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The Place of the University in Scottish History

"Vivere est Scire" (motto)

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But whilst our method of arrangement has been chronological, the essay as a whole is less a historical one, than a philosophical one on the abstract question. As Montalembert in a chapter on the English Schools in his famous "L'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre" dealt more with their influence on the national life than with their inner history so here we have discussed not so much the internal affairs of the Northern Universities as the wider theme of their influence and place in Scottish history.

Finally, it may be noted that the nature of this essay is, of course, eclectic, as such an inquiry must necessarily be. "Facts" says a writer, "are the common property of all who will seek them"; but we would here claim originality both in the choice of them and the treatment of the inferences they suggest, as well as in the method and style of their narration.

With these brief prefatory remarks then, this essay is sent forth as an effort which the writer, although intensely conscious of great diffidence inthe handling of so intricate and complex a subject, yet hopes may realize, at least in some slightness, the purpose and intention of the Lord Rector's Essay.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory: The Birth and Rise of Universities.

It cannot be insisted on often enough, that to understand clearly any period of history, it is not sufficient to begin with that period and to plunge, as it were, in medias res. We cannot comprehend any epoch, much less anticipate intelligently any that lie in futurity except by a retrospect - a glancing backwards over the field that lies behind us. Our retrospect may be brief, and our account very condensed so long indeed as our view be clear. Before approaching then, the Scottish Universities, we should see how universities themselves arose, and in so doing we shall be very terse, not losing sight of the fact that it is with the Scottish Universities that we are chiefly concerned and making our introductory field as small as is compatible with its importance. Professor Laurie[1] in speaking of the ancient Salernitan School and the early University of Naples has said:- "If we are rightly to understand university history we must not grudge careful attention to the rise of institutions so famous"; and with this we are bound to coincide.

We see first in tracing these early beginnings that the spirit and essence of a university may be present even before the real outline and form is visible. In early Athens, we see all the elements of a University at an early date - the conventual life, the

1. Laurie - "Lec. 6. Page 101. "Rise and Constitution of Universities."

religious element, the system of lectures, oral examinations, academic costume and degrees, and even town and gown riots, whilst in the races on the Athenian waters inhonour of the victories of Salamis, we see a foreshadowing of student scenes on the Isis and the Cam. Passing rapidly from the Romano-Hellenic schools, the Sophist and Rhetorical Professoriates, right away to Charlemagne and the 9th Century we come to a period where we begin dimly to distinguish that faint cloud, which, to employ a metaphor, was later to develop from the man's hand state into the great academic system. In the 12th Century Europe was "recovering from a long intellectual sleep". From 1100 to 1150 the <u>Studia Generalia</u> or <u>Publica</u> swayed the cultured world. The rise of municipalities and civic life, the unsettling effect of the restless Crusades, stimulated the intellect, and called for education and centres of learning, for laymen as well as ecclesiastic. The movement was far from being an isolated one and the universality of the Catholic Church, whose abbey and monastic **hospitia** were open doors to every travelling cleric and scholar, made it easily distributable. The <u>Studia Generalia</u> were developments of the old Cathedral schools, aided by "**Saracenic** impulse", which was ancient Greek at work again, through an alien channel. But these <u>Studia Generalia</u>, these universities-in-embryo, arose not so much out of existing bodies as the result of a universal demand. The accumulation of traditionary learning demanded <u>specialisation</u> and it was "the needs of the human body that originated Salernum, the

needs of men as related to each other in a civil organism that originated Bologna and the eternal needs of the human spirit in relation to the unseen that originated Paris"[1]. The Studia Generalia then, were specialised schools as opposed to the Arts Schools and they were open to all whereas the ecclesiastical schools were under a "Rule". But we must not blindly say that the studia generalia were the early universities. There is a distinction, as Rashdall has pointed out.[2] The studium generale implied the general studies; the universitas implied the body of studying scholars. The universitas grew up alongside of the studium; it was the guild of scholars that formed its inseparable accompaniment. After 1150 the distinction was gradually lost and the studia generalia with their jus ubique docendi became synonymous with the universities. The primary universities were undoubtedly specialised schools for professional study. The Schola Salernitana (never a University in the technical sense) was the first to develop the outline of a university and here arose the proud "Collegium" for the special pursu of medical work. In 1274 Frederick II converted a loose aggregation of independent schools into the organised, endowed and privileged University of Naples, which assumed the place of the intellectual organ of the State. At Bologna and at Paris there arose the two schools, one for the specialisation of Law, the other for Theology, which under the patronage of the Holy See, the beacon

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1. Prof. Laurie (Edin.)
2. Rashdall - "The Universities in the Middle Ages".

light of mediaeval Europe, became the two great archetypes in University history. The new universities desired the stamp and mark of authority; and naturally sought it from Rome. The Papal Sovereign was the head of the Catholic world. If not the Pope — who was there to ask? The "Mother of Universities", as Paris University has been styled by the historians, arose like Salernum and Bologna from the Cathedral school. The cradle of the future University of Paris was the Arts School of Notre Dame; but the vigorous spirit of university life showed itself long before its adolescence. "One cannot", says the delightful French writer, Compayré, "awaken thought without unchaining it"; and it was in the impulse that the romantic Abélard gave to philosophy that we find the force that uplifted the Paris "studium generale" into the "universitas magistrorum et scholarium".[1] The Parisian bias soon took the line of Theology, with Philosophy as its handmaid. Bonaventura with picturesque archaism, says:- "the foundations of the university were laid in Arts; Law and Physics were the walls and Divinity the roof of the academic system". We have lingered a little upon Paris, because of its parent relation to all the other universities. Our own Oxford and Cambridge were largely modelled on it, and though the germs of the studia generalia may have been present in both these old cities at a very early date, yet they absorbed much from Paris and at the time of the Parisian

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1. Its actual name in the papal documents.

Secession of 1229 when the scholars incensed by the actions of Queen Blanche and the papacy dispersed elsewhere, they received such influence as accelerated their growth in a way impossible otherwise. Paris indeed led the way for the mediaeval universities, and the century that saw her glorious rise, saw the inception of 10 others. In the next century, the 14th, eighteen more were added, of which Prague stands out as the first to be actually and formally founded. Called into being in 1348 by Charles IV, with the Pope as the general referee and father of it, it became "the starting point of the great German system" and in 1409, it experienced a Disruption as important as that of Paris. Here again, owing to imposed disabilities, a Secession took place, the German professors and doctors migrating to strengthen the newly formed universities of Vienna, Erfurt, Heidelberg, etc., and to lay the foundations of Leipsic. The 15th century, more prolific in universities than either of the two preceding ones, recorded the rise of twenty nine, and among them, three which greatly concern and interest us, - the first Scottish Papal Universities. So far, then, we have seen how Universities arose, how they accumulated privileges and were invested with dignity, how their influence radiated throughout the wide continent of Europe to satisfy its awakening intellect, and social needs and to express the new birth of ideas. Incidentally we have had to sketch also a little of their constitution.

CHAPTER II.

The Historically Received Conception of a "Universitas".

In Kirkpatrick's well known work, "The University" the writer passes "from a rapid sketch of what Oxford has been to a consideration of what ..... every University ought to be". Similarly we have already seen how Universities sprang into being and before passing on to our main idea, we must stop and ask - What is a University?

We must know the essentials of which it is composed before we can see how the Scottish Universities have fulfilled the true conception, where they have made modifications, and how they stand to-day. We know that universities were evolved from studia generalia which were specialising schools. But the term "universitas" is not to be confused with that of "universale", nor does imply universality of curricula. The university was of men not of books; it was the corporate community. The "universitas vestra" of the papal documents literally meant "all of you".[1] The University was an autonomous lay community being in reality a learned guild. To this day in its Kalendar, Cambridge calls itself "republica litteraria" - a republic truly, because thought is free. It was moreover an assemblage of strangers from all parts in one spot for the purpose

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1. cf. also the designation employed by the Pope's writing to Paris University: "universitas magistrorum et scholarium".

of study. It was essentially "privileged". Bulaeus says:- "the <u>studia generalia</u> cannot exist without privilege any more than the body without the soul"[1]. It stood boldly out, an organ of European enlightenment and progress, not merely tutoring the pupil, but uplifting the science. To-day the place of the university and of the world is relatively reversed. Society has now to nurture the system that enlightened it. Yet the university is far from being "an early formation of transient utility", "subsided now like Venice or Nuremberg to a respected, but insignificant existence". The learned few have given place to the cultured many, yet the central energy of the university is conserved and "its utterance" as Kirkpatrick puts it, "should be rendered all the more deep and powerful by the wider compass of vibrating sympathy from which its tones will be echoed and re-echoed".

Other institutions may share its functions, for who can chain or confine genius? but the high office of the university is the eternal one of "endlessly propogating the original movement of genius", so that none of its words, wherever uttered may fall to the ground. The inspirations of genius purified are exalted by the University into principles of "moral order and ideal beauty". Thus far, in a general sense. Coming to its immediate usefulness, we find it pre-eminently a disciplinary school for <u>intellect</u>. There is also a moral importance, secondary, however, in as much as the

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1. "Denique non plus stare possunt Studia Generalia sine Privilegiis, quam corpus sine anima" Hist: Univ: Par. I. page 98.

communication and living reception of knowledge is the chief business of a university. The university must not sink to the level of the school, nor ought the school to invade the university. A great principle of university constitution has been left us, and one with which, later in this essay, when we contrast the Scottish universities with others, we shall be much concerned. It is this. Productivity is conceivable only in the cultivation of particular branches of science. Professional study is the basis of University system. It must not be supposed that we restrict university teaching to merely professional knowledge. Far from it. University teaching is not to be rendered narrow; it is to exalt every noble and liberal study to "the scientific perfection and exactness of discipline which is included in the very name of Profession"; and "in scattering abroad scholarly intellects, with opportunities for professional usefulness, the university maintains a living circulation of the noblest agencies"[1] Professional study, we believe then to be, both historically and rightly, the basis of university system. A university that merely imparts a general liberal education neglecting all special scientific branches for the sake of a vague generality of culture and an abstract polish, imposing in area but depthless in every part is more truly an "haute école". It may be urged that true though this be, we digress; but we shall see later how deeply this idea of essential basis affects our treatise,

1. Kirkpatrick: "The University".

when we come to compare our Scottish Universities with the foreign to notice incidentally the German controversy of the "Bread Studies", and to contrast the manner in which the Scottish Universities kept their true historical essence when the English were abandoning it. This then is a University - the place of the enthronement of Intellect, the capital as it were, of the kingdom of knowledge, whose bounds are steadily being set wider and still wider; it is the radiating centre that not only accumulates grandeur of intellect within it, but diffuses it abroad, scattering noble minds across the globe imbued some less, of course, than others, with lofty traditions. The University stands for man's mental and philosophical development. It is the metropolis of thought.

