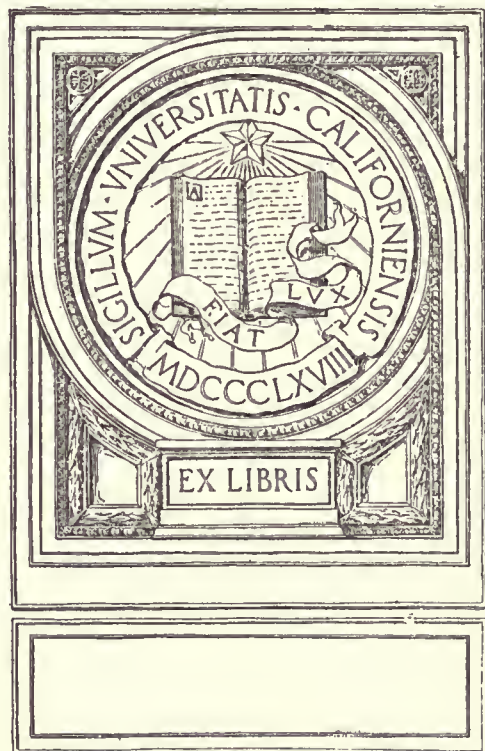




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## VOTIVA TABELLA



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THE COATS OF ARMS BELONG RESPECTIVELY TO

JAMES KENNEDY, Bishop of St  
Andrews 1440-1465, founder  
of St Salvator's College  
1450

ALEXANDER STEWART, natural son  
of James IV, Archbishop of St  
Andrews 1509-1513, and JOHN  
HEPBURN, Prior of St Andrews  
1482-1522, cofounders of  
St Leonard's College  
1512

THE UNIVERSITY

JAMES BEATON, Archbishop of St  
Andrews 1522-1539, who com-  
menced the foundation of St  
Mary's College 1537; CARDINAL  
DAVID BEATON, Archbishop 1539-  
1546, who continued his brother's  
work, and JOHN HAMILTON, Arch-  
bishop 1546-1571, who com-  
pleted the foundation  
1553

SIR GEORGE WASHINGTON BAXTER,  
grand-nephew and representative  
of Miss Mary Ann Baxter of  
Balgavies, who founded  
University College  
Dundee in  
1880

# VOTIVA TABELLA

A MEMORIAL VOLUME  
OF  
ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY  
IN CONNECTION WITH ITS QUINCENTENARY  
FESTIVAL

MCCCCXI



MDCCCCXI

Quo fit ut omnis  
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella  
Vita senis

HORACE



PRINTED FOR THE UNIVERSITY  
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND COMPANY LIMITED  
MCMXI

UNIVERSITY  
OF ST. ANDREWS

LF1111  
A5

GIFT  
*Presented by the University*

1880  
1880

## PREFACE

THIS volume is intended primarily as a book of information about St Andrews University, to be placed in the hands of the distinguished guests who are coming from many lands to take part in our Quincentenary festival. It is accordingly in the main historical. In Part I the story is told of the beginning of the University and of its Colleges. Here it will be seen that the University was the work in the first instance of Churchmen unselfishly devoted to the improvement of their country, and manifesting by their acts that deep interest in education which long, before John Knox was born, lay in the heart of Scotland. The statements on this subject will be found interesting, not only for what they tell about St Andrews, but for the light they throw on the source and the original nature of University life in Europe generally. Our friends will not, we are sure, think it strange that we not only trace the origin of the various elements in the constitution of the University and speak of the place of books in the system of teaching before the Reformation, but also dwell on the names of the famous men, statesmen, soldiers, scholars, churchmen, poets, who have in different periods looked to our University as their Alma Mater.

## PREFACE

In Part II the attempt is made to show what part St Andrews has taken in that great transformation of learning, which is one of the principal glories of the present age. As each of the great studies has undergone renewal, our University has not stayed behind, but has bestirred herself, so far as her resources allowed, to take her place in the advance. Partly by the aid of Government, partly by the generosity of her private friends, she has increased her staff, added new buildings and equipments, opened up new lines of study and research, improved in manifold ways the position both of her teachers and her students.

Part III, while it includes one or two studies in serious biography, is in great part devoted to the less severe forms of literary composition. Appreciations of St Andrews from various points of view, some in prose and others in verse, have been contributed by representatives from old and new generations of alumni; and we are indebted to honorary graduates of the University and to others connected with her by various ties for imaginative work, in poetry and in prose, that was no less willingly offered than gladly accepted.

We hope that the decorative treatment of this volume will enhance its interest in the eyes of our friends. We thankfully acknowledge the generous services of those to whom we are indebted for the emblematic cover, the heraldic frontispiece, and the twenty illustrations which are scattered through the pages of this book.

In the lines quoted on the title page from the first Satire of his second book, Horace speaks of the works of his older



## PREFACE

contemporary Lucilius, as having received the confidence of that poet, who carried to them rather than to any other companions what he had to say about the vicissitudes of his career. They might thus be compared to a votive tablet in which a sailor, escaped from shipwreck, hung up in a temple the record of his perils and escapes. In like manner does the University of St Andrews, now come to a venerable age, tell her story in this volume, in commemoration and thankfulness.

*September 11th 1911*



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Cover design

*Thomas Delgaty Dunn, Head Master of the Dundee School of Art*

Arms of the University and of the Founders of its Four  
Colleges

*Frontispiece*

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*PART I*

HISTORICAL

*Laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis*





THE PLACE OF ST. ANDREWS IN THE  
SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY SYSTEM



## The Place of St. Andrews in the Scottish University System



THE object of this paper is to exhibit the influence which the University of St. Andrews exerted on the other Universities of Scotland and on the fortunes of the Scottish people in the great crises of their history. It is needless to say that this can be done very imperfectly within the limits assigned to the paper. It will not be possible to go into details. Even if this had been possible, a complete treatment of the subject would present innumerable difficulties, as no influence can be exerted by one force alone in this world but only in combination with a number of other forces, some of which may remain entirely concealed from the human mind, or may present themselves in such a way as to place them beyond the range of accurate comprehension.

At the outset it is necessary to say something of the state of Scotland before the University was founded. In this anterior period many Scotchmen had become eager in the study of theology and cognate subjects. Numerous ecclesiastics had travelled to Rome and become acquainted with the Universities of Italy, such as that of Bologna, where there was a fair number of Scotch students, some of whom obtained high positions. Others had gone for their education to France, especially to Paris, where they received residence in the Scots College of the

## ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

Bishop of Moray, and to other places like Orleans, which attracted them by the fame of its law school. Their names occur frequently in the lists of such Colleges, but especially in the registers of Paris. Others, though comparatively few in number, had visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, attracted partly by the institution of Baliol College, which was expressly founded for the benefit of Scotchmen. There was always a chance of wars between Scotland and England, and Scotchmen disliked the English for the claim which they made for political and ecclesiastical supremacy over Scotland. Notwithstanding this, however, Scotchmen did find their way to the South, and we have notices of the two Universities in the history of Major, who gives, as he does throughout his whole history, a frank, unvarnished statement of what he knew. He says: "There are, further, in England, two illustrious universities: of which one—I mean Oxford—is famous even among foreigners." . . . "There is yet another university, that of Cambridge, somewhat inferior to Oxford, both in the number of its scholars and in reputation for letters. It too possesses very fair foundations of kings and queens. . . ." "Another college is Christ's (in which I formerly heard lectures for three months—for this reason, that I found it to be situated within the parish of Saint Andrew)." Thus a great number of Scotchmen had received a University education abroad, but the majority of them were ecclesiastics, and if they returned to Scotland they would be sure to make their way to St. Andrews. St. Andrews is thus described by Leslie: "In fife, mairouir, sittis the Primat of the Realme, the citie of S. Androes is the chief and mother citie of the Realme; for frome him it hes the name, quha is named patrone of Scotland, to wit S. Andro, quhair with vs is a famous Wniuersitie and a notable schule." St. Andrews was thus the place where the ecclesiastics throughout the kingdom would congregate. There ecclesiastical courts would be held,

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ecclesiastical assemblies would take place, and every kind of topic would be discussed. It was therefore likely that at these meetings the question of instituting a national University should be raised, and ecclesiastics would have no difficulty in settling the problem if they were only earnest enough in the matter. In fact, they had simply to agree to institute regular teacherships, and this was what actually took place. The University of St. Andrews was created by the ecclesiastics who were in the habit of coming to St. Andrews resolving to open up classes for cleric students and dividing amongst themselves the subjects which were to be taught. They had themselves studied these subjects abroad, and were well qualified to teach them. Major remarks: "In the same year the University of Saint Andrews had its beginning. I marvel much at the negligence of the Scots prelates, who were content up to that time to go without a university in the kingdom." It seems to us that he is quite right in saying that there was no reason why the prelates should not have established the University long before, for no financial question lay in the way. The ecclesiastics who undertook the teaching had rich benefices, and if they taught the young clerics in St. Andrews they were allowed to absent themselves from their benefices. After resolving to teach the ecclesiastics, they got the sanction and support of Bishop Wardlaw, who gave them a charter with many privileges, and no doubt the University would start with numerous attractions. In St. Andrews the students who assembled would meet with the prelates who had most of the ecclesiastical preferments in their gift, and who could easily find lucrative places for the young men who distinguished themselves in their studies. It is remarkable that the nobles seem to have taken no active part in the establishment of the University. Three of them, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Douglas and the Duke of Albany had their shields placed on the mace for the University in about 1418-1419, but we do not hear of them

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contributing in any way to the support of the University. Encouragement, however, came from the King. When a boy he was under the care and tuition of the Bishop, but he was captured by the English at an early period, as Boece thinks, to his great advantage, for he was trained in all the refined arts during his exile. Probably he had been well informed of what the Bishop had done in regard to the establishment of the University, and certainly his name was used in connection with that event. On his return to his native country he took a deep interest in the new institution. He went to St. Andrews, mingling in the discussions of the students, and laid down a regulation that no man should have ecclesiastical preferment unless he took a degree at the University. This would be a strong motive both for attending the University and gaining distinctions in it. The University thus became widely known in Scotland, and exercised a powerful influence.

This influence is seen in the establishment of a University in Glasgow. Bishop Turnbull, who founded the University there, had studied at St. Andrews, and naturally adopted in Glasgow the regulations in use in his own University. It is also likely that he had often visited St. Andrews about the period when he thought of his new project, and was well acquainted with Bishop Kennedy, who founded St. Salvator's College in St. Andrews. Bishop Kennedy was a man of the finest character, and all the historians of Scotland praise him in the strongest terms. He was entrusted with the management of affairs during the reign of James the Second, and he had charge of James the Third during his minority. In this capacity he showed remarkable skill and wisdom in repelling the attacks of the most powerful of the nobles on the privileges of the throne, and the historians ascribe to him alone the merit of bringing the country into a perfectly peaceful condition. But some credit is due to the Bishop of Glasgow, who aided



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him in his efforts, and was no doubt on the best terms of friendship with him, and so the two would work together for the advance of both Universities. On the establishment of the University of Glasgow, the form of government adopted seems to have been that which was appropriate strictly to a University, the Rector being the managing head ; but the system did not work altogether well, and it was resolved to revise and remodel the system of government. For this purpose they selected Mr. Andrew Melville to be Principal of the University, and he is generally reckoned the first Principal. Andrew Melville had been educated at the University of St. Andrews, and showed remarkable powers as a student. He then became a teacher in the University. Afterwards he left Scotland altogether, and visited or taught in several of the most important Universities on the continent. He was a man of wonderful capacity, and no doubt he stands forth as the one who exercised the most powerful influence on all the Universities. He had now to organise the University of Glasgow according to his own ideas. Probably even when he was a student of St. Andrews he had been led to think much of the question how to regulate and arrange the Universities. He was a pupil of John Douglas when he was Principal of St. Mary's College. Douglas with Wynram (sub-prior of the Augustinian Monastery at St. Andrews) were the two members of the committee of six men commissioned to draw up the first book of discipline, who are rightly believed to have composed the sections of that book which relate to schools and Universities, and no doubt Melville would hear from Douglas the discussions which were taking place in regard to these very important clauses. Melville also came into close communication with Buchanan and Arbuthnot about the schemes which ought to be framed for University education. He himself had mastered nearly all the subjects which ought

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to be taught in a University. He knew Greek, Hebrew and other Oriental languages, and was eager to inculcate on his students that the mastery of these languages was incumbent on all divinity students. He also took an independent position in regard to the teaching of Aristotle. Aristotle's works had been the text-books with all the previous theologians, and it was certainly difficult to do without him, because his works set forth in the best manner for the time all the aspects of the study of nature and all the aspects of the study of man, and they did this in such a way as not to tread upon the disputed subjects of theology. His works had thus come to be deemed invaluable; but Melville read the works of Aristotle with his pupils in the original Greek, insisted on his fallibility, and following his teacher in Paris—Ramus—he discussed the doctrines of Aristotle as if he were an ordinary man. Besides this independence, Melville was genial in the highest degree, and so won the affections of all those with whom he came in contact. It is believed on all hands that he did splendid work for the University of Glasgow. He subsequently removed from Glasgow to become Principal of his old college, St. Mary's, in St. Andrews. When he left, another student of St. Andrews—Smeaton—was appointed, but his term of office was so short that no great results could be expected from it. Subsequently, however, in the troublous times of the Civil Wars and religious disputes amongst the Scotch, another St. Andrews man was appointed Principal—John Strang. He was educated at St. Leonard's College, and after taking his degree acted for some time as Regent in the College. On all hands it is recognised that Strang did exceedingly well for the University of Glasgow, and left it in a flourishing condition. The policy which he pursued was steadily to fix his eye on the interests of his University, neglecting or taking no part in the numerous religious conflicts



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that were raging around him, and though he had a difficult part to play, he was successful in securing great benefits for the University.

The connection of the University of St. Andrews with the founding of the University of Aberdeen is not so clearly brought out by the facts of history as in the case of the University of Glasgow, but this may be owing partly to the circumstance that we know so very little of the movements that went on in Scotland at the time of that event. The founder, William Elphinstone, was educated at Glasgow University, and distinguished himself greatly there. We are told in regard to him that Bishop Turnbull took a special interest in him while he was a student, and doubtless he would hear from the Bishop much of the ways of the University at which he himself had been trained. There is also considerable probability that Elphinstone became acquainted with Bishop Kennedy in St. Andrews. Kennedy was devotedly attached, as we have seen, to James the Second and James the Third, and it is possible that the affection which Elphinstone showed to James the Third may have been produced by the acquaintance which he made with him at St. Andrews. Certainly Elphinstone followed in the path of Kennedy. He did for the later years of James the Third what Kennedy had done for the earlier, and he followed the same lines of action in regard to James the Fourth which had been pursued by Kennedy for James the Second. At a subsequent period after Elphinstone had travelled much abroad and then returned to Scotland, Archbishop Schevez appointed Elphinstone Official of Lothian. The performance of the duties of this office would probably bring him frequently to St. Andrews, as when any difficult case arose he would have to consult the Archbishop and probably he would have to attend courts at the seat of the Primate. Thus Elphinstone would have a full knowledge of what was being done at the University. The

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person appointed as the first Principal of the University was Hector Boece. He was a native of Dundee and had his early education there. There is no statement that he attended the University of St. Andrews before he went to the Paris University; but it is likely that the regulations of James the First in regard to degrees would compel him to spend some time there, since no doubt he intended to be a priest. Boece's knowledge of the University of St. Andrews and its doings is singularly minute and accurate, and could have been got only by personal observation, and hence the inference has again and again been made that he must have attended the University. The influence of the University of St. Andrews became very distinct when a Principal had to be elected for the Aberdeen University immediately after the Reformation. The person selected was Alexander Arbuthnot, who was educated in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. He was a great friend of Andrew Melville's and had imbibed his ideas. The character of the man is praised alike by contemporary friends and foes, and his management of the affairs of Aberdeen University produced one of the brightest periods in its history. The influence of Melville was also visible in the man who is called the second founder of the University, —Patrick Forbes. He was a kinsman of Melville, studied under him when he was Principal of the University of Glasgow, and removed with him to St. Andrews when Melville removed to St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Forbes's love of learning and devotion to the Aberdeen University may be due to some extent to Melville's influence, and in this way he promoted the origination of the school of Great Divines which went by the name of the "Aberdeen Doctors." Baur<sup>1</sup> sets down the book of one of these, the son of the Bishop, on what may be called historical theology, as one of the few great books produced in that age. Melville also exercised considerable

<sup>1</sup> *Lehrbuch d. christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, 2nd ed. p. 32.

## ST. ANDREWS IN SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

influence on the founder of Marischal College, who adopted his opinions and tried to carry them out in his new University.

When we pass to the post-Reformation University of Edinburgh we come again upon the influence of Melville. He had as a fellow-student in the College of St. Mary, St. Andrews, in 1559, a young man of great ability called James Lawson, who in the course of time was appointed teacher of Hebrew in that College and afterwards sub-Principal of the University of Aberdeen. Knox formed a great affection for him, and when he was in his last illness he got Lawson appointed his successor in Edinburgh. On coming to that city Lawson at once occupied himself with the educational institutions of the place, and procured the erection of new buildings for the High School of Edinburgh. He also devoted his energies to realising the suggestion which he had made to the Town Council of having a College in the city. The Town Council followed his advice and took the necessary steps, and Lawson obtained for them the countenance of the King. The exertions which he made are recorded in the first history of the University of Edinburgh by James Crawford, who had studied at St. Andrews. The historians of Edinburgh University all regard it as a fact that if it had not been for the exertions of Lawson the College would not have been instituted at that time. By the advice of Lawson the Town Council elected Robert Rollock as the first Principal. He had studied in St. Salvator's College in St. Andrews, and became a Regent in it. He was a man of profound learning and a wise administrator, and the College flourished under him. At a subsequent period the University got into distress during the various religious conflicts, and its fortunes seemed to be falling, and again a graduate of St. Andrews University came to its help. This was the famous Alexander Henderson. In 1640 "it was ordained that in time comeing an Rector should be chosen yearly, who should have the general

## ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

inspection of the University, assisted by an select number of the City Council, the Ministry, and some of the Maisters of the Colledge; and for the year ensewing, they made choise of Mr. Alexander Henrison, minister of the Great Kirk of Edinburgh. An beddell also was appointed to carry an mace of silver before the Rector at all solemnities." Henderson discharged the duties of Rector with great assiduity and wisdom, and the public again recovered its confidence in the University and its professors. The number of students increased, the revenues were carefully handled, and considerable additions made to them, and Crawford again describes step after step the measures by which the University was restored to a satisfactory condition.

