in traditional areas of European settlement, such as the Australasian colonies, to one based in parts of the non-western world. By 1914 over half of those graduates residing abroad worked in the non-western

world, either in formal areas of British influence, such as Southern Nigeria, or in areas of informal British influence such as China.

About two thirds of those who obtained employment abroad were returning to their country of origin. The remainder were British born students obtaining first-time employment overseas. Not surprisingly given the dominance of Medical students, nearly 57% of all those who graduated and went overseas from Edinburgh during this period found employment in medical or medically related work. A career in the military overseas, often in the Indian Medical Service (IMS), or the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC), provided opportunities for a further 14% of graduates, most of whom served in India. Teaching and lecturing at the secondary and tertiary levels, usually in newly established universities and colleges in Australasia, India, North America and Southern Africa, provided openings overseas for a further 9% of graduates. Under a number of auspices, missionary and church work of various types, often in remote and hostile environments, offered service opportunities overseas for 7% of graduates. Although the University placed considerable emphasis on its graduates securing prestigious public sector administrative appointments overseas, these represented only 5% of total overseas employment take-up between 1880 and 1914. Work of a scientific nature gave overseas work openings to 4% of graduates. During this period, business activities accounted for only 3% of graduate employment overseas, again much of it in India.

To allow an assessment to be made of the variety of factors which affected the category of employment, and careers abroad, of Edinburgh graduates of the period, and to set in context the nature of the influence they had on disparate societies, an analysis is now undertaken on a regional basis of the impact of the University and its graduates who went overseas between 1880 and 1914.

Chapter Six - Overseas Connections. Asia.

Starting first with the Indian subcontinent, and spreading across the trade routes to the Malay peninsula, China, and Japan, by the end of the nineteenth century British involvement in Asian affairs was extensive. This Chapter first considers the role of Edinburgh graduates in India and Burma as the Raj moved to its zenith and then elsewhere in Asia between 1880 and 1914.

The Indian Subcontinent

From the early days of the East India Company, Scots had been involved with Indian affairs in a variety of capacities.¹ Meyer and Brysac note that, beginning with Warren Hastings who as Governor-General in the 1770s, surrounded himself with Scottish personnel, “the Scots made British India their own. They built roads and bridges, trained soldiers and civil servants, staffed hospitals, and healed the afflicted, whilst others tirelessly laboured to save the souls of Britain’s heathen subjects.”² Scottish participation in Indian affairs was followed with much interest at home. Principal Robertson’s *Historical disquisition concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India* is an example of one of many publications which sought to interpret Indian civilisation for the enquiring Scottish mind.³ Half a century later, John Muir (LLD 1861), Principal of Victoria College at Benares from 1844, continued this tradition.⁴ As one of the leading orientalisists of his day, he exhorted his countrymen to explore the parallels between Christianity and Hinduism, to seek the friendship of orthodox Hindus and to “try to enter into their feelings,

¹Smailes, H., *Scottish Empire: Scots in Pursuit of Hope and Glory*, Edinburgh, HMSO, 1981, pps. 46 and 70; Cain, A. M., *The Cornchest for Scotland: Scots in India*, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 1986, p. 90.

²Meyer, K. E. and Brysac, S. B., *Tournament of Shadows: The Great Game and the Race for Empire in Central Asia*, Washington, Counterpoint, 1999, p. 77. Hastings was appointed Governor-General in 1773.

³Robertson, W., *An historical disquisition concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India, and the progress of trade with that country prior to the discovery of the passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope: with an appendix containing observations on ... the Indians*, Dublin, John Ershaw, 1791.

⁴Buckland, C. E., (Ed.), *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, London, Sonnenschein, 1906, p. 303.

and look at things from their point of view.”⁵

Out of such ideas, many contacts developed directly with Edinburgh University itself. For example, arising from his experiences in India, John Muir endowed the Chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Edinburgh in 1862 with a view to enhancing the international standing of the University and ensuring those selected for appointment in India were “not merely accomplished in law, in political economy, and in finance, but also furnished with such a knowledge of the Indian language and literature, as shall awaken in their minds an interest and respect for the remarkable people over whom they are to rule.”⁶ Similarly, the trustees of John Borthwick Gilchrist (LLD 1804), funded in his memory three scholarships for the study of Medicine, Law or Literature at Edinburgh University for native born students who had passed the competitive examinations at one of the Presidential Colleges in India.⁷ The botanist Hugh Francis Cleghorn (MD 1841) left part of his collection of works on Indian botany and topography to the University Library in 1895.⁸ Edinburgh’s contacts with India were seen to be important and were encouraged by the University. In 1886, for example, the Rector, the Earl of Iddesleigh, set a Prize Essay on the subject of *India before and After the Mutiny*. There was certainly no lack of interest in the topic and a large number of essays were submitted.⁹ The University welcomed as students influential Indians, such as the Thankor Sahib of Gondal, whose presence might “popularise our University with other Chiefs of similar rank, as well as with the classes from that great dependency

⁵Muir, J., *An Essay on Conciliation in matters of religion and on the proper adaptation of instruction to the character of the persons taught with some application of the subject to missionary proceedings.* Calcutta, R. C. Lepage and Co., 1849, p. 50.

⁶Grant, A., *The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its first three hundred years.* London, Longmans Green and Co., 1884, p. 148; Muir, J., *Reasons for the Establishment of a Sanskrit Chair in the University of Edinburgh.* Edinburgh, Thomas Constable and Co., 1860, p. 6.

⁷Lee, S., (Ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 Vols., London, Smith Elder & Co., 1908, Vol.7, p. 1,221; *EUC 1866-67*, p. 230.

⁸Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 13, p.1,164; *EUC 1896-97*, p. 727.

⁹Muir, W., *The Principal's Opening Address for the Session 1886-87.* Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh, 1886, p.14.

whom we have always rejoiced to welcome as students here.”¹⁰

Employment Categories

Building upon these and other earlier contacts, Edinburgh graduates secured new opportunities as British influence was consolidated across the subcontinent during the nineteenth century. Table 6(a) shows the number of Edinburgh students, graduating between 1880 and 1914, who took up employment in the Indian region between 1880 and 1914.

Table 6(a) - Indian Region

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	1	6	2	13	19	1	-	-	42
1885-89	2	3	5	13	35	2	1	-	61
1890-94	1	4	4	32	32	3	1	1	78
1895-99	4	3	7	30	39	26	-	1	110
1900-04	2	13	13	20	39	21	7	1	116
1905-09	5	18	15	37	38	24	7	4	148
1910-14	28	8	13	33	29	19	29	4	163
Total	43	55	59	178	231	96	45	11	718

Understandably, given the preponderance of Medical graduates amongst Edinburgh’s students overseas, the medical profession dominated the employment profile for the Indian region, particularly if medically qualified personnel serving in the military are included. Between 1880 and 1914 overseas trained practitioners of western medicine in India fell into five broad classes. These were staff of the Indian Medical Service (IMS); staff of the Army Medical Department (AMD); individuals privately employed in medical posts in India; “Lady Doctors” working for the Dufferin Fund and the Women’s Medical Service, India; and missionary personnel. Edinburgh Medical graduates were employed in different capacities in all of these categories. The largest was the IMS which accounted for over half of medical appointments taken up by Edinburgh medical students in the region who graduated between 1880 and 1914.¹¹ Smaller numbers of graduates in other disciplines obtained employment in India in missionary work, education, the

¹⁰Muir, *Opening Address 1886-87*, pps. 3-4.

¹¹The IMS provided employment for 212 Medical students graduating from Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914. This figure has been calculated by the author from the biographical data contained in Crawford, D. G., *The Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615-1930*, London, W. Thacker & Co., 1930.

business/commercial/scientific sector and in government service. The increase in the number of graduates obtaining employment in scientific work seems mainly to relate to the number of local Indian born students who studied in the Faculty of Science, particularly engineering.¹²

The Indian Medical Service (IMS)

Throughout its history, the IMS had served as a conduit through which western medicine and scientific knowledge came to India, but it also served to bring knowledge in the opposite direction. From it, Europe gained insights into Indian medical and social practices. Edinburgh University took part in this. For example, James Spence (MD 1832) twice sailed as Surgeon on an East Indiaman in 1833-34 before returning to practise in Edinburgh where he was appointed Surgeon to Edinburgh Royal Infirmary in 1854 and Professor of Surgery at Edinburgh University in 1864.¹³ The naturalist and explorer, John Anderson (MD 1862), was appointed Superintendent of the Indian Museum in Calcutta in 1864. In his book, *Mandalay to Momien* (1876), he offers the benefits of the knowledge of Burma which he had gained as a result of participation in an expedition to Upper Burma in 1867.¹⁴

Why so many Edinburgh University graduates found service in the IMS is partly explained by its history. The IMS offered a variety of careers for medical graduates in India and Burma. Originally formed to provide medical support for the East India Company's naval and military operations, the Service came under the auspices of the British Army in 1861 when the Company Army was amalgamated with local Divisions of the British Army

¹²Of the 29 students shown in the Scientific Sector graduating between 1910 and 1914 in Table 6(a) above, 21 (72%) were Indians with a BSc. in Engineering. This information has been extrapolated by the author from the Faculty of Science Graduation Lists for these years in *EUC 1910 -11*, p. 401; *EUC 1911-12*, p. 402; *EUC 1912-13*, p. 430; *EUC 1913 -14*, pps. 640-41, *EUC 1914-15*, pps. 648 - 49; *EUC 1915 -16*, pps. 651-52.

¹³Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 18, p. 743-44.

¹⁴Anderson, J., *Mandalay to Momien: a narrative of the two expeditions to western China of 1868 and 1875, under Colonel E. B. Sladen and Colonel H. Browne*, London, Macmillan and Co., 1876. Edinburgh awarded him an LLD in 1885; *EUC 1886-87*, p.160.

under the provisions of the India Act of 1858.¹⁵ The career this opened to Edinburgh graduates was distinctly varied. The IMS catered mainly for the health needs of public servants, rather than the population at large. It was essentially military in terms of its organisation and management. Two years of military service with a regiment was compulsory for each new appointee after which he became eligible (if he did not wish to continue as a regimental Medical Officer) for a post as a Civil Surgeon, usually in one of the remoter “stations” or district administrative centres.¹⁶ A Civil Surgeon was responsible not only for the medical care of public servants and their families, but also for supervising the local Hospital, Police Hospital and Jail. In addition to routine office duties, he was expected to tour his district, inspecting dispensaries and factories and ensuring that local vaccination programmes were operating as planned.¹⁷ Employment as a Civil Surgeon also offered an opportunity for private practice, which could be extremely lucrative, particularly in areas such as Bengal where there was a sizable European population. Whilst most Edinburgh graduates worked in these capacities as regimental Medical Officers or Civil Surgeons, the Service also offered employment opportunities in other areas, including those of public health, academic and research appointments at the Indian Medical Colleges, clinical posts in major hospitals

¹⁵James, L., *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, London, Little Brown and Company, 1997, p. 293. There were, however, two armies in India. The “Indian Army” comprising mainly Indians under British officers, and the “British Army in India” consisting of British nationals only. Consideration was given at that time, and again in 1879, to the formation a Medical Staff Corps through the amalgamation of the IMS with the Army Medical Department (AMD), which was itself undergoing extensive operational and structural reforms. Whilst such a merger would probably have resulted in a number of economies of scale, it never took place. The British Government was concerned that the more lucrative employment terms offered in India might attract the best of AMD recruits which would not be in the wider interests of providing medical services to the British Army itself. On its part, the Government of India was unable to agree to proposals which would have restricted appointment to Caucasians only, reversed the policy of open competitive entry for all British subjects introduced in 1855, and effectively barred “natives” of India from joining the new Corps. See Spiers, E. M., *The Late Victorian Army*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 78 and Crawford, D. G., *A History of the Indian Medical Service, 1600-1913*, 2 Vols., London, W. Thacker & Co., 1914, Vol. 2, p. 284.

¹⁶The Civil and Military Wings of the Service were formally separated in 1858.

¹⁷Crawford, *History*, Vol. 2, pps. 350-55.

in urban centres such as Calcutta and even in administration.¹⁸

A few examples will illustrate this. A. D. Stewart (MChB 1906), who specialised in public health related matters, ended his career as the first Director of the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in 1932.¹⁹ H. C. Buckley (MChB 1902) first served in the Punjab as Medical Officer for plague prevention before pursuing a career as a Civil Surgeon in the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa.²⁰ After wide experience as a regimental Medical Officer and Civil Surgeon in Darjeeling, F. A. F. Barnardo (MChB 1899, MD 1919) returned to Bengal in 1921.²¹ There, for eight years, he held the combined posts of Superintendent of the Medical College Hospital, Principal of the Medical College, Professor of Medicine and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, at Calcutta University.²² A man of considerable management as well as medical expertise, G. G. Jolly (MChB 1907) was appointed Director of Public Health in Burma. In 1933, he became Deputy Director-General of the IMS and Director General from 1939 till his retirement in 1943.²³ And it was an Edinburgh graduate R. Hay (MChB 1912) whom Nehru chose as the Service's last Director-General with a remit to wind up the Service, completed in August 1947, just prior to partition and independence.²⁴

In his standard work on public health in British India, Harrison has argued that the IMS recruited disproportionately from Scotland and Ireland and from "European" families living in India, many of whom were of Scottish or Irish descent.²⁵ However, whilst a much higher percentage of Scots born men were recruited than Scotland's relative proportion of population within the UK warranted, Scottish born personnel were never in a majority. Many did,

¹⁸Crawford, *History*, Vol. 2, pps. 357 and 442.

¹⁹*The Times*, 22 August 1969.

²⁰*The Times*, 31 December 1962.

²¹*UEJ* Vol. 20, (1961-62), p. 310.

²²He obtained his FRCS (Edinburgh 1912), MRCP (Edinburgh 1913) and MD (Edinburgh 1919) whilst on home leave.

²³Crawford, *Roll*, p. 548.

²⁴*The Daily Telegraph*, 30 May 1980.

²⁵Harrison, M., *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859-1914*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 30.

however, hold senior positions.²⁶ Whereas men of Scottish birth accounted for some 20% of total recruits between 1837 and 1884, this share fell to just over 11% between 1885 and 1896. In the main, this happened as Harrison suggests because of the growing recruitment of Indian born “Europeans”, some of whom shared a similar educational background.²⁷ However, although the proportion of Scots born recruits had declined by 1896, Edinburgh University’s share of appointments (on an all nationality basis) increased. Between 1839 and 1860 18% of all IMS recruits were graduates of Edinburgh University; and between 1865 and 1914 Edinburgh University provided even more, accounting for some 20% of total IMS recruits in this period.²⁸

What other factors influenced so many Edinburgh graduates to join the IMS? Harrison has suggested that reduced prospects of making a reasonable living from private practice in Scotland might have been a contributory factor.²⁹ But this proposition misses the mark in the case of Edinburgh University where, as we have seen in Table 5(f), the majority of Medical graduates taking up employment overseas came from outside Scotland. There is no evidence that they intended to remain in Scotland after graduation. Indeed, for some, such as C. B. MacConaghey (MBCbB 1900), service in the IMS was seen perhaps as the continuation of a family tradition.³⁰ Better pay than their counterparts in Britain, and better terms of service in respect of living conditions, leave and passages, could have been more important inducements to join the IMS.³¹

²⁶Of the 10 officers appointed Surgeons-General, and Directors-General, of the IMS between 1871 and 1918, 5 had studied Medicine at Scottish Universities. Three of them had been educated, wholly or in part, at Edinburgh University, viz. J. C. Brown, (1871-75), J. M. Cuninghame, (MD 1851, LLD 1892), (1880-84), and J. Cleghorn, (LRCS Edin. 1863), (1895-97). Crawford, *Roll*, pps.108, 138 and 168, and Crawford, *History*, Vol. 2, p. 42.

²⁷Harrison, *Public Health in British India*, p. 31.

²⁸Harrison, *Public Health in British India*, p. 26; Crawford, *Roll*, pps. 638-47. Between 1839 and 1860, 25% of all IMS recruits were educated at Scottish Universities; between 1865 and 1914, Scottish Universities provided 32% of total IMS recruits.

²⁹Harrison, *Public Health in British India*, p. 31.

³⁰His father William MacConaghey joined the IMS as an Assistant Surgeon in 1869 and was appointed Surgeon-General in 1902. Crawford, *Roll*, p. 476.

³¹Kumar, A., *Medicine and the Raj: British Medical Policy in India, 1835-1911*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1998, p. 132.

Paid civil work was available, usually as the officer became more senior and experienced and, as we have seen, there were ample opportunities for service and travel throughout the subcontinent. Moreover, depending on circumstances, the posts could open up opportunities in other areas of government activity too. For example, J. McNeill (MD 1814, LLD 1861), who built his reputation in the IMS, was later variously Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary from the Court of St. James to the Shah of Persia, Chairman of the Scottish Poor-Law Act Board of Supervision and a Special Commissioner during the Crimean War.³² There are other cases where the knowledge and expertise gained whilst serving with the IMS was instrumental in securing employment in Britain on resignation or retirement. E. D. W Greig (MBCM 1895, BSc 1898, MD 1905, DSc. 1909) became Director of Medical Research in India and Director of the King Edward VII Memorial Pasteur Institute at Shillong in Assam before retiring to the UK where he was appointed Lecturer in Tropical Diseases at Edinburgh University in 1924.³³ On retiring from the IMS in 1921 after a distinguished career as a researcher at the King's Institute of Preventive Medicine in Madras, W. S. Patton (MBChB 1901) also entered academia, being appointed Lecturer in Medical Entomology at Edinburgh University in 1921.³⁴

Before taking up appointment in India, graduates joining the IMS had to complete a twelve month course at the Royal Army Medical College at Netley near Southampton and pass the same examination as those seeking entry to the Army and Navy Medical Services.³⁵ Whilst this requirement posed extra financial and logistical hurdles for medical graduates wholly educated in India, this was less so for Indian students educated in Britain. Sixteen Indian born students graduating from Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914 joined the

³²Crawford, *Roll*, p. 428.

³³Crawford, *Roll*, p. 506 He held the post from 1924 till 1939. *UEJ*, Vol. 15, (1949-51), p. 104.

³⁴Crawford, *Roll*, p. 522. Patton was appointed to the Chair of Medical Entomology at Liverpool in 1927. *UEJ* Vol. 20 (1961-62), p. 83.

³⁵The examination comprised anatomy, botany, hygiene, medicine, pharmacy, physiology, surgery and zoology. See Crawford, *History*, Vol. 2, pps. 527-29.

IMS.³⁶ Service with the IMS also proved to be a popular career for Anglo Indian students. Forty such students joined the IMS between 1880 and 1914.³⁷ Thus, over a quarter of Edinburgh graduates joining the IMS during the period had been born in India and were returning to a region with which they were already familiar.

Interestingly, none of the “native” Indian students joining the IMS from Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914 were promoted to the highest ranks of the Service.³⁸ Reasons are not difficult to suggest. As in other components of the public service, racial distinctions were by then firmly institutionalised in such areas as pay and conditions of service. There was also a widespread misplaced impression that Indian recruits were incapable of performing their duties as ably as a European officer.³⁹ Writing in 1914, the IMS’s apologist and historian, D. G. Crawford (MBCM 1881), echoed this view when he wrote that “the members of the European Services prefer a doctor of their own class for themselves, and still more for their wives and families ... for the native practitioner, however skilled, is often apt to lose his head at a critical moment, rather than to rise to a sense of responsibility.”⁴⁰

Other Medical Employment

As noted earlier, service as a Medical Officer with a British regiment also

³⁶They were H. S. Anand (MBChB 1913), M. Ba-Ket (MBCM 1900, BSc 1901), B. K. Basu (MBCM 1882, MD 1884), S. C. Bose (MBCM 1897), M. N. Chaudhuri (MBChB 1897), C. M. Ganapathy (MBChB 1911), Jamal-uddin (MBChB 1913), H. A. Khin (MBChB 1911), R. C. Malhotra (MBChB 1911), S. L. Mitra (MBChB 1913), U. N. Mukerji (MBChB 1883), B. Prasad (MBChB 1911), K. Prasad (MBCM 1887), D. H. Rai (MBChB 1907), A. H. Shaikh (MBChB 1914) and S. S. Sokhey, (MA 1912). Over 60% of the Indian graduates noted above joined the IMS after 1900.

³⁷ This information has been calculated by the author from the biographical data contained in Crawford, *Roll* and the place of birth given in *MAB 1880-84* to *MAB 1911-15*.

³⁸ Of the 16 Indian Medical students who graduated at Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914, and joined the IMS, only 5 reached the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. They were U. N. Mukerji (1904), K. Prasad (1908), M. N. Chaudhuri (1919), M. Ba-Ket (1921) and D. H. Rai, (1927). Crawford, *Roll*, pps. 206, 217, 528, 527 and 542.

³⁹ Ballhatchet, K. *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj. Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980, pps. 99-100.

⁴⁰ Crawford, *History*, Vol. 2, p. 383.

provided a varied career for a number of Edinburgh Medical students graduating between 1880 and 1914. Often they too saw service in India, working in parallel with IMS personnel.⁴¹ The AMD, including the Army Hospital Corps, was reconstituted as the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) in 1898 and continued to provide Medical Officers for British regiments in India.⁴² A few Edinburgh graduates in disciplines other than Medicine joined British regiments which served in India. Some joined Indian regiments. J. A. Ferguson (MA 1911), for example, served with the North Staffordshire Regiment in India, whilst C. A. MacLean (MA 1914) became Lt. Colonel of the Chota Nagpur Regiment.⁴³

A few Edinburgh Medical graduates eschewed state service and instead found private employment in India, either with established landed families, or commercial enterprises. V. R. Gorakshakar (MBChB 1904) worked for the Family Service Fund of the Nizam of Hyderabad; L. H. I. Bell (MBChB 1904) was Medical Officer for the Southern Maharatta Railway Company in Dharwar; and S. C. Chatterjee (MBChB 1912) was surgeon to the Byculla GIP Railway.⁴⁴

The Women's Medical Service, India

Whilst the IMS and other organisations met the needs of limited numbers of the Indian male population, the provision of western medical care for Indian women was largely non-existent, partly because of the constraints imposed by purdah in poorer regions. Growing public concern in India and Britain about the dearth of medical care for women, coupled with the novel availability of trained female medical practitioners from Britain, Europe and the United States led, in 1885, to the formation of the National Association for Supplying

⁴¹As noted in Chapter Five, Table 5(h), 391 students graduating between 1880 and 1914 pursued a career in the armed services, of whom 231 were employed in the Indian region. The IMS provided employment for 212 of the 231.

⁴² Spiers, E. M., *The Late Victorian Army, 1868-1902*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 80.

⁴³ GCR 1920/3508; GCR 1935/11510.

⁴⁴ GCR 1904/3605; GCR 1904/675; GCR 1912/1927.

Female Medical Aid to the Women of India.⁴⁵ The Association was more popularly known as the Dufferin Fund after its first President, the Countess of Dufferin, wife of the Viceroy. Conflict with the IMS as regards the management and scope of maternity and child welfare work, and the initial ineffectiveness of the Dufferin Fund, led to more direct Government financial involvement through the establishment of the Women's Medical Service, India in 1914.⁴⁶ Edinburgh University again features. One of the principal campaigners for improved medical services for women in India, M. I. Balfour (MBCM 1903), rose to become Joint Secretary of the Dufferin Fund in 1916, and later was appointed Chief Medical Officer of the Women's Medical Service, India.⁴⁷

Between 1880 and 1914, a number of female Edinburgh graduates also worked with women in India. P. T. Copeland (MBChB 1902) worked at the Dufferin Hospital in Agra, C. R. Greenfield (MBChB 1905) at the Charlotte Hospital in the Punjab and J. M. F. Drake (MBChB 1907) at the Zenana Hospital at Karimnagar.⁴⁸ No Indian women graduated in Medicine from Edinburgh University during this period, though a Miss A. Jaganadhan qualified at the Extra Mural School in 1892, and a Miss. Rukhmabai in 1895.⁴⁹ The challenges both personal and professional facing new female medical graduates in India were considerable. Margaret Balfour recalled that "the young British or American medical woman, coming to start work in India, may well feel that she is entering a new world. She is surrounded by people wearing a different

⁴⁵Harrison, *Public Health in British India*, p. 92.

⁴⁶The Women's Medical Service for India operated under the management of the Dufferin Fund's Central Committee. Hehir, P. Major-General Sir, *The Medical Profession in India*, Henry Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1923, p.124.

⁴⁷Balfour, M.I. and Young, R., *The Work of Medical Women in India*, London, Oxford University Press, 1929, p. 52.

⁴⁸GCR 1911/1898; GCR 1911/3828; GCR 1912/2605.