CHAPTER III

The place of the university in Scottish History.

1141 - 1583.

"History cannot be written from MSS" said Mark Pattison. We require not merely a string of dates with appropriate events attached, but a continuous narrative in which the historian may give play to legitimate description and analysis. He is, as it were, fashioning and moulding his "history" out of already existing accounts, sifting out the erroneous and presenting the true or likely. If this be true of history, it is truer still of an essay of the present character, where our concern is not chiefly with historical dates and happenings. We follow along the historical highway only to see the road by which the university came in its progress in Scotland, and to see the place it has occupied there. Our task is not one of detail or of internal history. It is for us to scan the wider horizon of national history in Scotland and artist-like, to sketch in the place of the university with its varying subtleties of shade and colour in that landscape.

We must see the part they have played in the national life and realm, and in the academic life of the outer world. It is for us to see the influences that have radiated from them and the foreign ideas they themselves have absorbed; to trace their career political

and academic in Scotland and abroad. In the political, we shall have to see where the universities have directed the current or drifted with the stream, where they have been the voice or only the echo, where they have made, or been moulded; and in the mental and academic realm, we shall have to note their achievements and their failures, to see where they have been the schools of intellect tutoring the scholar and where the nurseries of it creating and drawing forth the national intellect itself.

In our introduction we have already seen Europe arising from the sleep of the dark ages to a new life of thought and inquiry. The 12th century was the time of widespread awakening, of a new birth of ideas.

European intellect was restless and moving and these ripples on the surface were the first sign of the great Renaissance wave on the crest of which came that prolific birth of schools and universities which we have already noticed The wave did not take long to reach the shores of Scotland; and the twenty-nine great seats of learning that saw the light in the 15th century numbered among them the first three papal universities of Scotland, - S. Andrew's in 1411, Glasgow in 1454 and Aberdeen in 1477. Scotland at this time presents a dark picture of lowly and crude culture. The brilliance of lightened Italy contrasted strangely with the conditions that prevailed under the grey Northern skies where half the land was still barbaric and where the rude noble was nearly as ignorant as the

darkened serf. The priests and scholars alone radiated, or rather conserved to themselves, the light they possessed, and the scholars seeking education had to go far afield for it, to Paris and the foreign Universities or southwards to Oxford and Cambridge. A University education meant expatriation and expense. In these troublous days of wars and raidings, it also meant dangers and difficulties and manifold risks, by land and sea. It was an enlightened ecclesiastic who first felt for the needs of Scotland and set himself to meet them Bishop Wardlaw in 1411 took up the cause of higher learning & as we have seen to be usual, applied to the Pope for authority. It was that peculiar period of the double papacy when Boniface IX held the Vatican, and the anti-pope Benedict XIII was the choice of the Spanish prelates. Scotland acknowledged the claims of Benedict and it was from this unenthroned pope that the first charter of S. Andrew's University came. The Scottish universities, like Prague, were formally founded; but they followed distinctly the great historic tradition of an incipient university in as much as the elements were present locally before the actual institution. In the papal bulls we find the usual mediaeval preamble of the suitability of the place, the necessitous state of the district and the fatherly solicitude of the Pope for every such needy part of his spiritual dominions. Invested with the necessary mediaeval authority, the papal approval, Bishop Wardlaw began to act upon those original elements in S. Andrew's and to promote the

growth of a University there. The nucleus was found in the congregation thither of a coterie of eminent clergy and learned doctors who already attracted listeners to their teaching. Wardlaw as the episcopal head of the city began to give them in 1411 various privileges and immunities. The university began to evolve itself as a little state within a state. It was governed by a Rector, whilst the Bishops, Wardlaw and his successors naturally became the perpetual chancellors and supreme referees. The attitude towards learning at this time was both reverential and enthusiastic, and students eagerly came to the new university; but privileges and titles will not alone support a great centre of learning and Bishop Wardlaw foreseeing this made over some buildings styled the <u>Pedagogium</u> to the Arts Faculty whilst the Augustinian Priory was used for general university meetings. S. Andrew's soon became famous and the number of students as Boethius says "excrevit in immensum". Three Colleges arose, S. Salvator, S. Leonard and S. Mary. These institutions were of course largely monastic and religious, as their pious founder intended them to be. The College of S. Leonard had been converted from a hospital into a college and lands had been given to keep up the new foundations. Thus for the first time a new light was lit in the northern country and Scotland possessed a bona fide university centre of its own. Forty years later than this foundation, another took place. Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, in a patriotic zeal for his town obtained a papal bull

from Nicholas V to found a University in Glasgow; this was followed in due time by the granting of the usual privileges and a literary corporation sprang into being with its usual ecclesiastical head and its degree giving powers which bestowed upon its graduates a real university standing with a jus ubique docendi. The new university naturally became a rival to S. Andrew's, although at first its lectures were irregular and fluctuatory. The Arts Faculty dominated here as at S. Andrew's and soon took definite form acquiring buildings and mapping out a systematic curriculum. The Cathedral Chapter House and the Chapter House of the Preaching Friars were used by the Faculties of Theology and Law respectively. This century drawing now to its close was yet to see another great foundation in Scotland, and in 1494 a papal bull was elicited from Alexander II at the instance of James IV of Scotland moved thereto by the enlightened and scholarly Bishop of Aberdeen, to whom the whole effort doubtless was a labour of love. This ecclesiastic had been educated at the universities of Glasgow, Paris and Orleans. He had returned to his own land to become Rector of Glasgow University and Lord Chancellor of Scotland. The dim light of learning that hung darkly over the northern part of Scotland doubtless depressed the ideals that he had already formed in the brilliant schools he had come from and in the papal 'reasons' that preface the new charter we see the hand and mind of Bishop Elphinston of Aberdeen laying stress upon the great need, the rude barbarity of the inhabitants, the in-

accessibility of other places and the suitability of the Cathedral city of Aberdeen. Taking into consideration all these conditions that the Bishop has pointed out the Holy Father resolves to inaugurate a University with Elphinston as Chancellor. The 'founding' of universities where pre-existing conditions rendered it favourable seems by now to have been a regular and facile occurrence; but we notice several significant modifications at the starting of Aberdeen, one of which resembles something like an infringement on the old historic tradition; for we see that here two Privy Councillors were called in to help with the Chancellor and Rector in the guiding of the University. In other words we find the State claiming a suzerain right over the University - the policy probably of the King who was closely in touch with Bishop Elphinston. The papal bull that constitutes Aberdeen's "charter", also illustrates very clearly the constitution of a University as a specialized school and not, as the erroneous modern idea has sketched it, a school of universal learning. It was "not the entire round of the sciences" that Aberdeen University arose to teach. What really was formed was "a privileged chartered corporate body", - that is a true _universitas_ - where the religious life was paramount, but where an abundant provision for the cultivation of letters went hand in hand with it. Elphinston founded a collegiate church and college, within the university and dominating it. The lecturers of the college seem to have been Professors in the University and for its

Principal, the famous Hector Boece, was imported from Paris. The wise Elphinston from the beginning saw to the financial soundness of his new institution and through James IV set aside several churches for its endowment. So began the new school at Aberdeen, and the beautiful college buildings soon acquired a fame and <u>locus standi</u> equal to Glasgow and S. Andrews. The glory of these mediaeval schools continued undimmed until the fatal day so dark for Scotland that told the news of the disaster of Flodden. After Flodden, Elphinston died of sorrow, and not only Aberdeen, but all the Scottish Universities felt the chilling and lowering effect of the national misfortune. Indeed at this time Scotland was passing through very deep waters and such times of political disturbance are always depressing for the well nurturing of learning and the arts. The University of S. Andrews after a glorious run of 150 years (during which it had done great things for education sending out from its alumni men whose brilliant names were to be sounded not only among the high and great leaders of their country, but among the princes of intellect in many a foreign school) was running low and succumbing to the troublous days of strife and intellectual apathy and now the storm of the Reformation was hurrying on to complete the devastation. Glasgow, the second great 'universitas' to be founded in Scotland had also become slower and more laboured in its course. Starting with all the elements of a great mediaeval university the "nations", regents, convocations, etc., it at last

began inevitably to droop and wane. The lack of endowments and of public or private liberality, the intellectual sterility of the nobles and general society, were the adverse wind that blew cruelly against the new and tentatively expanding growths. The stipends were not attractive enough to prevent scholars going abroad to seek higher emoluments, and the Bishops who followed the first episcopal founders were generally men educated abroad who lent their smile more to the Cathedral than to the University in which possibly they foresaw a future antagonist and opponent to ecclesiasticism.

Thus far we have seen the brilliant and almost meteoric course of the papal universities with their mediaeval and dignified 'paraphernalia' The Reformation was the signal for an abrupt check in their advance; although as we have already seen a languishing had set in considerably earlier, due to the impoverished country, the troublous times and the general apathy that hung over the land. After Flodden and the death of Bishop Elphinston, Boece still continued to guide the college at Aberdeen, now called the "King's College" although we can trace how intellectually sterile and barren Scotland at this time was when Boece had to resort to Paris firms for the printing of his historical works which he was now writing. In 1530 King's College received new statutes whose difference from the former is not significant enough to remark on, and at this time Scotland could proudly boast a real university co-equal with any famous foreign school. This is a great statement but its truth is

indubitable when we find an Italian scholar like Ferrerius eulogising it as the highest university in Scotland and challenging its men against the first scholars of the age.[1] In the height of its glory Aberdeen was visited (1541) by James V and his Queen. It was the gala day of Scotland's highest university, and Greek and Latin orations, were interspersed with disputations and ceremonious pomp, and display. But the picture is soon to lose its colour and it is with a suddenness that we come to find only eight short years later that "the first blush of success" as Sir Alexander Grant graphically writes, "had passed away and a blight had already fallen on the institution"[2].