I now proceed to take a short glimpse of the effect which some of the men connected with the University of St. Andrews had on the destinies of the nation. In doing so it is not necessary for me to say anything about the movements which occurred before the beginning of the fifteenth century, as every one knows how in the previous centuries great changes took place all over Europe in the ideas which men had formed in regard both to Nature and to man, and how different conceptions of the whole mode of life had come into play. These conceptions were to a certain extent embodied in the character and activities of the life of James the First. He did much more than any one of his age to promote these changes both by what he was and what he did. This will be seen at once if we look into the character of James the First. Major thus describes him: "The king was a man of the finest natural gifts and of a very lofty spirit. He took in all manly exercises a foremost place; further than all could he put a large stone or throw the heavy hammer; swift he was of foot, a well-skilled musician, as a singer second to none. With the harp, like another Orpheus, he surpassed the Irish or the Wild Scots, who are in that art pre-eminent.



## ST. ANDREWS IN SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

It was in the time of his long captivity in France and England that he learned all these accomplishments. When he wrote the language of his own country he showed the utmost ability of that sort." Boece gives a much fuller description in his beautiful Latin. It is identical in purport, but it works out in detail his various physical and intellectual powers. Thus he adds that he was an excellent dancer. *In choreis saltationibusque leuissimus, promptissimus.* Here the conception of life is that it is one's duty to pay profound respect to the body and to cultivate it in all manly exercises, in the same way to cultivate the mind in all that tends to the enjoyment of one's own life and the life of others. The conception is in direct antagonism to the ideas of the saintly men of the fourth century, as portrayed by Palladius or in the *Paradise of the Fathers*, who retired to the desert to spend their life in contemplation of the divine being, to macerate the body, and through the suffering of pain to attain to heaven. The King was in his character what we now call a thoroughly modern man, and Boece mentions that he was eager to gather around him learned men from all quarters of the world, calling him the parent and Maecenas of all literature. We know that amongst the men whom he thus brought some came from England, that these introduced rather luxurious habits, and that Bishop Wardlaw was employed to harangue against the extravagances and what he deemed the vices of these men ; but we do not know whether these men were laymen, nor have we any idea in what forms of culture they were distinguished. James himself when he came from England seems to have regretted that the University had not been founded at Perth, where he himself principally resided, and probably this desire arose from a wish to diminish the exclusiveness of the prelates in devoting themselves to the education of clerics, and to have around him laymen who might apply their minds to

## ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

history and poetry and the other forms of culture; but this is mere conjecture.

The new life appeared prominently in the writing of history, and the two men who specially distinguished themselves in this department were Boece and Major. Boece's history is beautifully written, and is full of exquisite descriptions of events and characters. Major's work, on the other hand, belongs to what we should now call the scientific method of history. He desires to get at the exact facts, applies his reason in dealing with marvellous or improbable events, and speaks out his mind with fearless independence, and some of his discussions, such as on taxes and on property and land, have a remarkably modern air, but he paid no particular attention to his style. Boece's history was translated into very expressive and beautiful Scotch by Bellenden, who had studied at St. Andrews, for the benefit of King James the Sixth, and another St. Andrews student turned it into a metrical chronicle, both translators taking considerable liberties with the original, and the second, Stewart, apologising for his own want of ability and his neglect of his studies while at the University. After these historians came Buchanan, who wielded the Latin language with singular grace and beauty, and dealt with some of the difficult problems of government in speeches of great power which he puts into the mouths of his characters. There is one remarkable feature in all these histories and even in the jejune historians of Scotland that preceded him. Above everything they breathe the spirit of freedom. The earliest of them—Barbour—expresses this passion for freedom in beautiful lines which are well known to all; but the subsequent historians, Fordoun, Bowar and even Wyntoun represent kings as the servants of the people, who have the right to elect them, to dethrone them, to banish them, or to put them to death when their tyranny leads to injustice and to barbarous conduct.

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Buchanan gave full expression to this conception of the position of the King in his famous work, *De jure regni*, and the subject was afterwards continued by Milton and others. These made a deep impression on the whole Scottish nation, and the treatment of the kings in the early fictitious narratives is not sadder than that which the historian has now to give of the fate of all the Stewart monarchs who sat on the Scottish throne.

The new life which came after the sleep of the middle ages awoke the spirit of poetry throughout Europe. It appeared first in Italy, the land in which the great movement arose, and many poets flourished there and poems of great excellence, one or two of them amongst the greatest efforts of the human mind, were produced. The wave of poetic inspiration spread through other lands, and at length reached England. From England the impulse came to Scotland about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and remained with us until the internecine conflicts between the various ecclesiastical parties in the seventeenth century put an end to all flights of imagination and deadened most of the higher feelings. In Scotland the King led the way, and, as we have seen, it was acknowledged that he was possessed of no mean degree of poetical power. Then many poets or writers of verses arose, but among them all there were four that stood foremost, showing remarkable genius. These were Henryson, Dunbar, Gavin Douglas and Sir David Lindsay. Henryson was a Licentiate in Arts and Bachelor in degrees, and was incorporated or admitted a member of the newly founded University of Glasgow, but where he received his education is uncertain. He could have studied in Scotland only at the Universities of St. Andrews or Glasgow, for these were the only Universities then existing. Dunbar studied in St. Salvator's College in the University of St. Andrews, taking his degree of Bachelor in 1477. Gavin Douglas also studied at the University of St. Andrews, and Sir David Lindsay entered the

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University of St. Andrews in 1505 in St. Salvator's College. Thus the most brilliant poets of the period came from this University. Several of the minor poets were also students in St. Andrews University. Besides the poems in the native language, a very large number wrote their poems in Latin. Buchanan, Principal of St. Leonard's College, was *facile princeps* of the whole of these, though he had some notable rivals, especially in the Aberdeen University. Most of their poems have been edited for the New Spalding Club in three volumes, the last volume being edited by Mr. Leask, who deserves the greatest praise for the diligence and accuracy which mark his work. In that volume many references are made to the members of St. Andrews University and to their poems or their connection with the writers of the poems. It looks as if most of the students at the Universities learned to write Latin verse, and there is scarcely one famous man, lay or clerical, who has not left encomiums, or epigrams or epitaphs in the Latin language, Andrew Melville amongst them.

The next movement to which we may refer is the great movement of the Reformation, and in regard to this the University of St. Andrews occupied a foremost place. Calderwood evidently thought that the movement had its principal origin there. He says: "Within short space, manie beganne to call in doubt manie things which they held before for certane and undoubted veriteis, in so muche, that the Universitie of Sanct Andrewes, Sanct Leonard's Colledge principallie, by the labours of Mr. Gawin Logie, and the novices of the Abbey, by the Sub-Prior, Mr. John Winrame, beganne to spy the vanitie of the receaved superstitioun. Mr. Gawin Logie instilled into his scholars the truthe secreitlie, which they, in processe of time, spread through the whole countrie, wherupon did arise a proverbe. When anie man savoured of true religion, it was said to him, 'Yee have drunken of Sanct Leonard's well.' Yea,



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within few yeeres after, beganne both Blacke and Gray friars to preache publiclie against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abusses of the whole Ecclesiasticall estate."

Mr. David Laing prepared notices of the Protestant exiles from Scotland during the reign of King James the Fifth for his life of Knox. He mentions fourteen. Of these fourteen eleven were educated at the University of St. Andrews, one was educated at the Universities of Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Glasgow, and it is not known in regard to the other two at what university they were educated. Some of these exiles had interesting careers. John Hill Burton has described the strange adventures of Alesius, and Dr. Mitchell has added to the information which Burton has given. He became Professor of Divinity in the University of Leipzig. Fyfe, another of them, became Professor of Philosophy and Divinity in Frankfurt, and James Wedderburn and John Wedderburn wrote works of considerable importance, and to John Wedderburn is attributed the metrical version of various Psalms included in the *Gude and Godly Ballates*. Many men also in Scotland made themselves voluntary exiles. Buchanan was one of these, for he was long uncertain what side he would take in the Reformation, and accordingly he spent a large portion of his time in France and Spain, tutoring or acting as teacher or professor in various universities. A notable instance of a similar career is found in the case of the Admirable Crichton. He entered St. Salvator's College in 1569 when nine years of age, graduated as Bachelor of Arts at twelve, and became Master of Arts at fourteen. His family were Roman Catholics, and naturally he was glad to remove to the continent. His history after this event is full of romance, which has been well described by Mr. Douglas Crichton, who has unearthed quite recently many interesting documents in regard to him, and published them in a volume prepared for this 500th celebration.

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It is needless to say that many of the most prominent men who took part in establishing the Reformation in Scotland were trained at the University. John Knox was one of them. Beza states that John Knox was educated at the feet of John Major, the most celebrated of the sophists of that day, in the town of St. Andrews. Beza had the best means of getting exact information about Knox, as he was acquainted with himself, and was intimate with some of his most intimate companions, and no doubt the person who sent him the image for his book would write the notice attached to it. It seems to me that the notice can be perfectly trusted, and any kind of evidence which has been adduced to the contrary is worthless. Knox was very fond in his later years of retiring to St. Andrews for rest, and took a deep interest in St. Leonard's College, often talking with the students, and urging them to follow the right path, and no doubt he would have much intercourse with the men who spread the evangel over the length and breadth of the country.

The next great movement in Scotland was a sequel to the Reformation. The Roman Catholic Church had been deprived of all power, and then came the question what form of government should be established in the new Protestant Church. The people approved of the Presbyterian form, the King ultimately determined to introduce Episcopacy. His efforts to introduce this form were met by strong opposition. The Scottish nobles and people of every class followed the example of the Israelites of old, who joined themselves in a perpetual Covenant with God that they should be the Lord's people, and God would be their God, and this Covenant was adopted practically by the whole nation. It was a Covenant that they should serve God alone, that they should put down idolatry, extirpate all heresy and everything that was contrary to what in their opinion was the only true Christian faith and religion, pleasing

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God, and bringing salvation to man. Every person in the realm was to be compelled to sign this Covenant, and bind himself to observe it for all time to come. The ideas that pervaded the Covenant were peculiarly Jewish. In the Mosaic Law idolatry was strictly forbidden, and death was the penalty for every one who worshipped idols. The Covenanters believed that they were bound to obey this law and to put to death all Roman Catholics or others whom they deemed to be idolaters. They swore that they would endeavour to extirpate popery and prelacy, *i.e.* Church government by archbishops, etc., and in this endeavour they took legal powers to punish all who favoured these forms of ecclesiastical organisation and belief. Every officer in the State and all members of Universities were to be dismissed from their offices if they did not adhere to the Covenant, and Members of Parliament were to sign the Covenant before they could sit in that body. In fact they resolved to expel or extirpate every one who did not adhere to the Presbyterian form of government and the creed which it professed. Among others, of course, the King must swear to maintain the Covenant and to adhere to it in every respect, and if he did not he might be deposed or put to death. In this singular programme of procuring a united Church, with no dissenters of any kind, the Scottish nation had many leaders, but the two most prominent of them were the Marquis of Argyll and the Earl of Montrose. The Marquis of Argyll entered St. Salvator's College in 1622. There is not much known of what he did at College, but a medal exists which he presented to the University, because he was captain of the Archery Club and gained the first position in archery competitions. He also played golf well. The medal bears the date of 1623. We have a glimpse into his mode of life afterwards from a statement by Wodrow. "He" (Mr. Alexander Gordon, the minister of Inveraray) "told me," says

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Wodrow, "that the Marquis of Argyle was very pious. He rose at five and was still in *privat* till eight. That besides family worship, and *privat* prayer morning and evening he still prayed with his lady morning and evening, his gentleman and her gentlewoman being present; that he never went abroad, though but for one night, but he took his write-book, standish (ink-stand), and the English notes, Bible, and Neuman's Concordance with him." His great rival, the Marquis of Montrose, entered St. Salvator's College in 1627 at the age of fourteen, and a medal also was given by him as captain of the Archery Club in 1628. Interesting documents have come down to us exhibiting the way in which he spent his time during his student career. He was a bright and beautiful boy. Mr. Mark Napier says of him: "Even at St. Andrews College he was the beau ideal of a young cavalier. His recreations were hunting, and hawking, horse-racing, archery, and golf; poetry and chess, heroic and romantic histories, and classics. Nor did he lack those attributes of the knightly character, the occasional wassail, and the frequent largesse." We also find notices of his studies. He read Buchanan, Barclay, Raleigh, and was particularly fond of the books that gave the lives of the great heroes of antiquity, Quintus Curtius, Xenophon, Caesar and Plutarch, and he bestowed some attention on books of romance. These books fired his ambition, and it is evident even at that early stage that he resolved to achieve greatness. Afterwards he expressed this ambitious feeling in the verse:

"As Alexander I will reign,  
And I will reign alone;  
My thoughts did evermore disdain  
A rival on my throne;  
He either fears his fate too much,  
Or his deserts are small,  
That dares not put it to the touch  
To gain or lose it all."

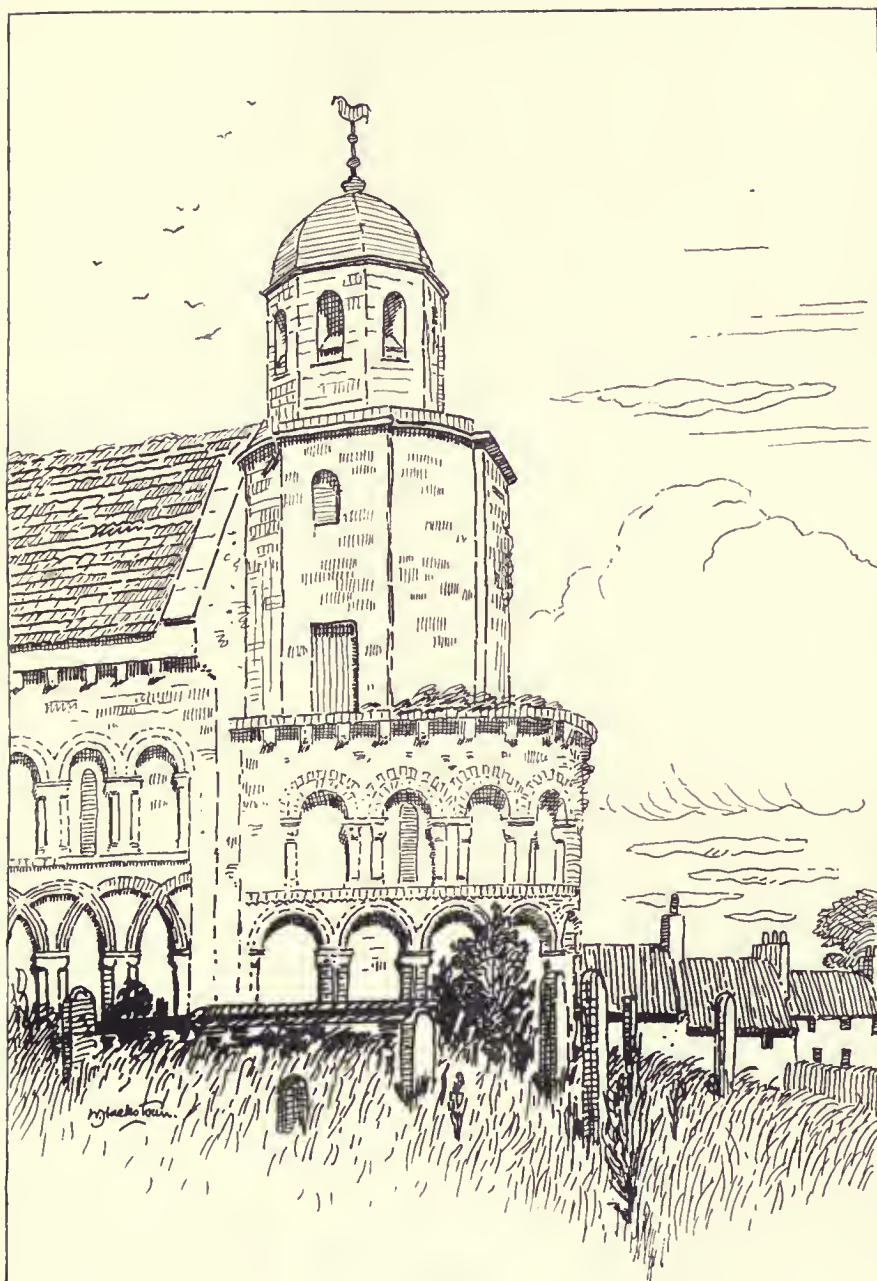


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During his youth he was lavish in giving presents to all who came in contact with him, especially to servants, pipers, the boy who wrote notes for him on his class work, and to men in similar positions, and there is no doubt that he was naturally kind and generous. The careers of the two leaders were very different. Argyll in a striking degree gained the confidence of the Scottish people, was shrewd and wise in his counsels, and steered his way through the enormous difficulties which the perplexities of the situation caused in such a manner as to deserve high praise. Naturally, as all men in similar situations have had to experience, he was blamed for tortuous ways and infidelity to his party, but there was no real foundation for such accusations. He often kept his own counsel, and did not reveal to any one his motives ; but there is nothing to indicate that he was anything but a straightforward, honest man, deeply religious and true to the Covenant. His difficulties with the King were great. He believed to the end that the King must carry out the principles of the Covenant and did his best to persuade him to do so, actually crowned him when the King was in Scotland, and professed affection for him ; but the King did not take to him, and when he came to the throne at the Restoration, Argyll was executed. Montrose also accepted the Covenant, and at an early period he may have been drawn by the universal enthusiasm of the people into something like religious fervour, but it is plain that he never felt deeply the religious motive. He was probably somewhat indifferent to forms of Church government, but he also had the strong Scotch persuasion that the monarch should be a constitutional monarch. He had the feeling that if the King were to trust him he could bring all parties into peace with each other, and that the King might have a happy reign if he adopted constitutional principles. He was eager to get his hand into the management of the army, or into

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the most prominent place in politics, and there is no saying what he might have accomplished ; but when the Solemn League was formed, with the application of the Covenant principle to England and Ireland as well as to Scotland, he believed that the League meant the dethronement of the King, and he stood by the King, still believing that he might induce him to be constitutional. He thus became obnoxious to the old Covenanters, and he was executed. There is no reason at all to suppose that he acted dishonestly in any transactions which are attributed to him. He was fearless, serene and self-possessed amidst all the distractions of the period. Besides the nobility, the ministers of the Church took a very active part in these troublous times, and sometimes added to the troubles by their dogmatic opinions ; but one of them stands prominent as a man of great judgment, calmness of temper and an earnest desire that the aims of the Covenant should be accomplished peaceably. This man was Alexander Henderson, whom we have mentioned already in connection with the University of Edinburgh. He studied at St. Salvator's College in the University, and became afterwards one of the Regents of Philosophy in that College. Subsequently he was appointed to be minister of Leuchars church, remaining there for a long time, when he went to Edinburgh, and finally resided there. He often presided at the General Assemblies, and wrote the statements which were placed before the whole of the people in the name of the Assemblies in favour of the Covenant. When the most important of all the Assemblies was to be held in 1638, Baillie makes this statement in regard to the election of a moderator : " We were somewhat in suspense about Mr. A. Hendersone ; he was incomparablie the ablest man of us all, for all things : we doubted if the Moderator might be a disputer ; we expected then much dispute with the Bishops and Aberdeen's Doctors : we thought our loss



THE NORMAN APSE OF LEUCHARS CHURCH





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great, and hazardous to tyne our chief champion, by making him a judge of the partie ; yet at last, finding no other man who had parts requisite to the present Moderation, (for in Messrs. Ramsay, Dick, Adamson, Rollock, Cant, Livingstoun, Boner, Cunninghame, there was some things evidentlie wanting,) we resolved, Mr. Hendersone of necessitie behooved to be taken." Masson in his *Life of Milton* makes frequent mention of him, always with high praise, and thus sums up his character : "Alexander Henderson : since 1639 one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and since 1640 Rector of the University of Edinburgh (annually re-elected) : aetat. 60. As Henderson has appeared again and again in this History, I have only to add here that my researches have more and more convinced me that he was, all in all, one of the ablest and best men of his age in Britain, and the greatest, the wisest, and most liberal of the Scottish Presbyterians. They had all to consult him ; in every strait and conflict he had to be appealed to, and came in at the last as the man of supereminent composure, comprehensiveness, and breadth of brow. Although the Scottish Presbyterian rule was that no churchman should have authority in State affairs, it had to be practically waived in his case ; he was a Cabinet Minister without office. The tradition in Scotland is perfectly just which recollects him as the second founder of the Reformed Church in that part of the island, its greatest man after Knox." It is remarkable that nearly all the ministers who took part in the Covenant movement at this time were scholarly men well acquainted with the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament. The work of Samuel Rutherford, *Lex Rex*, who was appointed Principal of St. Mary's College in 1647, is largely sprinkled with extracts from the Old Testament printed in the original Hebrew.