⁴⁹Balfour and Young, *The Work of Medical Women*, p. 23. The Extra-Mural School of the Royal Colleges (of Physicians and Surgeons) was formally incorporated in 1895. There were a number of extramural teachers and schools which provided instruction for the examinations of the Royal Colleges as well as for University undergraduates who wanted additional tuition. Hamilton, D., *The Healers: A history of medicine in Scotland*, Edinburgh, Cannongate Publishing Ltd., 1981, pps.149-50.

dress, speaking a strange language, eating unfamiliar food, following all kinds of customs and beliefs of which she has no knowledge. There is no common ground of religion or education.”⁵⁰ The position was little different for Indian medical women. “Her medical studies and her professional reading are carried on in a language usually acquired after childhood. She sometimes has trouble with family or social objections and, in most cases, she has to conquer her own caste prejudices in her hospital and even in her private work. She does not always escape the feeling of strangeness and the need for learning a new language when she works far from her home.”⁵¹

Medical Missionaries

Similar challenges faced Medical missionaries who sought to meet both the bodily and spiritual needs of local Indian communities. Edinburgh Medical students graduating between 1880 and 1914 who served as Medical missionaries in India worked for different missionary organisations in different parts of the region. M. D. Rees (MBChB 1908), S. H. Pugh (MBChB 1910) and A. J. Bennee (MBChB 1911) all worked for the London Missionary Society (LMS), whilst E. Landon (MBChB 1905) served with the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission in Bombay.⁵² The Scottish Churches also supported their own Medical missionaries in India. A. M. Macintosh (MBChB 1904) was a Church of Scotland Medical missionary at Sialkot in the Punjab, whilst C. D. Maitland (MBChB 1911) was a Medical missionary with the United Free Church Mission at Rajputana (Rajpootana) in North West India.⁵³

Writing in 1886, John Lowe, Secretary of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, outlined some of the problems faced by Medical missionaries in India at that time, and what he saw as the progress being made toward winning the confidence of Indians in the benefits of Western based medicine.⁵⁴ How are

⁵⁰Balfour and Young, *The Work of Medical Women*, p.11.

⁵¹Balfour and Young, *The Work of Medical Women*, p.12.

⁵²GCR 1913/8799; GCR 1920/9584; GCR 1920/834; GCR 1911/5190. Derived from Hindi, *zenana* is that part of a house in countries such as India which is reserved for the women of the household.

⁵³GCR 1911/6223; GCR 1920/7250.

⁵⁴Lowe, J., *Medical Missions: Their Place and Power*, London, Unwin, 1886.

these missionaries remembered now? In his critical study of British medical policy in India, Anil Kumar comments that the “medical works of the missionaries were of great significance. Though belonging to the white race, and generally not opposed to imperial rule, they did put the government under occasional ecclesiastical censure. Their contribution to the progress of the hospital system and western Medical sciences, braving the heat and dust of India, was quite commendable. Particularly, the practice of the healing art by well-qualified lady physicians in the *harems* and *zenanas* was greatly gratifying and advantageous to the much neglected Indian womenfolk.” It is an assessment with which Edinburgh University’s Medical missionary graduates of the period would probably have been pleased.⁵⁵

Education

In addition to medical teaching and academic posts already mentioned, Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 took up other teaching appointments in India. Initially, the majority of such positions were occupied by Anglo-Indians but, progressively, more Indians obtained senior appointments. P. C. Ray (BSc 1885, DSc 1887), for example, became Professor of Chemistry at Presidency College in Bombay, R. R. S. Rao (MA 1902, MBChB 1905) was Professor of History at Pachiappas College in Madras, and K. G. G. Pillai (MA 1911, LLB 1912) was Professor of History and Economics at Sri Pratap College in Srinagar, Kashmir.⁵⁶ Many of the teaching posts held by Edinburgh graduates were Arts based, but this changed over the period with more graduates taking up appointments with a scientific and vocational focus. The old ways were represented by H. C. Norman (MA 1900) who was Professor of English at Benares and G. R. T. Ross (MA 1897) who was Professor of Philosophy at Rangoon. However, A. Hay (BSc 1891), who became Lecturer in Electrotechnics at the Institute of Science in Bangalore and E. Shearer (MA 1901), who lectured in Agriculture at Pusa Imperial College in Bengal, were evidence of the new trend.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Kumar, A., *Medicine and the Raj: British Medical Policy in India, 1835-1911*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1998, p.101.

⁵⁶GCR 1925/11650; GCR 1911/8226.

⁵⁷GCR 1909/6949; GCR 1911/8722; GCR 1910/3988; GCR 1910/8825.

Christian Missions

The Scottish Churches and other foreign Christian groups thought India a rich field for missionary work. Christian missionary effort encompassed a range of other activities in addition to medical work, particularly teaching as well as, of course, preaching. Edinburgh graduates taught at all levels of the Christian missionary interface with the Indian community. A. Mauchline (MA 1904) was Principal of the Scottish Churches' College in Calcutta; G. S. Mill (BSc 1914) became Principal of the Scottish Universities Mission College at Kalimpong in Bengal; J. J. Ghose (DLitt 1907) was Principal of the Mission High School in Ahmadabad, and J. M. Joss (MA 1906) was a missionary teacher.⁵⁸ Preaching extended across a range of organisations and was usually centred on already established institutions. J. G. Philip (MA 1914) was Presidency Senior Chaplain in Madras; J. F. Gardner (BD 1887) was Minister of the Free Church in Bombay; and G. H. Jamie (MA 1914) became Minister of Wellesley Street Church (of Scotland) in Calcutta.⁵⁹

Business and Commerce

Comparatively few Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 found employment in the business and commercial sector in India. There were a few openings for Europeans, such as D. K. Cunnison (MA 1901), who was Assistant Secretary of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, but most positions were filled by Indians. Many joined the legal profession which provided lucrative, high status employment.⁶⁰ 24 Edinburgh students graduating either

⁵⁸GCR 1911/6786; GCR 1935/12742; GCR 1912/350; GCR 1912/5201.

⁵⁹GCR 1935/9361; GCR 1897/2299; GCR 1935/8556.

⁶⁰Seal, A., *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970, pps. 125-28.

in Arts or Law, or both, after 1906 pursued such a career.⁶¹ A few graduates obtained posts in journalism. W. Dick (MA 1888) worked in Allahabad before returning to Britain to join the *Liverpool Daily Post*.⁶² H. Smiles (MA 1899), and J. Davidson (MA 1906), both worked in Burma for the *Rangoon Gazette*.⁶³

Nearly all of the 45 graduates obtaining employment in scientific work in the region held a BSc degree in Agriculture, Engineering or Pure Science. They include Indians and Europeans who found careers in the private and public sectors. J. M. Cameron (BSc 1890) became an indigo planter. E. Thompstone (BSc 1904) became Director of Agriculture in Bombay and D. A. Rao (BSc 1909) became Assistant Director of Agriculture at Rajahmundry in South India.⁶⁴ H. S. C. Edie (MA 1890), and P. T. Pillai (MA 1914, BSc 1914) both worked for the Indian Forest Service.⁶⁵ Edinburgh graduates also took up a variety of civil engineering posts in the region with some, such as A. F. M. Clark (MA 1901), working in more specialist areas such as railway construction.⁶⁶ Others, like J. P. Gunn (MA 1912), worked for the Public Works Department (PWD).⁶⁷ There were also opportunities in specialist areas. J. M. Romanis (BSc 1880) was a scientific chemist in Burma; W. A. K. Christie (BSc. 1902) worked as a chemist for the Geological Survey of India; W. Burns (BSc 1905, DSc 1914) was Economic Botanist to the Government of Bombay; T. N. Annandale (DSc. 1905) was Conservator of the Museum of Calcutta.⁶⁸

⁶¹They were G. D. Pillai (MA 1907), J. Nath (MA 1909), K. N. G. Pillai (LLB 1909), M. P. K. Pillai (LLB 1909), A. Alikhan (MA 1910), N. M. Shirgadkar (MA 1910), Surendra N. Dutt (MA 1912), M. Amiruddin (MA 1913), A. C. Bera (MA 1913), C. S. Bhasker (MA 1913), T. Chibber (MA 1913), S. Q. Hasan (MA 1913), O. Lakshmanaswami (MA 1913), H. N. Lall (MA 1913), K. U. Luke (MA 1913), R. R. Mehra (MA 1913), R. S. Naik (MA 1913), M. Raswami (MA 1913), C. K. V. Rao (MA 1913), R. M. V. S. Rao (MA 1913), B. N. Y. Deva (MA 1914), N. Sachindra Dutt (MA 1914), M. J. Khan (MA 1914) and N. V. L. M. Rao (MA 1914).

⁶²GCR 1895/1629.

⁶³GCR 1909/8748; GCR 1920/2646.

⁶⁴GCR 1920/1681; GCR 1911/10078; GCR 13/8759.

⁶⁵GCR 1901/2168; GCR 1920/11836; GCR 1914/14626.

⁶⁶GCR 1910/1651. He worked on the construction of the Bengal and North West Railway.

⁶⁷GCR 1914/4310.

⁶⁸GCR 1897/6188; GCR 1911/1707; GCR 1935/2388; GCR 1911/309.

The Public Sector

Government bureaucracy in India provided employment opportunities for a number of Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914. Most joined the Indian Civil Service (ICS) but a few, such as N. Izat (MA 1909), obtained positions through the Eastern Cadetships scheme in the Civil Service of Ceylon.⁶⁹ The more intellectually able, such as T. S. Macpherson (MA 1897) or T. G. Rutherford (MA 1907), sought appointment in the prestigious administrative rank of the ICS.⁷⁰ But there was a range of other employment opportunities as well. N. A. F. Moos (BSc 1886), for example, was Director of Government Observatories whilst J. J. Latta (MA 1907) became an Assistant Accountant General.⁷¹

Edinburgh University had a long association with recruitment to public service in India. For example, Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of Edinburgh University from 1868 to 1884, had been appointed one of the first ICS examiners in 1865. He became Professor of History and Political Economy at Elphinstone College in Madras in 1860 and then its Principal in 1862. Prior to returning to Britain, he had been Vice Chancellor of the University of Bombay, Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency and a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council.⁷² John Muir, who was a leading benefactor of the University, and his brother, Sir William Muir, who was Grant's successor in 1884, also brought to University affairs considerable knowledge of British India and of Indian culture and languages.⁷³

Appointment to the ICS was regarded as particularly prestigious and lucrative and the University actively sought to open this opportunity to its most able graduates. As Sir Ludovic Grant, Dean of the Faculty of Law noted in 1896, it

⁶⁹GCR 1920/5487.

⁷⁰Joynt, T. H., *Edinburgh Civil Servants, 1896-1944* in UEJ, Vol. 13, (1944-45), pps.111-20; GCR 08/5960; GCR 1920/10412.

⁷¹GCR 1914/7883; GCR 1920/6158.

⁷²Lee, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.8, pps. 374-76.

⁷³ Amongst a variety of postings Muir had been appointed in 1844 Principal of the newly established Queens College at Benares. Lee, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol 13, pps. 1,164-1,165.

was one of the University's top priorities "to equip [students] for the public service in our eastern Empire".⁷⁴ An ICS appointment was considered by J. Wilson (MA 1874) to be one of the "greatest prizes offered for general competition among youth of the country."⁷⁵ But, to achieve success, many students had to resort to London based crammers where, as Wilson noted, there was available "more individual help ... than I could have got in the large classes at Edinburgh University."⁷⁶ In an attempt to meet this problem, which it clearly took seriously, the University arranged between 1882 and 1914 for David Playfair Heatley, who later became Reader in Political Science and (Mackay) Lecturer in History, to mentor students sitting the Open Competitions for the Home Civil Service and the Indian Civil Service.⁷⁷

Following the Northcote-Trevelyan report of 1853, the service of the East India Company was opened to competitive entry, starting in 1855, the objective being to secure well educated recruits of high intellectual calibre.⁷⁸ Whilst the entry examination covered a broad range of subjects, it tended to favour students who had received the classical education available at Oxford and Cambridge, rather than students educated at Edinburgh, where the Arts course was more weighted towards the study of philosophy.⁷⁹ More controversial were the age limits prescribed for candidates taking the ICS examination. This affected the potential examination success of different groups of individuals. Between 1878 and 1920 the lower and upper age limits changed three times. The age range of 17 years to 19 years between 1879-91 moved to 21 to 23 years between 1892 and

⁷⁴University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da 81.2), Laureation Addresses by Professor Sir Ludovic J. Grant, Bart., Dean of the Faculty of Law, 1894-1910, 2 Vols., Vol. 1, p. 20.

⁷⁵Wilson, J., The India Civil Service as a Career for Scotsmen, Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1885, p. 5.

⁷⁶Wilson, The India Civil Service, p. 20.

⁷⁷UEJ, Vol. 13, (1944-45), p. 46.

⁷⁸The Government of India Act of 1858 provided for the ICS examination to be managed by the Civil Service Commissioners. Full competitive entry to the (British) Home Civil Service was not introduced until 1870. The ICS examination was merged with the senior Home Civil Service examination in 1895.

⁷⁹Roach, J. Public Examinations in England, 1850-1900, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971, p.196.

1905 and then to 22 to 24 years between 1906 and 1920.⁸⁰ The 17 to 19 age limit particularly worked against the interests of Edinburgh and the other Scottish universities in that even the Commissioners envisaged that students, on completing their secondary schooling, would need only “the ordinary education of English gentlemen” in residential institutions such as Oxford or Cambridge.⁸¹ After protests, a compromise was eventually reached which allowed Edinburgh, and the other Scottish universities, to compete by establishing a special committee to supervise their ICS candidates and to “undertake responsibility for their conduct and enforce rules of discipline upon them.” Candidates were to be accommodated “in the house of either one of the Professors or of some suitable person sanctioned by the Senatus.”⁸² These arrangements were superseded in 1892 when the higher age limits were introduced. but Edinburgh students were still disadvantaged as the examination marking system was brought more into line with the curriculum and practice of Oxford and Cambridge - especially Oxford.⁸³

What career pattern awaited newly appointed Edinburgh graduates to the ICS and what was the Service’s organisational culture? Dewey has suggested that new recruits were probably shocked initially by the prevailing apartheid. “The boycott of the Indian passengers on the ships out, the senior officials’ aloof reserve, the memsahibs’ fear of pollution, the colour bar at the clubs, caused them real distress.”⁸⁴ After a short period of orientation, young civilians were normally based in a District and were trained to undertake judicial work and to supervise revenue collection. It was a testing time whatever work was assigned. “The judge must spend his working hours in the court-room; on the other hand, once he has left his court, his work is normally over for the day. A secretary spends long hours in an office, surrounded by

⁸⁰O’Malley, L. S. S., The Indian Civil Service, 1601-1930, London, John Murray, 1931, p. 242.

⁸¹Roach, Public Examinations, p. 220

⁸²EUC 1880 -81, Appendix, p. 53.

⁸³Symonds, R., Oxford and India in Madden, F. and Fieldhouse, D. K., (Eds.), Oxford and the Idea of Commonwealth, London, Croom Helm, 1982, p. 58.

⁸⁴Dewey, C., Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service, London, The Hambleton Press, 1993, p. 203.

files; as compensation, he spends the summer and rains in the cool climate of the hills. The diplomat of the political department leads a variegated life. He spends part of his time in an office, part in courts and palaces. The settlement officer's lot is cast in pleasant places; for he spends nearly five months in camp during the cold weather, and six weeks in the hills during the summer. And heads of departments spend three months in the hills, and can roam at will over the province during the rest of the year."⁸⁵

For some of the principal spokesmen of the British Administration, the ICS was one of the shining achievements of the Raj. Writing in 1888, the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, said: "There is no Service like it in the world. For ingenuity, courage, right judgment, disinterested devotion to duty, endurance, open-heartedness and, at the same time, loyalty to one another and their chiefs, they are ... superior to any other class of Englishman. And moreover, if the Indian Civil Service were not what I have described it, how could the government of the country go on so smoothly? We have 250 millions of subjects in India and less than 1,000 British Civilians for the conduct of the entire administration".⁸⁶ From the Indian perspective, the ICS was only grudgingly admired and rarely loved. It was perceived as an authoritarian foreign dominated elite whose loyalty lay with the British Government rather than with India or Indians. Its entry requirements and structure were also seen as posing a serious obstacle to the growth of an indigenous ruling class.⁸⁷

Whilst most Edinburgh graduates of the period were content to pursue what was often a lucrative career in India within the existing bureaucratic and social structure, others were less comfortable with the *status quo*. In an essay published in Edinburgh in 1886, Prafulla Chandra Ray (BSc 1885, DSc 1887) provided a unique critique of the Raj.⁸⁸ His views give an insight into issues of

⁸⁵Blunt, E., *The I.C.S. (The Indian Civil Service)*, London, Faber and Faber Limited, 1937, p. 4.

⁸⁶O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service*, p.173.

⁸⁷Seal, A., *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970, pps. 4-5 and 115-18.

⁸⁸Ray, P. C., *India Before and After the Mutiny*, Edinburgh, E. & S. Livingstone, 1886.

concern to educated Indians, many of whom were studying at Edinburgh University, and elsewhere in Britain, in the 1880s and 1890s.

Prafulla Chandra Ray

Like many other Indian students of this period, Prafulla Chandra Ray came to Edinburgh University after distinguishing himself at the University of Calcutta, from which he graduated in 1879.⁸⁹ Whilst at Edinburgh, Ray took a BSc. in 1885 and a DSc. in 1887.⁹⁰ One of his classmates, the geographer Hugh Robert Mill, remembered him as “the most enlightened Hindu I ever met, speaking and writing English with grace and fluency, and singularly at home in European modes of thought.”⁹¹ But Ray was no stooge of the Raj. His critique of British rule in India was written in 1886 as his entry in the competition for a prize offered by the Rector for the best essay on “India Before and After the Mutiny”. Although his essay did not win first prize, (with another it was joint second), it is a remarkable achievement for a young man in the midst of demanding studies, living in a foreign country and writing in English rather than his own language. It is also revealing as to how strongly held were his views that he subsequently chose to publish his essay in pamphlet form in Edinburgh.

Ray recognised the influence some of his fellow students might come to have on the affairs of India and the Empire. He dedicated his essay to the students of Edinburgh University, many of whom might be called upon “to assume civic functions, and to exercise a potent influence in the affairs of Empire. Tomorrow you will be arbiters of the destinies of 250 millions of human beings, your own fellow-subjects.” He hoped that the advent of a new generation would lead to “the dawn of a brighter and happier era for India.” Although he commented little on the Indian Mutiny/Rebellion itself, other than to note that the possibility of containing it was lost when unrest spread,

⁸⁹Gillespie, C. C., (Ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 16 Vols., New York, Charles Scribner's Sons for the American Council of Learned Societies, 1975, Vol 11, pps. 318-19. Ray's period of study at Edinburgh University was funded by a Gilchrist Scholarship.

⁹⁰*EUC 1886-87*, p. 223; *EUC 1887-88*, p. 471.

⁹¹Mill, H. R., *Autobiography*, London, Longman Green & Co., 1951, p.38.

the basis of his argument was that the “lamentable condition of India at present is due to England’s culpable neglect of, and gross apathy to, the affairs of that Empire. England has hitherto failed - grievously failed - in the discharge of her sacred duties to India.”⁹²

Ray dismissed the view that British rule had brought economic benefits to the subcontinent. Famine was an all too real threat. “India” he said “is a country of famished peasants, rather than of Rajas and Nawabs”.⁹³ Most of the population faced burdensome taxation which yielded little or no return in the form of community or social services. Budgetary constraints were exacerbated by increasing expenditure on defence which arose not just locally but from India having to meet a portion of the overall cost of imperial military undertakings elsewhere. Ray recognised that, as the Indian economy developed, it risked being subordinated to the needs of that of Britain. Citing the example of the 1875-76 British tariff repeal on Manchester cotton goods, which posed major challenges for Indian manufacturers, Ray suggested that “Japan is governed *for* the Japanese *by* the Japanese; India is governed by an alien nation, to a large extent, if not mainly, for the benefit of itself.”⁹⁴

How were these problems to be addressed and overcome? Like many of his contemporaries, Ray believed a start could be made by reducing bureaucracy and by localising the Administration. However, the Raj was deeply resistant to change and guarded its prerequisites jealousy. “Ask the Government of India to create a new bureau, and it responds to your call with singular alacrity and promptitude; ask the Indian Government to abolish a department, then evasion and procrastination become its watchwords.”⁹⁵ Localising the public service would broaden its base and enhance its efficiency. “The superior claims of the natives of India are beyond question ... their competence has been fully established as far as we can judge. Of late years (in rare cases) some of them have been raised to the bench, and in no instance that we know

⁹²Ray, *Before and After*, Dedication, p. 2.

⁹³Ray, *Before and After*, p.55.

⁹⁴Ray, *Before and After*, p.60.

⁹⁵Ray, *Before and After*, p.65.

of have they proved unworthy of the confidence reposed in them, As regards their marvellous administrative and financeering capacities, they are only conspicuous by their superiority to, and excellence over, Englishmen.”⁹⁶

With a newly revitalised public service, government expenditure could be better prioritised to meet identified economic and social needs. Scientific knowledge and technical education would play a critical role in ensuring these initiatives were realised. “The poverty of India lies chiefly in the fact that she has to depend on agriculture, and agriculture alone.”⁹⁷ If India is to prosper “she must adopt the tactics of the European nations” and industrialise.⁹⁸ But no significant progress would be made until there was major investment of personnel and resources in education with a scientific and technical focus. “A government that can squander ten million pounds on ‘palatial’ barracks, but which cannot spare a farthing for laboratories, should forfeit the title of a civilised government.”⁹⁹

Underlying Ray’s proposals was an awareness of the growth of nationalist sentiment in India. He saw that “ideas which pervade the upper strata of society are now percolating through the lower; even the masses are now beginning to be moved and influenced. England unfortunately now refuses to recognise the hard and irresistible logic of facts, and does her best to strangle and smother the nascent aspirations of a rising nationality.”¹⁰⁰ But Ray was either unable or unwilling to take his views to their conclusion. The economic and social changes which he envisioned could only come about when India’s dependent status ended and, as a sovereign nation state, economic and fiscal policy were determined on an independent basis without reference or regard to British interests. Ray’s critique was thus incomplete in that he appeared to accept Britain had a conscious and positive role to play as an agent of change on the subcontinent. His solution to India’s problems was for Britain to treat

⁹⁶Ray, *Before and After*, p. 66.

⁹⁷Ray, *Before and After*, p.104.

⁹⁸Ray, *Before and After*, p.107.

⁹⁹Ray, *Before and After*, p.112.

¹⁰⁰Ray, *Before and After*, pps. 85-86.

India in a more equitable and just manner. "The English public has yet to be roused to an adequate sense of the importance of events which are now taking place in India."¹⁰¹ But England remained for Ray "the mother country" and it was his earnest hope that British politicians would be more sensitive to Indian needs and aspirations and act accordingly.

Whilst Ray's views were shared by some of his contemporaries, including John Bright in Britain and Rajani Kanta Gupta and Akshay Kumar Maitreya in India, all of whose writings he quotes, elements of his critique were nevertheless highly forceful and original, particularly in respect of the important role scientific know-how would play in the development of the Indian economy. His views on the cost of maintaining the Raj focused attention on the economic aspects of British rule, particularly amongst middle class Indians, and anticipated Naoroji's "drain theory" which was later developed in his *Poverty and Un-British Rule* in 1901.¹⁰² Although his vision of an economically robust India evolving within a wider imperial framework may have been deficient, his essay provides an interesting perspective on nascent Indian nationalism. His views were probably shared by some of his fellow Indian students at Edinburgh University at this time. Whilst the interests of many of his British contemporaries were on promoting imperial interests and consolidating the Raj, Ray's questioning of the legitimacy of imperial control, and his views on India's future, are an important indicator of how opinion in India was likely to evolve.

It is difficult to assess what effect, if any, Ray's critique might have had at the time. Certainly, later historians have echoed many of his assertions. Arora has suggested, for example, that there was "very little interposition with the administrative work of the civil service. It was argued that men on the spot knew better. They were given freedom to execute their own policy.... India was

¹⁰¹Ray, *Before and After*, p. 85.

¹⁰²Sarkar, S., *Popular Movements and Middle Class Leadership in Late Colonial India: Perspectives and Problems of a History from Below*, Calcutta, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, 1983, pps. 35-36.

only administered, not governed.”¹⁰³ O’Malley tends to agree; freedom of action, and a sense of carrying the burden of empire, led many ICS members “to think that they know what is good for the people better than the people themselves.”¹⁰⁴ Perhaps Ray’s call for a leaner, more sensitive bureaucracy was naive or premature. As Dewey notes, senior officials recognised that “the administration was stretched paper-thin over a vast subcontinent. Confronted by perennial shortages of men and money, it was as much as they could do to hold the system together. Since there was no possibility of changing anything very much, there was no point of feeling anything strongly.”¹⁰⁵

The Rest of Asia

Even if it could not match the volume of service and employment opportunities available in India, the rest of Asia offered a diverse range of openings for Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914. Whilst Medical graduates again accounted for the bulk of employment taken up in this region, over a quarter of the region’s graduates were associated with church and missionary activities.¹⁰⁶ Employment in the public sector, mainly through appointments to Eastern Cadetships, provided a small number of opportunities for Edinburgh graduates, whilst a few others worked in business and education in the region. Details are given in Table 6(b) below -

Table 6(b) - Rest of Asia

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	-	1	-	13	-	-	-	-	14
1885-89	-	5	-	7	-	-	-	-	12
1890-94	1	2	-	11	-	-	-	-	14
1895-99	-	7	-	20	-	2	-	-	29
1900-04	2	10	1	15	-	5	-	-	33
1905-09	2	16	5	13	-	2	-	1	39
1910-14	2	6	1	13	-	5	6	2	35
Total	7	47	7	92	0	14	6	3	176

¹⁰³Arora, K. C., *The Steel Frame. Indian Civil Service Since 1860*, New Delhi, p. 58-59.