In 1549 the dark state of the country and of the times had cast some of its shadow upon the university life also. King's College had sunk to a convent and conventual school, and even the outline and design of the university itself seemed fading and indistinct. The scene is indeed deplorable; negligence and loss of interest combined to dwindle down the student audiences and to lower the standard of work done. This depression was to be still more "deepened by the storm of the Reformation" and the place of the university in Scotland was at this time becoming a powerless and obscure one. In 1562 the famous College had sunk so low that the

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1. Ferrerius in an epistle now in King's College Library:- "Celeberrimam apud Scotos hoc potissimum tempore (absit verbo invidia) Academiam".
2. Grant; Story. Edin. Univ. Vol. i. p. 45.

English ambassador could refer to it as "the universitie or at least one colledge with 15 or 16 scollers". It must not be imagined however, that the papal universities of Scotland were highly polished but swiftly transient foundations. They were the fore-runners of all university life in Scotland and their record is a bright and memorable one. Modelled on the grand old mediaeval systems they were free corporations of learned men endowered with dignities, and titles and enjoying immunities and special juris-diction. The struggle, however, against the national poverty, the sparsely populated neighbourhood, the still half savage, and wholly crude nobility together with the turbulence of the times, at length became hopless. Vivid glimpses of this period are given us by various writers. John Mair, the last perhaps of the great schoolmen, soon to be outshone by the brilliant humanistic scholars writing at Paris is thus able to give us a contemporary and what is still better a detached and unbiassed description of his own land, and the death struggles of the papal universities. In the bar-barous scholastic Latin of the Sorbonne he says of S. Andrew's[1] that "no one has done anything considerable for it except Bishop Kennedy, who founded a small but rich and beautiful college there "whilst he dismisses Aberdeen with a brief reference to "the noble college of Bishop Elphinston" and can find no brighter description of the University of Glasgow than "poorly endowed and scarcely attended",

1. Hist. Mag. Brit. 1 - VI.

although he does admit local circumstances to be somewhat responsible for the latter's decline and failure "sed pro naturis loci non sunt reprobandae". Scotland in relation to the university is at this period an interesting study. The wealthy Catholic Church and its Bishops were not in close touch with the universities. It is true that Scotland owes all its university beginnings to the Bishops and all honour is due to those enlightened churchmen, Wardlaw, Turnbull, Elphinston, and others who first broke through the dark gloom of ignorance and with undaunted enthusiasm lit the great lights of the first universities in Scotland. Unhappily the church as a whole and the successors of these particular men were not so untrammelled and disinterested. The Church disliked all secularism and fostered a pious horror of every breath of so-called rationalism. The lay universities could with difficulty take any root or expand. The vigorous life that characterised their inception and to which the new national enthusiasm had at first liberally contributed now died down and the rapid approach of the Reformation with all the kindred influences that exhaled from it filling the air with new ideas and thoughts, could not exert any other than a stifling effect upon the old and dignified papal universities. In 1569 the papal doctors - now significantly called 'popish' doctors and teachers - were deprived of office by the Government. The 'purging' of Aberdeen University turned out all the scholars who refused allegiance to the Knoxian Church and was an energetic and vigorous

blow dealt by the Protestant — turning country against the old religion and the sway of Rome. At. S. Andrew's the Protestant measures were less violently carried out, for here the papal battle was already nearly lost and the wavering Professoriate was easily won over by the Reformers. S. Andrew's had long been a hot bed for heretical Reformation principles and to have "drunk of the well of S. Leonard" became a phrase for suspected Lutheranism, whilst S. Salvator, the only college that clung to the old beliefs was easily 'purged' and its leaders deprived of their university offices. The hand that the stern Reformers laid upon the universities was not a light one and the romantic grace and charm of the illustrious old universities, were ruthlessly swept away as with a heavy touch they brushed off the bloom of the grand old mediaeval corporations. College was now confounded with university and vice versa and yet the Reformers were not without clear and sound ideas for learning had they been better able to effect them. The Reformation was now a movement of activity and determination, and the Parliament of Scotland lost little time in abolishing Papal jurisdiction and ratifying the Protestant doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith. One of the first great problems lying at the door of the new rulers was that of national education and the re-organisation of the great university system. The papal bulls and charters were totally ignored, and the historical continuity was abruptly severed. The sheet now being turned over was to be a clean and a blank one -

and the universities were to suffer nothing less than an entire re-creation. In 1560 the famous Book of Discipline was launched in which the Reformers hastily sketched out and defined their new Protestant Utopia. The high handed style and tone of it and the hyper-legislative attitude it took up towards all sections from the nobles to the lowly peasant rendered it from the outset impossible and still-born. It became in fact a dead letter - but although the Book of Discipline was destined to remain unhonoured and forgotten it deserves notice, showing us, as it does, the ideas, which the Reformers had, upon a new intellectual course for their country. The new scheme laid down in the Book of Discipline for "The Erection of Universities" provided for three such institutions situated in the former localities. It is doubtful whether the new system can be called a 'university' at all for the salient characteristics of the historic university were blindly done away with. The independent <u>universitas</u> was subsided into a state-organised and state-directed college system. The Colleges superseded the universities in reality and the 'literary republic' was a thing of the past. Each college formed as it were a faculty, and the labour of teaching was divided among them, so that no university had a complete character, except S. Andrew's which gave degrees in the four faculties of Philosophy, Medicine, Law and Divinity. At neither Glasgow nor Aberdeen were medical subjects taught. The Chancellor was supplanted by the Superintendent and although the universities re-

tained their immunities from taxation and military duty they lost other privileges such as the Rector's special jurisdiction in criminal cases. To be brief and succinct the Reformers instituted a vast efficient college system preserving the name merely of a 'university'. In many respects the improvement was manifest. Professors were now paid and curricula definitely arranged. The standard of work was very high, but the historic idea of a university was altogether swamped in the modern utilitarian system of colleges. Graduation was conferred by the colleges - a fact which is in itself an anomaly.

When it is said however, that the Reformation leaders degraded (as undoubtedly they did degrade) the university in Scotland into a collegiate system it must not be inferred that they lowered the actual standard of university work. If anything they placed it higher; and they promulgated a graded system of national instruction that Scotland would do well to realize even to-day. Every student who came to the University was expected to have already passed through (1) two years' primary education (2) four years' grammar, i. e., Latin, and (3) four years' Greek, Logic and Rhetoric.

Even now he had first to graduate in Philosophy before he could proceed to the 'higher' studies of Medicine, Law or Divinity according as his final bent lay. This is an ideal as high as in modern Germany, but unfortunately it has never been realized here in this country although slowly in Scotland the Medical Faculty has

risen to its pinnacle of excellence. It was left to England to produce the great Arts schools and it needed a system equal to the German gymnasien or the English public schools to do so. What, we may ask, did the political Reformers expect to gain in return from these high ideals of national education? The age was a sternly practical and utilitarian one. Knox and his followers cast aside all the ornate subtleties of mediaevalism and expected every graduate henceforth to serve the State in one of the learned professions. The Book of Discipline was explicit and not even the children of the nobility were to be allowed to grow up ignorant or vicious. No wonder the dictatorial programme, noble as it was, was quietly allowed to drop; and the Universities failing to realize the lofty ideas that the Reformers elaborated so easily on paper, sank where the new government had reduced them, and instead of the universities entering on a brighter, fresher course of prosperity, they felt the loss of old mediaeval conditions which the Reformation had so roughly cut away.

This peculiarly low and paralysed state to which the Universities had been reduced by the very rush for efficiency on the part of the Reformers called loudly for some kind of revival and in 1563 George Buchanan, the greatest humanistic scholar perhaps that Scotland has ever seen stands out as the restorer of learning. He perceived that the Reformation ideals had been too vague and unattainable and he proposed to ground students in the humanities <u>within the University.</u>

S. Andrews became quite famous again under the rule of the brilliant Buchanan, but the effort as a whole was spiritless and decayed. Glasgow responded to the influence of this famous scholar more than the other seats of learning and gained much from him. It was Buchanan who stimulated Mary, Queen of Scots, to found bursaries and grant lands and incomes at Glasgow "for the Zeal we bear to letters". After the murder of Darnley, the Queen of Scotland, doubtless endeavouring to weather the storm of popular indignation granted the monastic property of the Franciscans to the corporations of Glasgow and Edinburgh - "orchards, crofts, annual returns, fruits, dues, profits, emoluments, farms, etc.," - and although education did not feel any immediate benefit from this extorted grant yet later on it was the Universities who reaped the harvest of the gift. At the end of six years Glasgow University received the whole of the grant to Glasgow Corporation conveyed in a document styled the "New Foundations" and written in scholarly Latin strongly suggestive of the hand of Buchanan, whose great interest in the University probably actuated him to influence the Glasgow Town Council to apportion the new royal grant to the revival of University life and learning in their city. "The New Foundations of the College or Pedagogue of Glasgow" invests the high University officials with authority and dignity and is a renewal to some extent of the mediaeval 'privileges' abolished at the Reformation which Buchanan in his zeal for learning and in his foreign experience had come to

recognise as the rights of a University. The New Foundations however, must not occupy much of our attention for in reality they gave more titular blessings than pecuniary and the lack of funds caused the classes to wane and later on almost entirely to fall off. Buchanan's efforts for the intellectual life of Scotland however, were pioneer work and "a brilliant sunrise of education for Scotland" was presently to dawn as a result.