The next movement was the ecclesiastical action from the period of the Restoration to the Revolution. It was the reversal

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of the previous policy. The prelatical party had become all-powerful, and the King was entirely on their side, and so it was resolved to treat the Covenanters as the Covenanters had proposed to treat them : they were to be extirpated from the land without mercy. The person who appears as the most prominent in this movement, and indeed is regarded as a kind of hero, was Claverhouse, who is registered as entering the third class of St. Salvator's College in 1660. After leaving College he spent a considerable time abroad as a mercenary soldier, and he then did remorselessly what his position required. On coming back to Scotland he seems to have determined to follow in the footsteps of Montrose, but he had not the ability nor the same power of noble action. He had, however, the aristocratic notions which led Montrose to look down on the masses of the people, and allow his victorious soldiers to slay the vanquished without mercy. Claverhouse was appointed to deal with the Covenanters, and his instructions were singular. "The new officials would be empowered to put the laws in execution only against withdrawers from public ordinances, keepers of conventicles, such as are guilty of disorderly baptisms and marriages, resetting and communing with fugitive and inter-communed persons, and other vagrant preachers." Claverhouse looked upon the people who are mentioned in these orders as a base and worthless rabble, and felt no scruples of conscience and no touch of pity in putting to death these fellows who were impudent enough to rebel against their King. Then the Covenanters themselves were no longer scholarly men of the past times, but they still fed their minds on the Old Testament narratives, and were convinced that they were doing right in following the example of the three young men in the furnace who had refused to bow to any of Nebuchadnezzar's gods. They believed that God would be with them in all their trials, and that ultimately they would prevail over their persecutors. This is a most miserable time in

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Scottish history, but it ended with the establishment of a constitutional monarch on the throne, and with the establishment of Episcopacy in England and Presbyterianism in Scotland.

After this period for a long time the University was in low waters, but notwithstanding the distress in which it was, some of the students or professors distinguished themselves as poets, philosophers, historians, theologians, and in other departments of culture. Their history belongs to the history of the departments in which they excelled. The only great movement that stirred the people was the ecclesiastical movement. The Church of Scotland gradually was divided into two parties, the one called the Moderate, and the other the Evangelical, and within the General Assemblies these two parties continued their struggles for generations. The most prominent leader of the Moderate party was Dr. William Robertson, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who was widely known for the histories which he wrote. He took a great fancy to a young man, George Hill, who was born in St. Andrews, studied at the University, became Professor of Greek in it, and ultimately was Principal of St. Mary's College. Hill had in an eminent degree the qualities which fitted a man for leadership in General Assemblies. He was an able scholar, a sound theologian, a man of much serenity of mind, and a hard worker. He presents a very good picture of what a Moderate was. The Moderate hated fanaticism, he disliked religious ebullitions, he had no sympathy with outbursts of religious feeling, but wished to go quietly on in the even tenor of his ways. He was orthodox in his opinions, and he stated the doctrines calmly. Hill published a compendium of theology, which was regarded by all parties as the most perfect compendium that had ever been prepared. He was the leader of the Church for a very long period. The principal question that arose was that of patronage, and Hill's position was that as patronage was the law of the land, the law should

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be obeyed whatever might happen. He thought that if any member of the Assembly believed that the law was wrong and infringed the dictates of conscience, he should retire from the Church, in which he was not a real member. The contests continued on patronage, and on various collateral topics, but the Evangelical party gradually gained strength. Hill died and was succeeded by his nephew, the Rev. George Cook, who also became Principal of St. Mary's College. He was a man of like spirit, extremely well acquainted with the history of the Scottish Church, and well versed in all the precedents of the Assemblies, and thus well able to guide them, but he had to meet an opponent of a different style of mind. This was Thomas Chalmers. He was educated at St. Andrews University, entering the United College when not yet twelve years of age. Afterwards he taught mathematics in rivalry with the Professor of the day, then obtained the Moral Philosophy Chair, and took a vigorous and sometimes rather disagreeable part in the transactions of the College business. Finally he left for Edinburgh. He became the leader of the Evangelical party, and as all people know, he was a man of fiery eloquence, of strong convictions, of an anxious desire for the salvation of the masses, and was among the first preachers to turn the attention of his Church to economic questions. His influence grew more and more, and at last the Church of Scotland was divided into two at the Disruption in 1843. Since that time the University has continued in vigorous action, wielding much influence on the country, but it is too early yet to discuss what this influence has produced. I have no doubt, however, that when the proper time comes the historian of the movements that are now taking place will recognise the fact that the University has done much to advance the ideas which will end in creating the new Church and the new State of the twentieth century.

JAMES DONALDSON.

## THE PIOUS FOUNDERS





## The Pious Founders



IN 1410, one of the years of a distressful period of Scottish history, "the University of St. Andrews took beginning." The young King James I. was a captive in England, but the prison which divided him from his country protected him from the cruel hands of Albany, the Scottish regent. Disturbed though the state was, Laurence of Lindores, and with him seven wise men, pursued a calling of peace and began to teach in the city of St. Andrews. Laurence, *magnus theologus et vite venerabilis vir*, expounded the Fourth Book of the Sentences. The Canon Law was entrusted to Master and Doctor Richard Cornel, Archdeacon of Lothian, Dominus John Litstar, Licentiate in Decrees and Canon of St. Andrews, Master John Scheves, Official of St. Andrews, and Master William Stephen, who was afterwards Bishop of Dunblane; while Masters John Gill, William Fowlis and William Crosier lectured on Philosophy and Logic. The records of the University of Paris show that in 1393 Laurence, who was a Master in that year, was unable to accept the office of Procurator of the English nation, in which the Scots were included. He was still in Paris in August, 1403, and probably soon afterwards he passed to his own land, where in 1407 he presided as *inquisitor haereticae pravitatis* at a congregation which condemned James Resby, a Lollard or Anglican preacher of the school of Wiclif, the first of the two men of the fifteenth

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century who died in Scotland for their faith. The grim duties of the inquisitor would carry with them no salary, but Laurence obtained the rectory of Creich, in Fife.

The Prior of St. Andrews, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews and Laurence of Lindores are named with honourable mention in connection with the inauguration of the University, but to Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, is ascribed the praise most justly due to the founder of the institution which has continued through five eventful centuries of Scottish history. In the days of his youth he was a student, perhaps in Oxford, but certainly in Paris, Orleans and Avignon; and after enjoying the fruits of benefices in Glasgow and other dioceses was promoted to St. Andrews by the clever and irascible Spaniard, Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict XIII. St. Andrews was the first in age and rank of the Scottish sees, and the prelate, mindful of the duties of his high station, sought a remedy for the intellectual destitution of the land. When England, France, Germany and lesser states had universities, was Scotland to have no school of higher learning? For the advancement of their countrymen a Scottish lady had established a college in Oxford and a Scottish cleric had erected another in Paris, but in fulfilment of their plans Devorgilla Balliol and the Bishop of Moray had expatriated their benefactions. Apart from the demand of honour that Scotland should not suffer among the nations, there was a clamant need for a university. The expense of travel touched the Scot, who was always thrifty and generally poor. A student, too, in search of learning would not rest in England, where his king was a captive, and the scholar's tranquillity was rudely injured in places where men suffered for hailing Benedict as the Vicar of Christ.

The papal schism, dividing the nations, was disastrous to the peace of the Scot abroad, and Henry Wardlaw, with compassion for his countrymen and consideration for the pride of the nation,



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permitted, and perhaps invited, Laurence with his learned associates to gather students into his fold. Zealous for the welfare of the school which had been opened in his city, he granted, February 28, 1412, a deed of constitution and charter of privileges. With episcopal generosity, practised by other prelates in other lands, he enacted that holders of benefices, for which deputies had been provided, might still retain them while residing in the University.

The bishop's charter guaranteed his patronage, but a papal or an imperial Bull was necessary if the school was to be ranked as a *studium generale*. Scotland had no dealings with the Emperor Sigismund; but Benedict might aid her, welcoming a golden opportunity to earn her gratitude and strengthen her obedience in the days of his affliction. Accordingly the young king, though still a prisoner, and the Bishop, Prior, Archdeacon and Chapter of St. Andrews, with consent of the three Estates, made representations to Benedict. They urged that St. Andrews was a suitable place for a *studium generale* or *universitas studii*, and for their own part promised privileges, liberties and immunities to students and servants. With papal grace Benedict acceded to the request of his Scottish petitioners, and from Peniscola, August 28, 1413, issued Bulls, in consideration of the purity of faith and conspicuous devotion of James and the inhabitants of Scotland to himself and the Apostolic see. With a reference to the quiet and peace of St. Andrews, the food supplies and the hostels for students, Benedict announced that in the hope that the city, enriched by Divine providence with so many gifts, would be fertile in the sciences and beget many men distinguished for knowledge and virtue, he instituted, founded and ordained by Apostolic authority a *studium generale* in Theology, Canon and Civil Law, Arts, Medicine and other lawful Faculties. The bishop was made Chancellor of the University, though he was otherwise designated, Conservators Apostolic were named,

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and it was set forth that the Rector must be a graduate and in holy orders. No one was to interfere with the papal ordinance and decree: "*Si quis autem haec attentare praesumserit indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli, ejus Apostolorum, se noverit incursurum.*"

The Bulls, six in number, were committed to Henry Ogilvy, Master of Arts, and on February 3, 1414, the bearer of privileges entered St. Andrews. On Sunday, the following day, in presence of a solemn congregation of clergy gathered in the refectory of the priory, the Bulls were delivered to the bishop; and when these had been read aloud, the clergy chanting the "Te Deum" marched in procession to the Cathedral Church. Before the high altar the singing ceased, knees were bowed, and the Bishop of Ross invoked the Holy Spirit and repeated the collect *Deus qui corda*. The remainder of the day was spent in mirth, and men drank wine in their gladness, while at night great fires were kindled in the streets and squares of the city. Two days later another procession, including four hundred clergy, was formed for the glory of God and the praise and honour of the University. A service was held at which High Mass was celebrated by the Prior of St. Andrews and a sermon preached by the Bishop of Ross.

The school of St. Andrews was elevated to a university by Benedict, and yet four years after the reception of his Bulls the Faculty of Arts rejected him as pope. Deposed by the Council of Constance, but eager to retain the allegiance of Scotland, he persuaded the Regent to allow Harding, an English Franciscan, to plead his cause. Albany yielded and Harding appeared in Scotland. *Contra eum tota universitas insurgebat*; and at a congregation of the Faculty of Arts, held in the church of St. Leonard, August, 1418, obedience was transferred from Benedict to Martin V. Laurence of Lindores, who had sent James Resby to death and had doubtless inspired

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the University statute of 1416 requiring Masters of Arts to swear to the defence of the Church against the Lollards, was the dominating personality of the Faculty, and under his influence the papal founder of the University was repudiated.

It was resolved, too, at the meeting of the Faculty that the mace which was being made should be had from the goldsmith, as doubtless the members would use it when they proceeded to the National Council which was to choose between the rival popes.

King James, named in a modern verse "a poet true and a friend of man," shed the light of his favour on the University, but no royal gift is recorded. He desired, indeed, its transference from St. Andrews to Perth, and in 1426 addressed a petition to Martin V. The University, however, remained in the old episcopal city by the margin of the waves and James issued charters of concession and confirmation of privileges. Tradition did not forget his patronage of learned men.

Hector Boece, a most lively historian with a fertile imagination, narrates in words translated by Bellenden, that after the foundation of the University "mony excellent and noble clerkis war brocht out of sindry cuntreis to be preceptouris in it. Followit gret confluence of young pepil, out of al partis of Scotland, for desire of letteris... specially at the cuming hame of King James the First in Scotland. This noble prince was sa ful of virtew, that he held al men of science in gret reverence." It is told, too, that James "veseit the Universitie of Sanct Androis, oftymes present at thair generall disputationis; and tuk sic pleseir thairintil, that he dotat the Universitie with sindry privilegis, and gaif thaim power to cheis maist perfit personis, that he micht put thaim to gret prelacyis of Scotland, as thay vakit." George Buchanan shows how James after his return from England instructed the

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teachers of colleges to name distinguished scholars to whom benefices might be given ; and Drummond of Hawthornden declares that the king decreed that a canon in a Cathedral Church must be a bachelor of divinity or of canon law. In the words of Archbishop Spottiswoode the king did "countenance professors with his presence at their lectures."

In the first years of the University, though classes were taught, there was no provision for salaries or buildings. Laurence and his associates drew the revenues of their benefices ; but beyond these revenues, diminished by payments to substitutes, they received no stipends for their labours, and there was not one official room outside the walls of a consecrated chapel in which a lecture could be read. In 1419, however, Robert of Montrose began the laudable work of endowment by the gift of a house in the south street of the city, and in addition twenty-four shillings of annual feu-duties. His intention was to institute a college for the teaching of theology and arts, with Laurence as master, rector and governor, which should bear the name of St. John. The tenement could be used for lectures, and the adjacent chapel of St. John was kept for the sacred purposes of the Faculty of Arts, but the free money was altogether inadequate for the endowment of a college. Another donor appeared in the good Bishop Wardlaw, who in 1430 bestowed a building adjoining that given by Robert of Montrose. The prelate desired the regents and masters of the Faculty of Arts to hold, rule and govern within his tenement schools of arts and, if required, grammar schools ; and, further, to erect and repair halls and chambers for the students. Though not endowed the Pedagogy, as it was specially named, became a place of residence in accordance with a regulation of 1414, *quod omnes studentes in artibus viverent collegialiter*, and a resolution of 1429 that one pedagogy, instead of the houses of the masters, should be recognised. Laurence



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and two masters were appointed to govern it, and the presence of the *inquisitor haereticae pravitatis* within its walls would secure a strict adherence to the faith.

Henry Wardlaw, founder and first Chancellor of the University and donor of the Pedagogy, is named in the honourable list of the national benefactors; and if his memory is not sanctified by any special holiness which graced his life he was at least a wise and patriotic Scotsman who laboured for his generation and built for the ages. It is narrated by one who was not always a faithful witness, that when a Parliament attempted to check the custom of riotous cheer and banquets, the bishop with dignified prejudice worthy of a Scot and austerity as of a later Puritan declared that the friends of the king had brought with them the manners of Englishmen, which were "richt dammageus to the pepill." The legend reveals Wardlaw as a guardian of morals zealous for the public good, and it was he who discerned the intellectual needs of his country and founded the first Scottish University.

Wardlaw died in 1440, and in the same year James Kennedy, grandson of Robert III., was translated from Dunkeld to St. Andrews. Kennedy was prominent in the councils of James II., and through years of the childhood of James III. was master of Scotland and ruled it well. Generous in the use of his wealth he struck the imagination of the people by three notable acts. He founded the College of the Holy Saviour, erected a magnificent tomb therein to perpetuate his memory, and built the vessel known as the Bishop's barge. One chronicle tells how "through the whole land the common speaking was that these three were all of one and the same price, all alike sumptuous," and another declares that "it was reckoned by honest men of consideration being for the time, that the least of them cost ten thousand pounds sterling." In mediaeval practice a prelate could neglect religion for politics, devoting

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to the State the time which was meant for the Church, and many a worldly ecclesiastic shamefully neglected his diocese, but all men spoke well of Kennedy. Great statesman and churchman though he was he did not despise the University which another had planted, but in 1450 added to it a college dedicated specially to the glory of the Holy Saviour. As the Pedagogy was without endowment, rival houses were opened, and discipline was not strictly exercised. Seeing the need of order Kennedy decreed that there should be a college, which his own magnanimity supplied. A confirmation of the charter was obtained in 1451 from Pope Nicolas V., the first of the Humanist popes, whose illustrious name is associated with the foundation of the University of Glasgow. For certain reasons a new charter was granted by Kennedy in 1458, which in the same year was confirmed by the Bull of Pius II. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, before his elevation to the papal throne as Pius II., had visited Scotland in the days of James I. and had beheld many things with a stranger's wondering eyes. "There I once lived," he afterwards wrote, "in the season of winter, where the sun illuminates the earth little more than three hours. . . . I saw the poor, who almost in a state of nakedness begged at the Church doors, depart with joy in their faces on receiving stones as alms." The stone was coal and was unknown to him. He wrote, too, "the men are small in stature, bold and froward in temper; the women fair in complexion, comely and pleasing, giving their kisses more readily than Italian women their hands." Aeneas Sylvius was not least among the Humanists and in choice Latin he recorded incidents of his visit to that country, which he could not forget when as Pius II., but still a man of letters, he confirmed the foundation of a college by a generous Scottish prelate.