¹⁰⁴O’Malley, *The Indian Civil Service*, p. 170.

¹⁰⁵Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, p. 203.

¹⁰⁶This compares with 8% in church and missionary work in the Indian region and 10% in Africa (other than Southern Africa) between 1880 and 1914.

Medical Employment

An average of between 2 and 3 Edinburgh Medical graduates a year took up appointments in the area between 1880 and 1914. With just a few exceptions, such as Y. S. Sanitwongse (MBCM 1884) from Siam, L. B. Keng (MBCM 1892) from Singapore and Y. Fakuda (MBChB 1901) from Japan, nearly all of the Edinburgh Medical graduates who went to the region between 1880 and 1914 had been born in Britain.¹⁰⁷ However, the years immediately before 1914 saw a number of Chinese born students, such as S. F. Li (MBChB 1910) and C. Y. Wong (MBChB 1910), graduating in Medicine, but not many.¹⁰⁸ The nature of medical work available in the region varied considerably. As discussed below, many graduates served as Medical missionaries or found teaching appointments. A few, such as J. A. Lowson (MBCM 1888), moved to civil appointments in places under British control like Hong Kong and the Malay peninsula. The coastal areas of China, particularly the foreign concessions, provided opportunities for men such as W. Morrison (MBCM 1881, BSc 1895, BSc 1896), who was Physician to the British Consulate and Imperial Maritime Customs at Newchwang (Yingkou) in Southern Manchuria.¹⁰⁹ Others, like O. M. Mirylees (MBChB 1905), worked as plantation doctors for commercial organisations, in his case the British Malaysian Company in Sarawak¹¹⁰ The remainder either took up hospital appointments or worked as General Practitioners.¹¹¹ Perhaps one of the most influential of Edinburgh's graduates to come to China during this period was G. E. Morrison (MBCM 1887, MD 1895) who, during a remarkable career, was *The Times* correspondent in Peking, the confidant of diplomats and an adviser on political matters to Yuan Shih-k'ai, the first President of the Chinese Republic.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷GCR 1920/13147; GCR 1901/3942; GCR 1909/3079.

¹⁰⁸GCR 1920/6266; GCR 1920/12985.

¹⁰⁹The Student, 11 February 1904, p. 290; GCR 1896/5020.

¹¹⁰UEJ, Vol. 8 (1936-37), pps .91-92; GCR 1911/7048.

¹¹¹K. L. Teng (MBChB 1901) worked as a General Practitioner in Penang where he lived in "Edinburgh House"; GCR 1910/9676.

¹¹²Pearl, C., Morrison of Peking, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1967, pps.79 and 278-79.

Education

The growth of tertiary institutions throughout the Asian region provided teaching appointments, particularly in Medicine, for a number of Edinburgh graduates. L. A. Belilios (MBCbB 1910), for example, lectured in Ophthalmology at St. John's University in Shanghai, J. A. Campbell (MBCbB 1909) was Professor of Physiology at the University of Singapore and J. C. Thomson (MA 1884, MBCM 1888, MD 1892) lectured in Pathology at the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese of which he was Secretary.¹¹³ As tertiary institutions in the region expanded after the First World War, Edinburgh taught professional skills continued to be in demand. The career of C. W. Stump (MBCbB 1917, MD 1923, DSc 1924) illustrates this point. He held the Chair of Anatomy at the Royal Medical College at the University of Bangkok from 1924 to 1927 before moving on to the University of Sydney, where he became Professor of Embryology and Histology.¹¹⁴

Christian Missions

Between 1900 and 1914 there was a significant increase in the number of new graduates entering missionary work in the region. No less than 47 graduates went into the mission field in Asia (excluding the Indian subcontinent) in various capacities between 1880 and 1914, most of them after 1900. The focus of missionary work for nearly all these graduates was China though a few, such as J. S. Macknight (MA 1894), served in the Straits Settlements Colony (he was Minister of the Presbyterian Church in Penang.)¹¹⁵ Increasing western pressure on China, and the progressive diminution of Qing power in the last years of the nineteenth century, opened new windows of opportunity for many western missions, many of whom had long established connections in the region.¹¹⁶ Additionally, British control of Hong Kong provided a secure base

¹¹³GCR 1910/616; GCR 1913/1575; GCR 1901/8001. Choa, G. H., *The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai*, Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press, 1981, p. 61.

¹¹⁴Turner, A. L., *History of the University of Edinburgh, 1883-1933*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1933, p. 410.

¹¹⁵GCR 1901/4925.

¹¹⁶Spence, J. D., *The Search for Modern China*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1990, p. 206.

which many chose as a centre for their operations along the Chinese coast.¹¹⁷ “The advantages of Hong Kong as a basis for mission effort are very great, seeing it is the fourth port in the world, and an important Naval and Military station”, noted a guidebook of the time. “Being also under British rule it is not subject to the periodical disturbances which affect work in the interior.”¹¹⁸

The majority of Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 who worked as missionaries in China did so either along the south coast, in and around foreign concessions, or in Manchuria. A few examples will illustrate this point. T. M. Alexander (MBChB 1899) and N. H. Beath (MBChB 1902) both worked as Medical missionaries for the English Presbyterian Mission in Swatow (Shantou) whilst J. H. Montgomery (MBChB 1902), and W. Short (MA 1906), also served with the same Mission in Amoy (Xiaman).¹¹⁹ Most of those Edinburgh graduates working in the mission field were British, but there were one or two Chinese and a sprinkling of Europeans. H. T. Chiang (MBChB 1912) worked in the Wesleyan Mission Hospital in Hankow (Hankou), and S. A. Ellerbeck (MBChB 1902), served first the Danish Mission Hospital at Antung (Dandong) and then the United Presbyterian (after 1900 United Free) Church of Scotland Medical Mission and College at Moukden (Shenyang).¹²⁰ The United Free Church had a strong presence in North Eastern China. By 1905 it was operating five hospitals and dispensaries across Manchuria.¹²¹ A significant number of Edinburgh graduates, including some women, took up missionary appointments with the United Free Church Mission. For example, Ethel Louie Starmer (MBCM 1897), Agnes Marshall Cowan (MBChB 1906), Ella Pringle (MBChB 1909), Basil L. Livingstone - Learmouth (MBCM 1896), and his wife Agnes, (MBChB 1901), A. R. Leggate (MBChB 1908), and M.¹¹⁷Endacott, G. B., *A History of Hong Kong*, 2nd. ed., Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1964, p. 69.

¹¹⁸Turner, J. A., *Kwang Tung or Five Years in South China*, London, S. W. Partridge & Co., 1894, p.103.

¹¹⁹GCR 1906/105; GCR 1920/720; GCR 1920/8447; GCR 1920/10780.

¹²⁰GCR. 1920/1819; GCR 1920/ 3296. See also Christie, D., *Thirty Years in Manchuria. 1883-1913*, London, Constable and Company, 1914, p. 274.

¹²¹Tsai, H. H., *Scottish Women Medical Pioneers; Manchuria 1894-1912* in *Scottish Medical Journal*, Glasgow, Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society of Glasgow, the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh and the Edinburgh Obstetrical Society, 1992, Vol. 37, pps.56 - 59.

Macintyre (MBCbB 1910).¹²²

Most missionaries in China worked in difficult and demanding circumstances, often at great personal risk to their families and themselves. Contact with non-Chinese was generally restricted to those passing through on diplomatic, trade or religious visits. The climate in most places was enervating.¹²³ Despite this, missionary cultural perceptions of the Chinese were generally sensitive and largely free of racial bias or dogmatic criticism. Dugald Christie (FRCP Edin.), who served for thirty years with the United Free Church Mission at Moukden (Shenyang), thought that the “Western world has regarded China as far behind in all civilisation, largely because of her slowness to develop those lethal weapons, a modern army and navy.... It is a question, however, whether her ideal of civilisation is not of a higher type than that which acts on the principle that ‘might is right.’ In China it has long been recognised that mind is superior to matter, intelligence to physical strength, the appeal to reason better than decision by force of arms. Arbitration is her ideal.... After a foreigner has become accustomed to his first impressions and has concluded that the Chinese are diametrically the opposite of ourselves, he will, if he lives among them and learns to know them intimately, gradually change his mind and find out how like we are after all.”¹²⁴

Though it is difficult to assess how far these views were shared by Edinburgh University graduates working in China between 1880 and 1914, some of them, like J. C. Thompson (MA 1884, MBCM 1888, MD 1892), who, amongst many appointments, was Medical Missionary Superintendent at the Alice Memorial Hospital in Hong Kong, clearly had a high regard for Chinese traditions and

¹²² GCR 1901/7542; GCR 1912/1988; GCR 1913/8615; GCR 1908/5054; GCR 1920/4704; GCR 1913/5680; GCR 1920/7106.

¹²³ Hosie, A., Manchuria Its People Resources and Recent History. London, Methuen & Co., 1901, pps. 7, 10 and 12.

¹²⁴ Christie, Thirty Years in Manchuria, pps. 60-62. Christie was a tireless expositor of Chinese interests. In 1929 he was instrumental in arranging for the formation of the Sino-Scottish Society of Edinburgh, many of whose members were Chinese undergraduate students at Edinburgh University. UEJ, Vol. 4, (1930-31), pps. 149-51.

professional expertise.¹²⁵ Writing about syphilis in China in 1892, he noted that at “one of the last clinical lectures I heard in the Edinburgh Infirmary was a discussion as to whether mercury should be used in the treatment of syphilis or not.... The lecturer, then surgeon in charge of the Lock Wards, while still using the drug, expressed his belief that its efficacy is but small, and its side effects considerable. We find Lou Hon Ch’ing seven or eight hundred years ago discussing the very same question, answering it most emphatically in the negative, and professing his own ability to neutralise the effects of the mercurial poison in the case of those who had already been subjected to it.”¹²⁶ As for his House Surgeon, who held a Diploma from the Medical College at Tientsin (Tianjin), “he is as able and capable as were he a Scotch graduate with an Edinburgh training.”¹²⁷ Medical missionaries like Thompson complemented professional expertise with a strong sense of religious dedication and commitment, both in their work and in their view of the Chinese with whom they lived. Apart from war service between 1914 and 1918, Agnes Cowan, for example, spent some thirty years of her working life in Manchuria, latterly as Midwifery Specialist at the Womens’ Hospital in Moukden (Shenyang), returning to Britain only in 1940 when she was too ill to continue in practice.¹²⁸

Business and Commerce

Another area of academic study in demand was Engineering. The relevance to the needs of the region of Edinburgh’s programme can be seen from the number of Edinburgh BSc graduates working there. Between 1910 and 1914 5 Chinese students took the Edinburgh BSc in Engineering, all of them going on to work initially in coastal locations, such as Canton (Guangzhou).¹²⁹

Although, as we have seen, a number of Japanese students attended science

¹²⁵GCR 1897/7662.

¹²⁶Thomson, J. C., *The History and Present Position of Chinese Surgery*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1892, pps. 36-37.

¹²⁷Thomson, *The History and Present Position of Chinese Surgery*, p. 53.

¹²⁸UEJ, Vol.11(1940-42) p. 51. She died in 1940.

¹²⁹They were K. C. Lew (BSc 1910), GCR 1920/6362; F. .F. Yap (BSc 1910), GCR 1920/13102; U. Y. Yen (BSc 1911), GCR 1920/13094; B. C. Lui (BSc 1912), GCR 1920/6616; and T. Hwang (BSc 1914), GCR 1920/5309.

courses at Edinburgh University during this period, it appears that very few Edinburgh graduates found employment in Japan. The close contacts and job opportunities which developed in this period between the University of Glasgow and Tokyo's Imperial College of Engineering were not replicated with Edinburgh University.¹³⁰ There were a few business and professional opportunities in the region for British-born Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914. F. M. Philip (MA 1904) was a business assistant with Bonstead Hampshire & Co. in Kuala Lumpur; G. S. Reid (BSc. 1909) was employed as a rubber planter with Harrisons & Crossfield elsewhere in Malaya.¹³¹ Professional openings too arose from time to time. J. C. Watt (MA 1900) was a barrister in Singapore whilst R. S. Craig (MA 1892, LLB 1898) was employed as an advocate in Bangkok.¹³²

The Public Sector

There were also opportunities for government service. In British colonies and dependencies in the region, appointments were made by way of the Eastern Cadetship scheme. Several students who had studied at Edinburgh were appointed between 1880 and 1914, including R. F. Johnston who, amongst many other outstanding achievements in a glittering career, ended up as tutor to Pu Yi, the last Emperor of China.¹³³ In addition to these appointments in the British public services in the region, two Chinese graduates, H. C. Yu (BSc 1910) and S. K. N. Chu (MA 1914), subsequently joined the Public Service in

¹³⁰Checkland, O., *The Scots in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*. in Cage, R. A., *The Scots Abroad*, London, Croom Helm, 1985, pps. 262-63. However, D. H. Marshall (MA 1869) had earlier been appointed Professor of Mathematics at the Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo in 1869 and J. A. Ewing (BSc 1878) Professor of Mechanical Engineering at the Imperial University in Tokyo in 1879. GCR 1882/2731; GCR 1882/1241.

¹³¹GCR 1920/9357; GCR 1920/9808.

¹³²GCR 1920/12523; GCR 1901/1572.

¹³³Johnston did not graduate from Edinburgh University but studied there between 1892 and 1894. Whilst an undergraduate, he won the Rector's Prize for the best essay on a historical subject in 1893, and the Gray Essay Prize in 1894. Airlie, S., *Thistle and Bamboo. the Life and Times of Sir James Stewart Lochart*, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 129; Airlie, S., *Reginald Johnston: Chinese Mandarin*, Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland, 2001, pps 8-10. For Johnston's involvement with Pu Yi, see Pu Yi, Aisin-Gioro, *From Emperor to Citizen*, 2 Vols., Third Edition, Beijing, Foreign Languages Press, 1986, Vol. 1, p. 56 et seq.

Conclusion

Edinburgh University graduates had an extensive and varied association with Asia between 1880 and 1914. The greater majority found appointments in India where many were involved in addressing a variety of then current issues. Earlier Scottish involvement not only provided openings for advancement but also an awareness of India's needs and problems. The eminence of Edinburgh's Medical School, and the curricular reforms introduced in the wake of the 1858 and 1889 university reform legislation, positioned Edinburgh graduates to be able to take advantage of the many opportunities India offered. As noted earlier, the expansion of the IMS provided a medical career for many Edinburgh graduates. So too did the slow development of facilities and organisations dedicated to providing health care for women. Graduates in Arts and Science found new opportunities for their recently learnt skills in a variety of occupations ranging from the Bar to the Indian Forest Service. With Edinburgh University conscious of the prestige which attached to ICS posts, abler students were encouraged to sit the competitive entry examinations for the Service in which a small number were successful.

Perhaps, however, the most significant feature of Edinburgh University's involvement with India between 1880 and 1914 was its association with native Indian born students. As the Indian undergraduate base changed from one dominated by expatriates to one in which Indians made up a large component, growing numbers of Indian students graduated from Edinburgh. Despite the problems posed by bureaucracy and racism, a few obtained appointments in the IMS. They formed a nucleus of overseas trained medical practitioners whose influence was to shape public health delivery and policy up to, and after, independence and partition. Others became teachers, lawyers and entrepreneurs. After several years in higher education, for example, Prafulla Chandra Ray went on to become a major industrialist in Bengal.

¹³⁴GCR 1920/13102; GCR 1920/2000.

Although Edinburgh University's engagement with the subcontinent between 1880 and 1914 was driven and constrained by the Raj, with all the flaws that entailed, its longer term legacy is not insignificant. As a consciously imperial institution, the University helped meet a broad cross-section of India's manpower needs. Edinburgh graduates of the period were often agents of change who brought new insights to India's many problems. At the same time, it opened for Indian students a window into the Western mind through exposure to the ideas and learning of late Victorian Scotland. Concepts and skills acquired at Edinburgh were readily transferred and were adapted subsequently within an Indian environment.

The profile of Edinburgh graduates of the period in other parts of Asia is not dissimilar from that of India in so far as Medical graduates predominated in terms of employment take-up. Unlike in India, however, graduates more often than not took up appointments in parts of Asia, such as the Malay peninsula which had only recently come under British control, or where British influence was exerted informally, such as in Japan. In China, a small but growing number of Medical graduates of Chinese origin began to emerge in the period immediately before 1914.¹³⁵ Whilst it is difficult to generalise, there seems to have been little professional or racial animosity between these European and Chinese practitioners. On the one hand, the former appear to have understood that many Chinese, exposed to western ideas and training, retained their own identity and sense of worth in a society where individuals often participated in different but overlapping social networks. On the other, the Chinese seemed to recognise and respect the commitment made by medical practitioners to providing western medical care in the region. In this regard, the contribution of many of the female medical missionaries is particularly noteworthy. Their involvement in hostile environments, such as Manchuria, highlights both their zeal and how far the limits of British influence were being pushed. Whilst core areas of British power, such as

¹³⁵The number of Chinese students apparently continued to increase after 1914. In 1930 the University of Edinburgh Journal reported that there were more Chinese students (then over 70) studying at Edinburgh University than at any other individual College in the United Kingdom. *UEJ*, Vol. 4, (1930-31), p.150.

Hong Kong or Singapore, were obviously important, and generated job opportunities for some graduates, there were even more expanding opportunities for Edinburgh graduates in those parts of Asia on the margins of British authority.

Chapter Seven - Overseas Connections, Australasia.

Some 18% of Edinburgh University students who graduated between 1880 and 1914, and took up employment overseas, did so in Australia and New Zealand. A few found employment elsewhere in the region in the Pacific Islands, Papua and New Guinea.¹ As noted earlier, nearly 80% of those taking up appointments in Australasia had been born in the region. Whether returning “home” after graduating at Edinburgh, or taking up employment in the region for the first time, Edinburgh graduates tended to use established centres of Scottish emigration in Australia and New Zealand as springboards for their subsequent careers.²

The Scottish-Australasian Connection

Scottish emigration to Australia had started with the transportation of convicts at the end of the eighteenth century and reached its zenith during the period of the gold rush in the middle of the next.³ Transportation as a source of colonisers was gradually replaced by the arrival of independent settlers, many of them assisted immigrants, sponsored under emigration schemes such as those promoted by that indefatigable churchman, John Dunmore Lang, first Minister of the presbyterian Scots Kirk in Sydney.⁴ Scottish emigration to Australia was boosted with the establishment of Scottish based investment and trading ventures such as the Australian Company of Edinburgh (1822), the North British Australasian Company (1839) and the South Australian Investment Company (1840).⁵ Using data collated by Madgwick and Macmillan, and *Immigration Returns*, Prentis has demonstrated the extent of assisted

¹For example, J. W. Williams (MBCM 1891, MD 1898), J. R. Boyd (MBChB 1911, MD 1914) and W. H. McGranahan (MBChB 1914), found service opportunities in the Pacific with the Melanesian Mission, the Government of Fiji and the Anglican Mission in Papua respectively. GCR 1901/8304; GCR 1929/52; GCR 1935/10812.

²Donnachie, I., *The Making of “Scots on the Make”*; *Scottish Settlement and Enterprise in Australia, 1830-1900* in Devine, T. M., Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society, Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1992, pps.140-41.

³Macmillan, D. S., Scotland and Australia, 1788-1850, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1967, pps. 271, 285 and 302.

⁴Woolcock, H. W., Rights of Passage: Emigration to Australia in the Nineteenth Century, London, Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1986, pps. 6-7 and 105.

⁵Macmillan, Scotland and Australia, pps.165, 336 and 341.

immigration to New South Wales by persons born in Scotland between 1832 and 1850.⁶ A total of 88,988 assisted immigrants landed in New South Wales in this period, of whom 13,787 (15%) were of Scottish birth. By the time of the 1891 censuses (and the 1901 census in Western Australia) Scots represented Australia-wide an average of 13% of the overseas born population - the third largest ethnic group after the English and Irish.⁷

Whilst the principal focus of Scottish emigration to New Zealand in the middle of the nineteenth century was Dunedin in Otago, Scottish emigrants found their way to other parts of the country as well.⁸ Scots made a significant contribution to the development of education, farming and distilling in New Zealand, whilst Scottish capital played an important role in funding public and private investment throughout the Colony.⁹ However, although Scots made up a significant proportion of the New Zealand population, their numbers were never as great as folklore has often suggested. By 1911 the Scots component of the total population had declined to some 5% from just under 15% forty years before. This perhaps underscores how remarkable was the contribution by Scots to New Zealand life which, as Brooking has noted, was out of all proportion to their numbers.¹⁰

None the less, in both New Zealand and the Australian colonies, the Scottish presence formed a bridgehead across which Edinburgh graduates were able to dash. The strength of the Scottish-Australasian connection for the University

⁶Prentis, M. D., *The Scots in Australia*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1983, p. 61; Madgwick, R. B. *Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851*, Sydney, Sydney University Press, repr., 1969, pps. 223 and 241; Macmillan, D.S., *Scotland and Australia*, pps. 265-03.

⁷Richards, E., *That Land of Exiles: Scots in Australia*, Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1988, p. 12. The relative proportion of overseas born Scots living in the various States was as follows; New South Wales 13.0%, Victoria 15.7%, Queensland 13.5% South Australia 11%, Western Australia 11.3% and Tasmania 13.5%.

⁸Donaldson, G., *The Scots Overseas*, London, Robert Hale, 1966, pps.170-74.

⁹Brooking, T., *Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydesdale -The Scots in New Zealand* in Cage, R. A. (Ed.), *The Scots Abroad*, London, Croom Helm, 1985, pps. 156-58.

¹⁰Brooking, *The Scots Abroad*, p.163.

of Edinburgh can be seen in Table 7(a) which shows the number of Edinburgh students, graduating between 1880 and 1914, who took up employment in the region.

Table 7(a) - Australasia

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	2	2	4	58	-	-	-	-	66
1885-89	1	3	5	86	-	-	-	-	95
1890-94	1	1	4	83	-	-	2	-	91
1895-99	-	2	4	69	-	-	-	-	75
1900-04	-	-	6	58	-	-	-	1	65
1905-09	-	1	1	56	-	-	1	-	59
1910-14	1	2	4	44	-	-	2	-	53
Total	5	11	28	454	0	0	5	1	504

Once more Medicine was the predominant field of employment. Over 90% of graduates finding employment in the region held degrees in Medicine. They took up a range of positions chiefly in the larger cities, such as Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane and Perth in Australia, and Auckland and Dunedin in New Zealand, as well as in rural areas. As earlier noted, most of them had been born in the region.¹¹

Medical Employment

The extent of the influence of Edinburgh's Medical School on the Australasian colonies can be ascertained by reference to the number of Medical graduates holding Edinburgh degrees who working in the region. In the case of Australia, for example, Geary has noted that, despite the focus on medical education provided by the establishment of the University of Sydney in 1850 and the University of Melbourne in 1855, more Australians qualified in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century than in Australia.¹² He has calculated that, between 1850 and 1900, the Sydney and Melbourne Schools produced about 650 graduates, whereas 671 Australians completed their medical education in Scotland during the same period. Of these 671 Australians, 355 were university graduates and 316 licentiates of one or other

¹¹Details are provided in Chapter Five, tables 5(f) and 5(h).

¹²Geary, L. M., *The Scottish-Australian Connection, 1850-1900* in Nutton, V. and Porter, R., (Eds.), *The History of Medical Education in Britain*, Amsterdam-Atlanta, Rodopi, 1995, p. 53.

of the three Scottish corporations.¹³ Of the Australians who qualified in Medicine at a university in Scotland, 262 (74%) did so at Edinburgh University, representing nearly one-fifth of all Australian doctors qualified locally or overseas between 1850 and 1900.¹⁴ In New Zealand, Edinburgh University Medical graduates also made up a significant proportion of the medical profession. As late as 1939, for example, Wright-St. Clair has noted that nearly 20% of those on the New Zealand Medical Register were Edinburgh graduates, or held higher Edinburgh medical qualifications.¹⁵

Although the figures noted in Table 7(a) above show there was a gradual decline in the number of Australasians graduating from Edinburgh University from 1900 onwards, Scottish educated Medical graduates, and Edinburgh graduates in particular, continued to constitute a major component of the medical profession in Australasia up to 1914, after which increasing numbers of locally trained Medical graduates became more evident. R. Scot Skirving (MBCM 1880) remembered, when he was as a young Doctor in Sydney in 1883, that not one of the medical practitioners there had received his medical education in Australia. By 1926, however, there were “no less than eleven hundred and fifty-one doctors resident in greater Sydney and of these eight hundred and one (70%) received their medical training at the University of Sydney.”¹⁶

¹³Geary, *The Scottish-Australian Connection*, p. 61. The three Scottish corporations were the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh and the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow.