At this time (1574) there arrived in the Scottish metropolis from Geneva, Andrew Melville young and vigorous and ripe in learning. Melville although young was widely known as the brilliant occupant of the chair of Humanity in the city he had now just left. On his arrival both the universities at S. Andrew's and Glasgow sought his services but the ruined condition of Glasgow was so strongly urged that Melville proceeded thither to restore it. He saw the youthful King James VI and his tutor Buchanan en route at Stirling where he took the advice of Buchanan upon his new task. It was soon evident that the new Principal brought with him ideas and great conceptions for the revival of the Glasgow school. He had in fact two objects in view - to introduce new studies into Scotland and to train up a race of teachers capable of carrying them on. In two years the name of the College was noble throughout Scotland, and abroad. Pupils flocked from S. Andrew's and elsewhere and a new range of studies was opened out to the once again awakened mind of Scotland. Melville taught the classics, expounded Greek and Latin, introduced

the studies of Astrology, Geography, Ethics, Aristotle, Plato and Melancthon, in a hitherto unheard-of manner. He brought into Scotland the breath of the Renaissance. Not only did he educate the Scottish scholars by a thorough groundwork of classical antiquity but he infused also the modern spirit in its revolt against scholasticism. It was now that Greek was really first taught and the example was never lost. Scotland began to stand out now as a rival of the foreign schools for Melville brought his pupils to the new lights of the age when even the great mediaeval universities still held aloof.

The new Principal was a loyal son of the Reformation but his sphere was academic rather than political. He conferred with the reformers, Buchanan and Arbuthnot, upon the improvement of university education and he instituted a systematic four years' course the first year of which was devoted to the Humanities including the Rhetoric of Talaeus and the Dialectic of Ramus. The second year took up Mathematics and Astronomy, the third the Moral and Political Sciences, whilst the fourth was devoted to natural Philosophy and History. A two years' Theological course completed this four years' study of the Arts.

The Scottish University at this time presents a striking paradox. It shows how the Reformation had confused and confounded the university system with the collegiate. Under Melville an Arts College had arisen out of the ruins of the University. The

College granted degrees and was in fact the University, or a University within the older one. The external university is still there with its chancellor and officials but it is the College of Glasgow that is the most important feature. This inconsistency is still more clearly illustrated by the "Erectio Regia" issued at this time by King James. Melville's restorative work at Glasgow caused the King to grant to the College, the rectory, church, and lands of Govan for the purpose of reviving the languishing Arts. This gift conveyed in a document cast in the florid Latin of either Buchanan or Melville had for its purpose the collecting up of the remnants of the old university to form one great College, which soon supplanted the older university and absorbed its functions. This pre-eminence of the Colleges over the universities was a characteristic in this particular epoch of education. The old Scottish universitates lost their grandiose mediaeval character and the college schools took their place. At Aberdeen the case was similar. The Professor of Canon Law and the Reader in Medicine were both abolished by the reformers, and a mere Arts College with restricted curriculum survived. The action of the Protestant Reformers "went" as Cosmo Innes says "to break down all the old usages and feelings of a University setting up a teaching institution in its place".

If this be so it is for us to inquire how far right or wrong the new politicians were in their demolition of the universities. We must remember that the spirit of the age was not one reverential

towards old historic glories; it was a sterner and intensely practical one. When we reflect that the collegiate life and teaching was now far more thorough and ambitious than even the university course had been, we cannot charge the Reformers with the neglect of education and learning. They were, on the contrary, the pillars of it; but their aim was not so much the preservation of the Ancient seats of learning as the consolidation of the newly launched State in which a thorough and efficient college system could play a powerful part. Moreover the universities were not wholly lost for the spirit of them still lingered on when so many of their glories had been swept away.

Leaving however for a moment this question of the effect of the Reformation upon the universities, we are moved subtlely to another standpoint from which we get a glimpse of a correlated and quite as important problem - namely the part which the universities themselves were to play in the Reformation movement. At this time in Scotland popular feeling was turned against the Jesuits. A general desire spread among the Protestant adherents to baffle the last champions of the Papacy in their territories. Perhaps the most powerful weapon that the State could lay hands upon was the new citadel of Protestantism, the universities. The heads of the universities, Melville, Smeton, Buchanan and others, were not reluctant to join in the movement and possibly they were more willing as they saw that the university might gain much in the struggle.

A scheme was drawn up and ratified by Parliament in connexion with the University of S. Andrew's by which an attack was levelled at the powerful and inimical Society of Jesus. S. Mary's College, now called New College, the stronghold of Theology was to be remodelled as an anti-seminary to the Jesuits. Here we see the University descending to the position of the tool of the politicians and the great university leaders readily acquiescing partly no doubt from political sympathy and partly from the fact that the mantle of Protestantism could be made to cover the accumulation of many new advantages by the Universities. The idea of the reformers at New College was the establishing of a great Theological training ground sound in learning and anti-Roman in spirit. Perhaps a mistake was made in the total exclusion of Church history, giving as it did a loop-hole for the papal opponents to direct their counter attack upon.

The counsels of Melville and Buchanan were gradually however being undermined and disregarded. Internal opposition reared its head even within the gates of the university and in 1580 Principal Melville was transferred against his will by the General Assembly to S. Andrews. Here we must leave the history of this great champion of learning and pass on to see in what state he left the affairs of his country when relegated now to comparative obscurity. We have seen how he made Glasgow one of the brightest and foremost lights of his age and how he set Scotland upon a proud pinnacle to

compare bravely with the foreign display of learning. In vain he proposed similar measures for Aberdeen and S. Andrew's. His words and advice were silently set at naught and a new era was being pushed forward. Melville's great system of national education had raised Scotland to the forerank of learned countries, and perhaps it matters little whether it was a university or a college system. Undoubtedly the Reformers in their stern crusade against the papacy banished ancient university reforms, brushing off with a heavy hand their bloom and beauty; but the greater misfortune is that their own clear aspirations for Scottish culture were not allowed to become effective. Defenders of the Reformation have said the Protestant leaders did not really destroy or repeal any university forms. Perhaps not; but the answer is a feeble one, for at any rate they left them to stagnate and to die the death of decay. Their 'novae fundationes' reorganised the colleges but they left untouched the universities which as Grant says "had no vitality or spring of life in themselves".[1]

From the Reformation onwards then the colleges of Scotland supplanted the old universities and the University of Edinburgh soon to grow up in the metropolis was at the outset started as a College.

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1. Grant. Edin. Univ. Vol. i. p. 96.

Chapter IV.

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The Place of the University in Scottish History (Continued)

It is remarkable that the Reformers, intent rather upon an efficient national education than on clinging to the old university traditions, should have continued the ancient seats of learning instead of founding, as might have been expected, a more central one in the capital under the shadow of the great S. Giles and the sway of Knox's massive influence. As yet, however, there was no sign of a university in the metropolis of Scotland. The 'Book of Discipline' classified Edinburgh merely among the 'notable towns' in which an Arts College was to exist. The older historians of the metropolitan university treat it as if it had been from the first a university on the old mediaeval pattern, but this erroneous idea has been entirely dissipated by later writers like Professor Sir A. Grant, who terms the early accounts 'a perfect riddle' and who clearly shews that the Edinburgh school founded as it was when the Colleges were paramount in Scotland, really began as a college which we must regard as the organism that eventually developed and expanded into a university. It will be necessary for us to trace carefully and penetrate somewhat deeply into the rise of Edinburgh University both on account of its position in the capital of Scotland and its consequent effect

on national affairs and also on account of the fact that it came to stand out as the country's most prominent university, exhibiting that true characteristic of a university in becoming the most famous academy of specialised learning that Scotland and perhaps any country has produced.

In tracing the course of the Edinburgh school we get a very clear view of the part which the university system was playing in the national life of Scotland. The same new spirit that prompted the move at S. Andrews against the Jesuits directed its energies also to the founding of a college in the capital. The Town Council and the church ministers - the most powerful section of the community at this time - desired a seat of learning in their city, and in 1561 the Council approved a resolution that "the rents, annuals, and other emoluments which were before paid out of lands and tenements within this Burgh, to papists, priests, friars, monks, nuns, and others of that wicked sort for maintaining idolatry and vain superstition .... be applied to more profitable and godly uses". One of 'godly uses' proposed was the erection of a College, which we can readily understand would greatly strengthen the Reformation stronghold as well as weaken the resources of the Catholic priesthood. Six years later the unhappy Queen Mary, endeavouring as we know to stem the fierce tide of popular anger that followed Darnley's murder was persuaded to relinquish the monastic property in the capital to the Town Council. The Queen's character, however, was not such as to leave

the Catholics with whom her whole soul was in sympathy unshielded; and she remained firm in her command that no priests or religious bodies were to be deprived of their benefices during their lifetime and thus the Protestant ministers and the civil authorities were baulked by this mocking condition which still left them without the gift which Mary's charter had reluctantly bestowed.

There was, besides this, other opposition which came from the existing universities whose episcopal Chancellors were unfavourable to the rival scheme for the erection of a college which, situated in the very metropolis of the land, might be expected to outstrip and perhaps dominate themselves. At this time, however, there came a temporary fall of the episcopacy and the voice of the chancellors was lost in the new state of affairs. King James was now the ruling monarch and lent his influence to aid on the new venture. The highest honour in the Reformed Church was the pulpit of S. Giles and Knox's successor named Laws, figures as the leading spirit in founding the new College in the capital. It would not assist our abstract theme of the university in Scottish history, to sift the uncertain beginnings of the Edinburgh College. As Grant says "we are on very speculative ground". James VI's charter (of 1582) was an extended ratification of "Our dearest Mother" Mary's, but there is strong evidence that an earlier charter existed which in some unaccountable way mysteriously disappeared. This 'lost charter' has been the subject of much controversy and litigation but

in the early days it mattered little. The fact, however, of its mysterious loss is significant and bears deeply upon the theme of our essay. We know that the early 'lost charter' defined the object of the college as "to teach and give degrees in the liberal sciences Laws and Philosophy". "Law", however, did not eventually take root in the capital and there is strong reason for the belief that the King did not wish it to. Possibly, therefore, collusion between the Town Council and the King accounts for the lost charter. The Town Council would be as anxious as the King to keep a guiding hand on the Town College and although we cannot be certain, the suggestion is a probable one, - valeat quantum.