The College of St. Salvator was established for theology and arts, and its members were a Provost, a Licentiate, a



THE COLLEGE TOWER AND CHAPEL FROM THE EAST





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Bachelor, four Masters of Arts and six poor Scholars. It was intended, too, that students capable of maintaining themselves should be admitted and subjected to discipline. The Provost, Licentiate and Bachelor, permanent officials who lectured in theology, were each assigned a rectory, while the revenues of a fourth benefice were given for the support of the College. Custom was not violated and honesty not injured when money, diverted from parochial into educational channels, was used on behalf of the poor. Logic, philosophy, mathematics and physics were taught by at least two of the Masters. On obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Theology the four Masters were to leave the College, as were the six Scholars when they became Masters.

Kennedy did not restrict his generosity to the assignment of benefices, which were not his private property, but at his own expense erected buildings. Of his fabric there now stands hardly one stone upon another, save in the magnificent chapel which is to-day the Church of the University. Four hundred and fifty years have witnessed revolutions in religion, and the forms of Catholic, Episcopalian and Presbyterian ritual have been observed; but throughout these years God has been worshipped in the temple erected by the pious bishop and the sacrifice of prayer has been offered through the Holy Saviour, to whose sacred name the College is dedicated.

In admiration, perhaps, of one of the fashions of Italy which he had visited, Kennedy raised in the chapel a monument, symbolic and beautiful in design, and in the vault beneath was laid when his rest had come. The monument, which is now but the ruin of the costly structure, might furnish to the sad critics of life a melancholy homily on vanity, but reverent hands protect it that it may carry down to the ages the memory of the goodly prelate. John Major, the last of the Scots to be numbered among the Schoolmen,

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while showering praises on Kennedy condemned him for the extravagance of the monument (*nec sepulchri sumptuositatem approbo*) ; and George Buchanan, with his contempt for Major, recorded that Kennedy erected a magnificent tomb "which the majority of men grudged him, though as a private citizen he had deserved well of most, and, as a statesman, of all." Two hundred years after Buchanan had left St. Andrews Dr. Johnson visited the city, and though he did not notice the St. Regulus tower and made no recorded speech regarding Kennedy's tomb he declared that "the chapel was the neatest place of worship he had seen." Patrick Graham, the nephew of Kennedy, and his successor in the bishopric, was more careful for the possessions of the diocese than for the property of the College. Kennedy, by his will, had given sums of money and silver utensils and other movables to St. Salvator's, and Graham, claiming these as belonging inalienably to the see of St. Andrews, contested the provision. The case proceeded wearily, till at last it was decided that Kennedy had acted within his rights, and that Graham must pay the costs.

St. Salvator's, fortunate in its endowment, became the formidable rival of the Pedagogy which was intimately connected with the Faculty of Arts, and ambition or necessity incited John Athilmer, the first Provost of the College, to seek the aid of the pope. In 1468 he represented to Paul II. that among the colleges of Scotland St. Salvator's was accounted notable, theology was constantly taught therein, while Masters and students were bringing forth good fruits in places *in quibus antiquus humani generis hostis certas haereses seminavit* ; and the request was made, which was duly granted, that the College should be permitted to conduct the necessary examinations and confer the degrees of Licentiate and Master. The papal Bull which bestowed the new privileges inflamed the jealousies within the University ; and in 1470 the Rector, whose interest



ST. REGULUS' TOWER, LOOKING WEST



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was in the Pedagogy, censured certain masters and students of St. Salvator's for not observing the statutes of the University. There was a serious danger that the accused might be cut off from the University, which was only averted when at a Council of the Scottish Church the Rector agreed to withdraw his process of "suspension, excommunication, aggravation and re-aggravation," and Athilmer, acting for St. Salvator's, promised to renounce the Bull. The Pedagogy continued for a time to exist alongside St. Salvator's, but it had no longer to compete with the smaller pedagogies which the Faculty of Arts had condemned.

Sixty years after the institution of St. Salvator's another college was established. In 1512 Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, founded the College of St. Leonard, and in the following year James IV. confirmed their charters. Alexander Stewart, the natural son of James IV., was appointed Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and afterwards in 1504, when a boy of not more than ten years, was elevated to the archbishopric. The youth was, of course, archbishop only in name, and was technically administrator of the see, as he was of the Abbey of Holyrood and the Priory of Coldingham, which were obtained through the expert simony of his royal father. The State as well as the Church was made to contribute to the honours of Alexander Stewart, and by 1510 he was Chancellor of the realm, being as well fitted to conduct the business of the great civil office as to discharge the duties of the chief priest of the people. The king did not neglect the education of his son, but sent him to Italy, where for a year he was instructed by Erasmus; and after Alexander's return to Scotland the influence of the illustrious Humanist was manifest, when his pupil became the patron and helper of learning. With the young archbishop the Prior of St. Andrews was associated in the foundation of St. Leonard's. John Hepburn, of a distinguished Scottish house, was to become



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notorious in the struggle for the archbishopric of St. Andrews after the fall of Alexander Stewart on Flodden field. Vicar-General of the see, and a candidate for the Primatial dignity, which in spite of all his machinations he did not secure, he drew, and was ultimately allowed to retain, the archiepiscopal revenues of two years ; and from his treasury, enriched by these revenues, came the money for the great wall of the priory, which endures to-day as his monument.

In a document of 1512 it is related that the young archbishop drew the attention of his chapter to the ruinous condition of the Pedagogy, and intimated his intention to endow it and erect it into a college, and, in particular, to annex a certain church to it. The plan for the Pedagogy was not completed, however, as the archbishop accepted Hepburn's scheme for a college for poor students. On August 20, 1512, the archbishop, the prior, and the convent granted a charter of foundation for "the College of St. Leonard, hereafter to be called the College of Poor Clerks of the Church of St. Andrews" ; and by a charter of February 1 of the following year the prior and convent endowed the College with certain lands. In the charter of "Alexander, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of St. Andrews, Primate of the whole Realm of Scotland, Legate born of the Apostolic See, and perpetual Commendator of the Monasteries of Dunfermline and Coldingham," it is narrated that Regulus, the holy servant of God, brought the relics of Saint Andrew by miraculous guidance from the city of Patras. Divers pilgrims set forth to the Church of St. Andrews because of the wonders for which the relics became famous ; and for the reception of these pilgrims the prior and convent of the church built an hospital joined unto the Church of the blessed Leonard. Whereas, the archbishop proceeds to say, "in the course of time the Christian faith had been established in our parts, and miracles and

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pilgrimages, as we may without impiety believe, had in a measure ceased, so that the Hospital was without pilgrims, and the Priors aforesaid did set therein certain women chosen by reason of old age who did give little or no return in devotion or virtue; we with intent to steady the tossing bark of Peter and make better the Church of God, so far at least as it is committed to our own jurisdiction and power, now that it is falling away from virtuous exercises, do erect and create as a College by our ordinary authority the Hospital and the Church of Saint Leonard . . . and do appoint thereto certain men, to wit a Master Canon, Chaplains and poor scholars of honest conversation and upright life . . . with others, Priests, Regents and students in the divers faculties to be appointed, not indeed to the intent that men be supported here for their poverty but the rather that in the Church persons learned in doctrine and of excellent instruction may be multiplied to the glory of God Almighty and the spiritual edification of the people." The confession that when the faith was established the miracles ceased was not alien to the doctrine of Erasmus, who, indeed, may have nurtured the young archbishop with his purpose to steady the tossing bark of Peter, and make better the Church of God. He was, as his master said of him, a man of deep religious feeling and great piety, without a trace of superstition. Alexander Stewart followed his father to Flodden, and died at his side. "What," wrote Erasmus in a panegyric, "hadst thou to do with the war-god, most gross of all the deities the poets sing, thou who wast consecrated to the Muses, nay, to Christ Himself?"

In Hepburn's charter the lands, houses and rentals are noted which were set apart for the endowment, and the prior himself prepared the statutes for the government of the College. The standard of education in the University was certainly not to be lowered, and the students were to be trained under rules which might have harassed a monk. The archbishop spoke

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in his charter of scholars "instructed in grammar sufficiently to undertake the other liberal arts," while Hepburn required the candidates for admission to be at least in their fifteenth year, and to show a satisfactory knowledge of syntax. These candidates were required to approach the Master Principal, praying on bended knees for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ to be admitted to the holy society of the College of the Poor.

Kennedy, when he instituted St. Salvator's, obtained a papal ratification, but no writing from Rome gave sanction to St. Leonard's. The death of Alexander Stewart at Flodden, and the strife for the archbishopric, which brought down on Hepburn the censure of Leo X., prevented the request for a Bull which should have been preferred by pious sons of the Church. David Beaton, however, after his appointment as legate *a latere*, granted in 1545 a charter of ratification, and thus a cardinal gave what a pope did not deny.

In the period of the Reformation the revenues of St. Leonard's were augmented by John Wynram, Prior of St. Serf's, Loch Leven, and Sub-Prior of St. Andrews. He was a determinant in St. Salvator's in 1515, and afterwards as Sub-Prior of St. Andrews, acted as a judge at the trials of Sir John Borthwick, George Wishart, and Walter Myln. Passing to the side of Knox, he was made Superintendent of Fife, and at his death in 1582 was buried in St. Leonard's Church, where a time-worn stone still preserves his name.

When there was no one amidst the political confusion of the Reformation to dispute the legality of his deeds, or to challenge his generosity, Wynram transferred to St. Leonard's the lands belonging to St. Serf's, among which was the barony of Kirkness. In a document, written first "*antiquo Scottorum idiomate*," but in the extant version made simple by a compiler, the tale of Kirkness is told, and it is shown that Macbeth and his wife Gruoch (*Macbeth filius Finlach . . . Gruoch filia Bodbe*,

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*rex et regina Scotorum*), bestowed it upon the Culdees of Loch Leven. Macbeth and Gruoch, Lady Macbeth, though they saw not into the centuries, were endowing the higher learning when they gave of their possessions to religion.

In the last generation of the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland James Beaton added another college to the University. From the dignity of Bishop-elect of Galloway Beaton was raised in 1509 to the higher eminence of the archbishopric of Glasgow, and in 1522 attained to St. Andrews. The year of Flodden saw his appointment to the chancellorship of the realm, and though the great office was eventually taken from him by James V., he served his country in good faith, saving her independence, which Henry VIII. molested. The closing of his political career gave him opportunity to turn to the Church of which he was primate, and though without aptitude to be an inquisitor and aspiration to be a persecutor he was the judge of Patrick Hamilton, and sent him to the stake. Other victims perished in his episcopal reign.

While Beaton had no pleasure in the death of a heretic, and cared not to warm himself at the fires of persecution, he had no fellowship with Martin Luther and Patrick Hamilton, but sought a companion in John Major, with whom he lingered in the shadows of mediaevalism. When the Church required a reformer and religion a quickening spirit, the archbishop did not sink into spiritual apathy, though the erection of a school of theology and science was the only remedy his wisdom could suggest. Alexander Stewart, as the long and dark night was ending, instituted St. Leonard's with the intent to make better the Church of God. When the light was coming James Beaton, *non ignorans quantum Christianae reipublicae et fidei orthodoxae conducat, ut militans Dei ecclesia viris litterarum scientia praeditis . . . indies abundet, ac cupiens aliquid in terris seminare quod perpetua in coelis felicitate possideat*, founded the College of the



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Blessed Mary of the Assumption, and saw not that a new day was dawning. Care for doctrine more surely than devotion to learning moved Beaton to establish the College, and yet the University gained what was useless for the Church.

The Pedagogy was beyond repair; but the site could be used for a new building, and James Beaton entered on the work of demolition and construction. He was an old man, and did not see the end of his labour. In 1538, however, he received Bulls from Paul III. confirming the foundation of the College and approving the annexation of two parishes as a provision for the teaching of theology, canon and civil law, physics, medicine, and other liberal 'disciplines'; while the right to grant degrees was obtained, as if St. Mary's was to be itself a university. Before his death James Beaton received his nephew David Beaton as a coadjutor in the archbishopric, and witnessed his elevation to the princely rank of cardinal, to which he himself had aspired. The aged prelate, desirous that the College should not suffer by his death, charged the cardinal with its advancement, and, it appears, assigned money for its completion. David Beaton, however, in his seven years of political turmoil, remembered St. Mary's only to annex a third parish for increase of the endowment and to make an occasional payment for the extension of the building. Alexander Hay, who presided over the College, urged him in his Panegyric to complete the work. After the murder in 1546 a papal Bull, with the words *cum autem . . . dictus David Cardinalis, morte immatura praeventus, praemissa omnia plene perficere nequiverit*, found an excuse for his negligence.

The last Archbishop of St. Andrews before the Reformation was John Hamilton, who sought to save his Church from ruin by trifling reforms in discipline and a catechism that offered a theology in place of the religion that was asked. Before the actual storm of the Reformation, however, he turned to

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St. Mary's and continued the labour which James Beaton had begun. Buildings were completed, endowments increased and in 1554 a new charter of foundation and erection was issued. In addition to vicars pensionary for the ministry of the Church, thirty-six persons were to be supported in the College, of whom the first was to be called Principal, Provost or Prefect, the second Licentiate, the third Bachelor and the fourth Canonist. There were to be eight students of theology and sixteen of philosophy, three professors of philosophy (*vulgo regentes dicti*), an orator, a grammarian, a provisor, a cook and a janitor.

Archbishop John Hamilton did not devote his last years to mourning for the cause that had been lost in Scotland, and, indeed, there is no stirring tale of defence of the Church to adorn a page of his life's story. Ever an intriguer, he was charged at last with complicity in the murders of Darnley and the Regent Moray and with attempts to seize the Earl of Lennox and the young King James. In 1571 he was taken at a siege of the castle of Dumbarton, and, though a prelate, was girt with a shirt of mail and wore a bonnet of steel. He was executed at the market cross of Stirling, "the first bishop that suffered by the form of justice in this kingdom." The Reformation ended the episcopal succession of St. Andrews, and the ignominious death of John Hamilton was the fifth act of the tragedy of the ancient Church.

After the Reformation St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's were restricted to the teaching of arts, while theology was relegated to St. Mary's. In the eighteenth century, when the city and the University alike showed decadence, the two philosophy Colleges were joined together for financial reasons, and since 1747 have continued with increasing efficiency and their rivalry extinguished as the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard. The theological College suffered till these last years the worries of poverty, as the endowments steadily went home to



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the parishes from which they had been separated, and yet men were trained for lowly and also for high places in the Church. In 1880 Miss Baxter of Balgavies founded a college to advance the higher learning in Dundee, but while the professors were most competent to teach and the students apt to learn, there was no authority to grant degrees, and the hall-marks of education were not secured. Ten years after its establishment University College was joined to the University. The method of union was found to be at fault, however, and it was not till 1897, after litigation, that the College was indisputably "incorporated with and made to form part of the University of St. Andrews." With the bishops and archbishops of the olden times, who founded the University and the Colleges, is associated the lady who gave more abundantly than they all; and University College, now set apart mainly for science and medicine, is making the ancient institution in reality a *studium generale*.

The memory of the founders is reverently cherished, and history testifies that their labours have not been in vain. Buildings have perished, as the older order has changed, though the Church of the Holy Saviour witnesses to-day to the piety of James Kennedy, and in St. Leonard's the chapel still records in stone and lime that the faith of Christ was firmly established before Alexander Stewart transformed it into the church of his College of the Poor.

Five centuries have seen a long line of teachers and students. Poets, philosophers, theologians, men of science, statesmen and soldiers, sons of "the eldest mother of learning," entered into the life of the nation, quickening it by their genius, fashioning it to greatness, and the splendid tradition of these immortals is our goodly heritage.

JOHN HERKLESS.

# THE RULERS OF THE UNIVERSITY



## The Rulers of the University



THE University of Paris developed out of a cathedral school, where the masters obtained license from the Chancellor, and French usage always accepted the principle that an academic teacher should have the recognition of the Church. The Chancellor of Notre Dame, whose office involved him in the supervision of the schools, was alive to the value of his monopoly. There was a danger, both there and elsewhere, that claims would be estimated by other standards than those of learning and ability; and in 1179 the Third Lateran Council ordained that all those who were in control of cathedral schools should give license *gratis* to properly qualified applicants. As a result the powers of the Chancellor at Notre Dame were diminished. Apart from the question of venality the claims of candidates could hardly be considered without reference to the teaching masters, and he found that his action was narrowly criticised. If he refused a license, the body of masters could not indeed directly alter his decision; but they could retaliate by declining to receive a licentiate into their fellowship, and their position was immensely strengthened in 1212, when Innocent III. compelled the Chancellor to listen to their recommendations.

The nature of the Chancellorship at Paris was thus determined by the circumstances under which the University came into being. The office expressed the interest of the

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Church ; yet the papacy had no mind that a school which was growing into fame should be subjected to the autocratic control of a cathedral dignitary, and the Chancellor was not allowed to develop into the head of the University. At Bologna, on the other hand, where the origin and character of institutions did not provide for the interference of an ecclesiastical officer, a different policy was adopted. The doctors themselves had enjoyed the right to grant license ; but in 1219 Honorius III. transferred the privilege to the Archdeacon. At Paris, therefore, the power of the Chancellorship was curtailed, and room was made for a representative head of the University : at Bologna the office was rather an importation, and the holder, content with the emoluments, did not seek to aggrandise its powers. In this period of unification, too, a Chancellorship was instituted at Oxford. There it was designed to be the vehicle of the diocesan's control ; but the fact that the masters elected one of their own number gave peculiarity to the situation. The Oxford Chancellor, while deriving his authority from the Bishop of Lincoln, became representative of the masters, and as he was a member of their guild he prevented the evolution of a Rectorship such as inevitably took shape elsewhere.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century a new stage was reached. Though the license was given by ecclesiastical authority, it possessed up to this period no more than a local validity. The fame of the great Universities, however, reflected upon their masters and doctors, and tended to enlarge the scope of the license, while the existence of the Chancellorship provided a channel for the papal authority. As a result, when Nicholas IV. extended it in the case of Paris and Bologna into a *licentia ubique docendi*, the permission came to be bestowed in name of the Pope and to confer a rank admitted throughout Christendom.