¹⁴Geary, *The Scottish-Australian Connection*, p. 66. The comparable percentages for the other Scottish Universities are Glasgow 15% (55 graduates) and Aberdeen 10% (37 graduates). Only one Australian born student qualified at St. Andrews between 1850 and 1900. These figures are broadly comparable to those given in Dow, D. A., *Scotland and Australasia* in Dow, D. A., (Ed), *The Influence of Scottish Medicine*, Carnforth, (England), The Pantheon Publishing Group on behalf of the British Society for the History of Medicine and the Scottish Society for the History of Medicine, 1988, p.133.

¹⁵Wright-St. Clair, R. E., *The Edinburgh influence on New Zealand medicine* in *Proceedings of the XXIII International Congress of the History of Medicine*, 2 Vols., London, Wellcome Institute for the the History of Medicine, 1974, Vol. 1, p.752.

¹⁶Skirving, R. S., *Surgery and Surgeons in Edinburgh over Forty Years Ago* in *Medical Journal of Australia*, Vol 1, 1926, p. 295.

The Development of Tertiary Education

Outside Medicine, the role Edinburgh graduates played in the development of tertiary education in Australasia is of particular interest in that it highlights the process by which skills and values taught at Edinburgh were transferred to the region. The cases of the University of Otago in the South Island of New Zealand, and of the University of Sydney in New South Wales, are particularly relevant as they were both located in centres which had attracted large numbers of Scottish settlers, either directly, or to their immediate hinterland. In addition to these key institutions, Edinburgh graduates were also associated with other universities and colleges in the region. They taught subjects in which Edinburgh University had an established academic reputation as well as newer fields of study relevant to the needs of the region. In Adelaide, for example, W. Mitchell (MA 1886, DSc. 1891) was Professor of Philosophy and English, and latterly Principal, whilst in Melbourne D. O. Masson (MA 1877, BSc 1880, DSc 1884), and R. M. Allan (MBCbB 1910), respectively held the Chairs of Chemistry and Obstetrics.¹⁷ As new institutions were established throughout the region, Edinburgh graduates brought their expertise to practical areas of study too. J. W. Paterson (BSc 1894) was Professor of Agriculture at the University of Western Australia in Perth, whilst J. Bayne (BSc 1892), and W. J. Colebatch (BSc 1903), respectively taught Agriculture and Veterinary Science at Canterbury in New Zealand. A. Meikle (MA 1900) was Principal of the Teachers Training College in Sydney.¹⁸

The University of Otago

Inaugurated in 1869 in the Scottish settlement of Dunedin, the University of Otago developed particularly strong links with Edinburgh University.¹⁹ Two of

¹⁷GCR 1896/4904: GCR 1901/5305: GCR 1935/301. Russell, K. F., *The Melbourne Medical School, 1862-1962*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1977, pps. 72 and 139.

¹⁸GCR 1920/9185: GCR 1901/443: GCR 1911/1832: GCR 1920/7332.

¹⁹Under the New Zealand University Act, 1874, the University of Otago came together with Canterbury College (1873) to form the University of New Zealand which was subsequently to incorporate Auckland University College (1883) and Victoria University College (1898). Graham, J., *Settler Society* in The Oxford History of New Zealand, Wellington, Oxford University Press, 1981, p.132.

the first six Professors appointed were Edinburgh graduates. Duncan Macgregor (MBCM 1870) held the Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy from 1870 to 1886, whilst James Gow Black (MA 1864, BSc 1866, DSc. 1869) was Professor of Chemistry from 1871 to 1914.²⁰ The Edinburgh connection was continued in these Chairs when H. Salmond (MA 1853, DD 1885) succeeded Macgregor in 1886 and J. K. Inglis (BSc 1900, DSc 1906) took over from Black in 1914.²¹ The first Professor of English Language and Literature at Otago, appointed in 1890, was also an Edinburgh graduate, Thomas Gilray (MA 1876, LLD 1913).

In the case of Medical education, reference has earlier been made in Chapter One to the beneficial effect Edinburgh University's recognition of Otago's two *anni medici* had on the evolution of a full medical curriculum in Dunedin. Edinburgh University graduates played a leading role in that process. M. Coughtrey (MBCM 1871) briefly held the Chair of Anatomy and Physiology from 1874 to 1876, being succeeded on his resignation in 1877 by J. H. Scott (MBCM 1874, MD 1877) who held the post until his death in 1914. Immediately prior to his appointment, Scott had been Demonstrator in Anatomy at Edinburgh and had been strongly recommended by Professor W. Turner who held the Chair of Anatomy at Edinburgh University. He was also the choice of the other member of the selection committee, Professor J. G. McKendrick of Glasgow University.²² W. Brown (MBCM 1870) was appointed in 1878 as Otago's first Lecturer in Systematic Surgery. He was succeeded in 1895 by L. E. Barnett (MBCM 1888) who was subsequently appointed Professor of Surgery at Otago in 1909.²³ Barnett's influence was considerable in terms of medical practice and organisation. He was the first surgeon in New Zealand to wear rubber gloves and a mask while operating, he played a leading role in research into hydatid disease and founded the Royal Australasian College of

²⁰Thompson, G. E., *A History of the University of Otago (1869-1919)*, Dunedin, J. Wilkie and Co., 1920, pps. 38, 189 and 190. Prior to studying at Edinburgh University, Macgregor had graduated MA at Aberdeen in 1866.

²¹Thompson, *History of the University of Otago*, pps.136 and 199.

²²Thompson, *History of the University of Otago*, pps.106-07.

²³Thompson, *History of the University of Otago*, pps.107 and 172.

Surgeons of which he became the first President.²⁴ Edinburgh graduates secured other posts at Otago as the Medical School expanded. T. King (MBCM 1886, BSc 1888) was appointed Lecturer on Mental Diseases in 1889; W. M. Macdonald (MBCM 1895, MD 1911) was appointed Lecturer in Clinical Medicine in 1903; J. Malcolm (MBChB 1897, MD 1899) took the new Chair of Physiology in 1905; S. T. Champtaloup (MBChB 1906, BSc 1908) was first appointed Lecturer in Bacteriology and Public Health in 1910 and then Professor in 1911; and A. M. Drennan (MBChB 1902) was appointed to the new Chair of Clinical Pathology in 1914.²⁵ Based on his experience at Edinburgh University, Drennan introduced to New Zealand the teaching of Pathology on a clinically focused disease, rather than organ, basis.²⁶

The University of Sydney

Edinburgh graduates also played an important role in the development of the University of Sydney, particularly as regards the Faculty of Medicine. J. T. Wilson (MBCM 1883, LLD 1926) was appointed Professor of Anatomy in 1890, D. A. Welsh (MA 1887, BSc 1890, MBChB 1893, MD 1897) Professor of Pathology in 1902, whilst R. Scot Skirving (MBCM 1881) lectured in Clinical Medicine from 1889, A. (later Sir Alexander) MacCormick (MBCM 1880) in Surgery from 1890 and J. (later Sir James) Graham (MBCM 1882) in Midwifery from 1897.²⁷ In the Sciences, W. A. Haswell (DSc 1887) was Professor of Biology and C. E. Fawsitt (BSc 1899) Professor of Chemistry.²⁸ The hand behind some of these appointments, and the driving force which forged Sydney's Medical School, was also an Edinburgh graduate, T. P. (later Sir Thomas Peter) Anderson Stuart (MBCM 1880, LLD 1900), who was appointed Professor of Physiology in 1883 and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine

²⁴Wright-St. Clair, *The Edinburgh influence on New Zealand medicine*, p. 751.

²⁵*The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 3 Vols., Wellington, Bridget Williams Books and the Department of Internal Affairs, 1993, Vol. 2, pps. 257-59; Thompson, *History of the University of Otago*, pps. 172, 173, 175 and 183.

²⁶Wright-St. Clair, *The Edinburgh influence on New Zealand medicine*, p. 751.

²⁷ *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 12 Vols., Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1966 - 1990, Vol. 12, 441-42, 525-26; Vol. 11, p. 626, Vol. 10, p. 236-37 and Vol. 4, p. 281.

²⁸*Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 9, p. 226; Vol. 8, p. 474.

in 1891.²⁹

What sort of influence did these Edinburgh graduates have on the academic landscape and the environment of the institutions in which they taught? Most of them went to Australasia when they were comparatively young and all had been very distinguished students.³⁰ In many cases, the appointment of Edinburgh graduates was actively promoted by Edinburgh University teaching staff well beyond the normal bounds of application references. For example, Anderson Stuart's appointment as Professor of Physiology at Sydney University had the support of Professors Turner and Rutherford as well as the former Professor of Surgery, Joseph Lister. Lister believed "it would be difficult to find any candidate more eminently qualified for the Chair in Sydney University."³¹ In the case of Gilray's application for the Chair of English Language and Literature at Dunedin, testimonials were submitted from no less than six Edinburgh Professors.³²

Yet whilst many Edinburgh University staff were happy to encourage Edinburgh graduates to take up appointments overseas, others looked with disfavour on overseas appointments. Scott Skirving recalls that, when he told Sir Thomas Grainger Stewart, Edinburgh University's Professor of Medicine, that he proposed to go to Australia, Stewart said "Look here, my boy, you stick to Edinburgh. With your family connections, your excellent university career, and hospital experience, if you firmly attach yourself to a prominent religious body, you will be certain to succeed. I did so myself and you know to what I've

²⁹ Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.12, p.130-31.

³⁰For example, S. T. Champtaloup, who was appointed Lecturer in Bacteriology and Public Health at Otago in 1910 when he was thirty years old, held the degree of BSc in Public Health from Edinburgh in addition to his MBChB. Whilst in Edinburgh, he had been Assistant to the Professor of Surgery and Assistant to the Professor of Public Health as well as being Pathologist to the Chalmers Hospital. Hercus, Sir. C. and Bell, Sir G., The Otago Medical School Under the First Three Deans, Edinburgh, Livingstone, 1964, pps. 253-54.

³¹Epps, W., Anderson Stuart. MD. Physiologist. Teacher. Builder. Organizer. Citizen, Sydney, Angus & Robertson Ltd., 1922, p.167.

³²Testimonials in Favour of Thomas Gilray, MA, FRSE, University of Otago, Hocken Library, Archives and Manuscripts. (AG - 180, Series 33).

attained.”³³

Although those who ventured overseas returned “home” from time to time, most assumed permanent residence in Australia or New Zealand.³⁴ It is also clear that many were, from the first, regarded as potential settlers. Whilst on appointment they lacked extensive professional experience, youth was to their advantage. Anderson Stuart noted in 1892 that appointing older men to teaching posts was often imprudent since they frequently did not “settle down and learn the ways of a new country.” He believed that most of the governing bodies of tertiary institutions in the region had come to the same conclusion, considering “it is best to get young men.”³⁵

The careers of John Haliday Scott and James Gow Black at Otago, and of Thomas Peter Anderson Stuart and Robert Scot Skirving in Sydney, illustrate the degree of influence which could be exerted by an established University like Edinburgh on the fledgling academic institutions in which its graduates taught. It also shows the extent to which these individuals were able to draw upon the professional skills and broader experiences they acquired as students at Edinburgh University. In contemporary, and later accounts, there is a certain amount of national or racial stereotyping when the careers of these early teachers are described. Whatever they took from their *Alma Mater*, they, and others, were portrayed, and seemed anxious to portray themselves, as first and foremost Scots who had studied in “a splendid place of professional education.”³⁶ Scott, for example, was held to have “a certain austerity of manner, derived from his Scottish training and inheritance”.³⁷ Black appeared

³³Mackintosh, A., (Ed.), *Memoirs of Dr Robert Scot Skirving, 1859-1956*, Sydney, Foreland Press, 1988, p. 93.

³⁴A notable exception is A. M. Drennan (MBChB 1902) who held the Chair of Clinical Pathology at Otago from 1914 to 1928 but returned to Britain, first to Belfast, and then to Edinburgh where he held the Chair of Pathology at Edinburgh University from 1931 to 1954. Hercus and Bell, *The Otago Medical School*, p. 245.

³⁵Anderson Stuart, T. P., *A Review of University Life in Australasia with its Conditions and Surroundings in 1891* in *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, 1891 - 1892*, London, Royal Colonial Institute, 1892, p. 101.

³⁶Skirving, R. S., *Surgery and Surgeons*, p. 290.

³⁷Thompson, *History of the University of Otago*, p.181.

a romantic figure in the Scottish tradition, the “lad o’ pairts”, who “without assistance from anyone, and solely by his own industry and determination, had risen from the poorest surroundings to be one of the foremost scientists of his day.”³⁸ Anderson Stuart was “proud of his ancestry” and “openly and frankly Scotch, and an admirer of all Scots who did honour to their country.”³⁹ Scot Skirving was also proud of being Scots, even if he was part Irish, and liked to tell how his father “had written in the prayer book he used for family prayers ‘Oh Lord protect my silver!’. No other general household prayers were used.”⁴⁰

John Haliday Scott

J. H. Scott was only twenty-six when he took up his appointment at Otago in 1877 as Professor of Anatomy, having just taken his MD at Edinburgh University. A former pupil and colleague, L. E. Barnett (MBCM 1888), recalled that, throughout his career, Scott was “meticulous in the presentation of anatomical knowledge as acquired and taught in Edinburgh. Every detail known to him was, I think, expounded, and the students were expected to take it all in. He lectured for a complete hour five days in the week, and on Saturday mornings had a *viva voce* question and answer or quiz class at which he tested the intelligence and industry of his students. He was scathing at these useful revisals on slackers and nitwits, and most of us writhed at times under his sarcastic criticism. All the same we liked him, admired him, and there was never any breaches of discipline.”⁴¹ Appointed Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Otago in 1891, Scott’s significant contribution to the development of medical education in New Zealand was recognised when he became Organising Secretary of the Intercolonial Medical Congress of Australasia, which was held in Dunedin in 1896.⁴² Although Scott travelled overseas from time to time, New Zealand became his home. He died prematurely in Dunedin in 1914 - having seen two of his sons graduate in

³⁸Thompson, *History of the University of Otago*, p.191.

³⁹Epps, *Anderson Stuart*, pps.12 and 155.

⁴⁰Mackintosh, *Memoirs of Dr.Robert Scot Skirving*, p. 49.

⁴¹Hercus and Bell, *The Otago Medical School*, p. 223.

⁴²*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 2, pps. 443-44.

Medicine from Edinburgh University.⁴³

James Gow Black

Scott's colleague at Otago, James Gow Black, the first Professor of Chemistry at Otago, was something of a legend in his own lifetime, having risen from humble beginnings in Scotland to be the first ever to be awarded a Doctorate in Chemistry by the University of Edinburgh.⁴⁴ He arrived in Dunedin at the age of thirty six and did much to popularise the study of science in New Zealand.⁴⁵ In his introductory lecture at the University of Otago in 1872, he claimed the aim of scientific education was to enable an individual "to produce a pound of corn, or wool, or iron, or gold, at half the expenditure it previously cost."⁴⁶ Closely involved with the establishment of the University's School of Mines, he emphasised throughout his career the practical application of science, and addressed a wide range of both academic and lay audiences.⁴⁷

Anderson Stuart

Anderson Stuart arrived in Australia in March 1883 as Sydney's first Professor of Anatomy and Physiology to find "the foundations of a little four bedroomed cottage, and walls about half way-up. It was in this that I was to begin the Medical School a few days later."⁴⁸ A tenacious and able administrator, and an astute academic politician, he worked extremely hard not only to recruit high calibre staff but to provide adequate teaching premises which were opened six years later in 1889.⁴⁹ As Chairman of the Prince Alfred Hospital from 1901, he ensured that the Medical School had a sharp clinical focus, which was hospital based, whilst, at the same time, providing expanded facilities to meet the needs of a growing population.⁵⁰ But as the School developed, he came to argue that local students could receive just as good a

⁴³They were F. L. Scott (MBChB 1907 MD 1909) and J. McG. Scott (MBChB 1909).

⁴⁴*EUC 1869-70*, p.144.

⁴⁵Thompson, *History of the University of Otago*, p.191.

⁴⁶*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 2, pps. 42-43.

⁴⁷Thompson, *History of the University of Otago*, p.110.

⁴⁸Quoted in Epps, *Anderson Stuart*, p. 50.

⁴⁹Epps, *Anderson Stuart*, p. 61.

⁵⁰Epps, *Anderson Stuart*, p. 97.

Medical education at home as in Europe. His settler outlook is clear from the fact that he thought residents of Australia should no longer be considered as “colonials” and refer to Britain as “Home” but that they should be, and consider themselves to be, “Australians”.⁵¹ But despite his views on the emergence of an Australian identity, Scotland, and Edinburgh University in particular, was not forgotten. It was at his instigation that “a meeting of Edinburgh graduates ... and others interested in the progress of the metropolitan university of Scotland,” be convened in Sydney “to consider what steps should be taken in aid of the scheme for the formation of a Students’ Union in connection with the University of Edinburgh.”⁵²

R. Scott Skirving

The career of R. Scot Skirving illustrates how the influence of Edinburgh graduates was consolidated in colonial tertiary institutions such as Sydney University. It also highlights the difficulties encountered in any attempt to impart new professional practices. Under Anderson Stuart’s “guidance and suggestion”, Scot Skirving was appointed Medical Superintendent of Sydney’s Prince Alfred Hospital in 1883 and, subsequently, Lecturer in Clinical Medicine, a post he held from 1889 to 1911.⁵³ In addition to his public and academic appointments, he had a highly successful career in private practice. His *Memoirs* depict very clearly the gap which existed between surgical practice as taught in Edinburgh in the 1880s and procedures in Australasia. “Edinburgh surgery at its best at this time was, on the whole ... in advance perhaps of any place in the Empire - or even anywhere else I might say - in its approach to modern methods.”⁵⁴ In contrast, more “ignorant, incompetent and unteachable practitioners obtained to the square mile (in Sydney) than would have been found in Edinburgh.”⁵⁵ Skirving was once asked to assist a local practitioner with the amputation of a thigh. “He got the limb off creditably enough, but he tied all the vessels with silk (Lord knows if he boiled it) and

⁵¹Epps, *Anderson Stuart*, pps.122 and 138.

⁵²Epps, *Anderson Stuart*, p.138.

⁵³Mackintosh, *Memoirs of Dr. Robert Scott Skirving*, pps.16 and 135.

⁵⁴Skirving, R.S., *Surgery and Surgeons*, p. 291.

⁵⁵Mackintosh, *Memoirs of Dr. Robert Scott Skirving*, p. 155.

left the ends long. I implored him to cut them short and chance it. "No fear," he said. "At the school I came from we left them long to drain the pus." So all the threads were gathered into a sort of loose cord and left hanging out of a corner of the wound, and were pulled on daily till they were all separated; just as was done during two years of misery with Nelson's amputation stump of the upper arm, after the unfortunate repulse at Santa Cruz in 1797."⁵⁶ Transferring the knowledge of Edinburgh's Medical school, and Listerian practice, was clearly to be a slow and difficult task.

Scottish trained medical practitioners, and Edinburgh graduates in particular, played a leading role in promoting "modern methods" and in the introduction of antiseptic surgery to Australia. George Hogarth Pringle (MD 1852) had known Lister from the time they were fellow residents at Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and had emigrated to New South Wales after the Crimean War.⁵⁷ In a letter to *The Sydney Morning Herald* on January 30 1868 (just ten months after Lister's first paper on a new method of treating compound fractures, abscesses etc. had been published in *The Lancet*), Pringle announced the success he had met in applying Lister's methods. At the same time, over in Melbourne, William Gilbee, who had been trained at the Extra Mural School at Edinburgh, similarly endorsed the efficacy of Lister's approach to antiseptis.⁵⁸ Although there was considerable opposition to the introduction of Lister's methods (as there was elsewhere), his supporters in Australasia faced the additional problem of having very limited clinical exposure in the physical techniques of antiseptic surgery. An interesting example of an Edinburgh graduate taking a leading role in overcoming this problem, and transferring new skills, is Edwin Hinchcliff (MD 1870). Critical to the success of Lister's methods was the use of the carbolic spray which was often poorly applied and with detrimental results. Fresh from Edinburgh, Hinchcliff introduced the technique to the Melbourne Hospital in January 1872 where it was used

⁵⁶Mackintosh, *Memoirs of Dr. Robert Scott Skirving*, p. 154.

⁵⁷Shepherd, J. A., *Simpson and Syme of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh and London, Livingstone, 1969, p.115.

⁵⁸O'Sullivan, D. M., *The Introduction of Antiseptic Surgery to Australia in The Medical Journal of Australia*, Sydney, Australian Medical Association, 1967, Vol. 11, pps. 897-98.

successfully for the first time in the following month.⁵⁹

Despite the differences in personality and environment, individuals such as Scott, Gow, Anderson Stuart and Scot Skirving had much in common. All recognised what they owed to their education at Edinburgh University and all sought to apply what they saw as its rigorous academic standards in the institutions in which they worked. For example, D. O. Masson (MA 1877, BSc 1880, DSc 1884), Professor of Chemistry at Melbourne, argued that a university should not be “a second-hand Science Shop” but a place where original research should be undertaken and the boundaries of knowledge extended.⁶⁰ As university teachers, Scott and Anderson Stuart drew on their Edinburgh experience, but were also innovative in methodology. “Scott was an artist of no mean calibre, and painted a splendid series of anatomical diagrams for his lectures. I had the opportunity of comparing Scott’s lectures with those given at the University of Edinburgh and at Minto House, and Scott’s teaching was by far the most thorough.”⁶¹ In teaching physiology, Anderson Stuart made use of new visual aids, such as the Zoetrope, because “it is most important always to show something if you can because it forms a peg on which students hang their memory of the subject.”⁶² It was not just the standards that they imposed and enhanced, but their approach to academic work, which was at once populist, deriving something from the Scottish generalist academic tradition and relevant to the needs of the new communities in which they lived. Anderson Stuart regularly lectured in public on subjects as diverse as first aid in factories, diet and public health.⁶³ Black of Otago also lectured widely, touring the countryside addressing different groups on a wide variety of scientific topics which he sought to popularise.⁶⁴ They were also promoters of institutional transfers. The Students’ Representative Council (SRC),
⁵⁹O’Sullivan, *The Introduction of Antiseptic Surgery to Australia*, p. 901; *EUC 1871-72*, p.152.
⁶⁰Blainey, G., *The University of Melbourne*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1957, p. 106.
⁶¹Sir Louis Barnett quoted in Hercus and Bell, *The Otago Medical School*, pps. 223-24.
⁶²Epps, *Anderson Stuart*, p. 121.
⁶³Epps, *Anderson Stuart*, p.78-80.
⁶⁴*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 2, pps. 42-43.

established at Melbourne in 1906 at the instigation of Professor Masson, was modelled on the same organisation at Edinburgh University.⁶⁵

Christian Missions

Although ties remained strong between the Scottish Churches and reformed churches in the region, the number of Edinburgh Arts and Divinity graduates seeking to pursue vocations in Australia and New Zealand dwindled between 1880 and 1914 as local clergy became increasingly available. Those few graduates who did go to Australasia, such as J. T. Robertson (BD 1881), who was Minister of St. Andrew's Church in Adelaide, were almost without exception associated with Synods and Churches forming part of the Presbyterian tradition.⁶⁶

Business and Commerce

Despite ongoing Scottish interest and investment in the region, very few Edinburgh students graduating during the period found employment in the business sector, probably because most business opportunities were being exploited by first and second generation emigrants or by entrepreneurs whose skills might not have been much enhanced by a university education.⁶⁷ Only a handful of graduates, such as F. K. Watson (BSc. 1914), who worked for the Irrigation Commission in New South Wales, and C. Anderson (MA 1898. BSc 1900, DSc 1908), who was the Mineralogist at Sydney Museum, found

⁶⁵Blainey, *University of Melbourne*, p. 168. D. O. Masson had been the first President of Edinburgh University's SRC. Macpherson, J. I., *Twenty One Years of Corporate Life at Edinburgh University*, Edinburgh, Students' Representative Council, 1905, p. 50.

⁶⁶7 of the 11 Edinburgh graduates who went to the region between 1880 and 1914 followed religious vocations with Churches and Synods in the Presbyterian tradition. The others were, Medical missionaries who served respectively in New Zealand and Papua (*GCR 1900/4123*; *GCR 1935/10812*), a Congregational clergyman in Western Australia (*GCR 1909/2916*), and a Pastor in New Zealand (*GCR 1909/8284*).

⁶⁷For example, neither James Burns (1846-1923), or Robert Philp (1851-1922), who together founded the highly successful shipping and trading firm, Burns Philp, in 1883 were graduates, though both were recent immigrants from Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively. Burns had extensive first hand business experience at different levels, starting his career as a jackaroo on stations in Queensland. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 7, pps. 489-9, and Vol. 11, pps. 220-22.

employment in the scientific sector in the region.⁶⁸

Conclusion

In the case of Australasia, the involvement of Edinburgh University graduates of the period was focused on two key areas - the development of the medical profession and the growth of institutions of higher learning - which were frequently interrelated. As we have seen, the expansion of Edinburgh's Medical School between 1880 and 1914 produced a number of highly qualified medical practitioners. They were familiar with the latest thinking and practice in new areas of activity, such as antiseptic surgery. Whether Colonial students returning home, or British born doctors seeking new opportunities, they contributed to broadening and upgrading medical standards and practice in the Australian colonies and New Zealand. This process was reinforced by the fledgling Medical schools of the region which, fashioned after the Edinburgh model, recruited able administrators and practitioners, such as Scott in Otago and Anderson Stewart in Sydney, to ensure their ordered development. Indeed, so successful were they that, by 1914, Australians certainly looked to their own rather than foreign universities for their medical training.⁶⁹ That they did so must suggest something about the capacity of the University of Edinburgh to replicate itself abroad since this was where so very many local practitioners had been trained.