The national position in relation to the universities at this time is an interesting one. Whilst the King's Charter permits and even invites the foundation of a college as extensive as a Studium generale, yet James VI did not actually found one. Caution was required in these days and even in granting concessions at Glasgow the King scrupulously ignored the University mentioning only the College. In these early days of the Reformation the country was jealous of the universities on account of their lofty independence and their natural tendency to deal with theological subjects. Not only was this the case in Scotland, but in the world at large. The King of France in 1594 refused to allow the Academy of Geneva the rights of a University "parce que les universités sont des pepinieres d'héresie[1]" and from 1560 to 1579 the Scottish Reformers

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1 Senebier Histoire Litteraire de Geneve (1786) vol. 1. p. 55.

neither founded nor strengthened the Universities, but promoted education by a national system of colleges. Thus we find in Edinburgh the novel and strange fact of a college being founded with degree-giving powers in defiance of mediaeval tradition. There was, however, a precedent for this action of the Scottish nation towards the University system. Scotland in these Reformation days took as its college model that existing in the foreign Protestant city Geneva - "to which" as one writer[1] says "the Scottish Kirk looked as the fountain head of its doctrine and discipline - Geneva, which had been the asylum for refugee Scottish reformers from 1554 to 1560". The great leading lights of the Scottish Reformation, both political and academic, hailed from Geneva. We have only to mention the great Knox, Melville, Earl Marischall and others to illustrate this. How then did the foreign city of Geneva affect the University life in Scotland? Here, in Geneva, we find the great seat of learning unable by reason of the national and civic distrust to assume the title and position of a 'university' and the great school became styled the "Academy of Geneva". A university in all but name the "Academia" suited better not only the statesmen at the helm of the political craft, but satisfied the fastidious Humanists who disliked the mediaeval terms 'universitas' and

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1 Grant: Story Edin. Univ. Vol. 1. p. 126.

'studium generale'. Fresh from the city of Geneva the Scottish leaders brought over this semi-university idea to their own land and thus to-day we find the words "Academia Jacobi Sexti" engraven over the east portal of the Old University Buildings in Edinburgh - a title which suits the modern university equally as well as it did the ancient college.

At the very beginning of this 'college-university' newly formed in the capital of Scotland a problem presents itself. The universities of the world had all received their graduation authority from the Holy See. Whence then did the Academy of King James derive its power to give degrees, since Scotland had now cast off all allegiance to Rome and the Papal throne? Two sources are possible. Either it was contained in the 'Lost charter' and tacitly handed on, or else we admit an oral concession of the State for the new institution to imitate Geneva. Notwithstanding the fine phrases in King James's charter "we cannot but reflect" to quote from the historian of Edinburgh University, "upon the humble and abject start onto existence (of Edinburgh University)......... as compared with the free and honourable position conferred by the papal Bulls upon the older Universities of Scotland". Yet apart from the unimposing exterior "the standard of work was from the outset fixed at the university level". Latin was the language of all the classes and the work done was exceptionally high. The "Academia Jacobi Sexti" did not begin in a blaze of glory like the papal universities

to collapse later on. It began humbly and unostentatiously growing and expanding into a full flowering and dignified University. In studying the place of the University in Scottish history, the early beginnings of Edinburgh give us a striking contrast with the modern Scottish University.

First we see that in Edinburgh the idea of the Town Council was originally that of a resident college, whose undergraduates should be lodged in collegiate chambers, wear gowns and so on. The civic authorities, however, could not make bricks without straw and lack of funds gradually made college accommodation impossible, whilst influential parental prejudice in the city decried the gown regulations as puerile and caused them to become a dead letter from the first.

Secondly, we are brought face to face with the fact that in the metropolitan university the early system was distinctly tutorial. The small classes together with the rotating system of Regents common in the mediaeval universities was adapted to tutorial supervision and we find instead of passive note-taking, systematic class work as at Oxford or Cambridge.

How firm a hand the Reformers still kept upon the Scottish universities is evident from the regulation we find at Edinburgh in obedience to which all graduands assembled the night before "laureation" to solemnly subscribe to the Confession of Faith. The existence of these degree-giving colleges of the Reformation sounds some-

what anomalous and it is a natural question to ask when was the capital of Scotland really able to boast a true university. The Town College began in time to equal and rival in teaching the old universities and practically became one, in the sense of becoming a school of specialized teaching in many subjects with the power to give degrees. In spirit then, if not by legal right, the Scottish capital possessed a real university from 1708 when the old college tutorial regents became the Professorial staff.

Let us then as briefly as possible follow the evolution of the Edinburgh "Academia Jacobi", not so much to gain an intimate knowledge of this particular college as to view the whole university system in Scotland and from the outlook of the metropolis to see the affairs of all the universities. In 1590 a "professor of Laws" was established in Edinburgh who, it is significant to note, never taught Law. It is surprising that in the very vital and throbbing heart of Scotland, the seat of the Law Courts, there should so long have been no school for Legal Science, and that Scotland should have allowed its lawyers to cross the seas to Utrecht, Leyden and Halle. What was the reason? We cannot of course, through the mists of time, make out very clearly the cause; but when we remember that in Geneva - the prototype of Edinburgh - the Pastors had similarly opposed this subject, it is not difficult to imagine that the Ministers in Scotland should share their prejudice and influence the already willing monarch and Town Council to suppress it. The Church

claimed the chief voice in the whole course of the Reformation and its authority would most likely be questioned by younger thinkers unamenable to church discipline which the Legal Faculty would produce. The Ministers of the Reformed Church clung tenaciously to the words of their great leader, John Knox, who on his death-bed zealously exclaimed: "Above all things preserve the kirk from the bondage of the universities .... and never subject the pulpit to their judgment, neither exempt them from your jurisdiction[1]" The professor of Laws on the pretext that his youthful audiences were unable to follow his Latin discourses, lectured on the humanities instead. Some have argued a decline in the Scottish universities from this fact, as Latin was a familiar tongue in all the mediaeval universities. This, however, does not follow, although there may be truth in it. The monastic and slovenly Latin jargon of the Middle Ages could not be tolerated by the new Humanistic elegance that was coming in. The study of the humanities was rising higher, not decaying. A tutorial class, however, was also necessary, because the university at this time encroached on the school. This was a mistake of the age, and it would have been better if Scotland had raised the schools instead of degrading the universities. From this encroachment, Scotland has never recovered and its national school system is still open to vast and fundamental improvements, before the university in Scotland shall rise to its full and high

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1. Lang. Cap. vi. p. 619

dignity. The addition of a chair of Theology, and the movement in 1620 towards specialization and professional teaching were signs in the expansion of the metropolitan university. In 1621 its privileges were confirmed by the national Parliament and the "College of King James" became now indisputably "degree-giving" and stood out on a level with Marischall College. The mention of this college leads us to look away from the capital for a minute to another part of Scotland - the university city of Aberdeen. A few years earlier than the ratification of Edinburgh's privileges, that is in 1593, the fifth Earl of Marischall, a brilliant and martial noble, named George Keith, who had been educated at Kings College, Aberdeen, and who had also been a pupil of the famous Beza in the city beloved of Scotland, Geneva, signed a deed styled "Nova Academiae Abredonensis per Comitem Mariscallum, Auctoritate Regia Erectio et Institutio" which is the charter of foundation of Marischall College. It is another example of the confused semi-university method of the Reformers who in this case copied Melville's ideas at Glasgow, erecting a degree-giving college within an already existing university. We need go no further into the details of the college. It resembled the college at Edinburgh in being not a legal university but possessing the legal right of granting degrees. It would be of great interest to trace the evolution of the high office of the Lord Rectorship but it would lead us too far. One Rector, however, a man of great national renown stands out as a great Scottish university reformer, in the period with which we are dealing.

In the six short years from 1640 to 1646 during which Henderson occupied the Rectorial chair in Edinburgh we trace everywhere his hand in the stimulus, benefit and reform that was now seen in the university. After his death "Scotland relapsed into a Dark Age of its own", but a revival of intellect was at hand and although this 17th century was the period of deepest depression for literature and science in Scotland, the new university was secretly growing and expanding in the capital and as Grant says "was soon to burst its shell and emerge into that specialization of teaching and research which is the prime characteristic of a modern university". The first movement towards the light was signalized by the breaking away of the universities from the trammels of ecclesiasticism and here again Edinburgh took the lead. In the University Conference of Scotland, held shortly after Rector Henderson's death, it was decided to communicate to the General Assembly only such university affairs as were of a religious nature. What a difference in independence we see here from the domineering days of Knox! But the seeds of a greater university movement than even this, lay hidden in the very heart of Scotland, and soon the rosy dawn of the great Medical School of Edinburgh began to cast a new light over the Scottish University and to attract to it the eyes of the outer academic world. It would not assist our purpose to follow in accurate minuteness the history of the great medical faculty in Edinburgh. That is the work of the historian. We on our part have to observe the broader aspect of its relations

to the national and university life of the land.

No movement in history so strikingly illustrates the characteristic evolution of a true university, defined by Newman, as "beginning in influence and ending in system" as the great Scottish Medical School, for this is exactly what it did. We cannot dissociate the University Medical School from the history of extra-academical medicine as taught in the city. A medical school was started by some doctors who had gained their knowledge in foreign schools and now congregated in the Scottish capital. At first there was ability but no system. The rise of the Physic and Botanic Gardens, the teaching of the famous Sibbald and Sutherland and the work of the College of Physicians must be carefully traced by the historian, but for our purpose we may content ourselves by noticing that these extra-mural lights were gradually incorporated into the university and a quasi-medical faculty arose, "a tentative outset, a sort of false dawn of the university medical school" [1], specialization in medical subjects was as yet incipient. We shall not be departing from our subject, the study of the Scottish university in relation to national history, if we linger a little on the inception of such a great medical school, for it was a real national movement, of as widespread interest as the national enthusiasm that years before hailed with the ringing of bells the founding of the old papal university of S. Andrews. The greatest Scotsman, perhaps, associated with the beginnings of Medical Science in the capital was

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1 Prof. Sir A. Grant. Edin. Univ. Vol.i, p. 294.

Alexander Monro (born 1697) who had studied medicine at London, Paris and Leyden, and who in 1720 became Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh. He taught first in the Surgeon's Hall, but seven years later, the Hall being threatened by the violent riots of the mob incensed at the rumoured violation of Greyfriars churchyard, protection became necessary, and Monro was removed to the safer shadow of the University, where now arose the real Medical Faculty - "the creation of the 18th century ... and the boast and glory of the University of Edinburgh ever since"[1]. In fact the rise of this new university offspring seemed at the time to cause the other universities to fall, comparatively, into the background, and this new 'specialized school' to stand out as the foremost champion in the ranks of the Scottish university system.