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The Rectorship, on the other hand, was an institution which expressed the corporate life of the Universities, though not everywhere in the same way. At Bologna the schools exhibited a municipal character, and it was inevitable that alien students should organise themselves in their nations for protection or for the vindication of rights in opposition to the city and the local doctors. In vain it was contended that mere apprentices could not properly form guilds independently of their masters, or elect their own officers. Armed with the cogent threat of migration the students were able to assert themselves and to obtain recognition for their rectors. It was natural that at Paris also there should be nations ; but there was an element of artificiality in the number four, which was borrowed from Italy, and the characteristic development of the French University lay in the union of the Artists under a Rector. Whereas at Bologna the students were pitted against the city and its doctors, at Paris the masters in Arts had long contended with the Chancellor over the license, and their voice became the voice of the University. In the one case a rector was representative of the student interest, in the other he was the mouthpiece of the masters to whom the students were in subordination. The University of Paris consisted of faculties : yet the Theologians, in spite of their academic seniority and distinction, did not contribute a president to the whole body. Even when the Faculty of Theology elected a dean, his position was weakened by the conflicting claim of the Chancellor to preside over the Theologians *ex officio* ; while the head of the numerous masters in Arts, ranged in their nations, wielded an instrument of control in the oath of obedience, which bound a man to whatsoever estate he might come, and by 1358 the Pope recognised their Rector as representative of the University.

Direct imitation was always a powerful factor in the multiplication of the medieval Universities ; but local circumstances



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and peculiarities were also carefully regarded, and there were smaller schools of considerable antiquity, especially in France, which developed an independent type of constitution. In Italy the Bologna model was prevalent. The prominence of legal studies and the fact that the great majority of these Universities were municipal in origin determined their character. As a consequence the student rights were vindicated and the power of the Church was not very effectively asserted in the formal license granted by the Archdeacon or the Bishop. Italian institutions naturally influenced those French Universities in which the study of law had a predominant place, and the student interest tended to acquire a recognition which it did not obtain in the course of the development at Paris. These Universities, again, owed much to the paternal care of the various diocesans. Where the local bishop or archbishop had occupied a commanding position from the first it was not likely that the Chancellor would become a purely external authority or exert a merely formal control. Hence the smaller Universities of France evolved during the fourteenth century a type of constitution which was marked by compromise. It was not a case of students in opposition to masters, or masters excluding students and founding their power on controversy with the Chancellor; and though the centre of gravity was to be sought among the masters, the students were at least recognised in the election of the Rector. The power of the diocesan, too, as Chancellor, was a feature likely to be copied, if not instinctively adopted, in any new University founded by episcopal effort. The Rector inevitably came to be treated as head of the corporation. His special connection at Paris with the masters of the Faculty of Arts could not but appear as an anomaly when he became representative of the whole, and in the same way the Parisian division of the faculty by nations was a survival which had lost its peculiar meaning. At Prague (1347-8) we find that all

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members of the University were now enrolled in the nations and that the Faculty of Arts assembled under the presidency of its own dean.

Bishop Wardlaw, the founder of St. Andrews, intended that his University should be under close ecclesiastical supervision; indeed there is evidence that James I., when he returned from captivity in England, was not altogether pleased with what had been done, and that he thought, by removing the school to Perth, to keep it more directly under the control of the Crown, which was deeply interested in a supply of skilled lawyers and diplomatists. With the active rule of this King a new chapter was opened in the history of Scotland. The preceding period was one of domestic confusion, and the papal schism had perceptibly weakened the authority of the pontiff. To the reign of James I. historians must look for the clear beginnings of a policy which involved national unification, resistance to the dictation of Rome, and a gradual secularisation of the Church, the prelates of which often became statesmen, diplomatists, or even warriors, rather than ecclesiastics. The King was not able to realise his idea of a University which should be national, and the Pope declined to accede to his request, while Wardlaw added to the distinction of his bishopric and retained the new school at St. Andrews. The decision was perhaps not altogether fortunate. There was as yet no primacy in Scotland, and the immediate subjection of each bishop to the Holy See fostered a degree of diocesan jealousy which was not always conducive to academic progress, though it was partly responsible for the foundation of three Scottish Universities before the Reformation. It is not likely, however, that the economic conditions would have supported a University at Perth throughout these centuries; and St. Andrews, planted by ecclesiastical influence under what was then the most important see of the Church, destined to be associated with the primacy, situated on a promontory which

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has not become a great centre of population, preserves in Scotland academic characteristics and traditions without which the nation would be the poorer.

According to Wardlaw's arrangement the Bishop, who is not expressly named Chancellor in the foundation documents, was to take an active part *ex officio* in the examination of candidates for degrees. At Paris the development of institutions involved a distinction between license and inception, the former being received from the Chancellor and conferring the *jus ubique docendi*, the latter representing the formal admission into the corporation of teachers, without which a man was not actually Master. The joint action of bishop and teachers which was to be the rule at St. Andrews did not seem to require a precise definition of the rights of the Chancellor on the one hand and those of the faculties upon the other : the Bull merely stated that those who desired license to teach might receive the title of Master or Doctor after due examination. Though custom and tradition still kept the act of license separate from the subsequent imposition of the magisterial cap, the fact that the Bishop presided at both ceremonies obscured their distinctive meaning from the first, and an ultimate fusion was inevitable. It might have been expected that the power wielded by the Bishop in this department would lead to abuses of patronage or to acute controversy. No doubt upon occasion pressure was brought to bear upon the masters and episcopal favourites were promoted ; but two circumstances contributed to preserve their freedom. The vicissitudes of the see itself and the frequent delegation of function tended to throw emphasis upon the duties which the Chancellor owed rather than upon the rights which he exercised : the Vice-Chancellor, also, was chosen from among the dignified members of the University and he expressed its will. Hence, according to the formula as revised at the Reformation, the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor avowed himself to be acting in

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the Faculty of Arts by the authority of Almighty God and of the University itself, though he still claimed validity for the license *ubique terrarum*. In the superior Faculty of Theology the claims of the Crown, asserted by the Regent Morton before the active rule of James VI., did not permit a reference to the University. Formerly the Chancellor's license was given in the name of God Almighty, the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the Apostolic See: now he professed the authority of God Almighty, his Holy Catholic Church, and the reigning sovereign.

Wardlaw did not consider it desirable to lay down rules for the election of the Rector, who was assumed in the constitution. The provision that he must be a graduate and in holy orders averted the dangers of universal franchise, and excluded persons of inferior standing. The Bishop preferred to define the competence of the Rector as representative of the academic body in relation to external individuals or corporations, notably the citizens of St. Andrews. As lord of regality, Wardlaw already enjoyed a jurisdiction of great power and extent, though the services of Kennedy, his successor, were rewarded with large additions at the hands of James II. The Bishop had cognisance of all pleas pertaining to the Crown, while the baronies held by the Prior and the Archdeacon were regarded as immediately subject to him. As the city of St. Andrews, being a burgh of regality, owned his superiority, it was a matter of vital importance to determine the position which the new corporation should occupy.

Members of the University were free to buy and sell necessities throughout the regality without license or custom. In St. Andrews the burgh laws with regard to the price of victuals were to be observed in their favour, and if, on notice from the Rector, the town authorities did not correct a delinquent within a day, it devolved upon him to judge the case, under



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condition of an appeal to the Bishop, and even to punish those who were ultimately found culpable. He also exercised jurisdiction in all cases of injury inflicted on members or clients of the University, with the exception of *atrox injuria*, which was reserved for the Bishop ; and in civil actions no supposit need compear before any other judge. The city and its representatives, who took oath yearly before the Rector to observe all the privileges, were not by any means satisfied with their treatment ; and in 1443, when Bishop Kennedy occupied the see, they sent influential delegates over to Cologne, with which there was considerable intercourse, both scholastic and commercial. It was reported that the Rector there had no jurisdiction when a citizen was involved, and that an academic plaintiff must sue before some other judge. This information, conveyed in a letter of which a notarial copy still exists in the archives of the city, was used to strengthen the case of the townsmen. Kennedy, however, did not alter the essential features of Wardlaw's arrangement : he was content to give the city authorities longer time to make amends, to define precisely some moot points, to explain details of procedure, and to abolish the yearly oath. It was stated, further, that the Bishop should have the power to interpret the rules and to provide for extraordinary cases.

Statutes were made by the University regarding the Rectorship as experience dictated. Laurence of Lindores, during his tenure of the office, introduced the system of nations which was consecrated by academic usage. Scotland was divided into four regions. There was Fife ; then the tract north of the Tay ; Lothian from Stirling to the borders of England, including Tweeddale, Eskdale, Lauderdale, and the Merse ; and finally a district which comprised the remainder of the Glasgow diocese, Galloway, and Lennox south of the Forth. The second nation, that of Lothian, seems to have been too

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large, and there was some thought of including the dales, with the valley of the Teviot, in a fifth group, possibly to secure an uneven number of votes. It is not likely that this subdivision was a mere pretentious imitation. A general elective and deliberative assembly might be the scene of disturbance or the occasion of faction between masters and scholars, and Lindores no doubt had good reasons for adopting the system. For the annual election of the Rector each nation delegated its power to an Intransigent, who was apparently not bound to represent the majority, though his views would probably be known.

A controversy very soon arose as to the place which the Rector should occupy on ceremonial occasions in the cathedral. The Prior of the monastery was till 1429 *ex officio* Dean of the Faculty of Theology. The Chapter of St. Andrews consisted of Augustinian Canons Regular with the Prior as Dean, and, since they had their theological schools when the new University was founded, some time elapsed before the Theologians as a body could be brought within the corporation and definitely subjected to the comprehensive authority of the Rector. A conference was held in the presence of Bishop Wardlaw in order to compose differences which were due to jealousy between the regulars and the seculars and to the dangerous claim of the Prior to take precedence of the Rector. The head of the University was now placed next to the Bishop, and the Prior's household, which had apparently been exposed to insult, was secured from it by appeal to the episcopal powers.

It is not easy to obtain a view of the working of the constitution, as our chief guide for the early period is to be found in the *Acta Facultatis Artium*, while the surviving *Acta Rectorum* do not begin till 1470. The various faculties under the presidency of their deans passed self-regarding



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ordinances, and though the Faculty of Arts often adopted an arrogant and defiant attitude, the University claimed the right of pronouncing upon all such departmental statutes as put transgressors in danger of perjury ; nor could a statute of this kind, once confirmed, be rescinded without full discussion in two separate meetings of the whole academic body. The Procurators of the Nations, who must be graduates and enrolled under one of the higher faculties, kept their own lists and swore that they would submit business to their constituents and report the decisions reached. But by 1475 all supports below the status of bachelor were debarred even from a vote in the appointment of the Intrants who elected the Rector, and the senior members had acquired preponderant power, while the *Comitia* of the University, which everyone might be compelled to attend, became little more than a means of publicity.

During the fifteenth century there would be quite a number of persons in the University, chiefly theologians, who owed no allegiance to the Faculty of Arts ; but the introduction of the colleges brought their dignitaries into connection with the Faculty from interest in discipline or teaching, and the recognition of the monastic house at St. Leonard's weakened the prejudice against admitting regulars. Shortly before the Reformation, therefore, the Faculty of Arts could practically be identified with the University, and though the offices of Dean and Rector were not amalgamated their functions were not so clearly distinguished as they had been. It was obvious, however, that the theological and legal studies in the colleges were beyond the competence of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and, amid the disunion brought about by the college system and illustrated in 1469 by the ambition of St. Salvator's to grant degrees, the Rector remained the only official who could exert a unifying control. To Buchanan, who was on

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the parliamentary commission of 1563, has been attributed a scheme, logical but at that time impracticable, which gave each college a separate department under the control of the Rector as head of the University.

Wardlaw, in founding the school, was acting not only as Bishop but as Papal Legate with full powers in Scotland, and his right of control and interference rested more upon the nature of the case than upon express enactment. Leaving many details to be filled in by the University itself, he evidently intended to permit as much autonomy as was consistent with order and efficiency; yet he also assumed the permanence of the ecclesiastical conditions. In the usual course Conservators Apostolic had been appointed by Benedict XIII. These were the Bishop of Brechin and the Archdeacons of St. Andrews and Glasgow; but as this Bull entitled any one of them to act alone, it soon became customary to regard the local Archdeacon as Conservator. His duty was to excommunicate without appeal any who infringed the privileges of the foundation; and even the Bishop-Chancellor might be brought to see clearly the limitations of his power as well as the obligations of his position. Patrick Graham, the successor of Kennedy and the first Archbishop of St. Andrews, began to show symptoms of insanity, and he fell foul of the Rector, whose name occurred before that of the Chancellor in the oath of obedience which he had taken when he received the license. The vivacious discussions which would arise out of this complexity are not recorded, but Graham certainly exposed himself to the censures of the Rector and of Archdeacon Schevez, the future Archbishop and, according to Buchanan, the supplanter.

Throughout the period before the Reformation, therefore, except in the scandalous days of James IV., who gave the see to a brother and to an illegitimate son and appropriated the surplus

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revenue, the Bishop-Chancellor intervened to direct policy and prevent disturbance, while the Archdeacon-Conservator lay in wait for him if he should prove tyrannical. Even after 1560 these two offices retained importance when the vicissitudes of ecclesiastical history gave St. Andrews an Archbishop and an Archdeacon, nor was it easy, as many commissions found, to devise an efficient substitute for the old episcopal control.

The downfall of the Roman Church in Scotland called for a reform of the University. The three colleges could not be ruled by the Faculty of Arts, and the visitation of them had devolved upon the Rector and his assessors. Even before the Reformation the necessities of the case had modified the conditions of the Rectorship, and John Douglas held the office for many years before he became tulchan Archbishop. There was need, however, of some external authority to see that proper administration was maintained. In 1579 the Archbishop, the Conservator, and the Rector were ordained to sit with the masters and appoint or depose; but as Episcopacy was in a precarious position the primary object was to be gained by a visitation of the whole University under royal commission every four years. The death of Archbishop Adamson in 1592 coincided with the definite establishment of the Presbyterian system, and there was no Chancellor *ex officio*. John Lindsay of Balcarres, "for natural judgment and learning the greatest light of the policy of Scotland," was Secretary of State, and for some years before his death in 1598 he acted as Chancellor. King James, however, was working towards Episcopacy, and when he visited the University on two occasions towards the close of the century, he took steps to make it wholly subservient to his will. It was necessary, first of all, to weaken the influence of Andrew Melville, who had held the Rectorship since 1590, and in the next place a permanent royal council, under colour of maintaining efficiency, was calculated to procure

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the desired end. Continuous tenure of the Rectorship was precluded by the enactment of a three years' interval, and any "past master" was eligible, while the influence of the Crown was exerted through the Lord Chancellor, Montrose, who was now appointed Chancellor of the University.

An important stage in the history of the Chancellorship had thus been reached. A high officer of the realm was nominated for the position, and the action of the Earl was intended to pave the way to the full assertion of the royal prerogative in Church and State; yet the really effective control was vested in this standing commission, and when James succeeded in establishing Episcopacy after the union of the Crowns, it very quickly became evident that no prelate of St. Andrews could ever wield a power in relation to the University comparable with that of his Roman Catholic predecessors. In 1609 Archbishop Gledstanes was rudely reminded of this by an Act of Parliament which peremptorily ordered Chancellor and members of the University alike to carry out the royal ordinances of 1599 on pain of deprivation. In 1612 the archdeaconry was united to the archbishopric, and a difficulty arose as to the office of Conservator of privileges. The rights were now merged in those of the Chancellor, but he continued throughout the Episcopal period to confer them upon those whom he presented to the archdeaconry. The period of the Bishops' Wars, under Charles I., caused another breach of continuity in practice. There was neither Archbishop nor Archdeacon, and the year 1642 saw the Marquis of Hamilton elected by the University vote to be Chancellor at Glasgow, while at St. Andrews it was decided, by a commission of the General Assembly, that the principals of colleges, professors and regents should nominate for the vacant office of Conservator. Archbishop Spottiswood had controlled the University with the influence belonging to a primate who was also Chancellor of Scotland, and it was



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necessary for the Covenanting party in power to review the whole state of affairs. Just as James VI. had sought by commissions to achieve the aims of his policy, so the Assembly imposed new regulations in the interests of the Kirk. Under the Episcopal system the Archbishop-Chancellor was inevitably the medium of the royal authority, even if the direct intervention of the Crown tended to weaken the significance of his office. At the present juncture the commissioners did not make it their first business to set up a Chancellor; indeed it was almost a year before they directed Samuel Rutherford, with others, to seek out and record the statutory powers. The Earl of Loudon, who was an agent for the Scottish army at the Pacification of Berwick, and was Chancellor of Scotland in 1641, though he afterwards joined in making the "Engagement" with Charles I. at Carisbrooke, came to hold the position; but, whether he was imposed or was elected, his influence was the influence of a patron rather than that of a dictator, and it became difficult to distinguish the functions of the Chancellor from those of the Conservator. Election by the masters of the University was thus a natural and, from the point of view of the State, a harmless result. The Restoration, indeed, replaced their separate functions in the hands of the Archbishop and the Archdeacon; the way, however, was already prepared for an amalgamation and for appointment by vote, so that after the Revolution, from 1697 till 1858, a Chancellor was named for life by the Senatus Academicus and enjoyed the additional title of Conservator of the privileges. The Earl of Tullibardine (1697-1724) possessed the confidence of William III. and was prominent in affairs of State: the Duke of Chandos, enriched as Paymaster of the Forces during the War of the Spanish Succession, founded a chair of Medicine, and his selection as Chancellor was a fitting return for the provision of an adviser in sickness: the Duke of Cumberland, again, was wholly

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ornamental, since, amid the clash of arms at Lawfeldt, he neglected even to nominate a Vice-Chancellor for the conferring of degrees. It was convenient, however, to have a friend at court, and the office did not become extinct. The Chancellor is now, by Act of Parliament, what he never was so long as the Rectorship was exercised in its old form, official head of the University, recalling, in his power to grant degrees and sanction changes proposed by the Court, the more cogent authority of Bishop Wardlaw, and in his promotion of academic interests the ancient duties of Archdeacon Stewart, son of King Robert II.

From the first the authority of the Rector had a twofold aspect, but it was his power as head of the corporation, responsible for internal justice and order, that remained characteristic of the office throughout its history. Yet this was a power which it was difficult to vindicate. Suppôts might look with confidence to his verdicts when there was trouble between them and the citizens; his dispensations within the University, however, were received with less equanimity. After the return of James I. from captivity, the desire to bring complaints directly before the King was so general that an Act was passed to conserve the jurisdiction of the judges ordinary as courts of first instance; and in the University various expedients were adopted to restrain those who ignored the competence of the Rector and approached even the throne with their wrongs. The proper course at this time, in cases of dissatisfaction, was immediate appeal from the Rector to the University, but the appellant might go to the King in council or some other tribunal, at the risk of a forfeit in the event of failure. With the Bishop or Archbishop ready at hand, too, there was a temptation to disregard the spirit of the constitution and seek his intervention. Yet any serious weakening of the Rector's authority would be so inimical to the interests of the University that opinion upon the whole supported him.