⁶⁸GCR 1935/10254; GCR 1908/180.

⁶⁹Geary, *The Scottish-Australian Connection*, p. 68.

Chapter Eight - Overseas Connections. Africa.

Although there are a number of similarities between the experiences of Edinburgh graduates in Africa and in other parts of the Empire, there were also marked differences in the employment pattern that developed between 1880 and 1914. These variations are largely accounted for by the cultural and political composition of existing settlements in Southern Africa and the timing of British expansion into Central and Eastern parts of the continent.

Africa provided the second largest number of jobs and service positions for Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914. Table 8(a) shows something like the now familiar pattern; over 75% of the positions taken up by Edinburgh graduates across all of Africa during this period were in the medical sector, 11% in education, and 5% in missionary or church activities.

Table 8(a) - Africa

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	1	3	2	45	-	1	-	-	52
1885-89	3	6	3	54	1	1	1	-	69
1890-94	4	4	7	60	-	1	2	-	78
1895-99	2	4	17	61	1	2	4	-	91
1900-04	2	5	16	77	-	4	1	4	109
1905-09	2	7	18	80	-	1	-	2	110
1910-14	-	4	5	95	-	3	3	4	114
Total	14	33	68	472	2	13	11	10	623

The data provided above does, however, merit further examination. Graduates were not distributed evenly across the continent, but were concentrated in the settlement colonies of South Africa, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. Some 77% of all the positions in the medical sector, 75% of educational appointments, and over 50% of service opportunities with churches and missions were in Southern Africa. Details are given in Table 8(b) below.

Table 8(b) - Southern Africa

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	1	1	2	34	-	-	-	-	38
1885-89	3	5	1	43	-	1	1	-	54
1890-94	2	3	6	45	-	1	-	-	57
1895-99	2	2	14	50	1	1	2	-	72
1900-04	2	2	11	56	-	2	1	4	78
1905-09	1	2	14	59	-	-	-	-	76
1910-14	-	2	3	80	-	1	-	4	90
Total	11	17	51	367	1	6	4	8	465

From the 1880s, the acceleration of British influence through Central and East Africa opened up new opportunities north of the Orange and Limpopo rivers for Edinburgh graduates. These were complemented by the availability of other positions in existing areas of British imperial control elsewhere on the continent including West Africa and Mauritius. The data in this regard is provided in Table 8(c).

Table 8(c) The Rest of Africa

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	-	2	-	11	-	1	-	-	14
1885-89	-	1	2	11	1	-	-	-	15
1890-94	2	1	1	15	-	-	2	-	21
1895-99	-	2	3	11	-	1	2	-	19
1900-04	-	3	5	21	-	2	-	-	31
1905-09	1	5	4	21	-	1	-	2	34
1910-14	-	2	2	15	-	2	3	-	24
Total	3	16	17	105	1	7	7	2	158

To understand where and why Edinburgh graduates worked on the African continent, it is helpful therefore to differentiate between Southern Africa and the rest of the continent since the extent of British engagement with those areas was so different.

Southern Africa

Nearly 80% of employment positions taken up in Southern Africa by Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 were medically related.

Educational appointments accounted for a further 11% and church and missionary 4%. Only very small numbers of graduates found employment in the business and government sectors. Edinburgh University students graduating during this period, and finding employment in Southern Africa, can be classified almost exclusively as Caucasian. But not all came from British settler families. It appears that some 43% of these graduates had a Dutch or German family background.¹ Certainly, students from these communities had a long association with Edinburgh University.

Medical Employment

Students from Southern Africa first came to study at Edinburgh University in the 1820s. The first South Africans to graduate in Medicine from Edinburgh University were J. Versfeld (MD 1825), P. Chiappini (MD 1832) and J. R. Zeederberg (MD 1833), all of whom came from the Cape Colony.² The presence of these men at Edinburgh University at this time is significant as it must indicate the growing reputation of Edinburgh's Medical School as well as the opening of a channel of opportunity arising from the growth of British colonial influence in the Cape. Whilst students of Dutch origin, such as Verseld and Zeederberg, (Chiappini was of Italian origin), would normally have studied in Holland, and, indeed, many Cape students were continuing to do so well into the 1840s, their arrival in Edinburgh marked the start of a change of direction. Instead of Leyden, Edinburgh might be preferred. Burrows has shown that, whereas between 1827 and 1850 some 25 Cape Dutch Medical students graduated from Leyden and returned to practise in the Cape Colony, by 1882 25 of the 50 or so Cape-born practitioners seeking registration to practise in Cape Colony had been educated at Edinburgh University. The others were trained at Leyden, in German universities, and at Glasgow or London.³ Edinburgh University's importance as a training centre for Medical

¹This estimate has been prepared by the author by assessing in each year between 1880 and 1914 those graduates who have a surname that appears to be of Dutch or German origin.

²*List of the Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, 1705 - 1866*, Edinburgh, Neill & Company, 1867, pps. 67, 14 and 73.

³Burrows, E. H., *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, Cape Town/Amsterdam, A. A. Balkema for the Medical Association of South Africa, 1958, pps.149-50.

students from Southern Africa grew after 1880. In 1887 there were 58 matriculations at Edinburgh University by students from Southern Africa, 63 in 1897 and 108 in 1907.⁴ By 1910, 360 (63%) of the total number of practitioners on the Cape Register had qualified at Edinburgh University.⁵

Why did Edinburgh University become the preferred place of study by students, and in particular Medical students, from Southern Africa during the nineteenth century? Reference has been made earlier to the slow development of tertiary education in the region as well as the expansion of British colonial influence. These, coupled with the promotion of the English language, and the new press freedom in areas such as the Cape Colony, resulted in a growing awareness of Britain as a cultural and educational centre.⁶ There were other, specifically Scottish, related factors which appear to have encouraged interest in tertiary institutions in Scotland, including Edinburgh. Scottish emigrants, such as James Rose Innes, a graduate of Kings College, Aberdeen, who was appointed the first Superintendent General of Education in Cape Colony in 1821, were the trail-blazers. Innes went on to teach at the South Africa College, founded in 1830 by two Scots, the Rev. James Anderson and James Fairbairn, both of whom had studied at Edinburgh University. He later prepared the first syllabus for State education in all settled parts of Southern Africa.⁷ His desire to promote Scottish forms of education in Southern Africa was shared by most of the Scottish clergy brought out by Lord Charles

⁴These figures have been calculated by the author from the University of Edinburgh *Matriculation Albums* covering the years 1887, 1897 and 1907.

⁵Heyningen, E. B. van, *Agents of Empire; The Medical Profession in the Cape Colony, 1880-1910* in *Medical History*, London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, Vol. 33, 1989, pps 452-53.

⁶Davenport, T. R. H. and Saunders, C., *South Africa: A Modern History*, 5th. Edition, London, Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000, pps. 42-45.

⁷Bond, J., *They Were South Africans*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1956, pps.126-29, and 146-47. After studying Divinity at Edinburgh University, James Anderson (1797-1875) went to the Cape Colony in 1827 where he became the first Minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Cape Town. Kock, W. J. de, (Ed.), *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 4 Vols., Vol. 1, Cape Town, Human Sciences Research Council, 1976, p. 5. John Fairbairn (1774-1864) had studied Classics and Medicine at Edinburgh University before going to the Cape Colony in 1823 where he co-edited the *Commercial Advertiser* in Cape Town. Potgieter, D. J., (Ed.), *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 12 Vols., Cape Town, Nasou Limited, 1971, Vol. 4, p. 421.

Somerset to take up vacant charges in the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk) after 1815 when Britain took control of the Cape.⁸ Whilst growing awareness of the nature and scope of British tertiary education cannot be assigned directly to these factors, van Heyningen is surely justified in suggesting that colonial students “were likely to have been familiar with the Scottish intellectual milieu, and may well have been directed to Scots educational institutions by their teachers, doctors and ministers.”⁹

Edinburgh Medical students graduating between 1880 and 1914 were continuing in this tradition. They took up a variety of appointments in Southern Africa and played a leading role in the social and political life of the fledgling colonies in which they practised. As can be seen from the examples considered below, their involvement with the communities in which they lived extended far beyond a purely clinical role to broader areas, such as public health education. Albeit that their views tended to mirror those of late Victorian middle class society, and to reinforce the legitimacy of the colonial administration, they still acted as agents of change, bringing new medical ideas and practices to bear on the colonial societies in which they lived.

T. D. Greenlees (MBCM 1882, MD 1901) was responsible for the introduction of improved welfare facilities in mental institutions, such as the Lunatic Asylum in Grahamstown of which he was appointed Surgeon Superintendent in 1890.¹⁰ Drawing also on his experience as Assistant Medical Officer at the Cumberland and Westmorland Asylum, he was to write widely on measures to improve the care and management of the mentally ill.¹¹ For most of his career, J. E. Mackenzie (MBCM 1883) practised at Kimberley. There, as Visiting Surgeon of the Hospital, he initiated a series of lectures on anatomy, physiology and domestic science for nursing staff. The huge success of his training course, which was based on the syllabus used by the British Nursing

⁸Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: a Modern History*, p. 46.

⁹Heyningen, *Agents of Empire*, p. 457.

¹⁰Burrows, *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, p. 343.

¹¹*The Medical Directory 1897*, London, J. & A. Churchill, 1897, p.1,688.

Association, was, according to Burrows, an important element in expediting legislation in the Cape Colony in 1891 to provide for the professional training and regulation of the nursing profession.¹² After a brief period teaching Comparative Pathology at the New Veterinary College in Edinburgh, A. Edington (MBCM 1886, MD 1900, DPH, CTM 1901) took charge of the newly established Colonial Bacteriological Institute in Grahamstown in 1891.¹³ The initial focus of the Institute was on veterinary research but, by 1893, it was playing a vital role in the manufacture and storage of calf lymph for smallpox vaccination.¹⁴ Keen to ensure that medicine make a positive contribution to a society undergoing rapid change, C. L. Herman (MBCM 1881) was a critic of the deficiencies in existing health legislation and a keen supporter of the need for comprehensive medical training in Southern Africa. He was one of the instigators of the First South African Medical Congress which held its first meeting in Kimberley in 1893.¹⁵ With his friend, J. H. M. Beck (MBCM 1879, MD 1890), he actively promoted the establishment of the South African Medical Association in 1883, and the publication of the *South African Medical Journal*, of which the first editor was G. G. Eyre (MBCM 1885).¹⁶ All this indicates that many Edinburgh Medical graduates of the period took with them to Southern Africa not only many of the ideas, professional skills and practices learnt whilst students in Scotland, but an appreciation of the need to apply them in the context of the societies in which they lived.

Some Edinburgh University Medical graduates held a range of high profile political and social positions at various levels in Southern Africa between 1880 and 1914. A. H. Watkins (MBCM 1875, MD 1883) of Kimberley took an active political role in local educational and medical affairs, eventually being elected to the first Union Parliament in 1910. Others, such as J. van Niekerk (MBCM 1888), became influential members of the social establishment. He was

¹²Burrows, *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, p. 265-66.

¹³*The Medical Directory 1897*, London, J. & A. Churchill, 1897, p.1,680.

¹⁴Burrows, *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, pps. 338-39.

¹⁵*South African Medical Journal*, Johannesburg, South African Medical Association, 1894, Vol. 1, p. 233.

¹⁶*South African Medical Journal*, Johannesburg, South African Medical Association, 1896, Vol. 4, p. 77.

appointed Chairman of the Turf Club and Chairman of the Rand Club in Johannesburg.¹⁷ However, two Edinburgh graduates of this period are of particular interest having regard to their views on, and personal involvement with, some of the major political issues of the day.

A colourful figure - "plump, red as a peach, full of valour and armed with Beecham's Pills" - J. Sauer (MBCM 1881) acted for the Rhodes Rudd and Caldecott Syndicate to acquire gold mining interests on its behalf in the Witwatersrand area. He was also the driving force behind the establishment of the Johannesburg Hospital which opened in 1890. Sauer's close association with the Transvaal Reform Committee led to his involvement in the "Jameson Raid" in 1896, and to his subsequent trial and imprisonment.¹⁸ Also imprisoned at the same time was A. P. Hillier (MBCM 1882, MD 1884), a leading practitioner in Kimberley, who returned to England after his release, went into politics and was elected Unionist MP for Hitchin in Hertfordshire.¹⁹ Both Sauer and Hillier wrote extensively about their experiences in Southern Africa and provide an insight into the extent to which medical professionals at that time were involved there with non-medical commercial and political issues.²⁰ They also demonstrate how closely knit was the community of Edinburgh University trained Medical graduates in Southern Africa. A shared educational background and professional training clearly fostered the development of social and political relationships. Sauer and Hillier, for example, had been undergraduates at the same time and worked together in the Kimberley where they first met Leander Starr Jameson who later became

¹⁷Burrows, *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, p. 267.

¹⁸Burrows, *A History of Medicine in South Africa*, p. 277. Dr. Jameson and his followers were jailed in the Transvaal following an abortive "raid" in 1895 in support of a rising, which never eventuated, by Uitlanders (Foreigners) living in Johannesburg. The perceived objective of the proposed rising was to provide an opportunity for the establishment of British control of the Transvaal Republic. Welsh, F., *A History of South Africa*, London, Harper Collins, 1998, pps.316-18.

¹⁹*Who Was Who*, London, A. & C. Black, 1920, p. 340.

²⁰Hillier wrote two books, *Raid and Reform* (London 1898) and *South African Studies* (London 1900), whilst Sauer's reminiscences, *Ex Africa*, were published in London in 1937.

Prime Minister of Cape Colony.²¹ As we have seen in other settler colonies, affiliations formed as undergraduates at Edinburgh University were carried over into later political and professional life.

Education

Southern Africa's evolving educational institutions also provided opportunities for Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914. As earlier noted, Scots had played an important role in the foundation of the South Africa College in Cape Town, which spawned other institutions, including Grey College in Bloemfontein, Natal University College in Pietermaritzburg and the Victoria College at Stellenbosch.²² Edinburgh graduates taught in all of these institutions, bringing to them the expertise and professional skills learnt at Edinburgh University. At the South Africa College, W. T. A Jolly (MBCbB 1906, DSc 1911, LL.D. 1926) was Professor of Physiology and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine; R. Leslie (MA 1907) was Professor of Political Economy; and A. Young (MA 1895, BSc 1901) Professor of Geology.²³ At the Victoria College, W. E. Malherbe (BSc 1897) was Professor of Physics and J. T. Morrison (MA 1883, BSc 1888) was successively Professor of Natural Philosophy, Professor of Pure Physics and Professor of Applied Mathematics.²⁴ At Natal University College, J. W. Bews (MA 1897) was Professor of Biology; G. Robertson (MA 1903) was Professor of Classics at Grey College.²⁵ Other Edinburgh University graduates took up teaching appointments with a more vocational focus. E. H. Smith (BSc 1907) taught on an Agricultural Farm in the Transvaal and W. G. Wishart (BSc 1910) lectured at the School of Mines and Technology in Johannesburg.²⁶ The growth in the

²¹Colvin, I., *The Life of Jameson*, 2 Vols., London, Edward Arnold and Co., 1922, Vol. 1, pps. 29 and 119.

²²Walker, E. A. W., *A History of Southern Africa*, 3rd. ed. London, Longmans Green, 1962, pps. 346, 543 and 570. The South Africa College and the Victoria College were given full university status in 1916 as the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch respectively. The other Colleges were federated in the University of South Africa.

²³GCR 1912/4981; GCR 1920/6343; GCR 1911/11210.

²⁴GCR 1908/6055; UEJ, Vol.13 (1944-45), p.129.

²⁵GCR 1912/762; GCR 1911/8509.

²⁶GCR 1920/10992; GCR 1920/12980.

secondary schools sector provided opportunities for a number of Edinburgh University graduates too. M. M. Miller (MA 1909) and A. R. Scott (BSc 1890), took up appointments in various schools, including the Girls High School in Paarl and Rodensboch High School, both in the Cape Province.²⁷ Appointments in the educational sector were not restricted to teaching posts. J. F. W. Kupferburger (BSc 1890), for example, was Inspector of Schools in the Education Department of the Orange Free State.²⁸

Christian Missions

A further group of Edinburgh University students graduating between 1880 and 1914 were involved in church and mission work in Southern Africa. These fall into two broad categories. The first group is of graduates, such as J. R. L. Kingon (MA 1913) Minister of the United Free Church in Port Elizabeth, who served the small but growing number of presbyterians who had settled in the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal.²⁹ The second comprises members of the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk) who were clearly attracted by the theological regime of Edinburgh University's Faculty of Divinity. Between 1880 and 1914 3 such students graduated in Divinity at Edinburgh.³⁰ Of particular note is J. du Plessis (BD 1893). In 1923, as a Professor at the Seminary at Stellenbosch, he was to enrage traditional opinion with his views on reconciling modern science with the Bible.³¹

Business and Commerce

Southern Africa also provided a few professional opportunities for Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914. H. Philip (LLB 1903) became a solicitor in Johannesburg, R. W. MacLuckie (BSc 1900) an engineer, and J.

²⁷GCR 1920/8263; GCR 1906/7876.

²⁸GCR 1920/6045.

²⁹GCR 1920/5965.

³⁰They were D. J. Le R. Marchand (BD 1889), GCR 1895/4518; A. G. du Toit (BD 1889) GCR 1895/6975; and J. du Plessis (BD 1893) GCR 1901/6298.

³¹Kinghorn, J., *Modernization and Apartheid; The Afrikaner Churches in Elphick, R. and Davenport, R., Christianity in South Africa - A Political, Social and Cultural History*, Oxford, James Currey Publishers, 1997, pps. 137-38.

Wilson (MA 1883) a surveyor in Cape Town.³² A. Burgess (MA 1889) went into journalism and became owner of the *Northern Post* in the Cape Colony.³³ A graduate in Agriculture, C. E. Legat (BSc 1898) found employment as a Forest Manager in Cape Colony.³⁴

The Public Sector

The expanding bureaucratic infrastructure of the Cape Colony, Natal and the Transvaal also provided openings for Edinburgh graduates in this period. G. G. McKerron (MA 1901, LLB 1905) served in the Judiciary in the Cape, B. H. Richardson (MA 1898) in the Civil Service in the Transvaal, whilst J. Taylor (LLB 1904) became Town Clerk of Johannesburg.³⁵ More specialist appointments also became available in the government sector. J. D. F Gilchrist (MA 1888, DSc 1905) was Government Biologist to the Cape Colony. His Doctoral thesis, on *The Development of South African Fishes* can now be regarded as a pioneering contribution to the establishment of stock management measures in the tidal rivers and inshore fishing grounds around the Cape of Good Hope.³⁶

Rest of Africa

Unlike Southern Africa, where graduates during this period appear to have been exclusively Caucasian in origin, the background of those employed elsewhere on the continent reflected considerable cultural diversity, as well as mirroring the limits of British political control and involvement in the region. Most graduates came from areas of the British Empire. For example, 8 (36%) of the 22 students graduating in Medicine between 1880 and 1889, who worked

³² GCR 1911/7930; GCR 1909/5991; GCR 1901/8760.

³³ GCR 1901/1013.

³⁴ GCR 1908/6178.

³⁵ GCR 1911/6185; GCR 1908/7686; GCR 1911/9971.

³⁶ Gilchrist J. D., *The Development of South African Fishes*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished DSc. Thesis, 1905. EUC 1906-07, p. 329.

in Africa (other than Southern Africa), came from Mauritius.³⁷ Although throughout the 1880's a few British-born Edinburgh Medical graduates of that time took up employment in locations elsewhere in continent - T. G. Churcher (MBCM 1884), for example, practised in Tunisia and F. Charlesworth (MBCM 1882) was with HM Agency in Zanzibar - the most significant trend is the emergence of African Medical graduates. B. W. Quarty-Papafio (MBCM 1886, MD 1896) and O. Johnson (MBCM 1886, MD 1889), both came from Sierra Leone.³⁸ The careers of graduates such as Johnson, who was Medical Officer in Lagos from 1890 to 1897, provide a useful insight into the manner in which medical training, and attitudes acquired at Edinburgh University, were applied in the context of West African society.³⁹

Obediah Johnson

Johnson's MD thesis on the *The Therapeutics of West Africa* reflects interestingly on the interface between Western and traditional medical practices.⁴⁰ The objective of the thesis is to examine "those particular methods of treatment of diseases common in this part of Africa (Sierra Leone), and the knowledge (of these diseases) among natives who have no English education." But biographical details suggest another motive. "From boyhood I have thought much on this subject which primarily led me to the study of Medicine in London and Edinburgh."⁴¹ Whilst the approach he takes is entirely empirical, in that "everything should be proved and the truth or falsehood

³⁷They were G. Y. Rohnan (MBCM 1881), GCR 1897/6183; H. A. Dumat (MBCM 1882, MD 1898), GCR 1895/1791; J. R. Suzor (MBCM 1882), GCR 95/6723; L. H. Le Merle (MBCM 1884), GCR 1890/3085; L. J. H. Bouchet (MBCM 1885), GCR 1897/650; A. G. Bashet (MBCM 1886), GCR 1895/359; F. A. Rouget (MBCM 1887, MD 1906), GCR 1897/6266; H. C. N. Sakir (MBCM 1889), GCR 1895/6030. Graduates with French names, who may have been of French origin, of whom H. A. Dumat (MBCM 1882, MD 1898) was a typical example, predominated. But other local groups in Mauritius were represented. H. C. N. Sakir (MBCM 1889) was the first Indian from Mauritius to graduate in Medicine from Edinburgh University.

³⁸GCR 1895/1156; GCR 1906/1445; GCR 1897/5827; GCR 1897/3448.

³⁹Patton, A. Jr., Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa, Gainesville, Florida, University Press of Florida, p. 88.

⁴⁰Johnson, O., The Therapeutics of West Africa, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished MD Thesis, 1889.

⁴¹Johnson, Therapeutics, p. 1.

demonstrated”, he also argues a case *inter alia* for further examination of traditional herbal remedies. In his view, “every doctor (medicine man) is ... a botanist and ... in many points their therapeutics agree with those of scientific medicine.”⁴² He puts an interesting, and particularly African, construct on the then current western knowledge of Africa in specialities such as midwifery. “Lectures and books would have us believe that, in tropical Africa, women began (to menstruate) very early and stop earlier also, but, except in British Colonies, it is most unlikely that European travellers and querists could possibly elicit facts of such a nature from a native woman.”⁴³ Johnson had come to believe that African doctors had unique cultural insights which could add significantly to improvements in public health in the continent. This view was to be put to the test in 1901 when he was appointed to the Legislative Council. There he was largely responsible for the substantial upgrading of environmental health and sanitation in Lagos.⁴⁴ Johnson also felt that African practitioners could contribute to a wider understanding of African therapeutics within the medical community by refuting, for example, spurious assertions such as he had heard in London, “that labour is easier for African women as with lower animals being nearer to them in the scale of things - monkeys by descent.”⁴⁵ However, Johnson’s vision of Africans sharing their medical insights with Europeans was not to be realised as trained African doctors, many graduates of the University of Edinburgh, were deliberately excluded on grounds of race from public medical practice in West Africa from 1902 onwards.⁴⁶

Medical Employment

From 1890 till 1909 the number of Edinburgh University Medical graduates going to Africa (other than Southern Africa) increased gradually. New

⁴²Johnson, *Therapeutics*, pps. 5, 8 and 10.

⁴³Johnson, *Therapeutics*, pps. 16-17.

⁴⁴Adeloye, A., *Some Early Nigerian Doctors and Their Contribution to Modern Medicine in West Africa* in *Medical History*, Vol 18, London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1974, pps. 282-84.

⁴⁵Johnson, *Therapeutics*, p. 18.