Next to Monro on the scroll of this school's fame we must inscribe Provost George Drummond, who in 1725 founded the Royal Infirmary, that all important adjunct of the university medical school and that great boon to the popular masses. George Drummond raised in a marvellous way the enthusiasm of the populace for this new national institution and consequently directed it also towards their own university, of which they became so justly proud. Never before had the university aroused such rapture and loyalty. The new hospital was the centre of joyful talk, not only of the metropolis, but

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1 Grant, vol. i, p. 305

of the country side. Farmers lent their carts, landowners gave timber and stone, whilst even the masons worked gratuitously. The Town Council determined now to aid the Medical Faculty in earnest, and arranged for a staff, courses of study, and graduation ceremonies as complete as in any other University of the world.

To what a height of dignity now had the little "Town's College" of this obscure northern capital risen, ranking its university with the foremost schools of specialized study of the day, and claiming a nobility and title comparable with the ancient homes of medicine, the universities of Salernum or Padua! Scotland had reason now to unfurl proudly the flag of its universities, whose locus standi was unassailable. The Edinburgh degree in medicine became greatly sought after. New professors arose and were added to the faculty. Drummond had temporarily retired from the office of Provost, but the state of affairs that ensued after the famous battle of Culloden, which had just been fought, recalled this able leader to his old place. His zeal for the metropolitan university had in no way been diminished during his retirement, and he who had given Scotland her great noble hospital, now wisely inaugurated clinical instruction in its wards and solidly founded practical instruction for university students.

Drummond deserves a high place in the history of his land, and in the eternal gratitude of the Universities. The city of Edinburgh had just ceased to be the seat of the Scottish Parliament.

The nobility were deserting their residences for the glitter and show of London. The northern metropolis was inevitably sinking to the position of a superseded capital or provincial town when the genius of Drummond intervened and produced the beautiful Edinburgh of to-day with its New Town, its seat of university learning, the famous Medical School, and Royal Infirmary. Scotland can never lose the glorious possession of a capital and metropolis while we find dignified civic life with its picturesque and noble surroundings going hand in hand with high academic learning combined in one citadel of beauty and strength. The memory of Drummond, silently perpetuated by the quiet bust of Nollekens in the lobby of the New Royal Infirmary, is one that the country of Scotland and its Universities must ever honour.

Here we leave our contemplation of the great national and university movement in Scotland associated with the rise of the Edinburgh School of Medicine. It is not an isolated contemplation apart from our theme, but one inextricably bound up and interwoven with it. We have only taken up the essential threads that are entwined with our subject, and we leave the consideration of the addition to the University of other chairs such as Biblical Criticism, Agriculture, Music and the chair of Church History in the reign of William III and of Public Law in the reign of Queen Anne. The first period of the University's history drew to an unpleasant close in 1703 by a rupture between the College teachers and their patrons,

the Town Council. An act of independence on the part of the professoriate in connexion with 'laureation' angered the Council, who became severe and arbitrary, putting back the progress of the university to an unfortunate and lamentable extent. The Town Council eventually won the day, but unnecessary and puerile as the struggle was, this episode indicated the growing strength of the university that even dared thus to act. A brief recapitulation of the affairs of the Scottish universities as a whole up to this time is now necessary. So far the Reformation period had been full of vicissitude. The air had been rife with political agitations and death struggles for religious and civic liberty, culminating in the Revolution Settlement and the Anglo-Scottish Union. Political and religious conflict is ever unfavourable to the cause of learning and science and the period of the Covenanters was no exception.

The Scottish University students were largely allied to and sympathetic with the Covenanters. The renowned martyr, Hugo Mackaile, was a graduate of the year 1658, and the visit of the papist Duke of York to Holyrood in December 1680 was accompanied by violent student riots and great religious and protestant demonstrations. The Pope's effigy was noisily insulted and burned in front of the palace, whilst the old High Street of the capital resounded to the cries of "No Pope! no Pope!". Troops were called out and students sent to prison whilst Protestant feeling ran high. The universities on the whole did not, however, suffer fundamentally.

Under William III the Protestant government ejected some Episcopalians from the universities, but no organic changes took place, and peace and prosperity ensued. In spite of Melville, the old tutorial regenting survived down to the 18th century, but now a great volcanic change was imminent. Once again the university of the Capital took the lead and Principal Carstares began to raise university teaching and mould Edinburgh after the famous foreign universities. Vestiges of the old system lingered on for a while, but the mighty change begun was irresistibly carried on, and followed by all the northern universities - by Glasgow in 1727, by S. Andrews in 1747 and Aberdeen in 1754. The Scottish university finally declared at this time for the Professorial system. Possibly the state of the English universities assisted this, for as we shall see later, the 18th century in England and especially at Oxford was lifeless and stagnant. The colleges swamped the universities and perfunctory lassitude had crept in everywhere. Poor as were the beginnings of Edinburgh's university in contrast to the beautiful colleges, gardens and classic atmosphere of Oxford, the northern university triumphed in the fact of having renounced the tutorial for the professorial system of specialized learning and science and the progressive party of the north seems to have caught more effectually than the English party, both the Baconian and Newtonian impulse.

To trace the position of the university in Scotland from this time onwards down to 1858, which was the memorable year that closed

one great opoch and opened out another is the work that lies before us. We have already noticed to some extent the anomalous position under which King James' Charter placed the University of Edinburgh. This anomaly was now to become the cause of long and protracted discussions and warfare, lasting from 1703-1858, between the university on the one hand and the civic authorities, i.e., the Town Council, on the other.

The dispute arose out of the dislike of the Senatus Academicus and the Medical Faculty to all external dictation and the assertion of the Town Council to their rights of jurisdiction. So fierce was this university strife being waged in the Scottish capital that it eventually compelled the nation's attention and on August 25th, 1826, the Government of London appointed a Royal Commission to settle the dispute and - more important still - to frame a Code of Statutes and Regulations for all the Scottish Universities. "Peel's Commission" met in Edinburgh and elaborated a constitution and a scheme of university work for Scotland, but for six years nothing happened and meantime the civic-academic quarrels went on. The only practical innovation that this Commission effected was in connexion with the university teaching of Astronomy, whereby the Astronomer Royal of Scotland was ordered for the good of the nation "to make observations for the extension and improvement of Astronomy, Geography and Navigation" and to report twice a year. In the other excitements of the university struggles this new regulation was probably lost sight of,

but nevertheless it was a silent benefit added to the nation through the channel of the university. In 1837, Lord Melbourne at last introduced a Bill for the northern universities, but so great was the popular storm of opposition to it that it was dropped, and Scotland and her universities still remained where they had been before. At Edinburgh, however, the civic authority had won the legal battle with the university, whose leaders had thrust upon them the humiliation of hearing that the local government alone had 'the right of making regulations for the College of King James' and that the Senatus Academicus had no right 'in contradiction of' the Town Council. This antagonism was naturally detrimental to the University life of Scotland and a settlement was urgently called for; but another national movement was now to radically affect the position of the universities, and to alter their relation to the country itself. In 1843 took place that great scene in the national history - the Scottish Church disruption. The Reformers, Knox and his party, had barricaded the universities around with the Confession of Faith, but now at a single stroke more than half the country had changed its faith. What then was the position of the universities in the nation's life? Obviously it needed a compromise and so in 1853 the Test Act was passed, which allowed Free Churchmen to hold official posts - excepting the chairs of Divinity and Theology, - but not to violate in their office the Confession of the Establishment.

The influence of the Disruption on the university life of Scotland was threefold. To it Scotland and her universities owe the new free spirit of reform that arose in the country. Secondly we must place largely to the credit of the Disruption the long looked for settlement of the Scottish universities by the Act of 1858, and lastly the emancipation of the lay professors from the thraldom of the old Act of 1690, which excluded Episcopalians and Jacobites from the enjoyment of the universities. Thus the disruption exercised a vital effect upon the universities themselves, and their relation to the country at large.

The spirit of reform that the ecclesiastical Disruption engendered showed itself in the new Bill of 1858 that Lord Advocate Inglis now brought forward. This bill had in view many good alterations for the Scottish universities and for Scotland. Without exhibiting any startling novelties, this new idea of the Government aimed at intelligently improving the Arts faculty teaching in Scotland and raising the standard of national education. The points of the bill may for clearness be here condensed and tabulated, and we then see at a glance the thoroughness with which the Government now endeavoured for the first time to grapple with the Scottish university question. The Bill proposed:

(1) To give graduates a share in the administration of the universities.

(2) The formation in each university of a University Court (to terminate the evils of individualism and restrict the hitherto preponderating influence of the professoriate)

(3) To increase the Professor's stipends by Parliamentary grant and to add new chairs.

(4) To provide Assistants for the Professors.

(5) An Executive Committee to carry out the Act.

(6) To amalgamate the 2 anomalously existing universities of Aberdeen.

So great a legislative effort on the part of the State naturally excited animated and prolonged discussion, but eventually the Lord Advocate's Bill, modified and supplemented, was enthusiastically carried and became law.

That the nation had really effected some solution of the vexed problem became evident at once, from the new inflow of gifts and the prosperity that now ensued, under the new regulations and ordinances.

Thus far we have followed (often with much necessary condensation) the path of the university in Scotland down to within fifty years of our own time. Further than this, it is not perhaps wise to venture. History is still being made and it must be in the

balance of posterity that the true value of these days will be found. The affairs of a great university system cannot be settled by a single Act of Parliament, however wise and far reaching. It needs the moulding influence of years to shape still more perfectly the academic structure and the chapters of Scottish University history that we close with the Act of 1858 leave wonderful possibilities for the chapters still unturned.

Chapter V.

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The place of the university in Scottish history down to and at the present time.

It must not be supposed that we leave the consideration of the Scottish university at the date 1858. To do so would be to abandon the race with the goal in sight; but we do not after this point pursue with great minuteness the actual historical course. Our standpoint is not detached enough to allow us to speak with any assumption of finality upon events so recent; but apart even from this, we bear in mind that our essay is essentially an abstract consideration rather than an exhaustive history. It remains for us on broad lines to survey and to see more closely the place that the university has filled in the national life of Scotland and the British Empire, to discriminate its position in the ranks of the world's great academies its divergencies and similarities, and its methods and influence.