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That the office was at first a burden as well as an honour is shown by the assiduity demanded, the scanty remuneration, eked out by matriculation and graduation fees, and the fine imposed upon any who had no good reason in declining to accept it. In the Reformation period the position was dignified and less arduous, as may be inferred from a statute of 1577 directed against canvassing.

Another menace was found, as has been seen, in the unpopularity of the right to bring a citizen of St. Andrews into the Rector's court. The cognisance of the less serious cases where a member of the University suffered injury seems to have been jealously maintained. *Atrox injuria* was at the outset reserved for the Bishop ; but no definition had been given, and after the Reformation the townsmen looked for an opportunity to diminish privileges they disliked. When Andrew Melville was Rector a master of his college, unskilful with the bow, accidentally hit a citizen, and the magistrates claimed that the marksman should be tried before themselves or the steward of regality, though the wound was not serious. The fact was that the civil branch of the jurisdiction, except in the vital matter of the price set upon victuals, had begun to lapse, if it had ever flourished. Wardlaw, followed by Bishop Turnbull at Glasgow, permitted suppots to sue in civil questions before ecclesiastical judges other than the Rector, though they could refuse citation by an opposing litigant. Hence, while assaults would be matter of every-day interest, the civil jurisdiction would be likely to decline before that of expert judges, and at the new foundation in 1579 the commissioners, anxious as they were to maintain the powers of the office, did not know what these were. They were chiefly concerned to provide for internal discipline, and with this view constituted a court in the persons of the Rector and the "chief members" of the University to inflict the punishment of expulsion instead

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of the old excommunication, to be carried out with the aid of the city and ultimately under writs of the Court of Session.

The deliberate weakening of the Rectorship by James VI. in the interests of Episcopacy has already been noticed. The circumstances of a University into which the college system had been introduced necessarily tended to elevate the office into a kind of principalship, continuously occupied by a person of seniority and judgment, and the extension of eligibility to any "past master" did not conduce to the steadiness of administration. By the year 1616 it had become very lax, and the natural decadence of the judicial power drove litigants in civil actions so far afield as the Court of Session, to the detriment of their duty. After the Reformation the commissaries, who preserved the continuity of the ecclesiastical courts, were appointed by the Lords of Session, and to that college appeals were to be taken, though the prelates of the Episcopal Church recovered their old right of nomination. It was now suggested, therefore, that the Rectorial jurisdiction should be restored as a court of first instance in all civil cases, and that in the second instance the commissary should be judge. *Atrox injuria* was to be clearly defined, and, while the less serious offences of supposts were to be considered by the Rector, graver cases would presumably be carried before the steward of regality. An Act of 1621 restored temporarily the judicial importance of the Rector, and in 1625 Archbishop Spottiswood, with a royal commission of prelates, thought it necessary to revive the old universal franchise as well as to restrict eligibility to heads of colleges, with some security that the honour should go round. Inter-collegiate jealousy, which was not deeply stirred over the Rectorship so long as its rights were comparatively insignificant, was certain to be aroused by a revival of authority. The theological students of St. Mary's resented the gift of a vote to the junior scholars; but the Chancellor realised that their

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annoyance was less dangerous to the cause of peace than the continued exclusion of half the pupils in St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable to the permanence of this arrangement. The Act of 1640, debarring ecclesiastics from a seat on the Court of Session, marked an important stage in a long process of secularisation. The commission of General Assembly in 1642, it should be noted, made no enactment regarding the Rector's civil jurisdiction, and in reverting to the limited franchise they were interested solely to secure internal discipline. Later, in 1718, the Rector and his assessors were mentioned merely as a court of appeal from the decisions of the heads of colleges.

In 1642 the office was restricted to the three principals and the public professors, the latter being the professors of Divinity at St. Mary's. The teacher of Hebrew was not, like his colleagues, necessarily a professor or doctor of Divinity, and the union of St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's in 1747 left four eligible persons, the Principal of the United College, the Principal of St. Mary's, and the Professors of Divinity and Church History. The Chancellor and Conservator of privileges was elected by the *Senatus Academicus*; and as the statutory interval of three years deprived the students of any real power in the election of a Rector they felt that their interests were not represented. No cases of delinquency by students or quarrels between professors had come before the Rector's court for a long time; and in the course of ordinary administration it was an anomaly that a professor of St. Mary's should be subordinate in his own college while he was official head of the University. In 1827 a student, with frankness and nerve, stated to commissioners that the eligible person, though a principal or professor, was not necessarily a man of dignity or talent. The *Senatus* rightly insisted that under the constitution it was impossible to recognise a Rector chosen outside the academic

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body, and the students were not permitted to observe the influence of Walter Scott (1825) and Thomas Chalmers (1843) upon the life of the place. An external Rector obviously involved the appointment of a resident head. It was not till 1889, however, that the process begun in 1858 by the election of Sir Ralph Anstruther to the Rectorship reached its logical conclusion. The modern Lord Rector, chosen for his distinction in letters or in public affairs, recalls the fact that the student interest, though it was early in the history of the place subordinated to magisterial supremacy, never resigned itself to complete acquiescence. The present Principal, who inherits the essential control of the old Rectorship, is the first to hold a pre-eminence long demanded by the actual evolution of the University and foreseen by George Buchanan ; the Rector, on the other hand, while he has his part in the constitution and, like the Chancellor, his powers, is expected not so much to exercise the office as to adorn it.

ROBERT KERR HANNAY.



## CHURCHMEN AND STATESMEN





## Churchmen and Statesmen



THE name of our great men is legion, and the biographies of the greatest are classics. The task of selection necessitates, therefore, the omission of many men well entitled to a place on the roll of fame. Reluctantly we dismiss from our consideration some who, with European fame, carried to far lands and other Universities the glory of their *alma mater*. Crichton, the all too-admirable, Alane or Alesius of Frankfurt and Leipsig, Peter Bisset of Bologna, Edmund Hay of Paris, Henry Scrimger of Geneva, and the many others who occupied chairs in continental seats of learning, must remain for us mere names. So too must Bishop Reid of Orkney and Robert Rollock, to whom the University of Edinburgh owes no small debt.

We confine ourselves to those of our alumni who have played prominent parts in the national history, and well can it be shown that the destinies of Scotland, especially in the greatest crises of her development, have been bound up with those of St. Andrews University. Repeatedly St. Andrews has produced the champions of contending views. Yet here the thunders of controversy are silent, the hates of the long dead are forgotten, and all may find places upon the memorial page.

Any account, then, of the great St. Andrews men is inextricably mingled with the history of Scotland, and that

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history has been largely the story of warring faiths. The great problems which accompany the development of every nation took here a religious shape, and for that reason the list of our eminent men may be begun about the time of the Reformation.

John Major, who was Provost of St. Salvator's from 1534 to 1549, is best known as the author of a history of *Greater Britain*. The book in many ways is typical of an outworn system, but its author was none the less a forerunner of the great religious change. He was a philosopher as well as a historian; indeed, to his beloved University of Paris he was pre-eminently a logician, and one whose speculations had led him into strange paths. It is true that he approved of the burning of Patrick Hamilton, true also that he denounced as heretics those who, like Berengar and Wiclif, disbelieved in transubstantiation; but in all his work there are traces of the new ideas. Even in his history he proves himself a modern, as well by the rejection of old fables as by the acceptance of advanced political opinions, and in theology some of his conclusions are dangerously like those of Wiclif himself. For him an excommunication which is unjust is *ipso facto* null, and hence many persons banned by the Church are actually in grace; the Papal power of deposition, again, is gravely limited by his contention that the King's right to the throne rests upon the grant of the people, and cannot be forfeited without their consent. In philosophy, finally, he was a disciple of Duns Scotus, whose school received at best but a doubting recognition of orthodoxy.

But on the whole it was only in his logic that John Major was a modern: he certainly did want to reform the Church from within, but if he was troubled with theological doubts he was silent. The honest, kindly Scot who remembered in a far land his oaten cakes, and his childish games of the "reid Harlaw," was not the stuff of which martyrs are made. His mind was too evenly balanced to allow him to hold definite

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opinions, and he has met with the contempt of those who saw one side clearly enough to act upon it.

Such men were not lacking, and we plunge into the turmoil of the Scottish Reformation to discover that it was round the University of St. Andrews that the fiercest fight was waged, and that from her sprang the champions of the old faith and the martyrs of the new. In the year and on the day which saw John Major first enter our University there was also incorporated one Patrick Hamilton, who had previously studied at Paris and Louvain. In 1527 James Beaton, once a St. Leonard's student, now Archbishop of St. Andrews, summoned Hamilton to appear before him on a charge of heresy. The suspect, however, fled to Germany, visited the Wittenberg of Luther and Melancthon, and finally enrolled himself in the new University of Marburg, where his views were strengthened by contact with men like the English reformer Tyndale. But he could not hide his light under a bushel, and coming home, preached the new-found truth with learning and fervour, until he was entrapped into visiting St. Andrews; and on the 29th of February, 1528, he was burnt outside St. Salvator's College. Henceforth, in the quaint words of Knox, "Sanct Leonardis college . . . begane to smell somewhat of the veritie," and the battle was set between the old faith and the new.

David Beaton may be regarded as a vile monster who gloated over the torture of his victims; the "godlie professors" of the new religion may be denounced as mere tools of England, and paid tools at that. Yet we may see in the grim cardinal a man who, despite his personal vices, stood up stiffly not only against heresy, but against English domination—for in the Merse men were wearing the red cross of St. George; and on the other hand, while there were black sheep in the Protestant flock, it can be fairly said that there were also many who feared France, hated Papacy, and loved their new faith to the death. Whatever view

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be taken of the great controversy, the importance of our own University stands out plain. Her chancellors were the strong Beatons, and on the other side were ranged many St. Andrews men, the Wedderburns of Dundee, for example, whose "Gude and Godlie Ballates" did so much to propagate the new faith, and Henry Forrest and Walter Myln, whose martyrdom did even more.

Contrasted with these zealous champions of opposing beliefs, Maitland of Lethington, who studied in St. Andrews, appears to be strangely out of place. So little did he care for either of the religious parties that he is set down as a Mr. Worldly Wiseman, and so inconsistent were his politics that George Buchanan satirised him as "the Chamaeleon." It is possible, none the less, to justify his conduct on the ground of a great patriotism. First and last he was a true Scotsman, and though he served many parties successively, he yet served the State best of all. To-day he appears to some as the only wise and moderate figure in a world of fanatics, and the failure of his schemes is ranked as a lamentable catastrophe. And yet its reason is obvious. Maitland, while he saw the folly of intolerance, was utterly unable to comprehend the strength of the religious principle in minds less subtle and more direct than his own; and however noble his ideas were, his methods, murder or connivance at murder, and dishonesty, were those of the world about him. In fact, of all the living forces about him he used only the lowest. John Knox's scheme of church settlement might be a "devout imagination," but with the virile force of the great reformer behind it, it was more nearly a reality than the polished subtleties of the critic.

John Knox himself, the outstanding figure in the drama of the Scottish Reformation, may or may not have been a student in the University, but his memory still clings about the battered castle and the College of St. Leonard. We can boast of one,



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however, whose name stands, perhaps, second on the list of the reformers. At first sight this glorification of George Buchanan into a hero of Protestantism seems strange enough ; he was educated a Roman Catholic and remained for years utterly untouched by the theological speculations which were vexing Europe. In the end he adopted Calvinism, and yet to many of his allies he must have appeared but a slack-handed brother ; for his great book on the position of the King in Scotland, while it limited the monarchical power, made no attempt to convey any political authority to the Assembly. His whole story seems to be simply that of a great humanist, who was *facile princeps* in Europe by the wit of his epigrams and the grace of his erotics, but whose views on most subjects were not particularly enlightened, and on some, such as astronomy, absurdly conservative. How comes it that such an one is a hero of Scottish Protestantism ?

As a boy of fourteen Buchanan went to study in Paris ; there in poverty, perhaps in misery, he learnt his Latin, and learnt it well. In 1522 he returned to Scotland, and after a brief military experience, came to St. Andrews, where he found John Major, that flower of French Scholasticism, praelecting in the Pedagogy, and thought him poor enough with his meticulous philosophy. Soon he proceeded again to Paris, and after graduation became a regent in the College of St. Barbe, where to the pain of his pupils and his own weariness he taught and studied in a society already affected by the new ideas. It was not the corruptions of the Church, however, which troubled Buchanan at this period, it was the ridiculous way in which Latin was taught, and accordingly he set about improving the methods. But destiny did not call him to a life of scholarly seclusion, and his biography reads like a romance. His return to Scotland, his attack on the friars, his fears of Beaton, his consequent flight to Paris, and thence to Bordeaux,



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are among the commonplaces of history. Recent research, however, has brought to light one fresh fact regarding his disastrous visit to Coimbra : his accusation before the Inquisition was not due to the undying hate of either the Franciscans or the Cardinal, as has sometimes been supposed, but simply to the imprudence with which he expressed his liberal opinions in Portugal itself. After many vicissitudes he returned home, became the friend and preceptor of Queen Mary until the tragic year 1566, rose to be Principal of St. Leonard's College, and finally acted as tutor to the young King James VI.

In such a life-history it is possible to see a broad-minded scholar, little touched by religious ideals, whose political views were warped by mere clan prejudice (he was a Lennox man and loved Darnley), and whose services to education, save by the way of a high example, were hardly practical enough to be very beneficial to his country. Why, then, does Scotland place him in the same category as John Knox and Andrew Melville ?

The one great point of contact lies in their common independence and love of truth. Buchanan detested the false and inefficient no matter how old and how venerable it might be. The grammar of Alexander, the scholastic philosophy, the Order of St. Francis, the absolute power of the King, all fell beneath his displeasure, and he lashed them with the whip of his scorn—a scorn not altogether justified. If scholastic philosophy is not the chief end of life, neither is Latin ; and though absolute monarchy is certainly a bad thing, tyrannicide is scarcely a better. Buchanan seems to have been a man of few original ideas who drew his inspiration rather from antiquity than from the world around him. He was beyond all doubt a great Latinist, but the astronomical poem upon which he hoped to base a lasting reputation is absurd, while the much belauded treatise on monarchical power is little more than a *livre de circonstance*. But he wrote with the finest pen in



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Europe, and his defence of Mary's enemies won him the approbation of the civilised world. That is one reason why he ranks as a Protestant champion; the other is found in the fierce objection to corruption and tyranny which appears in all his works and in all his life. As he lay a-dying one told him that "the King wald be offendit" with some of his work. "Tell me, man, giff I have tauld the treuthe" was his answer, and on hearing that he had: "I will byd his fead and all his kin's then."

At last the doubtful hour "with pain and blind struggle brought forth its certainty," and Scotland had won her Protestantism; yet there was no end to ecclesiastical contention, for a new quarrel arose about the nature of the reformed system which was to be erected. And in the great struggle between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy the sons of St. Andrews played no small part: the two Melvilles and their valiant colleagues, Lawson, Pont, Dalgleish, and Bruce, did such a work for their country as hardly needs retelling. Far above the rest, of course, towers the majestic figure of Andrew Melville. Leaving untold the story of his education at St. Andrews and abroad, his manifold services not only to the Universities but to the whole land of Scotland, his struggles and exile for conscience' sake, we may simply say, that when his great figure is not upon the stage the drama of the period loses its interest, and when he reappears the other famous actors are dwarfed.

And now we turn to another St. Andrews man who serves as Melville's counterpart. Patrick Adamson, who took a master's degree in 1558, is a character difficult to estimate, since the extant *vitae* are composed by men of very varying opinions. To the Presbyterian writers he appears as a man guided always and only by self-interest, who after denouncing Episcopacy bitterly in 1572, became himself Archbishop four

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years later, and who by mischievous counsels and lying reports biassed against the loyal ministers not only the King of Scotland but the Church of England too. His sins, however, found him out, for he was reduced to such great penury that he was fain to accept the help of his erstwhile foe, Andrew Melville, and before he died he issued a recantation in which he called himself a “chiefe ringeleader” of the foes of the Kirk, and made open acknowledgment of his own dishonesty.

But there are other accounts of Adamson, and according to these he was a learned and able man, who when in Paris imperilled his life and forfeited his liberty by publishing a natal ode in which the infant James VI. was hailed as heir to France, as well as to Scotland and England. On his return to his native land he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the service of the King, and accomplished so much in the royal interest—especially when on an embassy to England—that the disloyal ministers determined upon his ruin. After trying in vain to murder him at Balrymont, they devised a plan for reducing him to beggary by persuading the King to resume possession of the Church lands. This scheme, unfortunately, succeeded, and the unhappy Archbishop, attacked by Synod and Assembly upon the most frivolous grounds, died in penury indeed, but in firm adherence to his old beliefs. As for the alleged recantation, it was an impudent forgery of the hostile ministers.

This is the story of the Archbishop's friends ; but it is hard to vindicate his honesty, since his reputation, even in his own day and with his own party, was far from good. It is, however, impossible to deny that he was a fine scholar, the author of charming Latin verses as well as devotional works ; and it is beyond all question that he was largely responsible for the estimate of the Scottish Church formed by Bancroft and his party. Adamson was, at all events, both a learned man and a man of great worldly importance,



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an excellent type of a *politique* school of churchmen, which tended to put the State first, and could not tolerate the high pretensions of the Kirk. Such pretensions appear to-day quite intolerable, but the reign of James VI. is one long story of plot and counter-plot, and it is in the light of these intrigues that the history of the period must be read.

James was heir to the throne of England, but there were many discontented Roman Catholics in Great Britain who sought the help of Spain. Now, Philip II., though unwilling to see so important a dominion lost to the Roman Church, would only take action on the understanding that the splendid prize of the island crown should fall to a Spaniard. Such a consummation, however, was resisted both by the loyalty of the English Catholics themselves and by the fears of the Roman Catholic but anti-Spanish powers on the Continent. James VI. saw his chance. Ostensibly the Protestant claimant of the English throne, he secretly allied himself with Rome and the anti-Spanish Catholics, and even tried to win the good graces of Philip II. himself. Everywhere there was political confusion. Scotland, England, Spain, Ireland, the Low Countries, France, Rome, were filled with intriguers of all parties and of every nationality. A restless agent who flits all over Europe involved in many of these schemes, one "Don Balthasar," is of great interest to St. Andrews, for as Walter Lindsay he was a student in the University; so, too, was his brother John Lindsay of Menmuir, better known as Balcarres the Octavian, or as the bold secretary who criticised his master's doings with great freedom.

There is no need to assume that King James was really anxious to change his religion, or even contemplated such a step; but for his own purposes he desired to make certain people think that he was upon the eve of conversion to Roman Catholicism. Herein lies a great justification of the ministers.