⁴⁶The exclusion of Africans from the West African Medical Service from 1902 is discussed further below.

opportunities for employment became available, not only to African graduates returning home, but also to young doctors from the British Isles and elsewhere in the Empire. Nearly all of the African students graduating in this period came from West Africa. They returned there either to join the West African Medical Service (WAMS), or to go into private practice.⁴⁷ They all had interesting careers. For example, after a controversial medical career, J. Randle (MBCM 1888) went into politics and, in 1908, founded (with Dr. O. Obasa) the People's Union, the first political organisation in Nigeria.⁴⁸ A descendant of Nova Scotian slaves, A. W. Easmon (MBCM 1895) was one of the leading gynaecologists in Freetown with an extensive private practice.⁴⁹ However, despite their considerable intellectual and professional achievements, African doctors, like their Indian counterparts under the Raj, faced various forms of racial exclusion and prejudice. One example derived from then current scientific theories on how Europeans in tropical areas of India and Africa might best be protected from illnesses, such as malaria, through segregated housing and social patterns. Although India often set the pattern, Cell has suggested that the "medical justification for segregation as a protection against malaria emerged quite suddenly in 1900 in West Africa ... (and) ... was an essentially new idea." He argues it owed little to British

⁴⁷13 African students graduated from Edinburgh University in Medicine between 1880 and 1914. O. Johnson (MBCM 1886, MD 1889), GCR 1897/3448; B. W. Quarty-Papafio (MBCM 1886), GCR 98/5827; J. Randle (MBCM 1888), GCR 1897/5860; T. B. Barber (MBCM 1892), GCR 1901/361; J. O. Coker (MBCM 1892), GCR 1901/1428; A. W. Easmon (MBCM 1895), GCR 1901/2140; F. J. R. Momple (MBCM 1895), GCR 1901/5606; R. A. Savage (MBChB 1900), GCR 1909/8384; W. A. O. Taylor (MBChB 1906), GCR 1912/10261; B. J. A. Hoare (MBChB 1911), GCR 1920/5106; S. Kapo (MBChB 1912), GCR 1920/5775; E. O. Beckley (MBChB 1913), GCR 1920/746; and M. J. da Rocha (MBChB 1913), GCR 1920/10152. M. C. F. Easmon has suggested that T. C. Maxwell had an MBChB from Edinburgh University. Maxwell was a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London, but did not hold a degree from the University of Edinburgh. Easmon, M. C. F., *Sierra Leone Doctors in Sierra Leone Studies*, Vol. 6, London, Sierra Leone Society, 1956, p. 90.

⁴⁸Adeloye, A, *Some Early Nigerian Doctors*, pps. 284-87 and 278-79. Randle was dismissed from the colonial medical service in Lagos in 1893 after protesting that he received only half the salary of his European counterparts. He subsequently went into private practice in Lagos.

⁴⁹Patton, *Physicians. Colonial Racism and Diaspora in West Africa*, p.176.

experience elsewhere, such as in India, and stemmed in the main from a reactionary policy in race relations.⁵⁰ Certainly, the hardening of racial attitudes, as exemplified in the reorganisation of the WAMS, caused considerable bitterness and overturned years of mutual co-operation between medical professionals of African and British origin. The irony is greater when it is remembered that most held the same medical qualifications from British institutions, such as the University of Edinburgh.⁵¹

The West African Medical Service

Edinburgh's Faculty of Medicine had been advised by the Colonial Office in February 1902 about changes in appointments to the WAMS structure and, in particular, "that applicants for appointments as Medical Officers of the Staff must be of European parentage."⁵² As the new arrangements were clearly going to affect some of the 149 overseas students from the non-western world who had matriculated in 1901, many of them to study Medicine, the Faculty took its concerns to the Senatus. It suggested that "the University should be certain how far this would affect medical graduates who are natives of India, the West Indies, and Africa and other British Colonies".⁵³ Following a meeting in March 1902, a group of 35 African and West Indian Medical students wrote to Professor Simpson, Dean of the Faculty, asking that he reflect their concerns to the Senatus and the Colonial Office. The terms of the students protest were moderate. African doctors had served for almost a century in partnership with their European colleagues. All medical posts had been open to Africans and Europeans alike and the reasons for such an abrupt change

⁵⁰Cell, J., *Anglo-Indian Medical Theory, and the Origins of Segregation in West Africa* in *American Historical Review*, American Historical Association, New York, Macmillan, Vol. 91, No. 2, 1986, p. 312.

⁵¹Gale, T., *The Disbarment of African Medical Officers by the West African Medical Staff: A study in Prejudice* in *The Journal of the Historical Society of Sierra Leone*, Freetown, Sierra Leone, Historical Society of Sierra Leone, Vol. 4, 1980, p. 36.

⁵²University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da 31.5), *College Minutes (Minutes of Senatus)*, Meeting of 22 February 1902, Vol. 12, p. 334.

⁵³*College Minutes*, Vol. 12, Meeting of 22 February 1902, p. 334. The number of students from the non-western world who matriculated in 1901 at the University of Edinburgh has been calculated by the author.

were unclear.⁵⁴

Professor Simpson then wrote to the Colonial Office putting the case for maintaining the *status quo*. "Many (Medical) students have passed through our University who have come from India, and the West Indies, from East, West and South African Colonies as well as from Canada (and) Australia.... When such colonials have done well in their various classes, have proved themselves fully qualified in their final examinations, it would seem a hardship that they should be excluded from official service in any part of His Majesty's Empire because of their parentage."⁵⁵ As no response had been received from the Colonial Office by the end of March, the Senatus instructed that the Faculty submit all the relevant documentation to the University's MP, Sir John Batty Tuke, who, together with the Principal, Sir William Turner, called at the Colonial Office on 18 April 1902. They expressed their concern about the implications of the WAMS proposals on overseas Medical students at Edinburgh University.⁵⁶ Turner then received a response from the Colonial Office on 5 May 1902. There were to be no concessions.

Whilst emphasising that the WAMS arrangements applied only to the West African colonies, the Secretary of State, Joseph Chamberlain, said that "the use of the term 'European' does not imply that foreigners are eligible, or that British Colonial subjects generally are ineligible for employment in the (medical) services of the British West African Colonies." However "there are special difficulties in ... employing native doctors, even if fully qualified, to attend upon European officers, especially when stationed in the bush or at outstations." He concluded with the hope that "as the West African Colonies are developed, the number of appointments open to (qualified medical men of African or Asiatic parentage) will be largely increased as well as the opportunities for private practice."⁵⁷ The Senatus then simply noted the terms

⁵⁴Patton, *Physicians, Colonial Racism and Diaspora in West Africa*, p.131.

⁵⁵University of Edinburgh, University Archives (Da 43), *Faculty of Medicine, Meeting of 19 March 1902, Scroll Minute Book*, (March 1902 - December 1904), p. 3.

⁵⁶*College Minutes*, Meeting of 29 March 1902, Vol.12, p. 360.

⁵⁷*College Minutes*, Meeting of 30 May 1902, Vol.12, pps. 385-86.

of the letter from the Secretary of State without comment. It is of interest none the less that the Faculty of Medicine was uneasy about the proposals and that the Principal personally was prepared to put the concerns of the University and its students to the Colonial Office. Moreover, it is also of note that different groups of foreign students were prepared to work together to seek resolution of a move perceived as unjust and inequitable to all and that the University responded promptly to these concerns. The Colonial Office reverted to the question of including Africans on the WAMS in 1908, but no change was made to the existing arrangements.⁵⁸

Whilst a few British graduates, such as A. J. R. O'Brien (MBChB 1905) joined the WAMS, positions were also becoming available elsewhere with colonial administrations as a result of British expansion.⁵⁹ J. Davidson (MBCM 1896) served in Northern Nigeria; P. H. Macdonald (MBChB 1899) worked in the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria; G. D. Gray (MBCM 1894) was in the Central African Protectorate; G. C. Strathairn (MBChB 1901) was in Uganda.⁶⁰

Education

For British born Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914, Africa provided an avenue of employment for appointments in education. Whilst one or two appointments, such as that held by L. J. Grant (MA 1903), who was Headmaster in Salisbury, were in newly colonised areas in East and Central Africa, the majority were in Egypt.⁶¹ Although a British Protectorate was not declared over Egypt until 1914, British interests and influence were ascendant from 1882 after Wolseley occupied the country. In addition to posts in schools, such as that held by P. S. Hardie (MA 1898) who taught in Alexandria, Edinburgh graduates taught in tertiary institutions and vocational colleges.⁶² For example, in Cairo R. D. Melville (MA 1893) lectured at the Khedivial Law

⁵⁸Cheverton, R.L., *The District Medical Officer* in Sabben-Clare, E. E., Bradley, D. J. and Kirkwood, K., (Eds.), *Health in Tropical Africa During The Colonial Period*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, p.144.

⁵⁹GCR 1920/8967.

⁶⁰GCR 1908/2046; GCR 1909/5476; GCR 1901/2984; GCR 1910/9465.

⁶¹GCR 1920/4409.

⁶²GCR 1908/3738.

College and D. Tweedie (MA 1886) at the School of Engineering.⁶³ G. W. H. Davies (MA 1909) was Professor of History at Abassich College in Alexandria whilst J. R. Davidson (MA 1903) lectured in Biology at the School of Agriculture at Ghizeh.⁶⁴

Christian Missions

Possibly inspired by the missionary zeal of the explorer David Livingstone, nearly all the Edinburgh graduates of the period involved in missionary work appear to have served mainly in Central Africa. For example, in the Shire Highlands of Nyasaland, J. Henderson (MA 1890) served at the Free Church of Scotland Mission Station at Livingstonia and D. C. Scott (BD 1881) at the Church of Scotland's nearby Station at Blantyre.⁶⁵ Medical missionaries, such as A. M. Caverhill (MBCChB 1902), also worked with these missions.⁶⁶ Elsewhere, H. E. Wareham (MBCChB 1901) was with the London Mission in Kawimbe in Northern Rhodesia and J. K. Macgregor (MA 1898, BD 1902) was at the Hope Waddell Institute at Calabar in Nigeria.⁶⁷

Business and Commerce

In addition to service with the various colonial administrations, there were other openings arising from increasing commercial activity. W. M. Leggate (MA 1909) was a planter in Southern Rhodesia. R. R. Murray (MBCChB 1905) was a Doctor with the British South Africa Company in Northern Rhodesia. J. Leslie (BSc 1898) was a forest manager in Southern Nigeria.⁶⁸

The Public Sector

Parts of Africa coming under British influence and control also provided

⁶³GCR 1920/8050; GCR 1920/2130.

⁶⁴GCR 1913/2424; GCR 1911/2246.

⁶⁵GCR 1901/3330; GCR 1897/6411.

⁶⁶GCR 1920/1875.

⁶⁷GCR 1910/10215; GCR 1908/5477. The Hope Waddell Institute was established by the Church of Scotland Mission in Calabar in 1895 to provide practical courses in printing, carpentry and mechanics as well as to train teachers and church workers. Fafunwa, A. B., *History of Education in Nigeria*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1974, pps. 98-99 and 196-97.

⁶⁸GCR 1920/6289; GCR 1920/8753; GCR 1908/4951.

openings in the government sector for Edinburgh students graduating around this time. G. J. Letham (MA 1908) was the Resident in Ilorin in Northern Nigeria, whilst J. R. E. M. Smith (MA 1884) was an Inspector of the Interior in Egypt.⁶⁹ With the administrators came the scientists and professionals. J. W. Newton (BSc 1911), for example, was an Assistant Conservator of Forests in the East Africa Protectorate and R. D. Robertson (BSc 1914) a Forest Officer in the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Between 1880 and 1914 Africa provided a variety of employment and service opportunities for Edinburgh students graduating at that time. Whilst the main centres of employment and opportunity were initially in the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal, British engagement with Central and Eastern Africa, together with ongoing commitments in West Africa, opened up new employment opportunities that were readily exploited. Whereas between 1880 and 1914 some 25% of graduates obtaining employment in Africa did so other than in Southern Africa, by 1933 this proportion had increased to nearly 30% as British control was consolidated elsewhere.⁷¹

Edinburgh graduates made an important contribution to the delivery of medical services across Africa and the development of an educational infrastructure. In the Cape Colony, the influence of Edinburgh graduates was particularly strong. As a result of the slow development of medical education there, large numbers of students from the Cape came to study at Edinburgh's Medical School. Many of these students had been born in Southern Africa, and returned home on graduation, bringing with them ideas and practices newly learnt at Edinburgh. They appear to have formed a closely knit community, most of them espousing the imperial cause. Edinburgh graduates in other disciplines were also prominent in educational development, often in

⁶⁹GCR 1920/6354; GCR 1920/11037.

⁷⁰GCR 1920/8858; GCR 1920/10084.

⁷¹Calculated by the author from the data provided by the University in 1933 in respect of graduates living overseas. Turner, A. L., History of the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1933, p. 427.

areas involving new skills and technology, such as forestry and mining. As elsewhere on the continent, Edinburgh graduates were involved in Christian missionary work.

Although the majority of appointments secured by Edinburgh graduates of the period elsewhere in Africa were medically related, the composition of the medical group was different from that of the Cape. Indigenous African graduates became an increasingly important element, particularly in West Africa. Although able to provide fresh therapeutic insights based on their first-hand knowledge of local conditions and customs, their effectiveness was constrained because of hostility and racial prejudice. Nevertheless, despite being excluded from employment in the WAMS after 1902, they made a positive contribution to curative medicine and public health in the region, utilising professional skills acquired at Edinburgh University

Edinburgh graduates of the period came to Africa at a time of unprecedented change which coincided with the high tide of imperialism. Nearly all operated within the framework of evolving colonial institutions, and related commercial, educational and missionary platforms. In most cases, they were involved in the transfer of knowledge and skills acquired at Edinburgh University. As colonial rule was progressively consolidated and legitimised, this process would be reinforced as growing numbers of African and British graduates of Edinburgh University secured a share of the employment opportunities Empire created.

Chapter Nine - Overseas Connections. North America.

North America provided a variety of employment positions for Edinburgh University students graduating between 1880 and 1914. As in Australasia, in many instances these arose initially as a result of existing cultural and religious links, particularly with the eastern seaboard of Canada and the United States.

The employment take-up pattern in Canada and the United States for Edinburgh students graduating during this period was, however, different from that of the other regions considered earlier. In the case of Australasia, for example, over 90% of graduates going to work there during this period had qualified in Medicine; similarly, as we have seen, over 75% of those taking up employment in Africa between 1880 and 1914 did so in the medical sector. However, less than 45% of graduates finding employment in Canada and the United States were so qualified. Moreover, although many students graduating at this time found teaching appointments overseas, a much higher percentage (30%) did so in Canada and the United States than in, for example, Australasia (6%). There were other differences as well. No opportunities arose for military employment for Edinburgh graduates of this period in North America and there were only very limited openings in the public sector.

The Empire remained an important factor. Of those Edinburgh students who graduated between 1880 and 1914 and went to North America [see Tables 9(a) and 9(b)] 60% went to Canada, the remainder to the United States. In both cases, graduates tended to find employment and service opportunities before 1900. After that date, the number of graduates taking up positions, particularly in Medicine, started to decline.

Many of those moving to North America were locally born and were returning home. Of the 114 graduates who found employment in Canada, 91 (80%) had been born there. The comparable figure for the United States is slightly lower

at 56 (73%).¹ But this may merely indicate that more British born graduates were attracted to settle south of the 49th. parallel.

Table 9(a) - Canada

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	-	3	2	6	-	-	-	1	12
1885-89	3	4	3	16	-	-	-	-	26
1890-94	-	2	5	12	-	-	1	-	20
1895-99	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	5
1900-04	3	2	8	3	-	-	1	1	18
1905-09	5	1	4	9	-	1	1	2	23
1910-14	-	-	5	3	-	-	2	-	10
Total	11	14	28	51	0	1	5	4	114

Table 9(b) -The United States

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	1	-	8	7	-	-	2	1	19
1885-89	-	1	4	5	-	-	-	-	10
1890-94	-	-	5	7	-	-	-	-	12
1895-99	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	6
1900-04	1	1	6	3	-	-	1	-	12
1905-09	1	1	3	3	-	-	2	1	11
1910-14	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	2	7
Total	3	3	29	33	0	0	5	4	77

Before examining the scope of Edinburgh University graduate involvement in the educational sector in North America during this period, employment in some of the other categories noted in Tables 9(a) and 9(b) can first be considered.

Medical Employment

As discussed in Chapter Two, the development of medical education in Canada and the United States had a direct relationship on the number of North American students matriculating to study Medicine at Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914. As new and expanded medical teaching facilities became available locally, the number of North American students seeking a medical education at Edinburgh University gradually declined. Those graduates who did go to practise medicine in Canada and the United States took up a wide range of positions. For example, C. H. Jones (MBCM 1883)

¹The data on birthplace is as detailed in Chapter Five, Tables 5(f) and 5(h).

worked for the Department of Public Health in Baltimore, Ohio. W. Catto (MBCM 1893) was in general practice in Dawson City in the Klondike in Canada at the time of the great gold rush. D. K. Henderson (MBChB 1907) was a pathologist at the Pathological Institute at Ward's Island, New York.²

Christian Churches

The traditional links between the Presbyterian churches in Canada, the United States, and Scotland provided useful service conduits for several Edinburgh graduates in Arts and Divinity. These included C. D. Mackinnon (MA 1889, BD 1894), who had an illustrious career as a Minister of the Presbyterian Church of Canada and R. Morgan (MA 1907), who ministered at the United Free Church in Ruddell, Saskatchewan.³ Two Edinburgh Divinity graduates of this period are of particular note for their contribution to ecclesiastical and educational affairs. After a distinguished academic career, Robert A. Falconer (MA 1889, BD 1892) was appointed President of the University of Toronto in 1907. Thereafter, until his death in 1943, he exerted considerable influence on Canadian academia and society.⁴ Widely respected on both sides of the Atlantic, John Baillie (MA 1908, DLitt. 1928, DD 1930) was one of the most outstanding theologians of his generation. He played an important role in the ecumenical movement and in the growth of the World Council of Churches.⁵ He taught both in North America and Britain, being appointed in 1920 to the Chair of Systematic Theology at Auburn Theological Seminary, New York. He moved then to the Chair in the same subject in Emmanuel College, Toronto. After that he went to the Roosevelt Chair of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Finally, he occupied the Chair of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. In 1943 he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and, in 1950, became Dean of the Faculty of Divinity and Principal of New College,

²GCR 1895/3362; GCR 1901/1264; GCR 1912/4291.

³GCR 1895/4212; GCR 1920/8494.

⁴Greenlee, J. G., *Sir Robert Falconer*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1988, pps.115-16.

⁵Newlands, G., *John Baillie and Friends, in Germany and at War* in Brown, J. B. and Newlands, G., (Eds.), *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 2000, p.133.

Edinburgh.⁶

Business, Commerce and the Public Sector

A few Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 found employment in North America in business, professional and scientific work. A. Myles (LLB 1909) became a barrister in Edmonton, Alberta. J. C. Cameron (MA 1900) was actuary of the Great Southern Life Assurance Company in Dallas, Texas. J. R. McLennan (MA 1909) was a banker with the Canadian Bank of Commerce in Seattle, Washington State.⁷ Engineers trained at Edinburgh University were involved with railway development in Canada and the United States. Both J. E. Newlands (BSc 1906), who worked for the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and P. C. Cowan (BSc 1881, DSc 1909) were Civil Engineers engaged in railway construction.⁸ Cowan's Doctorate in Science describes his experiences while working on the design and construction of the New York and West Shore and Buffalo Railway.⁹ In one of the few posts taken up in the public sector between 1880 and 1914, G. Douglas (MA 1909) became Secretary of the Geographical Board of Canada.¹⁰

Education

It was, however, in the field of education that Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 made the most important contribution in North America. A few graduates, such as J. Fowler (MA 1910), who was Science Master at the Collegiate Institute in Calgary, and A. G. Ritch (BSc 1903), who taught in Georgia, worked at the secondary level. However, the majority obtained appointments in tertiary institutions.¹¹ Indicative both of their own scholarship, and the standing of their *Alma Mater*, Edinburgh graduates of this period taught in most of the major universities and colleges in North America. A few examples, restricted to professorships, indicate the range of institutions

⁶UEJ, Vol. 20, pps. 3-4.

⁷GCR 1920/8776; GCR 1920/1677; GCR 1920/5713.

⁸GCR 1911/749; GCR 1913/387.

⁹Cowan, P. C., *The Design and Construction of New York and West Shore and Buffalo Railway*, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished DSc thesis, 1909.

¹⁰GCR 1920/2975.

¹¹GCR 1920/3733; GCR 1911/8746.

involved and the scope of subjects taught.

Canada

Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 were appointed to a number of Chairs in Canadian Universities, mainly teaching Medicine and Science. There were also a few Arts, Divinity and Law appointments. At McGill University in Montreal, J. Tait (BSc 1901) was Professor of Physiology, P. E. Nobbs (MA 1896) Professor of Architecture and F. P. Walton (LLB 1887) Professor of Civil Law.¹² A. Hunter (MA, BSc 1895, MBChB 1901) held the Chair of Pathological Chemistry and R. M. Maciver (MA 1903) the Chair of Political Science at Toronto University. Also in Toronto, H. A. A. Kennedy (MA 1889, DSc 1893, DD 1910) became Professor of New Testament Literature at Knox College.¹³ At the University of Manitoba, T. S. Vincent (DSc 1904) was Professor of Physiology and R. C. Wallace (MA 1901, BSc 1907, DSc 1912) was Professor of Geology and Mineralogy.¹⁴ An Edinburgh graduate of this period, A. Gibson (MA 1904), held the Chair of Anatomy at the University of Winnipeg. At the University of Saskatchewan, W. S. Lindsay (MBChB 1912) was Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology.¹⁵ J. Waddell (BSc 1883, DSc 1886) held the Chair of Chemistry at McMaster University in Ontario.¹⁶ In the Maritimes, two Edinburgh graduates of the period held Chairs at the University of New Brunswick. W. L. Goodwin (BSc 1882) was Professor of Chemistry and W. C. Murray (MA 1891) Professor of Philosophy.¹⁷ J. Seth (MA 1881) filled the Chair of Philosophy at Dalhousie University from 1886 to 1892 from where, after short spells at Brown and Cornell, he returned to Edinburgh University in 1898 to take the Chair of Moral Philosophy in succession to his

¹²GCR 1920/11646; GCR 1906/6634; GCR 1930/4762; GCR 1895/7110.

¹³GCR 1920/5304; GCR 1920/7121; GCR 1920/5851. Hunter subsequently returned to Scotland to take up the Chair of Physiology at Glasgow University, (GCR 1930/7374), and Kennedy to the Chair of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology at New College in Edinburgh. (UEJ, Vol. 6, (1933-34), pps. 293-94).

¹⁴GCR 1911/10409; GCR 1912/10817.

¹⁵GCR 1920/4047; GCR 1935/9848.

¹⁶GCR 1895/7110.

¹⁷GCR 1897/257; GCR 1901/5839.

former teacher, Professor Calderwood.¹⁸

The United States

Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 were also appointed to a number of Chairs in the United States. In Medicine and Science, J. C. Webster (MBCM 1888) was Professor of Obstetrics and A. Smith (BSc 1886) Professor of Chemistry at the University of Chicago.¹⁹ B. P. Watson (MBChB 1902) held the Chair of Midwifery at Columbia University and S. Simpson (BSc 1894, MBCM 1899, MD 1901) the Chair of Physiology at Cornell.²⁰ At Purdue University, Indiana, A. W. Duff (MA 1888, BSc 1893, DSc 1901) was Professor of Physics.²¹ J. G. Wilson (MA 1883) was Professor of Otology at Northwestern University, J. M. Macfarlane (BSc 1880, DSc 1883) Professor of Botany at the University of Pennsylvania and J. H. M. Wedderburn (MA 1903, DSc 1908) Professor of Mathematics at Princeton.²² In the case of Arts and Divinity appointments, W. M. A. Caldwell (MA 1886, DSc 1894), for example, held the Chair in Political Economy at Chicago, W. A. Nielson (MA 1891) the Chair of English at Harvard and, as earlier noted, J. Seth (MA 1881) the Chair of Philosophy at Cornell.²³ There were other appointments too. R. M. Wenley (DSc 1891) was Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan, R. Pinter (MA 1906) Professor of Psychology and Education at Toledo, Ohio and W. D Mackenzie (MA 1881) Professor of Systematic Theology at Chicago.²⁴ One of Edinburgh's first graduates in Music, C. H. Mills (Mus.B 1904) was appointed Music Director at the University of Wisconsin.²⁵

Edinburgh University Connections with North America

What factors influenced so many Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 to pursue academic careers in the United States and Canada?

¹⁸GCR 1897/6487.

¹⁹GCR 1897/7674; GCR 1897/6655.

²⁰GCR 1930/17279; GCR 1920/10853.

²¹GCR 1901/2046.

²²GCR 1920/1290; GCR 1895/4034; GCR 1935/19420.

²³GCR 1897/986; GCR 1901/5892; GCR 1897/6487.

²⁴GCR 1901/8478; UEJ, Vol 13, (1944-45) p.130; GCR 1906/5404.

²⁵GCR 1920/8291.

Certainly the University of Edinburgh had long standing educational associations with North America which dated back to colonial times. Reference has been made earlier to the two American born students, William Shippen (MD 1761) and John Morgan (MD 1761), who successfully introduced the Edinburgh style of medical education to the College of Philadelphia, which subsequently became part of the University of Pennsylvania. These are not isolated examples. Brock has shown that, between 1750 and 1800, nearly 300 students, mainly from South Carolina and Maryland, studied Medicine at Edinburgh.²⁶ Nor were Americans studying at Edinburgh during this period restricted to those studying this discipline. William Thornton, for example, who studied under Cullen, became a distinguished architect and produced the blueprints for the National Capitol Building in Washington, DC.²⁷

Edinburgh University's connections with British North America were no less strong than with America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Scottish educational theory and practice had a persistent influence on the evolution of the Canadian education system. Hamilton remarks that "Scottish settlers brought with them an almost reverential attitude towards education. On board the ship *Hector*, which landed at Pictou, Nova Scotia in 1773, was a school teacher and from this point onward Scottish immigrants exerted an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Scottish colonists, or their descendants were (also) responsible for much of the agitation for reform in education".²⁸ In the case of higher education, it was argued by men such as John Strachan (1778-1867), a graduate of Kings College, Aberdeen, that the Scottish practice of using lectures as the chief means of instruction better suited the pedagogical needs, and financial realities, of a frontier society than the tutorial systems of Oxford and Cambridge.²⁹

²⁶Brock, H. C., in Brock, W. R., *Scotus Americanus*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1982, p.118.