It was the versatile Voltaire who said: "Il faut dans une histoire comme dans une pièce de théatre, exposition, noeud et dénouement" - and the same is true in the present connexion. The 'exposition' we have already had in the rise of the papal and post-Reformation universities; the 'noeud' we have found in the pseudo-university colleges of the reformers and the problems they involved, and the 'dénouement' we have partly effected in discussing the legis-

lative efforts of the government towards the universities and the new era thus inaugurated. To follow out this "unravelling" down to more recent days is now our aim. Several links worthy of notice connect the present with the past. It is significant to note in the history of Scotland that her universities are now "the only true continuators of the mediaeval organization,"[1] for they recognise the following elements as constituting the 'university' (1) the students (2) the graduates, or magistri non-regentes (3) the professors, or magistri regentes (4) the Rector (5) the Chancellor. The Court is the supreme governing body, the Senatus the body that practically governs. In other words the principal and professoriate form the executive body. The Court is formed from the students who elect a Rector as its head, who in turn appoints an Assessor; from the Senatus which sends to the Court its Principal and another representative; from the Council (i.e., the general body of graduates) which sends an Assessor, and from the Chancellor who elects an Assessor but does not himself sit.

We give this constitution in full to show the republican [2] and autonomous character of the Scottish university. Scotland has happily preserved the essential 'privileged independence' of her universities, and at the same time, as in Edinburgh, recognised the supervisory rights of the State. This action is, we think, justifiable

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1. Laurie p. 193.
2. cf "republica litteraria" historic appellation for the university.

and right. The State as "a sort of guardian of us all"[1] has surely a voice in so great a track of the national affairs as the great university system occupies; but on the other hand it is recognised by statesmen - true scions themselves of their Almae Matres - that "alien government would destroy entirely the universitas and convert it into a college".[2] This principle Scotland has preserved sacred since the troublous days of the Reformation whose hard lessons showed them that when the University sinks to the level of a "department of state" it at once becomes a political instrument. Francis Newman in his editorial preface to Prof. Huber's works said "England needs her universities to assume a place of intellectual, moral and spiritual superiority such as shall lift them entirely above the dense clouds of Party. They should move in a higher, serener atmosphere unaffected by its storms. Reverenced by all, they should restrain all and unite all ... They must not be desecrated as a political tool ... these grand centres of Historical and Political Philosophy to whose wisdom all parties should gladly listen".

The university must be State-supervised, but never must it fail to rise above party political government. Professor Laurie boldly says, that'any infringement of the autonomy of our universities would endanger the future national liberties more than the

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1. Rt. Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P. Lord Rector Univ.of Edin. Address in McEwan Hall, Edin. Oct. 19th, 1906.
2. Prof. Laurie.

infringement of the autonomy of municipalities'; and the history of Scotland clearly illustrates this. Another link in the historical chain, upon which we shall not dwell, but upon which it is interesting to touch, shows us that the old mediaeval system of 'Nations' has its shadow to-day in the Scottish Universities, to one of which at least, Edinburgh, the colonies send more students than to any other university and in which not only have Australia and Canada, etc., their own 'associations' but where the students as a body have a Representative Council to attend to their interests. When Scotland however made its abrupt and decisive break with the Middle Ages and with the mediaeval and monkish system the universities moved forward into the higher development and specialization of study in all branches, - medicine, civil law, theology, philosophy and so on.

This movement of the universities out of the existing trammels into a larger freer and truer life was signalised by a definite course of action in which Scotland declared boldly for the Professorial and Historical system, in contrast to that into which the great English universities had at that time drifted.

This mention of the English universities, as opposed to the northern, leads us to that vital and important discussion which involves the

'Professorial v. Tutorial' controversy and the
Collegiate System

and further leads to a consideration of university study and to

a contrast of Scotland with the foreign schools. On this subject we have authorities differing in their ideas as widely as the east from the west, and the true pathway must without doubt lie somewhere between the two extremes. Scotland and the party of the North have ever championed the Professorial idea, pointing to the mediaeval and modern German system, and marching under the standards of Progress. England and the South have sustained the Tutorial and Collegiate methods pointing bravely to the traditions of Oxford and Cambridge. Before we go on to compare the course that Scotland adopted with that pursued by Germany, we may briefly state the essential views on both sides of this vexed question and then proceed to find out, if possible, where the true ideal would lie.

In studying Scotland's attitude towards these great questions mentioned, the Professorial and Tutorial systems, the Collegiate life and the non-Collegiate life, the examples of Germany and other nations, we see the part that the Scottish university has played in the latter days of the country's history and the position it fills to-day. The Collegiate universities of England possessed originally "Halls", where groups of students gathered round one teacher managed their own affairs and so on. Germany's early universities had a similar system of 'Bursae', so-called from the common purse the students kept. In time charitable colleges (e.g. Merton, Oriel, University, etc.) arose due to the poverty of the scholars, who occupied a position subordinate somewhat to the "Hall" men. Paris

University possessed similar institutions, e.g., the Dominican college of the Sorbonne and the Franciscan hostels, whilst the Italian universities also had "societies of poor students living in common under a superintendent and supported by endowments".

Gradually the ancient and honourable "Halls" at Oxford and Cambridge sunk to be merely supplementary to the "colleges". Fuller, the historian of Cambridge, says: "As stars lose their light when the sun ariseth,so all these hostels decayed when endowed colleges began to appear in Cambridge". The proud and wealthy colleges of to-day were therefore originally the charitable houses for the humbler and poorer section of the Universities. In time their liberal endowments and legacies raised them to become practically 'clubs for the rich'. Indolence and perfunctory lassitude crept in and despite the excellent work of the English collegiate universities to-day, the tutor and the colleges still swamp the university. Scotland on the contrary after a brief 'college' age declared for the non-collegiate system and the Professorial idea as in Germany. The true university of the future will probably be a combination of the two. "The present day", says Newman, "gives us instances of the two antagonistic evils of naked universities and naked colleges. The great seats of learning on the Continent, to say nothing of those in Scotland, show us the need of colleges to complete the University; the English on the contrary, show us the need of a University to give life to an assemblage of colleges". Not wholly unbiassed perhaps in other views Newman here draws for us a fair and lucid conclusion.

The Professorial system of Scotland fulfils the strict idea of a university and is sufficient for its being but hardly for its complete well-being. The position of the Scottish University has in the past distinctly triumphed at times over the English. When the colleges of the latter had swallowed up the university proper and themselves become stagnant and indolent the Professorial 'university' of the North, unweighted by the incubus of colleges was moving onwards vigourously. But now that the 'University' is assuming its place again in England it is uncertain whether, strengthened as it now is, by a powerful and ripe collegiate supplement, it will not outstrip the hale but less clothed university of the north. The difference between the University and the college is clear. "A university embodies the principle of Progress and a college that of stability, the one is the sail and the other is the ballast..... each is useful to the other .... the university is for the world and the college for the nation. The university is for the Professor and the college for the tutor; the University is for the philosophical discourse, the eloquent sermon, or the well contest -ed disputation: and the college for the catechetical lecture." Oral instruction must always be as superior to books as emphasis is to italics. The Professor, we are told is "the science or subject vitalised and humanised in the students' presence" but it was Newman's opinion that the student needed the college tutor to supplement the Professor. "It is not easy" he says, "for a young man to

determine for himself whether he has mastered what he has been taught; a careful catechetical training .... will be necessary...."
Moreover the college has a peculiar moulding and polishing influence. So far then it would seem that the Scottish Universities have been singularly backward and inadequate in their total exclusion of the collegiate system, but this is not wholly so. If the Professorial system has excluded benefits, it has also escaped dangers. The 'professorial' Universities of the north have not been swamped by the colleges sacrificing as Oxford and Cambridge for a time did, their true position as a 'university', the organ of Progress and productivity, for the false position of a luxurious 'haut école' imparting a general liberal education. Again, although "the Scottish Universities have been marked off from others in this country by the absence of the outward signs and machinery of a corporate life...... it is not certain that the substitute for the college life in which the tendencies of to-day have taken shape ... is not on the whole more adapted to the character of the Scottish student."[1] The speaker of these words supported this view by mentioning traits in the Scottish character that suggested it, but he concluded by leaving it an open question whether or not finality in the Scottish universities had been reached. We believe not, and the reasons for this we shall evolve later. The same struggle between the Professorial and Tutorial systems that we have followed in our own land was carried

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1. Rt. Hon. R.B. Haldane, M.P., Lord Rector Univ. of Edin. (address in Mc Ewan Hall, Edin. Oct. 19,1906, reported in Scotsman , Oct. 20)

on with sustained energy in the German universities, who finally ranged themselves on the side of the professorial and progressive party. In no country do the great Universities play so great a part as in Germany and a comparison between the German and the Scottish schools is extremely useful and significant. It was the custom at one time to hold the German universities up to reprobation as revolutionary, rationalistic and pedantic. The ecclesiastic party of Newman was wont to unfairly term the German professors "clever charlatans or subtle Sophists who aim at originality, show, popularity at the expense of truth", but to-day the pendulum of opinion has swung decidedly in the other direction and we see differently. In Scotland the problem of latter years has been how to provide professional and technical education as well as the general liberal education which Oxford and Cambridge cultivated and how to promote research and adequately recognise the natural sciences without fatally discouraging the study of the ancient classics. Here, the experience of Germany is helpful to us. "The classical controversy" was fought out by Germany years ago and Prof. Jebb has given us a clear insight into the struggle between the Realschüler and the Gymnasien. The controversy began by the expressed views of some eminent Berlin scholars (quite unbiassed by mediaeval prejudice in favour of the humanities) who declared that the classics furnished the most effective instrument of instruction, and culture. Other influence temporarily prevailed, but 10 years later a new and

later set of Berlin scholars repeated to the Government the same view supporting the judgment of centuries in favour of the classics as a preliminary education and proving that whereas the Realschüler students amassed ill-digested facts, the Gymnasien scholars were trained in intellect and better able to penetrate into deeper study.