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The King was in all but open touch with the Papacy, and sent letters to Rome and messengers to the King of Spain. Balcarres, the brother of the mysterious Don Balthasar, was deep in the royal councils. Surely there was ground enough for the apprehensions of the Kirk ; since, apart altogether from the fact that it was contrary to the wishes of the nation, Episcopacy seemed dangerous as opening a door to Rome. And, at all events, whether the period be regarded as a quarrel between Presbyterianism and Prelacy, or as a phase of the long struggle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, one thing is clear, that in every party upon this most confused battlefield the sons of St. Andrews will be found among the leaders.

Even more obvious is the prominence of our University men in the affairs of the nation in the seventeenth century. Against the finesse of James VI. the courage of Andrew Melville had proved useless, and a system of Episcopacy had been established. Charles I., improving upon his father's model, attempted to render the Scottish Church in all respects a copy of the English, and his northern kingdom rose in arms. Once more the national annals become the record of religious strife.

Of the splendid figures of this dramatic epoch that of Montrose stands out perhaps the most conspicuous. His victories, won as they were with a scanty and uncertain army, are a lasting memorial of his fame. "It's a far cry to Loch Awe" in the heart of the Campbells' land, but the gallant Marquis found a door through the snow-clad passes when he was least expected, and the claymores drank deep at Inverlochy. So was it with all his battles ; they were triumphs of a decision and a rapidity which are almost Napoleonic. The brightness of these successes is a little dulled, indeed, by the discovery that his opponents were usually undrilled levies under leaders greatly hampered by the advice of zealous committees ; witness poor Baillie at Kilsyth ! It is certainly true, too, that Montrose was beaten the first time

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he met disciplined troops under a good general ; but his victories were none the less admirable, and if he is blameworthy it is not on military counts.

Montrose was a Covenanter, and he became a Royalist after a none too glorious affair with Huntly in the north ; his defenders may justify him on the ground of changed conviction. He denounced the peaceful counsels of Hamilton, and urged King Charles to make war upon the Scots ; the Scots, it may be pleaded, were in point to make war upon King Charles. It is the shame of Montrose that he began a war which could be conducted only on terms of the utmost brutality. He was not directly responsible for the excesses which followed his victories, and the slaughters which avenged them are a disgrace to his opponents ; but none the less he might have foreseen these results. He had no party in Scotland, but with the help of wild, brave Irishmen and Highlanders he plunged the country into a turmoil of useless bloodshed. Bloodshed there was, because his men fought under the impulse of clan hatred or for the lust of plunder ; and it was useless, because his host, glutted with its spoils, melted away without accomplishing anything serious. Fortunately for his fame, however, it rests even less upon his victories than upon the glory of his tragic death. The gallows was thirty-five feet high to show his shame abroad, but his courage and devotion turned the halter into a victor's wreath ; and men have remembered of "the great Montrose" that he went without faltering to a hopeless expedition, and sought a certain death at the bidding of an unworthy master.

With him died his cause, for it had little root in Scotland. Loyal as the people were upon the whole to the principle of monarchy, and even to the house of Stewart, they were yet more devoted to the Presbyterian religion. If, as has been suggested, they were in bondage to their ecclesiastical system, it was a willing bondage, and much as its narrowness is to be deplored,

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there can be no doubt that Presbyterianism has been of infinite value in the development of the nation. Of the awakening of national responsibility which it effected there can be no more striking proof than the covenant of 1638, which was signed, significantly enough, not by a few ministers, but by clergy and laymen of all ranks. It may be admitted that the Covenant was forced upon some, if not upon many ; that its aim was impossible, since to maintain together Charles Stewart and Presbyterianism was beyond human power, and that it became absurd when it attempted to enclose in its grasp the unwilling nations of England and Ireland. Yet it remains for Scotland the badge of triumphant liberty, and St. Andrews may well be proud that in its making and application so great a part was played by her sons. Alexander Henderson assisted to frame it, George Gillespie preached for it, it owed its establishment to Argyll's diplomacy and David Leslie's sword ; finally, when an attempt was made to evolve a universal system from its principles, three of the six commissioners to the Westminster Assembly were former students, and one, Samuel Rutherford, was a professor in the University.

History has dealt hardly with Argyll ; he appears as the warrior whose arm was hurt or whose lady was ill on the eve of battle, and who, when he did fight, always kept and generally used a sure means of retreat. Yet his death is equal in courage to that of his great rival Montrose, while his life is more commendable in that he thought, not in terms of the King, but of Scotland. There was no one whom the Royalists would have more willingly gained than Argyll, but he sided with the Covenanters at the peril of his head. It was he who restored to the Parliament of Scotland the authority of late exercised entirely by the King, he who counselled leniency to the Incendiaries and toleration to those " who cannot through scruple of conscience come up in all things to the common rule." But

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the situation was too tense for such mild counsels, and Argyll certainly was not the man to alter circumstances by sheer force of personality. Too loyal to the covenant to follow an Episcopalian monarch, he was yet unwilling to accept the system of the commonwealth, and thus was led to take a part in the ghastly farce which made Charles II. a "covenanted" king. That hypocritical shadow was swept away by the reality of Cromwell's sword, but Argyll never recovered his former influence. Historically his character is hard to estimate; he may have been ambitious, he certainly did things which were both cruel and mean, but he lost his life in the service of his country, and failed because his ideal was too high. Limited monarchy and a strong national religion, or a system of toleration, are not necessarily incompatibles, but they could not coexist when the King was Charles II. and the religion Presbyterianism.

In the crowd of the "new forcers of conscience," however, there stands out pre-eminent one who strove for toleration and who loved his King, but whose premature death saved him from the impasse which confronted Argyll. Alexander Henderson was essentially the statesman of the covenant as Johnston was its framer. It was he who saw that the differences of the Presbyterians laid Scotland open to the tamperings of Traquair and Roxburghe; and the National Covenant, worded in a way which satisfied all branches, was his effective answer to these schemes. Henderson was the moderator who at Glasgow put the momentous question whether, despite the Commissioner's withdrawal, the Assembly was still the Assembly, and who in the name of Presbyterianism cast down the gauntlet to the King. Twice in the years of strife which followed was he supreme in the counsels of the Church. The Catechisms, the Confession of Faith, the Directory, all owe much to Alexander Henderson, and yet he loved his King; so well, indeed, that he was at one time



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suspected of a guilty compact, and that, when ill and dying he expended useless labour in the endeavour to convince a confirmed Episcopalian of the merits of the Presbyterian system.

High upon the list of our great men the stout David Leslie must find a place. So well did he perform at Marston Moor that his countrymen tried to claim him as equal partner with Cromwell in the glory of the victory. He did, it is true, give timely aid when hard-riding Rupert pressed the Ironsides hotly, but as far as Scotland is concerned the chief honour of the day lies with the five grim infantry regiments of the centre, and not with the cavalry at all. Philiphaugh, however, showed Leslie as a fine tactician, and in the campaign of 1650 he revealed high strategical qualities in his defence of Edinburgh and Queensferry. He was beaten at Dunbar in the end, of course, but it was hard to win with so many "purgings" and such bad ministerial advice.

Many other eminent men of this tumultuous period can be claimed as alumni of St. Andrews, among whom may be named Lord Elcho, the vanquished of Tippermuir; Zachary Boyd, the writer of spiritual songs; George Gillespie and his brother Patrick, who, along with the fiery Samuel Rutherford, led the fierce party of the Remonstrants in opposition to the Resolutioners, and Mr. James Sharp.

The appearance of Sharp opens a new and confused page in the history of Scotland. The reign of Charles II. is not only a continuation of the old strife between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, it is also a series of struggles between individuals for the doubtful privilege of ruling Scotland. The representatives of the former "Malignant" party won at first a brief triumph, but before long the old "Engager" party recovered power, and first Rothes and then Lauderdale was supreme. Here was turmoil enough, and the situation was



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seriously complicated by the fact that the heir to the throne was a professed Roman Catholic.

With so many forces at work the characters of the men who held the reins of office are naturally hard to estimate. As usual, we are called upon to deal with the leaders of utterly different parties; and according as we praise the conduct of one of our alumni, so do we implicitly denounce that of another. Rothés, the champion drinker of a drunken age, was too wicked to find many admirers, and the subtle Mackenzie of Tarbat knew too much about bribery and corruption to have many friends, able though he undoubtedly was. Sir Robert Murray, on the other hand, distinguished alike in politics and in science, was so amiable a character that he meets with little denunciation, despite Clarendon's faint praise. With these exceptions, however, all the great figures of the time have found both bitter opponents and zealous defenders.

Sharp is to some a hallowed martyr to the cause of Episcopacy; to others he is a turncoat and a perjurer who was tried at the bar of his country's conscience, found guilty, and lawfully executed. Graham of Claverhouse is either "Bonnie Dundee" who did so brave a "shear-darg" for his unworthy King or "Bloody Clavers" who rode down the Covenanters in the south-west, terrifying the children and butchering the men. Sir George Mackenzie may be alternatively regarded as "Bloody Mackenzie," the unjust persecutor, or as the able patron of learning and the tolerant champion of the poor witches. Cameron and Cargill are denounced as disloyal sectaries or glorified as heroes of liberty and lions of the covenant, according to the judgment or the bias of the historian.

All these St. Andrews men played a great part in the nation's history; the characters of all are difficult to judge rightly; but that of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, is probably hardest of all. At first sight he appears as a pitiful

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traitor; it is a long step from the godly elder of the Westminster Assembly to the tyrannous Commissioner who made an Episcopalian king supreme "in poor old Scotland." "Cart-loads of oaths" were nothing to him beside the sweets of power, and he did not hesitate to pass a "clanking act" against the Covenanters. And yet he was a good friend to learning, and in some ways no bad friend to Scotland either. The difficulties of his position are obvious; and he certainly tried hard by his policy of "Indulgence" to stand between the Presbyterians and the persecution of the intolerant Prelatists. It was only when all compromise was refused that he resolved upon compulsion, the more excusably in that, since troops were few, it was necessary to check disaffection at the very outset. The simple fact is that he was entrusted with the execution of a policy of which he did not approve, and that, until his second wife became a kind of second Commissioner, he worked hard for a settlement. Had he not been at the head of affairs Scotland might have found a worse ruler; yet for mere love of power he stayed in office and carried out a system which he believed to be thoroughly bad.

Presbyterian and Prelatist champions, all are sons of the same mother, and to-day history would be tolerant and just in judgment. Sharp certainly does appear to have been rather a despicable character. Claverhouse was brave, Mackenzie learned, and it is unnecessary to believe that either took pleasure in the misery which they found themselves inflicting. Yet all stand condemned as the instruments of a government which deliberately ignored the earnest wishes of its subjects. The extreme Covenanters, it is true, were unreasonable and intolerant, but with that party as a whole lie the sympathies of the majority of Scotsmen. The Episcopal settlement which they were asked to accept was mild in the extreme, almost Presbyterian, but the principle involved was great. Why

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should a king in England, who had himself taken and broken the Covenant, dare to impose upon Scotland a system of church government which, whatever its merits, was opposed to the obvious wishes of the people as a whole. And, after all, these men paid for their opinions with their lives; well did they know the risk they ran, but they held to their faith in spite of all. It is they, and not their adversaries, however tolerant the latter were in theory, who possess a moral position of real strength. And they got their reward, for out of the clash of contending faiths sprang the precious spark of toleration, and after 1689 Scotland slowly began to become something like a settled country.

Neither in Church nor State, however, was strife yet dead, and in the two greatest political upheavals of the eighteenth century conspicuous parts were played by alumni of our University. It is easy to sneer at "Charlie o'er the waterism," but the spectacle of these poor Highlanders giving a generous love to a recipient sometimes unworthy, asking no return for the sacrifice of everything, is one of the noblest in history. Not all who took part in the '15 and the '45 were so disinterested, but despite all their faults we may be proud of our loyal Jacobites—Robertson of Strowan, who led five hundred of his name on the field of Sheriffmuir; Tullibardine, who unfurled the Prince's standard at Glenfinnan. The leaders, possibly the cause itself, may not have been irreproachable, but the men were brave and true.

Culloden is long fought, and since then our country has been free from internecine warfare; its pages are no longer gay with the bright figures of armed warriors nor dark with the misery of hopeless suffering. St. Andrews students are no more called upon to play the same stirring parts as those acted by their predecessors, but still there has gone forth from our midst a steady stream of men who have served their

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country well. True is it that we have seen evil days, that the University at one time excited the scorn of Wesley and the pity of Dr. Johnson, but none the less she has unceasingly produced—not to mention the immortal Bowdler—ministers, soldiers, advocates, doctors and teachers, who have been an honour both to their *Alma mater* and their country. Not all rose to the highest ranks of their profession, though many did ; but to those who have gone out into the world and done their duty, giving by their labours a silent testimony to the merits of their University, St. Andrews owes the meed of an honourable remembrance, which to-day she would desire to render. The half-told tale will have achieved its purpose if it serve to show that no small part in the history of Scotland has been played by the sons of this “grey old northern mother.”

J. D. MACKIE.

## THE LIBRARY





# The Library

## I



It is a common belief that the University of St. Andrews possessed an extensive collection of valuable manuscripts and early printed books which somehow got dispersed during the turmoil of the Reformation period. There is doubtless some foundation for this belief, but the size and importance of the collection have been unduly magnified. Far too many books and manuscripts have gone amissing both in earlier and in later times, but there is nothing in the contemporary records to warrant the assumption that in the fifteenth century the University was in possession of anything that could be called a large library. Comparatively few books were needed for the ordinary class work of pre-Reformation times, and these appear to have been for the most part the property of the individual masters. A collection of books for the common use of masters and students does not seem to have been seriously thought of until more than forty years after the foundation of the University, and it had completed its second century before a general University Library was founded. The need for books, it is true, was felt at the very outset, but there is no proof that many were actually acquired as the common property of the University.

As early as January 17, 1415, the Faculty of Arts resolved

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that £5 should be sent to Paris to purchase books of the text of Aristotle and commentaries on logic and philosophy. But on May 21 of the same year this resolution was rescinded, and the £5 ordered to be added to a similar sum which had been set aside for the making of a mace. Books, according to this new resolution, were to be bought with the next ready money. But the ready money was probably never found, as the subject is not again alluded to. It was not until August 13, 1456, that a beginning was made with the formation of a library, and it may have been that the masters of the Pedagogy were incited thereto by hearing that Bishop Kennedy contemplated equipping with a library the College he was then erecting. At any rate, on that day some structural alterations on the Pedagogy were ordered to be carried out, and in connection with them it was ordained that there should be an *ambo de tabulis* in the small house on the end of the great school *pro libris fingendis in libraria*. As a beginning (*ad incipiendum illam librariam*) Alan Cant, Chancellor of St. Andrews and Dean of the Chapel Royal, gave *unum notabilem librum, scilicet, magnorum moralium cum diversis aliis voluminibus in illo libro*. John Dunnyn, Vicar of Perth, gave a text of Aristotle *de logica*, an exposition of St. Thomas *de ethica*, and a *lecturam super ethicam yconomicam et polemicam*, for which last he seems to have expected the Faculty of Arts to pay two marks. The first person to borrow one of these manuscript books was John Athilmer, Provost of St. Salvator's College. On October 3, 1457, he applied for the volume presented by Alan Cant (which had been in his custody before it was given to the Pedagogy). It was agreed to let him have it if he solemnly promised to restore it at the command of the Dean and Faculty. The necessary promise was forthcoming, and the volume was handed to him by the Dean. Unfortunately this is the last that is heard of the "notable book" which formed the first gift to the new library.

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Forty more years pass before another donation of books is recorded. Alexander Inglis, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, who died on February 25, 1496, bequeathed to the "Faculty of Arts of the University of St. Andrews and to the Pedagogy of St. John the Evangelist," twelve separate works. Very few additional volumes are known to have been given to the Pedagogy, and as its buildings were latterly ruinous and neglected it is quite possible that its little collection of books gradually melted away.

It may almost be taken for granted that the Colleges were much better off in the matter of books than the University. Each is understood to have been furnished with the nucleus of a library at its foundation, and it became an established practice for masters, and especially for principals, either by gift or bequest, to augment the store. This was certainly the case with St. Leonard's College, which had a library of its own from the outset besides being in close touch with that of the Priory. The example was set by Prior Hepburn himself, whose name in bold letters is to be seen on more than one volume still preserved. Principal after Principal (with a few doubtful exceptions) followed, down at least to Robert Wilkie, each giving one or more volumes to his College library. A few of these precious heirlooms still exist, and some of them bear inscriptions showing that they had been brought from the Priory. Thus on the title-page of Major's *In quartum sententiarum quaestiones*, Paris, 1519, is written, *Liber Collegii Sancti Leonardi spectans ad communitatem eiusdem ex dono domini Thome Cunynghame primarii prefati Collegii*, while at the end of the volume is written, *Istius voluminis usum habet dominus Thomas Cunynghame canonicus monasterii Sanctiandreae quem sua ex industria expensisque comparavit*. This good example became infectious, and so long as it lasted as a separate College, St. Leonard's continued to receive gifts of books from Principals and Regents

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and from former students and other persons. Only one or two of the larger of these gifts can be mentioned here. When, in 1620, Sir John Scott, of Scotstarvet, founded a Chair of Humanity in the College, he supplied the Professor with a small working library to which he gave nine books himself and induced more than fifty of his contemporaries (including his friend William Drummond of Hawthornden), to give one or more volumes each. In 1646 (when the Chair was refounded after a dispute) he increased his own donation by other sixteen important books. In 1670, Dr. Mungo Murray, a former regent, and afterwards Professor of Astronomy in Gresham College and Rector of Wells, bequeathed his library of upwards of 1800 volumes to St. Leonard's, and in 1678 Sir John Wedderburn of Gosford (also a former regent) physician to King Charles I., bequeathed a collection of 1344 volumes to his old College. Previous to that, Francis, second Earl of Buccleuch, who died in 1651, had given over one hundred handsomely bound volumes, each bearing his arms and initials on back and sides. Judged by a rough list hurriedly drawn up about the end of the sixteenth century, the *Bibliotheca Leonardina* appears to have then contained less than 300 volumes, even when allowance is made for some books "quhilk time culd nocht permitt to seik out." By the close of the seventeenth century it must have grown to close upon 5000 volumes. But it is to be feared that many of these perished in the fire which consumed part of the College buildings in 1702. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the fact that in 1747 the Library numbered less than 4000 volumes, and that a large number of the books mentioned in the older catalogues cannot now be traced.