²⁷Riggs, A. R., *The Colonial American Medical Students of Edinburgh* in *UEJ*, Vol. 20 (1961-62), pps. 149-50.

²⁸Hamilton, W. B., *The British Heritage* in Wilson, J. D., Stamp, R. M. and Audet, L-P., (Eds.), *Canadian Education, A History*, Scarborough, Ontario, Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 39.

²⁹Harris, R. S., *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1976, pps. 32-33.

That Edinburgh University was regarded as a suitable model for Canadian institutions quickly became apparent. Laying the foundation stone in 1820 of Halifax College, which would become a constituent part of the University which now bears his name, Lord Dalhousie (1770-1838), Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, said that the College "is founded for the instruction of youth in the higher Classics and in all Philosophical studies; it is formed in imitation of the University of Edinburgh; its doors will be open to all who profess the Christian religion; to the youth of His Majesty's North American Colonies ... to all, in short, who may be disposed ... to study."³⁰

It was not only Edinburgh University's curriculum, however, that would be replicated but also the format of its programmes of instruction, particularly in Medicine. The programme of study offered at the Montreal Medical Institution, which opened in November 1823, and in 1829 became McGill University's Faculty of Medicine, was modelled on that of Edinburgh University where the four founding members of staff had been trained.³¹ At its initiation, and as it developed, the McGill medical course replicated that of the University of Edinburgh, placing a strong emphasis on clinical teaching and learning at the Montreal General Hospital.³² A number of early appointments to the teaching staff of McGill's Faculty of Medicine were graduates of Edinburgh University, including J. Crawford (MD 1820), who was appointed Professor of Clinical Medicine and Surgery in 1845, and A. Hall (MD 1834) who, after teaching *Materia Medica* and Therapeutics, was appointed to the Chair of Chemistry in 1842.³³

An important consideration relating to the number of Edinburgh graduates

³⁰Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada*, p. 32.

³¹They were J. Stephenson (MD 1820), A. F. Holmes (MD 1819), W. Robertson (MD 1812) and W. Caldwell who, although trained at Edinburgh University, took his MD by attestation from Marischal College, Aberdeen. Frost, S.B., *McGill University*, 2 Vols., Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 1980, Vol. 1, pps.127-29.

³²Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada*, p. 64.

³³Hanaway, J. and Creuss, R., *McGill Medicine*, 2 Vols, Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 1996, Vol. 1, pps. 151-52 and 154-56.

taking up teaching appointments in North America between 1880 and 1914 was the ongoing expansion of tertiary education there during this period. Another factor enhancing their employability in Canada may have been that British scholars seemed to be less expensive to employ, and could be more easily dismissed, than their American counterparts.³⁴ Although the level of higher educational development was not consistent across Canada, and varied in academic emphasis from one institution to the other, Toronto University and Queens University at Kingston in Ontario, McGill University in Quebec, and Dalhousie in the Maritimes all responded to the challenges which industrialisation, immigration and urbanisation posed to higher education.³⁵ The growth in tertiary education facilities Canada-wide is reflected in the increased number of students. Between 1861 and 1890 just over 11,000 students graduated with a first degree from Canadian Universities and Colleges; between 1891 and 1920 the number of graduates had increased to over 40,000.³⁶ In the United States, the forces driving the development of tertiary education were not dissimilar to those in Canada, although the institutional framework which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century was more fluid and diverse.³⁷ The rapid development of new institutions (between 1889 and 1892, for example, Clark University, Stanford University and the University of Chicago all opened in quick succession), additional federal funding, and the growth in student numbers, led to what Veysey has described as an academic “boom” that clearly provided a range of openings at all levels for academic staff.³⁸

The teaching opportunities secured by Edinburgh and other British graduates in North America between 1880 and 1914 may even have contributed in some

³⁴Shortt, S. E. D., *The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian intellectuals and their convictions in an age of transition, 1890-1930*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1976, p. 5.

³⁵Wilson, Stamp and Audet, *Canadian Education: A History*, pps. 331-32.

³⁶Extrapolated by the author from Appendix 1 of Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada*, pps. 609-21.

³⁷Rudolph, F., *The American College and University*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1968, pps. 253-55.

³⁸Veysey, L. R., *The Emergence of the American University*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965, pps. 263-67.

way to a rising level of resentment. There were comments by contemporaries on the influence of British universities and the scale of appointments secured by British rather than, for example, Canadian academics. In his 1902 Presidential address to the Royal Society of Canada, for example, James Loudon of the University of Toronto mocked the “deep-seated conviction, born perhaps of reiterated assertion, that the British university system is superior to that of ... any other country, and as near perfection as may well be”. He went on to criticise “groups of scholars from Britain who brought with them intact the traditions in which they had been nurtured.” And he went on to suggest that “the time has surely come when we should cease to take all our knowledge at second-hand from abroad and ... do some original thinking on our own circumstances.”³⁹ Similarly, in 1910 John Marshall resigned his post at Queens University allegedly because he felt threatened by the “British group” there which was opposed to his anti-imperial sentiments.⁴⁰ Whilst such views are evidence, no doubt, of the strengthening of Canadian national sentiment, they do not appear to have had a major impact on the level of academic appointments by Edinburgh graduates in North American Universities before the 1920's and 1930s when many continued to secure senior appointments.⁴¹

The input of Edinburgh University graduates to the development of Canadian tertiary education was not restricted, of course, to those born in the British Isles. Many Canadian born students who graduated during this period went on to hold senior academic positions in Canadian universities. After holding the Chairs of Philosophy at New Brunswick and Dalhousie, for example, W. C.

³⁹Louden, J. T., *The Universities in Relation to Research in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Second Series, Vol. 8, Toronto,, Royal Society of Canada, 1902, Appendix A, pps. 54, 56 and 58.

⁴⁰Stamp, R. M., *Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: the English-Canadian Scene from the 1870's to 1914* in Wilson, Stamp and Audet, *Canadian Education: A History*, p. 333.

⁴¹For example, A. B. Clark (MA 1890) was appointed Professor of Political Economy at the University of Manitoba in 1910, (*GCR 1920/2014*), J. Tait (BSc 1901, MBChB 1903, MD 1906, DSc 1909) Professor of Physiology at McGill in 1919, (*GCR 1920/11646*) and J. Miller (BSc 1896, MBChB 1899, MD 1903) Professor of Pathology at Queens University, Kingston, Ontario in 1920, (*UEJ*, Vol. 19 (1958-60), pps. 206-07).

Murray (MA 1891) went on to become the first President of the University of Saskatchewan; and A. Wilmer Duff (MA 1888) had a distinguished academic career in Canada and the United States where he became, as we have seen, Professor of Physics at Purdue University in Indiana and, latterly, Professor of Physics at Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Massachusetts.⁴² All had notable careers, but perhaps none more so than Robert Alexander Falconer (MA 1889, BD 1892), the President of the University of Toronto from 1907 to 1932. His career sheds light on the nature of the influence Edinburgh University exerted on overseas students during this period, in this case those from North America, and the background against which their ideas of Empire evolved.

Robert Alexander Falconer

A Canadian of Scots descent, Falconer had lived in Trinidad where his father was a missionary. From there, as noted earlier, he came to Edinburgh University in 1885 on a Gilchrist Scholarship to study Arts and then Divinity. Returning to Canada in 1892, he was appointed Lecturer in Greek at the Pine Hill College in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and subsequently Principal in 1904. Three years later, he was appointed President of the University of Toronto, a post he held until 1932.⁴³ Falconer was not just an able educational leader but a thinker of some standing who, during a long and busy life, influenced many sections of Canadian society, not least the students at the University of Toronto and elsewhere.

During his time in Edinburgh Falconer was involved in the usual round of lectures and study, with much of his spare time being devoted to the religious life of the University. Like many other students of the period, however, he was also caught up in politics, particularly the (Irish and Scottish) Home Rule controversy. He recalled some fifty years later how he had heard Joseph Chamberlain address an immense gathering in the Corn Market. "Perfectly dressed, an orchid in a button-hole, a monocle at his eye, impassive of countenance, he took command of the audience at once, and his vibrant voice,

⁴²GCR 1920/8757; GCR 1920/3061.

⁴³Wallace, W. S., (Ed.), The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, (3rd. Edition), Toronto, Macmillan Publishers, 1973, p. 223.

clear-cut words, incisive argument, now logical now devastating in its satire, fascinated his listeners.” However, his own personal preference was for the Liberal leader, Lord Rosebery who, although apparently less appealing to the masses than Chamberlain “was his superior in polished, urbane, indeed at times nobly eloquent speech.”⁴⁴ As his career progressed, Falconer not only developed rhetorical skills to match those of Rosebery but retained his preference for reasoned, ordered debate which sought to mould public opinion. They were attributes that would serve him well on a variety of occasions in the future, not least when he took over the troubled University of Toronto in 1907.⁴⁵

Falconer used his inaugural address at Toronto to set out his thinking on the future of the University, and on the nature of higher education in Canada and its place in the wider imperial and international scene. “The true university is a centre for both instruction and research,” he said, “for the impartation of knowledge already gained, and for the extension of the boundaries of knowledge.”⁴⁶ Under his Presidency, the University of Toronto would seek a national position serving the interests of all parts of Canada. Whilst there would be no slavish copying of tertiary education models from elsewhere, Toronto was part of a wider grouping and owed a particular debt to the “Motherland” where many of its academic staff had been educated. Bonds well established would be strengthened. “We hope also that in the days to come Britain will continue to spare us some of her riches and send us more men of like quality.”⁴⁷ His vision for the future of the University was that “an ideal should prevail in which national enthusiasms will be tempered by wider world interests, and provincialism be toned by the broadest intellectual and moral purposes.”⁴⁸ He recalled for his audience “the fine motto which in my student

⁴⁴Falconer, R. A., *In Edinburgh Fifty Years Ago* in Queens Quarterly, Kingston, Queens University, 1937, Vol. 44, p. 446.

⁴⁵Wallace, W. S., A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1927, pps. 172-75.

⁴⁶Falconer, R. A., *Inaugural Address of President Falconer* in University of Toronto Monthly, Toronto, University of Toronto, 1907, Vol. 8, p. 8.

⁴⁷Falconer, R. A., Inaugural Address, p. 12.

⁴⁸Falconer, R. A., Inaugural Address, p. 12.

days was inscribed on the walls of the Greek class-room of Edinburgh, 'holding to the truth in love' (which) might well be taken by all universities to signify that true religion, science and culture may go hand in hand together."⁴⁹

Although Falconer was keen to emphasise the international aspects of Canadian higher education, and was aware of the debt it owed to different external influences, he was particularly insistent upon the contribution Scottish educational ideology and practice had made to tertiary teaching and research in Canada.⁵⁰ Aside from the role of individual Scots academics, and those of Scottish descent, in the development of universities and colleges across Canada, Falconer believed the Scottish tradition in education had taken root in Canada largely because of the academic framework of the Scottish universities, particularly the University of Edinburgh. "There was among the best," he suggested, "a passion for the cultivation of the intellect. The philosophic temper was striven for as supreme. Not only were metaphysics and its allied subjects accorded a place of honour, but the faculty of Arts was, as in the German universities, in truth a faculty of philosophy, which bred a remarkable spirit of toleration. Perhaps nowhere has academic freedom been better understood than in Scotland."⁵¹ The contribution of Edinburgh's Faculty of Arts was matched by that of the Faculty of Medicine which, as we have seen, provided a model for new Medical Schools in Canada.⁵² Cultivation of the intellect, and a spirit of scientific enquiry, were qualities Falconer hoped Canadian students would absorb. "Far be it from me to attribute these qualities solely to a Scottish origin, but it can be reasonably maintained that they are derived in no inconsiderable measure from those national (Scottish) universities which have been fortresses of the culture of the people."⁵³

⁴⁹Falconer, R. A., Inaugural Address, p. 13.

⁵⁰For example, in 1928 and 1930 Falconer delivered a paper to the Royal Society of Canada on English and American influences on Canadian tertiary education. Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions, Third Series, Vol. 22 (ii), Ottawa, 1928, pps. 33-48; Vol. 24, 1930, pps. 23-38.

⁵¹Falconer, R. A., Scottish Influence in the Higher Education of Canada in Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions, Third Series Vol. 21, Ottawa, 1927, p. 19.

⁵²Falconer, Scottish Influence in the Higher Education of Canada, p. 11.

⁵³Falconer, Scottish Influence in the Higher Education of Canada, p. 20.

It is clear that the historic educational links between Canada and Scotland were, for Falconer, just one aspect of broader personal associations and shared moral values which bound together diverse communities and individuals within the wider framework of the British Empire. "Born in one corner of the Empire," his biographer Greenlee observes, "he had been raised in another, and educated in the mother country itself. In Nova Scotia, Trinidad and Edinburgh, the empire had been described to him not merely as a manifestation of power but also as a moral force."⁵⁴ Given his background, therefore, it is not surprising that he was attracted to the Round Table movement which, by 1911, was seeking to recruit a range of influential contacts in Canada and elsewhere throughout the Empire.⁵⁵ Thus, when Lionel Curtis, one of the prime supporters of, and propagandists for, the Round Table movement visited Canada in 1911, he met leading business, political and academic figures, including Falconer.⁵⁶

Falconer's views on promoting imperial understanding were given a boost when he was invited to attend the 1912 Congress of the Universities of the Empire in London. He, and H. M. Tory of the University of Alberta, were subsequently elected as the Canadian representatives on the Executive of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, which Falconer used as a forum to promote the case for greater Canadian access to British post-graduate study programmes. At the same time, he kept in regular touch with British contacts, such as James Seth, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University,

⁵⁴Greenlee, J.G., *Sir Robert Falconer*, p.176.

⁵⁵The Round Table movement was established in 1909 by a group of young men - "the Kindergarten" - who had served under Milner in South Africa with the objective of encouraging imperial unity and studying the problems of empire. Largely middle class in membership, the movement sought to achieve its objectives through individuals who were in a position to influence public opinion like Falconer, and his colleagues George Wrong and Edward Kylie of the University of Toronto's History Department. Kendle, J. F., *The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1975, p. 305. Eayrs, J., *The Round Table Movement in Canada, 1909-1920*, in *Canadian Historical Review*, Toronto, Toronto University Press, Vol. 38, 1957, p. 2.

⁵⁶Kendel, *Round Table Movement*, p.103.

who talent-scouted for him for well qualified teaching staff for the University of Toronto.⁵⁷

It was the outbreak of the First World War which prompted him to go further in articulating his views on imperial unity and his vision for its future. Falconer saw the British Empire bound together by common respect for justice and shared cultural values. "Though the Empire has come into being by an unpremeditated process, it is to Britain a token of her essential justice that issuing from this home, spring, and source a spirit has interpenetrated the diverse parts and made them one. The Empire is not run by machinery. It is a body politic."⁵⁸ It was also a moral force. "It is a moral empire, united for the maintenance of international law, liberty, human well-being."⁵⁹ Stemming from a British view of the world which is "fundamentally our own also", Falconer believed that imperial conviction bound together Britons at home and abroad. "Out of the depths of our being our ideals come into the light and we instinctively know that what we have inherited are really British qualities." These qualities were not restricted to Canada. "The British mind," Falconer believed, "is also found in other overseas Dominions, though in each it has taken on a local tone."⁶⁰

If Robert Falconer represents one strain of thought amongst those "colonials" who studied at Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914, few can have excelled him in terms of acknowledging his intellectual debt to Edinburgh University, nor perhaps in his contribution to tertiary education in Canada or his championship of the imperial cause. He presented a perspective of Empire that was born out of his experience and events at the high tide of British imperialism. Whilst warmly championing Canadian national sentiment, he saw the constituent parts of the Empire subsumed in their cultural and geographic diversity into a great moral force for good. More importantly, he

⁵⁷Greenlee, *Sir Robert Falconer*, pps. 182,184-86.

⁵⁸Falconer, R. A., *1776 and 1914, A Contrast in British Colonial Action* in Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, Vol. 12, (1918), p. 242.

⁵⁹Falconer, R. A., *A New Imperial Allegiance* in *University Magazine*, Toronto, University of Toronto, Vol. 15, (1916), p.17.

⁶⁰Falconer, *A New Imperial Allegiance*, p. 20.

believed it would be a grouping that would preserve and refine not a few of the insights, skills and values he had espoused as a student at Edinburgh University in the late 1880s.

It is, of course, debatable to what extent his time as a student at Edinburgh University directly influenced his views in later life. Certainly, the academic ethos and intellectual temperament of the University of Edinburgh were obviously important to him and shaped much of his thinking. He made frequent reference to the influence his *Alma Mater* had upon him in the context of his widespread involvement in Canadian and imperial educational affairs. "My student days in Edinburgh," he wrote in 1937, "were at the height of the Victorian Age. The spirit of the period was confident, its mind clear, its character stable. We did not realise that we were standing on the verge of a new world. But the personalities who moulded my thought and the student companions of my youth would stand unabashed alongside those who have succeeded them."⁶¹

Conclusion

Building on long established contacts with Scottish communities on the eastern seaboard and hinterland of North America, Edinburgh University students graduating between 1880 and 1914 took up a variety of appointments in Canada and the United States. However, unlike other regions considered earlier, Medical graduates did not predominate, probably because of the emergence of growing numbers of locally trained medical practitioners. The main area of employment for Edinburgh graduates of the period was in higher education.

The availability of appointments in higher education appears to have arisen, firstly, because of the academic standing of an Edinburgh Degree and, secondly, as a result of the expansion of university education in North America during this period. Academics working in the region taught across a range of disciplines. In many cases these individuals were US or Canadian

⁶¹Falconer, *In Edinburgh Fifty Years Ago*, p. 454.

citizens who had received part, or all, of their education at Edinburgh University and brought back with them Edinburgh perspectives on such disciplines as Medicine or Natural Philosophy. In one sense, Edinburgh trained academics teaching in Canadian and US universities can be characterised as part of the then ongoing Scottish educational influence in North America.

Scottish institutional models, and that of the University of Edinburgh in particular, had been successfully adapted in both Canada and the United States. In the case of the Canadian universities in particular, this shared educational philosophy, and other interests in common, even resulted in informal consultation on matters such as academic appointments. There was also a degree of cross-fertilisation with some academics teaching for extended periods in both Britain and Canada. The career of Robert Falconer is one example of the wider influence Edinburgh University could have on the evolving educational system in North America. It also demonstrates how ideas of Empire flourished on both sides of the Atlantic and were expressed in a Canadian context.

Chapter Ten - Other Overseas Connections.

In addition to finding employment overseas in traditional areas of Scottish emigration, such as Canada, New Zealand or the growing Empire, Edinburgh graduates of the period also found opportunities in other parts of the world which are now considered.

Europe

Despite its relative geographic proximity to Scotland, mainland Europe provided only a very small number of employment and service positions for Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914. Although few graduates went to live and work in Europe, however, Edinburgh University had a strong European connection between 1880 and 1914, derived in part from its historic involvement in the wider European academic community of scholarship. Evidence for this is plentiful. For example, as noted in Chapter Three, a significant number of European academics and divines received honorary degrees from the University of Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914. Contact with European tertiary institutions was also fostered at a more practical level. To take one example, from 1902 the institution of the *Lecteurs d'Anglais* allowed Edinburgh University students to acquire knowledge of the French language from French citizens and teaching experience at universities in France.¹ Broader contact with Europe was also encouraged through representation of the University at European academic events, already discussed, such as in 1884 when Professor Crum Brown attended the fiftieth anniversary of the University of Berne in Switzerland.²

In general, European appointments followed the usual Edinburgh pattern. Table 10(a) shows that, of the 65 students graduating between 1880 and 1914 who then went to Europe, nearly 50% had a degree in Medicine and practised on the continent. Educational posts accounted for a further 30% of appointments. The majority of students who took up employment in mainland

¹UEJ, Vol 8, (1936 -37), p.190.

²University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (Da31.5), College Minutes, (Minutes of Senatus), Meeting of 27 June 1884, Vol. 8, p.166.

Europe had been born there.³ As noted in Chapter Two, many students from Europe appear to have attended Edinburgh University for limited periods only, possibly to gain wider cultural exposure, or to improve language skills.⁴

Table 10(a) - Europe

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	-	1	-	5	-	-	1	-	7
1885-89	1	-	3	8	-	-	1	1	14
1890-94	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	-	6
1895-99	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	1	5
1900-04	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	7
1905-09	-	-	6	4	-	-	2	1	13
1910-14	-	-	5	6	-	-	2	-	13
Total	1	2	19	32	0	0	8	3	65

Medical graduates practising in Europe did so in a variety of locations. Amongst the British-born, S. W. Smith (MBCM 1881), for example, was in Odessa, A. H. Vassie (MBCM 1886) in Rome, L. N. Robinson (MBCM 1893) in Paris, and I. Macdonald (MBCM 1895) at Huelva in Spain, where he worked for Rio Tinto Mines.⁵ Other graduates, who came originally from Europe, such as J. E. Brandt (MBCM 1890, MD 1893) from Germany, N. C. R. Hansen (MBChB 1910) from Denmark, and Anna Chose (MBChB 1911), Edinburgh's first female graduate in Medicine from Russia, returned home after completing their studies.⁶

Most of the other Edinburgh University graduates of the period who went to the European mainland were either teachers or pastors. For example, M. P. Rooseboom (MA 1903, D.Litt 1909) lectured in The Hague, W. R. W. Gardner (MA 1884) was Minister of the Free Church in Berlin and J. H. Cattanach (MA 1899) Minister at the Scots Kirk in Paris.⁷ A very few graduates found opportunities in business, such as H. C. McElderry (BSc 1906), who worked for a land development company in Greece and D. D. Lawson (MA 1892), who was

³See Chapter Five, Tables 5(f) and 5(h).

⁴See Chapter Two, Tables 2(g) and 2(h).

⁵GCR 1925/13304; GCR 1897/7432; GCR 1908/7919; GCR 1908/5330.

⁶GCR 1901/804; GCR 1910/3905; GCR 1920/1966.

⁷GCR 1911/8660; GCR 1897/2394; GCR 1909/1504.

superintendent of an india rubber factory in France.⁸ Some students from Europe who returned home after graduation practised the professional and scientific skills they had acquired at Edinburgh University. Examples include two engineers, E. G. Diacoff (BSc 1914) from Bulgaria and P. Yakovlev (BSc 1910) from Warsaw.⁹

The Middle East

As noted in Table 10(b) below, very few Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 went to work in the Middle East. Of those who did, nearly 75% were Medical graduates. Many of them, such as H. M. Chasseaud (MBCM 1890) and Y. A. Djedizan (MBCbB 1899), came originally from the region.¹⁰

Table 10(b) - The Middle East

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	6
1885-89	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
1890-94	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	5
1895-99	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4
1900-04	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
1905-09	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
1910-14	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	-	6
Total	0	3	1	19	1	0	2	0	26

Of the others who went to the Middle East between 1880 and 1914, most were missionaries, or teachers. They included A. Paterson (MBCM 1885), a Medical missionary in Aden and V. K. Rushdoonian (MA 1912) who was a teacher at the American Mission in Van in eastern Turkey.¹¹ In Constantinople, (Istanbul) the Hebrew scholar, D. M. Kay, (BD 1893), served as Head of the

⁸GCR 1912/6039: GCR 1901/4199.

⁹GCR 1920/2793: GCR 1920/13083.

¹⁰GCR 1901/1295: GCR 1909/2374.

¹¹GCR 1897/5537: GCR 1920/10355: Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, 1987 Correspondence file. Rushdoonian's address is given in the General Council Registers as "Vau". This is probably a spelling error as the American Board of Commissioner's for Foreign Missions had a mission station at Van. See World Missionary Conference, Statistical atlas of Christian missions: containing a directory of missionary societies..... an index of mission stations and a series of specially prepared maps of mission fields. Edinburgh, John Bartholomew & Co., 1910, Plate 14.

Church of Scotland Mission from 1898 to 1902, whilst F. W. Anderson (MA 1887) was Minister of the Evangelical United Church at Pera in the suburbs of the city.¹²

The Caribbean and Central America

Some 90% of Edinburgh University graduates taking up employment in the Caribbean and Central America between 1880 and 1914 were graduates in Medicine, and nearly all of them had been born in the area.¹³ Details are given in Table 10(c).