Matthew Arnold [1] has also dealt with this 'classical controversy' in Germany, and believes the humanists and realists to be equally important. The circle, he says, cannot be cut in two, neither half being 'common or unclean' and the Davys and the Faradays, he regards as equally important as the humanistic leaders. The 'bifurcation' came, Arnold maintained, in after life, when the pupil was mature and able to select his particular line of study. This undoubtedly is true, but Germany as a nation would not forego the splendid training ground of the classics and on this wise decision is reared the magnificent preliminary education of that country. From it Scotland has much to learn. In Germany the schools and universities form one vast and highly organised machine, whereas in Scotland and England the school system is united to the university by few and feeble links. We leave the universities and professions to regulate themselves, Germany organises them. The professional man in Germany is deeply read and cultured. In fact, Madame Stael has said: "En sortant des écoles on sait d'ordinaire très-bien le latin et même de grec. 'L'éducation des

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1. Arnold "Higher Schools in Germany, Cap. 3.

universités allemandes', dit un écrivain francais 'commence ou finit celle de plusiers nations de l'Europe'." We guarantee professional capacity with as much education as will do. Germany provides a deep classical course before professional study can begin. Schopenhauer called the merchant the only honest man, for he manifestly seeks gold whilst the 'professional' scholar, said Schopenhauer, sought gold but disguised his quest under the cloak of learning. This contempt for mere professional study was so intense in Germany as to give rise to the famous disputes in regard to the "Bread Studies" and the desire for the abolition of all the "professional faculties". But, recognising that after all it is only the minority that do not have to earn their bread, Germany stood firmly, as did also Scotland, for the professional training ground of the university. Since this time the German universities have everywhere been pioneers in research, progress and independent thought. Their doctors have been prolific book writers and great investigators. Scotland can even now learn something from Germany as to the organization of her secondary education as a preliminary to university study. Yet this 'organization' so prominent in German education is not free from disability. A recent German writer referring to this has said of the British universities "they are not the places of systematic learning that ours are;... but the want of reverence for their teachers which we Germans consider so deplorable becomes a peculiar source of strength and ... the

English schools and universities teach something that we do not; that is - they produce rulers of men." This lack of governing energy and resource in which our university alumni outshine the Germans has been touched upon also by Madame Staël in these words: "Les gouvernmens sont les vrais instituteurs des peuples et l'éducation publique elle-même quelque bonne qu'elle soit, peut former des hommes de lettres mais non des citoyens, des guerriers, ou des hommes." We have seen something above of the relation of the Scottish universities to the German and the English. The Scottish university will not, we believe, stand still. A scheme of collegiate and university teaching, of professorial and tutorial study is needed. Even as Oxford and Cambridge are awakening to a fuller conception of the 'university', so it may be that in the future, Scotland will gradually adopt the advantages of the 'college'. The Scottish university stands, as it ever has, for the advance of science and research. It needs to consider more, the education of the individual. The extra-mural teaching that is carried on so largely might in time be made intra-mural and a more tutorial method adopted. Indications are not wanting to show that already Scotland is recognising this great fact and in a recent address delivered within the University walls of the capital, a high leader in his own science said [1]: "Some of us have thought that we were (in days past) over lectured.... Time has changed in that respect and I imagine that

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1. Address before Royal Medical Soc. Edin. at 170th Session (26th Oct. 1906) by Sir Dyce Duckworth, M.D., L.L.D., F.R.C.P.

while you have less <u>professorial</u> you have more <u>tutorial</u> pabulum presented to you". Reviewing then, the position of the university broadly in Scottish history we see that it has nobly served the whole nation, but in thinking of the mass of students chiefly, has omitted to provide for the needs of exceptional groups. The university has "adhered too long to a cast iron system of classes and degrees" and has done too little for unremunerative research in philology, history, the physical sciences and kindred bypaths. The endowments have been small and the State perhaps too hard and parsimonious. Germany which spends 8 times the actual fees of the students in lavish apparatus and in maintaining scantily attended chairs for the pure promotion of research and learning, does so readily and with national and political advantage. It is the work of to-day to alter and regulate these affairs in Scotland - a work that is even now going forward. The great secondary-education problem of the land still awaits solution. We see in Scotland a good school system still prevented by the action of the universities. Local and provincial culture cannot rise high, whilst the first years course at the Scottish universities discredits the high dignity of a university. Possibly the records of "little-go" at Oxford and Cambridge do not present a higher state in the south. The movement of late years in Scotland for the endowment of research is the revival of a Baconian dream. The Professors true attitude, as Laurie points out, is that of the old humanist, de Ferrières, "I desire to teach what I have

learned and am daily learning". We do not deprecate the idea of 'culture' so largely aimed at in the sister universities of England. Style and form are attractive and valuable, but we claim for the Scottish University the truer aim throughout its history of deep learning and Progress. The school education question, so important at this time in the national life of Scotland, is one upon which a compromise with the Universities will probably be made. To drive out secondary instruction altogether from the Faculty of Arts would be a retrograde step detrimental both to the church and the school, for "the Universities are the home of the Arts and Sciences existing equally to teach them as to promote them."

The consideration of these Abstract questions of university study and method is the problem that faces the student of university history as regards the latter period. As we come to the position of the northern universities to-day we advance more on to speculative ground. To-day we see a difference in the attitude to the university of both the Church and the nation. Down to the 18th century the Reformation jealousy (or at least mistrust) of the university lingered on in the Reformed church. Like Knox of old, they did not wish the university to assume too prominent a place. Their ministers were not required to graduate and both the church and country lost by this ministerial avoidance of the Arts Faculty course. The attitude is now changed and the rights and place of the university recognised. The poverty that formerly characterised the great

Scottish seats of learning is also being dispelled by a new era of endowments and prosperity. Perhaps the greatest feature of university life in relation to the nation to-day, is the fact that Scotland has practically thrown open her universities to the whole nation, by means of a Trust instituted by a wealthy benefactor[1], which has placed almost everyone in a position to receive university education. What effect this is destined to produce and whether Scotland is ripe for a system of organised or at least of freely offered University education we do not here discuss. It would be too much in the nature of conjecture. The dignity of the University is not in any danger from this position as the Trust safeguards it and the nation by conditions of competitive examination that leave no room for license or abuse. Possibly the greater need in Scotland, however, is found in the reform necessary for secondary education, and the problem that awaits the solution of the Scottish people is the adjustment and regulation of the school system with the university.

In the above treatise we do not claim to have spoken with finality; we have traced the course of the university through the varying ages of the national life, dismissing often with a line the contents of a page and for purposes of condensation eliminating where we would like to dilate, yet it has throughout been a faithful endeavour to follow the track of our subject, presenting its changing historical features, and elucidating its problems.

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1. The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

Appendix of Authorities.

Out of the vast literature that we possess on university history and from the still wider field of education and culture, continental and insular, that our subject opens out to us, we cannot select and name every authority and book that has been of use to us. Countless references must remain unmentioned. But it seems appropriate to record the more prominent works; and in doing so, we have classified them under the sections of the essay which they variously chronicle and elucidate. Thus:-

For our Introductory sketch of the Rise and Constitution of Universities, we have:-

Capes: "University life in ancient Athens", 1877.
Crevier: "History of Paris University".
Compayré: "Abelard and the Origin and early History of Universities". 1893.
Father Denifle[1] "Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters" 1885.
Huber: "The English Universities", 1843.
Kirkpatrick: "The Historically Received Conception of the University considered", 1857.
Laurie's: "Rise and Constitution of Universities", 1886.
Newman's: "Office and Work of Universities", 1856.
Rashdall's: "The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages", 1895.

For the history of the Scottish Universities and of this period we have:-

Aberdeen University: "Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis". Edited by Anderson.
Glasgow University: University Old and New, 1891
Memorials of the Old College, 1869
St. Andrew's University: Lang's "S. Andrews", 1893
Lyons', "History of S. Andrews", 1843
Edinburgh University: Craufurd's History (1580-1648) 1808
Dalzel's History 1862
Grant's Story of Edinburgh University. ... ... 1884.
John Knox: "History of Reformation" (Laing's edition)
Cosmo Innes: "Sketches of early Scottish History".

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1. This valuable work is indispensable to the student of mediaeval and university history. It was the first really to dispel the mythical stories of the beginnings of Paris University and to place its inception definitely between the years 1150 and 1170.

For the English and Continental Universities, their history etc., and relation to the Scottish ones, we have the well known historical works -

Huber's:	"English Universities" (already mentioned)
Foster's:	"Oxford men and their Colleges", 1893.
Jeaffreson's:	"Annals of Oxford", 1871.
Fuller's:	"History of Cambridge University".
Mullinger's:	"Cambridge University to 1625".

(We also have the College histories and the Rectorial addresses).

Montalembert's:	"L'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre" (Cap. on English Schools and Colleges.)
Bristed's:	"Five years on an English University" 1852. (A useful little book that gives us some sidelights on internal University life.)
Matthew Arnold's:	"Schools and Universities on the Continent" 1868, with its reprint - "Higher schools and Universities in Germany". 1874.
Conrad's:	"The German Universities for the last 50 years". 1885.
Kaufman:	"Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitaten" 1888-96.
Lexis:	"Die deutschen Universitaten" 1893
Paulsen:	"Die deutschen Universitaten und das Universitatsstudium", 1902.
Madame de Stael:	"L'Allemagne" (Cap. 18: "Des universites allemandes".)

Besides the above we mention:-

Leclerc : "Le role social des Universites", 1892.
Westcott: "Religious Office of Universities" 1873.
Mark Pattison's: "Suggestions on Academical Organisation"
"Edinburgh Review": July, 1852.
"Macmillan's" 1878 - Vol. 37.

Other periodicals, reviews, etc., have been of service to us, whilst Professor Hume Browne's "Biography of Buchanan" gave us glimpses of some of the mediaeval Universities, and Canon Sheenan in his early essays and Lectures." pub. 1906 has laid down some ideas of a university, taking the German ones as his lay figure and discussing the "professional v. the tutorial" question. We have also valuable Reformation literature, the national histories of England and Scotland, and various historic MSS in the Scottish Universities' libraries. The works are too many to place in our appendix, but many of them cannot be neglected by the historian who would arrive at a full realization of his subject. With these general acknowledgments then, this reference list may be closed.