Table 10(c) - The Caribbean and Central America

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	1	2	-	17	-	1	-	-	21
1885-89	-	-	-	20	1	-	-	-	21
1890-94	1	-	-	20	-	-	2	-	23
1895-99	-	-	-	24	-	-	1	-	25
1900-04	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	25
1905-09	-	-	1	12	-	-	2	-	15
1910-14	-	-	1	15	-	-	-	-	16
Total	2	2	2	133	1	1	5	0	146

Edinburgh Medical graduates returning to the region normally practised in their home or adjacent colonial territories. For example, L. Gifford (MBCM 1882) returned to Jamaica, J. R. Dickson (MBCM 1889, BSc 1909) to Tobago, H. L. S. D. Belasco (MBChB 1898) to British Guiana and A. A. Ollivierre (MBChB 1905) to Trinidad.¹⁴ Government service, or commercial employment, provided limited opportunities for graduates from Britain and elsewhere. H. B. Dodds (MBChB 1900) was Medical Officer in St. Vincent whilst C. E. S. Mitchell (MBChB 1905) served in the Colonial Medical Service in British Guiana.¹⁵ S. R. Sibbald (MBChB 1900, MD 1905) was employed as a surgeon by the Surinam Gold Concessions. He wrote his MD thesis on the form of Beri

¹²GCR 1901/3913; UEJ, Vol 4, (1930-31), p. 76. Kay was subsequently appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at St. Andrews University in 1902. GCR 1897/134. (Anderson).

¹³See Chapter Five, Table 5(e). Of the 146 graduates taking up employment in the Caribbean and Central America between 1880 and 1914, 15 had been born in Britain.

¹⁴GCR 1995/2443; GCR 1920/2834; GCR 1908/577; GCR 1911/7641; GCR 1911/7641.

¹⁵GCR 1911/2446; UEJ, Vol. 20 (1961-62), p. 83.

Beri found in the interior of Dutch Guiana.¹⁶

Non-medical job positions were few and far between. They were mainly facilitated by the structures directly and indirectly arising from imperial administration. Examples include W. Nicoll (LLB 1882), who was a Judge in British Guiana and J. H. Duff (MA 1906) an Inspector of Schools in Jamaica.¹⁷ In the field of religion, S. B. Blean (MA 1883) and J. S. Wilson (MA 1880) were, respectively, Minister of the Congregational Church in Demerara and Minister of the Scotch Church in Trinidad.¹⁸ Edinburgh Science graduates found a small number of openings in work related to their studies and to the economic development of the region. For example, S. F. Ashby (BSc 1897) was a Chemist at the Sugar Experimentation Station in Jamaica and E. Essed (BSc 1907) a Botanist in Dutch Guiana.¹⁹

South America

Fernandez has suggested that whilst the number of Scots going to Latin America does not compare with the numbers that went to India, North America and Australasia, “there are visible signs of a significant Scottish presence in Latin America, even during the period when the sub-continent was still under the aegis of Spain and Portugal.”²⁰ The numbers were indeed very small, yet the extent to which Scots had established themselves in Latin America is reflected in the number of students who appear mainly to have come from Scottish settler family backgrounds.²¹

Table 10(d) shows that only a very small number of students graduating from Edinburgh University between 1880 and 1914 went to South America.

¹⁶GCR 1911/9186.

¹⁷GCR 1897/5374; GCR 1912/2656.

¹⁸GCR 1895/561; GCR 1897/7913.

¹⁹GCR 1908/319; GCR 1912/2895.

²⁰Fernandez, M. A., *The Scots in Latin America: A Survey* in Cage, R. A. (Ed.), *The Scots Abroad*, London, Croom Helm, 1985, pps. 220 and 268.

²¹See Chapter Five, Tables 5(f) and 5(h). Of the 23 students graduating between 1880 and 1914 who went to South America, 16 had been born there.

Table 10(d) - South America

Year	BUS	CHR	EDU	MED	MIL	PUB	SCI	NVR	Total
1880-84	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	4
1885-89	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	-	6
1890-94	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
1895-99	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
1900-04	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
1905-09	-	1	-	5	-	-	2	-	8
1910-14	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	0	2	1	17	0	1	2	0	23

Examples include C. A. McLean (MBCM 1883) from Uruguay, J. C. Atkinson (MBCM 1894, MD 1901) from Chile and W. L. L. Alston (MBChB 1906) from Argentina.²² Of the other Edinburgh graduates going to South America during this period, most appear to have been attracted to the more recent Scottish or foreign communities. These were developing rapidly, particularly in Argentina and, to a lesser extent, in Chile, as a result of the growth of “informal empire”, investments and business enterprise in this period.²³ The Edinburgh graduates who went there sought to meet the spiritual, educational, and medical needs of these communities. For example, W. B. Inglis (MA 1880) was Minister of the Free Church at Valparaiso, the port of Santiago. In Buenos Aires J. W. Fleming (BD 1909) was Minister of the Church of Scotland, A. W. Hutton (MA 1881), Rector of the English High School and D. W. Sibbald (MBChB 1905) was at the British Hospital.²⁴

Conclusion

The extent to which Edinburgh University graduates of the period were dispersed throughout Europe, the Middle East, the Caribbean and Central and South America makes it difficult to identify any pattern to their employment. In the case of Europe, given that only a small number of British graduates obtained employment on the continent, one could suggest that there were

²²GCR 1897/4508; GCR 1901/273; GCR 1912/190.

²³Hennessy, A., *Argentines, Anglo-Argentines and Others* in, A. and King, J., *The Land That England Lost*, London, British Academic Press, 1992, p. 20.

²⁴GCR 1901/3664; GCR 1920/3605; GCR 1920/489; GCR 1911/9182.

more accessible opportunities more readily available within an English speaking environment elsewhere throughout the Empire. Yet, clearly, having an Edinburgh Medical Degree was a passport to opportunities not just in the formal Empire but elsewhere as well open to more than just anglophones. Ranging from Odessa to Valparaiso, the diversity of the geographic backgrounds of graduates working in the regions considered above makes it difficult to assess what attracted them to Edinburgh University in the first place. The academic standing of Edinburgh University was obviously considerable. Its reputation clearly extended to the traditional communities of Scottish expatriates or settlers and may have extended to those living in areas with few direct family connections with Edinburgh.

Chapter Eleven - Conclusion.

Four major factors shaped Edinburgh University's relationship with the British Empire and deepened its involvement in imperial affairs between 1880 and 1914. The first was the growth in overseas student numbers. Increasing numbers of students from abroad came to study at Edinburgh University, reinforcing existing connections with the settlement colonies and India, and opening up new ones with Africa and other areas of Asia as Britain sought new power and influence in these regions. The large number of Edinburgh graduates finding employment or service opportunities throughout the Empire was the second factor. This focused attention on the benefits to the individual and the institution arising from imperial engagement and the importance of adapting the curriculum to make it more sensitive to the needs of Empire. The third factor was the vocational challenge to ensure that Edinburgh University's position as a leading provider of educated manpower relevant for the Empire was recognised and sustained, often in the face of competing claims from other Scottish and British tertiary institutions. The last factor was the promotion through Edinburgh's graduates abroad, particularly within the Empire, of the ideas and values which the institution nurtured. These Edinburgh derived perceptions of Empire often sought to support or justify British aspirations and ambitions in broad terms but also to provide an elevated vision of imperial commitment, mission and service.

As noted in Chapter One, Edinburgh University was well placed to contribute to, and benefit from, the demands and opportunities which Empire brought. In terms of student numbers, it was the largest Scottish University and had led the way in supporting government proposals for administrative and curricular reform. Freed from the fetters of Town Council control, and empowered by its earlier and close associations with the spread of the Scottish Enlightenment, the University's international standing grew, particularly in Medicine. This ensured it continued to attract staff of the highest calibre. It also proved a popular choice for students from overseas, quite a number of them the children of Scottish expatriates and settlers who had family and other

connections with Edinburgh and the Lothians. The absence of opportunities in higher education in India, and in many of the settlement colonies, was another factor which encouraged overseas born students to return “home” for higher education. Berry’s assertion that, in the 1880s Edinburgh was “the most cosmopolitan university in the world”, may have been something of an overstatement, but it certainly indicates the extent to which the student community had been internationalised in this period.¹ Overseas undergraduates came from diverse backgrounds and cultures, but their association with the Empire, where nearly 90% of them had been born, was a common bond.

The nature and scope of the University’s established connections with the Empire enabled it to play a leading role in educating students from overseas and to profit from the outcome of imperial engagement. This happened in a formative and climactic period when the British Empire was reaching its farthest geographic extent. Not only did the acquisition of new territory provide access to raw materials and new markets, but it also opened up new employment opportunities for British personnel, including graduates of the University of Edinburgh. Informal areas of British influence furnished work and service openings for Edinburgh graduates too. The extent to which the Empire was of importance in this period in providing appointments cannot be overstated. As we have seen earlier, nearly 90% of Edinburgh students graduating between 1880 and 1914 who went overseas took up residence somewhere in the Empire.²

The University responded positively to the demands posed by the growth in overseas student numbers and the new opportunities arising from the expansion of British interests abroad. It adapted its entry requirements to reflect the language abilities of those from abroad and exempted overseas students from course work of a comparable standard completed satisfactorily

¹Berry, R. J. A., *Chance and Circumstance*, Typescript autobiography, University of Edinburgh, University Archives, (DK 2.36.), Undated, (probably 1952), pps. 24-25.

²See Chapter Five, Table 5(c).

abroad. The growth in student numbers also contributed to the development of the curriculum in nearly all disciplines. In some cases, such as Tropical Medicine, the changes introduced were designed specifically to meet the needs of those who planned to pursue a career overseas. In others, such as Agriculture or Forestry, the course content was intended to have international application and was almost always relevant to the needs of a growing Empire. Awareness of the Empire was further heightened by the introduction of courses in subjects such as [World] Geography (1908) and [Colonial and Indian] History (1912). Moreover, the University's close involvement with the Empire was strengthened by scholarships funded by Colonial Governments, and individuals, which enabled students from abroad to come to study in Edinburgh.

The range of disciplines taught at Edinburgh between 1880 and 1914 clearly met the higher educational needs of communities throughout the Empire and elsewhere overseas. However, there was considerable regional variation in the number of students studying different disciplines. From the settlement colonies of Australasia and Southern Africa, students came mainly to study Medicine because instruction locally could not meet the demand, or was non-existent. Although large numbers of students from the Indian subcontinent and elsewhere in Asia also came to Edinburgh University to study Medicine, a substantial group of them studied in the Faculty of Arts, and in the Faculty of Science, to obtain qualifications which facilitated commercial or professional employment in that region.

As the importance of Edinburgh's role in imperial education increased, the University sought to raise its profile on Empire-related issues which were relevant either to its curriculum, or the interests of the growing number of its graduates overseas. Of course, the University had long been associated with matters of imperial concern. As discussed in Chapter Three, the 1884 Tercentenary celebrations had been showcased to highlight, not just the University's antiquity, but its contribution to, and involvement with, the Empire. As British power and influence moved towards its apogee at the end of

the nineteenth century, Edinburgh University's involvement with the Empire quickened. The range of issues with which the University became involved was extensive. Matters of concern to the University overseas were pursued actively with Colonial Administrations, the Colonial Office, and British Government Departments, as well as with institutions and individuals at home and abroad. Liaison and contact at the institutional level was reinforced by the award of Honorary Degrees to prominent people best able to serve the interests of the University and its graduates throughout the Empire.

Much of the University's broad engagement with the Empire was driven by concerns to secure overseas employment for its graduates. Edinburgh graduates had long found appointments and opportunities 'furth o' Scotland', but the formal and informal Empire offered wider scope for fame, fortune or service abroad. Whilst some two-thirds of those going abroad after graduation were returning "home" to one of the settlement colonies or India, the Empire provided other opportunities in areas being opened up to British influence and control. Significantly, over half of the students graduating between 1910 and 1914 who went overseas found employment in parts of the non-western world where British interests were then ascendant.³

There were particular organisations and institutions spawned by a growing formal and informal Empire which facilitated graduate employment. As we have seen, many graduates of the period served in the Indian Medical Service, the Royal Army Medical Corps, the Indian Civil Service, the West African Medical Service and the administrative and professional branches of what later became the Colonial Service. Graduates also obtained appointments in colonial institutions as diverse as the Irrigation Commission in New South Wales or the Calcutta Museum. So widespread was British influence abroad that there were even opportunities on the fringes of Empire in similar organisations such as the (Chinese) Imperial Maritime Customs.⁴

³See Chapter Five, Table 5(d).

⁴The Student, 11 February 1904, p. 290; GCR 1896/5020.

Of all Edinburgh's graduates, it was those with Degrees in Medicine who dominated the take-up of overseas appointments between 1880 and 1914. But their career patterns and influence varied between regions. In the settlement colonies of Australasia and Southern Africa, Edinburgh graduates played a significant role in the delivery of a range of medical services similar to those required at home. In developing parts of the Empire, and in areas of informal Empire, however, their role appears to have been much broader, as they faced the daunting problems posed by the identification and treatment of disease more commonly found in the tropical and sub-tropical world. And in almost all cases, they were, and were seen to be, influential members of society whose interests extended beyond Medicine. Many became involved in politics and other issues of concern to their local communities.

Graduates of other disciplines also worked overseas. As we have seen, the appointments and service opportunities they secured are characterised by wide employment and geographic diversity. In most cases, they too become influential members of the communities in which they lived. Whether as academics, journalists, teachers or missionaries, they were able to mould and influence opinion, not just on matters relating to their profession or calling, but in respect of the whole process of imperial engagement which facilitated their career overseas in the first place.

Edinburgh graduates played a key role in shaping the structure and content of tertiary education throughout the Empire and in the United States of America. In nearly every case they sought to replicate the University of Edinburgh's curriculum content and teaching methodology. The range of subjects taught by Edinburgh graduates overseas was extensive and their impact on the development of tertiary education abroad far out of proportion to their numbers. This can be best illustrated by reference to New Zealand. Between the establishment of the Otago Medical School in 1883 and the retirement of Sir Francis Gordon Bell in 1952, every Medical Doctor who graduated in New Zealand had been taught by at least one (and in most cases more than one)

Edinburgh trained Medical graduate.⁵

By 1914 Edinburgh University had clearly become an important centre from which knowledge, cultural values and ideas of Empire were transmitted overseas. In many regions, Edinburgh graduates were the heralds of Listerian medical practice and in the vanguard of imparting new insights in the humanities and scientific research. In areas such as school educational development, and missionary endeavour, the University's cultural values were also disseminated across the Empire. Perhaps not consciously, but as part of this process, ideas of Empire derived from the corporate life of the University were woven into the fabric of the communities and societies with which the University and its graduates were formally and informally engaged.

During the period, the Principals of the University, particularly Grant and Muir, played an important role in setting the imperial tenor of the institution and giving the University a focus on the Empire. They sought to present to students and graduates the wider significance of the Empire at both a strategic and personal level. In this regard, they were assisted by a series of Rectors who, whatever their political complexion, acknowledged the importance of Britain's imperial role and the employment and other opportunities Empire brought. However, in their collective perspective of imperial relationships, a peculiar contradiction emerges. Whilst much of the emphasis on domestic undergraduate recruitment and training was on grooming "lads o' pairts" whose hard work and efforts at social self-improvement were lauded, many students from overseas appear to have come from wealthy backgrounds and were already securely established in society. Indeed, for Principal Muir at least, the objective there was rather to attract to Edinburgh students whose wealth and social status would add lustre to the University's reputation. As David Cannadine has observed recently in a more general context "the British Empire was first and foremost a class act, where individual social ordering

⁵Wright-St. Clair, R. E., *The Edinburgh influence on New Zealand medicine in Proceedings of the XXIII International Congress of the History of Medicine*, 2 Vols., London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1974, Vol.1. p. 752.

often took precedence over collective racial othering.”⁶

Whatever their background, all students were influenced by their contacts and many then sought a career overseas. This was the result, not just of gaining relevant academic skills, but of the culture imbibed through the institutional framework of lectures, meetings, student societies and related organisations. Regular *ad hoc* lectures were delivered on matters of imperial interest. The undergraduate community at Edinburgh spawned student associations and societies whose interests not infrequently revolved around matters of interest to, or arising from, the Empire. Debates at the University Union on matters relating to the Empire were echoed at meetings of regional associations of overseas students where imperial issues were regularly discussed.⁷

The ideas of Empire which the ethos of the University invoked were readily articulated by students and staff. Empire had a strong emotional and practical appeal, particularly when British interests were seen to be challenged, or its perceived civilising mission thwarted. With the British enclave in Peking (Beijing) threatened at the height of the Boxer rising in 1900, *The Student* commented that “the key of it all lies in the hands of the Foreign powers, and mainly in Great Britain ... The rebellion of the Boxers is not local or even entirely internal. It is directed against the foreigners - they are by the very nature of the case forced to intervene. Great Britain must take bolder steps than she has taken for many years past. There are engineers, missionaries, merchants of every nationality in the greatest peril in China. They are the pioneers of civilisation. They represent all that is noblest in Western life. They are fighting for a good cause.”⁸

Clearly, the emotional pull of imperial ideas was considerable. For many

⁶Cannadine, D., *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, London, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2001, p.10.

⁷For example the University Union Debate on 20 December 1899 was on the motion that the British occupation of India, unless accompanied by a large measure of representative government, was unjustifiable. The motion was defeated. *The Student*, 21 December 1899, p. 187.

⁸*The Student*, 7 June 1900, pps. 26-27

graduates who went overseas between 1880 and 1914, Empire was about encouraging “civilisation”, developing trade and protecting those who could not protect themselves against hostile forces - excluding the British. They saw Britain as being called to a special role in the world and as Edinburgh University equipping them with the knowledge and skills to help achieve imperial objectives. It was also, in Robert Falconer’s words, “a moral empire, united for the maintenance of international law, liberty, human well-being.”⁹ Not for the first (or last) time, imperial expansion was often justified as being welcomed by those most directly affected by it. Nor was it free of contemporary racial stereotyping. “We have little opportunity of getting to talk with Dutch colonists here,” a correspondent of *The Student* wrote during the Boer War, “but the few I have spoken to have expressed their opinion that permanent peace and prosperity is only possible with the whole of South Africa under the British flag. The coloured people all express great hatred for the Boers and love for us. Possibly their views are not worth a great deal, and may vary according to circumstances, but I think they are in the main genuine. The only man I have met grumbling at British rule was a Jew dealer who had been a policeman in Johannesburg since the time of the Raid, and regretted he could no longer get the blackmail and loot that was possible under the old regime.”¹⁰

But the University was broad enough to encompass critics as well as proponents of Empire. Britain’s imperial role brokered a critical response especially from some groups of overseas students. The Africans and Indians particularly did not always see the Empire through the same prism as many of their colonial and domestic colleagues. Although having to adapt to the existing political and imperial structures of the day, it is clear that, for some overseas students, their time at Edinburgh University heightened their local, even nationalist, consciousness and awareness of some of the inequalities and pejorative racial stereotyping that Empire brought.

⁹Falconer, R. A., *A New Imperial Allegiance* in *University Magazine*, Toronto, University of Toronto, Vol. 15 (1916), p. 17.

¹⁰*The Student*, 7 June 1900, pps. 21-22.

Between 1880 and 1914 Edinburgh University's role overseas is thus one of response to opportunities presented by imperial expansion and adaptation to the needs of a new era. This study has shown that, between 1880 and 1914, Edinburgh University had considerable influence outside the British Isles. The analysis of the composition of the student community between 1880 and 1914 points to a substantial increase in the number of foreign students in the years up to 1914. If this trend was sustained after 1918 (as it appears to have done), it would be worth exploring the impact this had on the University in the changed intellectual and political climate of the twenties and thirties. It would also be of particular interest to understand the post 1918 role of Edinburgh graduates in different professions overseas and in the emergent Colonial Service. More importantly, an examination of how ideas of Empire, espoused by the University and its graduates between 1880 and 1914, changed in response to the perceptions and sensitivities of a different era would broaden our understanding of the relationship between the University and the wider world.

The significance of Edinburgh University's involvement with the Empire between 1880 and 1914 also needs to be viewed in its wider Scottish and British context. Was the Edinburgh University experience of Empire replicated by the other ancient Scottish Universities? Was the collective Scottish tertiary level involvement with the Empire similar to, or different from, that of universities elsewhere in Britain? Was there any distinctive Scottish strain in the knowledge, culture and ideas of Empire that Edinburgh and the other Scottish universities transmitted overseas? These are questions that can only be answered by further research.

At the Tercentenary celebrations in 1884 Principal Grant and his colleagues touched on Edinburgh University's imperial ambitions. Fifty years later, Principal Holland broadcast a "World-Message" to "our 19,000 widely scattered graduates" on the BBC.¹¹ "More changes have occurred in this half

¹¹Holland, Sir T., *World-Message broadcasted by Principal Sir Thomas Holland in University of Edinburgh Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, 1583-1933*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1933, pps. 37-40.

century than in the six which preceded it," he suggested. "Whilst we meet at Edinburgh to review the history of the University and to welcome our friends, similar parties of Edinburgh graduates are being held throughout the Empire." They met at Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Patna in India; at Rangoon in Burma; at Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney in Australia; at Auckland, Dunedin and Nelson in New Zealand; at Edmonton, Montreal, Saskatoon and Winnipeg in Canada; at Alice, Cape Town and Johannesburg in South Africa; at Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia; at Livingstonia in British Central Africa; at Singapore in Malaya; and at Hong Kong in China.¹² Whatever the location, the celebrations were surely a reflection on how much more central a place the Empire had come to assume in the minds of the University and its graduates.

¹²University of Edinburgh, *Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary. 1583-1933*, pps. 66-70.

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A Note on statistics.

(1) Categories of Student

Matriculates are classified in one of three categories, namely, *Settlers*, *Expatriates* or *Foreigners*.

(a) *Settlers*

Unless the evidence is to the contrary, students coming from settlement British colonies in the AUS, CAN, SAF and CCA regions are treated as the children of *Settlers*, whether they were of British or other descent, such as the Dutch in Cape Colony, or the French in Canada.

(b) *Expatriates*

Expatriates is used as a term to describe the children of British born individuals working overseas. The parents of such students would normally return to the British Isles on completion of their employment. They generally worked in the ASA, IND and RAF regions.

(c) *Foreign*

Students of non British descent - even those living in British colonies - are classified as *Foreign* if they were born in the ASA, EUR, IND, MEA, RAF or SAM regions. Students of British descent born in the USA are also classified as *Foreign*. The available data, and a surname analysis, have been used to assess whether a student should be considered as *Foreign*. Clearly, Indians with surnames such as Chatterji and Singh, or Japanese surnamed Narakuwa or Kurakane, fall into this category, but each case has had to be decided on an individual basis. Surnames do not provide an incontestable indication of place of origin, or national status, but it is probable that they can be used - sensitively - to give a fairly accurate indication of the numbers of matriculates and graduates in this category.

(2) Degrees

Where students took a number of Degrees, only one Degree arising in the period between 1880 and 1914 has been counted in order to avoid double (and in some cases treble) counting. In line with the procedures followed by the compilers of the General Council Registers, the first Degree awarded by the University to an individual has been used, but with two exceptions. Where a student's first Degree was awarded by the University prior to 1880, I have used, as appropriate, the second or third Degree awarded by the University after 1880. Many Medical students often graduated MA before commencing their medical studies, or MD after completing their MBCM or MBChB. I have

normally used the MBCM, MBChB or MD Degrees, rather than the MA Degree, as the former better serves to indicate the career focus of the individual involved.

I have not counted Degrees awarded *honoris causa* other than in the context of the analysis provided in Chapter Three.

(3) Academic Year

The Academic Year (*Annus Academicus*), which, from October 1884, ran from 1 October in any year to 30 September the following year, has been used in relation to student matriculations. The calendar year, viz January to December, has been used in respect of graduations.

(4) “Overseas Connection”

A broad definition has been employed in determining whether matriculates and graduates had a connection with a location outside the British Isles.

(a) *Matriculates*

Matriculates have been categorised as having an overseas connection if they were born outside the British Isles, or appeared to have a substantive connection with a country or territory overseas through, for example, parental employment.

I have classified students as coming from the Non-Western world if they were born, or lived in, the IND, ASA, RAF, MEA and CCA regions.

(b) *Graduates*

Graduates born outside the British Isles have been categorised as having an overseas connection irrespective of whether they returned to their country of origin, went elsewhere overseas, or took up employment in the British Isles.

Graduates born in the British Isles have been categorised as having an overseas connection if they went overseas for employment irrespective of how long that period was - in most cases it was for an extended period, sometimes permanently. For graduates serving in the British or associated Armed Forces, an overseas connection has been assumed, given the likelihood of overseas deployment, unless this is contradicted by the available information.

(5) Overseas Employment

In assessing the number of graduates who found employment overseas, I have counted only those individuals in respect of whom there is a clear indication

that they found work or service opportunities abroad. I have not counted overseas born graduates who took up employment in the British Isles.

(6) Accuracy of the Data

Percentage figures used in the text have normally been rounded up or down to the nearest decimal point as appropriate.

Every effort has been made to ensure that the data used to compile the statistics is accurate. However, some inconsistencies and mistakes are inevitable in an undertaking which has involved the manual examination of some 250,000 individual matriculation and graduation records and General Council entries. The author wishes to emphasise that any errors in this regard are entirely his responsibility.