There is much obscurity about the history of St. Salvator's College Library. It is said to have been founded by Dr. Skene, who was Provost from 1680 to 1691. But this can only



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refer to a refounding, or to the providing of a new book-room, for it is an ascertained fact that the College was in possession of a library to which several of its pre-Reformation provosts and masters had gifted books. A rectorial visitation of 1534 shows this early library to have been in a very bad case. The books were carelessly looked after, and the wooden benches were falling to pieces through age. The Provost was instructed to attend to these defects, to have the Library repaired and cleaned, to cause iron chains to be made for the more secure keeping of the books, and to prepare a new catalogue of them. The Provost and canons were further ordered to take legal steps to obtain the books bequeathed to the College by Thomas Ramsay, a former canon, and to bring back all other books pertaining to it which were then outside the walls. Thereafter the charge of the Library was to be assigned to one of the canons, with instructions to use all care and diligence for the safe-keeping of the books. The great paucity of early printed books in St. Salvator's College in later times is thus easily accounted for. In 1744, when the Library was carefully catalogued, it contained only two fifteenth century books (Sallust, Venice, 1491, and Cicero, *De officiis*, Venice, 1494), and less than fifty pre-Reformation sixteenth century books. This marked absence of early books, and especially of books associated with former provosts and canons, seems to point either to great pillage or to the total destruction of the Library when the College buildings were partly burned. But what is equally remarkable is that the Library then contained only seven eighteenth century works, showing that for over forty years it had practically ceased to grow. The total number of volumes upon its shelves at that date was about 1100, almost wholly sixteenth and seventeenth century books, besides a few manuscripts.

So far as is known, the only considerable donor to St.



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Salvator's College Library was a contemporary of Dr. Skene, William Moore, D.D., Archdeacon, or first minister of St. Andrews, who died on March 26, 1684. By his will, Dr. Moore ("if his child's children died without issue, and in that case only") left all his books (estimated at £666 13s. 4d.) to the Library of St. Salvator's College, where he was educated, except his manuscripts, which he bequeathed to James Gillespie, minister of Tarbolton; these books to be set up in a range of shelves by themselves, with this inscription over them: *Donum D. Gulielmi Mori, Archidiaconi, olim bujus Collegii alumni*. In 1744 Dr. Moore's legacy numbered about 380 volumes and was "placed in the press that stands on the west side of the closet." Among other donors of more than one volume were Walter Comrie, Principal of St. Mary's College, Alexander Monro, Provost of St. Salvator's College, and Sir Robert Sibbald, M.D., historian of Fife.

The nucleus of St. Mary's College Library would of course be such books as still remained in its predecessor the Pedagogy. The few extant books bearing the arms of Archbishop James Beaton may be regarded as gifts to his College. It is not known that Cardinal Beaton followed his uncle's example in this respect, but there are still one or two volumes claiming to have been presented to the common library of the College by Archbishop Hamilton. An undated "Inventar of the buikis in the New College" signed by Andrew Melville and three other masters contains only 77 entries. This was not the whole extent of the Library, however, for about three dozen additional books, chiefly by jurists, were said to be lying worm-eaten among dust and dirt. Another inventory, dated 1598, likewise signed by Andrew Melville and others, contains 94 entries; and a third, neither signed nor dated, but belonging to the same period, shows 121 entries. This was probably about the extent of the College Library when the University Library was



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founded, with which there is reason to believe it was at once amalgamated.

The foundation of the University Library took place in 1612. It was long known as the Public Library of the University to distinguish it from the College libraries which were private and accessible to their own members only. King James the Sixth was its founder, but any record that may have existed of the circumstances and conditions under which it was established has long since perished. All that is now known of the King's motive is that it had pleased him "out of the gude affection and princelie desire of his Highness' haire, to have ignorance banished, barbarity rooted out, virtue advancit, and gude letters to flourish within his Kingdom of Scotland; and upon due consideration that books were the special means and preservatives of knowledge and learning, to bestow ane grite number of the best, most profitable, and chosen volumes of all arts and disciplins, as ane pledge and earnest-penny of his royal munificence, to be continued yearly to such time as the Library of the University comes to some reasonable perfection." Another consideration that may have weighed with King James is the fact that his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, had, on the eve of his birth, bequeathed her Greek and Latin books to be the beginning of a library for the University of St. Andrews. This was done in a postscript, written by Mary's own hand, to the inventory and will prepared by her order in the end of May or beginning of June, 1566.

It is specially noteworthy that not only the King but also the Queen and each member of the Royal family took part in founding the new Library. The King himself gave 80 works, the Queen 61, Prince Henry of Wales 29, Prince Charles (afterwards King Charles I.) 21, and Princess Elizabeth (afterwards Queen of Bohemia) 37. These works appear to have been selected with care, and were fairly representative of the more

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important books published during the early years of the seventeenth century. Protestant theology predominated, but history and other subjects were not neglected, and many good editions of classical and patristic writers were included. Unfortunately it is now impossible to identify with certainty any one of them. They appear to have been uniformly bound in plain dark brown leather with the seal of the University arranged in the form of a shield stamped upon the sides. But no distinguishing mark was placed upon them, and subsequent additions to the Library were bound in exactly the same style. The titles given in the extant lists are as usual meagre and without dates, and thus difficult to verify. A careful comparison makes it certain that a good many of these books are still in the Library, but it is equally certain that many of them have disappeared from it altogether. Repeated rearrangements of the Library have scattered those that are left all over the buildings, and only one or two of the works believed to form part of this royal gift are now to be seen standing side by side.

In the same year, or shortly afterwards, other donations arrived to enrich the new Library. John Johnston, Professor of Theology in St. Mary's College, who died on October 20, 1611, understanding that a library was to be erected within the University, bequeathed his chief books in folio and all his "broddit mappis" for augmentation of it. The books were in due course received, but there is no mention of maps. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, presented the new English translation of the Bible and about forty other works. Patrick Young, the King's Librarian, and a graduate of the University, as a token of thanksgiving and goodwill towards his *alma mater*, presented the Complutensian Polyglott and several other important works. His donation, so far as it is left, is easily identified, as he took the precaution to place in each volume a small printed label bearing the following inscription: *Patricius*



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*Iunius, Serenissimo Britanniarum Regi Jacobo I. a Bibliothecis, hunc librum Bibliothecae Andreanae, L.M.D.D.* Other early donors were John Young, Dean of Winchester, William Young, Adam Newton, preceptor of Henry, Prince of Wales, Thomas Murray, preceptor of Prince Charles, William Edmiston, Fellow of an Oxford College, Thomas Pearson, minister of the Scottish Colony in Gueldres, George Hamilton, and David Lindsay of Balcarras.

The growth of the Library thus auspiciously started was extremely slow and depended almost entirely upon gifts. The Faculty of Arts spent a little money now and then on the Library, but it is not certain that it went for books. It seems rather to have been intended for the fabric and for binding. It was not until 1642 that an annual source of revenue was devised for Library purposes. In that year the General Assembly's Commissioners, "considering of the ways how there might be a yearly increase of bookes for the publick Library" abolished various festivals which the students had been wont to hold, and ordained them, in lieu thereof, to pay to the Quaestor of the University certain fees, which were to be employed by him in the purchase of "such bookes as sall be found most necessare for the Library." This did not improve matters much, for, in 1649, the same Commissioners discovered that the Library dues prescribed by them in 1642 had been collected by the College Regents, but that very little of the money had come to the use of the Library. They ordered someone to be appointed by the University to call for a return of all moneys received in this way by the Regents, and for the purpose they enacted that the Library dues should be collected by the Librarian, who was to give in a yearly account of the sums received. No student was to be admitted to a degree unless he produced a certificate that he had satisfied the Librarian.

On February 2, 1646, the Scottish Parliament, while sitting in the hall below the Library, considered a petition from the



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University for the bettering of the Library, and in particular for a grant of the books left by Sir Robert Spottiswoode (who had lately been beheaded in St. Andrews), because it was notoriously known that both he and his father (the Archbishop) had wronged the University by borrowing books out of the Library and never restoring them. The Parliament, with certain reservations, granted the request, and ordered the whole books left by Sir Robert to be bought at the public expense, and delivered to the University for the benefit of the Library. In further testimony of respect for the University, the Parliament ordered the new Bible printed at Paris to be bought at the public charge and presented to the Library. In 1649 the "tomes of the Councils" and other works said to have been carried off by Archbishop Spottiswoode were reported to be in the hands of the Laird of Lugtoun. On hearing this the General Assembly's Commissioners empowered the Earl of Loudoun, the Marquess of Argyll, the Earl of Cassillis, and several others, "to call for the Laird of Lugtoun and give neid beis to tak his oathe upon the haveing in his costodie or knowing where the saidis tombes of Counsellis or any uther bookes belanging to the said Universitie are, with power also to them to caus any pairties who shal be fund to have the saidis bookes or any of them to restore the same to the said Universitie or any haveing thair power and warrand to receive the same." The result of this influential committee's diligence is not known to have been recorded. William Guild, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, who died in 1657, bequeathed his library to the University with the exception of one valuable manuscript, which he left to the University of Edinburgh.

In 1687 an effort was made by a commission then visiting the University to put the Library in order and to ascertain what books had been abstracted from it. The old catalogues were called for, and a new one was ordered to be prepared. This

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new catalogue (which is still extant) shows that at that time the Library contained 1535 volumes actually arranged upon the shelves and numbered. Over and above these the University possessed a number of other books, including a special collection bought by Professor James Gregory for the Observatory. The Commissioners likewise sought to enforce the regular payment of the prescribed Library dues by bursars, graduands and students of divinity passing their trials before the Presbytery of St. Andrews. Particular care was to be taken that no candidate for the ministry should escape payment of £10 Scots to the Principal of St. Mary's College for behoof of the Library, and it was "specially commended to my lord primate to enjoin this act to be duly observed by the Presbytery." By the year 1695 the Library had grown to close upon 2000 volumes.

The next event of importance was the passing of the Copyright Act of 1710, under which the Library became entitled to a copy of every work entered at Stationers' Hall. From this date the Library began to grow rapidly in size, if not in intrinsic value. But as compliance with the Act was evaded by many publishers, the University was put to considerable trouble and expense in collecting copyrighted books. Many were never got at all, and as most of those that did reach the Library were received in sheets, the slender resources of the University were heavily taxed for binding. All the same, the privilege enjoyed under the Copyright Act was an immense boon to the Library. Amid much that was ephemeral and worthless, many books were received which the University could not have afforded to buy, while along with them came numerous pamphlets that have now become extremely rare. And even those books that never had any inherent value are often found to be of interest bibliographically.

As long as the Copyright Act was in force the University authorities did their best to take full advantage of it, and in

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return they treated what they received in the most conscientious manner. It was explained in a return made to the House of Commons on January 12, 1818, that they had been in the habit of claiming everything reported to have been entered at Stationers' Hall, because they had little opportunity of obtaining satisfactory accounts of the character of new books so as to enable them to select them with discrimination. Moreover, they conceived it to be their duty to demand and to preserve for the information of future ages every literary production that was not discovered to be of a pernicious tendency. Every parcel was opened by the Librarian in presence of a committee of the *Senatus Academicus*, when directions were given for the binding and cataloguing of the books that appeared to be most useful. A small proportion of the contents of each parcel (chiefly children's books and books of mere amusement) were put aside in a separate bale ; the successive numbers of periodicals were kept until ready for binding ; and pamphlets were classed according to subjects and bound in volumes bearing such titles as "Corn Laws," "Agriculture," "India Affairs," etc. No book was disposed of in any other way, and the few that were baled were preserved with as great care as those that were placed upon the Library shelves.

The privileges of the Copyright Act came to an end in 1837, when a compensation grant of £630 per annum was made to the Library by the Treasury. This was not the average value of the books that had been received, but it was the best bargain that could be made. The new arrangement was of advantage to the Library in so far as it stopped the inflow of three-volume novels and useless books. But as a large portion of the grant came to be expended on books and periodicals in foreign languages, the English department of the Library fell steadily into arrears, and many important works published in Great Britain after 1837 have not yet been acquired. The

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Treasury grant remained the sole fund for the purchase of books until the beginning of 1903, when the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland made an annual grant of £1000 to the Library on condition that not less than half that sum should be spent on books. A further condition of the grant was the location at University College, Dundee, "of such books and periodicals as ought to be actually on the spot for the subjects taught there." In fulfilment of this stipulation books and periodicals to the value of £250 are annually sent to the Library of University College; but they remain the property of the University, and are reckoned as part of the resources of the University Library.

Regarded as a whole, the Library is a somewhat miscellaneous collection of books. It could scarcely have been otherwise considering the manner in which it has been built up. Limited funds have been a barrier to specialisation in any one department of knowledge; and notwithstanding the extremely generous treatment the Library has received from the Carnegie Trust, it is still impossible to buy all the books and periodicals that are really needed to meet the wants of the ever-expanding curriculum of the University. On the other hand, as the constituency it serves is small in comparison with the extent of the Library, its readers have facilities which they could not enjoy elsewhere. Books not on the shelves are obtained, if at all possible, as soon as it becomes evident that they ought to be there; and special consideration is readily given to advanced workers at any subject represented in the University class-rooms.

## II

The determination of King James the Sixth to establish a general or public library distinct from the College libraries, placed the University in a difficulty which it did not overcome



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for a whole generation. All the academical buildings were at that time the property of one or other of the Colleges. The University, as a separate corporation, was not in possession of a fabric in which to place the books, nor was it in possession of funds with which to provide one. It thus became necessary to collect money from outside. The Synod of Fife happened to meet in the great schools of St. Salvator's College on September 29 and 30, 1612, and to it the University made its first appeal. The synod responded cordially, and promised to assist the collectors when they visited the individual congregations. Some of the members present gave contributions on the spot "according to their discretion," while others put down their names for sums which they undertook to send in or hand to the collectors without loss of time.

On September 21, 1613, a supplication on behalf of the University was presented to the Town Council of Dundee, craving help in the erection of the Library, and promising in return to send to the Library at Dundee whatever duplicates might be found among the University books. The Council forthwith voted a subsidy of 300 merks to be added to the next assessment imposed upon the inhabitants. A similar supplication presented to a general convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, held at St. Andrews on July 7, 1615, set forth "that by his Maiestie's most princelie liberalitie and the charitable aide and support of divers nobell men, barrons, gentelmen and uthers well affected persones, favorers of learning, the fabrick of the house is so far promotit that the stane wark thair of is almost perfytit." The roofing, glazing and furnishing of the building, however, remained unprovided for, and depended upon the voluntary help and contributions of charitable and well-disposed persons. As the burghs of Edinburgh, Dundee and St. Andrews had given liberal contributions, the University felt emboldened to appeal to the other burghs

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represented in the convention for effectual help and subsidy. The convention looked upon the petition as most reasonable, and agreed to commend it to the magistrates and councils of their respective burghs immediately on their return.

The sum so raised could not have been large, for in a memorandum of things to be reformed within the University, prepared for presentation to a Royal Commission in 1616, the following sentences occur: "To crave thair Lordships' advyse how the Bibliothec may be perfyted," and "That they ordaine and appoint the buikes quhilk His Maiestie and utheris hes given to the Universitie, to be put in ane house within the said Universitie." In the beginning of July, 1616, John Young, Dean of Winchester, came to St. Andrews on a special mission from the King to endeavour to carry out certain reforms laid down in a series of articles addressed to the Chancellor, Masters and Regents. The ninth of these articles was "That the Library be finished and furnished with all possible speed *ne sint magistri sine libris*." Dr. Young also brought the welcome intelligence that John Murray (afterwards Viscount Annan and first Earl of Annandale) intended to present books to the value of £10 sterling to the Library. A letter of thanks for this prospective gift was written on August 28, 1616, in which the Rector and other signatories declared their determination to "make the memorie off it continue sa lang as this Universitie sall stand or learning continue in this kingdome."

On July 11, 1617, the Royal founder himself arrived in St. Andrews. At the porch of the Town Church he was received by the University, when the Rector delivered a laudatory speech in Latin. In alluding to the King's interest in the University, he pointed with pride to the still roofless Library on the other side of the street as a visible



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token of his Majesty's goodwill. Its unfinished state, he explained, was partly due to their own inactivity, and partly to necessity. At the close of the speech the King was presented with a volume of original Latin poems, one of which, by Professor Andrew Bruce, had for its subject the Library.

For the next quarter of a century very little reference to the Library can now be found. It was probably completed soon after the King's visit, but in the end it seems to have been a mean and unsuitable building. In 1640 "the perfecting the house appointed for a public Library," etc., was "referred to his Majesty's wise consideration and royal munificence," but without results. At length, on August 9, 1642, at a meeting of a commission appointed by the General Assembly, the problem of providing a satisfactory Library building was solved. "Considering how necessar a public library is in the University, for promoting the studies of the masters and scholars, and that for the present there was neither a sufficient house for the Library, nor ways and means thought upon for furnishing of books, Mr. Alexander Henderson, one of the Commissioners, being first a student and thereafter a regent in the University, to give testimony of his thankfulness and affection to the flourishing of the University in learning, did willinglie, and of his own accord, make offer of the sum of one thousand pounds, which was thought by the commissioners sufficient for the perfecting of the house appointed for the Library, and for the public school destinat for the solemn meetings of the University : which was thankfully accepted by the whole commissioners." On March 20, 1643, the commissioners directed James Sword, one of their number, who had charge of the work, to have the Library completed and ready for the reception of books not later than the last day of May. They also appointed a committee, to convene in the first week of

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June, "to receive the whole books pertaining to the publick Library, and to search for such as are in wanting." Thereafter they were to "mak ane perfect catalogue of all, and see the same sett up in good order in the new Library."

The building erected (or "perfected") by Henderson's generous gift formed a continuation of the north, or South Street, side of St. Mary's College, but, except that its western gable was mutual, it was a distinct fabric and lay outside the area of the College quadrangle.

The Library was finished at an opportune time, for on November 26, 1645, the Scottish Parliament commenced its sittings in St. Andrews and continued them until February 4, 1646. It met in the lower hall of the Library, which at the time and for long afterwards was the only large place of meeting in St. Andrews besides the Town Church. From this incident it received, and has ever since retained, the name of the "Parliament Hall." Among the Library furniture is still to be seen the chair in which the president sat and the table at which the clerks performed their duties.

The building completed in 1643 served its double purpose without alteration or enlargement for more than a century. But the rapid growth of the Library after the passing of the Copyright Act in 1710 soon rendered extension necessary. This was accomplished between 1765 and 1767 by increasing the height of the walls and carrying a gallery along the north side and the east and west ends of the upper hall. Thus was formed that handsome room which Dr. Samuel Johnson saw in 1773, and admitted to be "elegant and luminous."

By the close of the eighteenth century the enlarged Library, which now contained the College libraries, had become crowded. Additional book accommodation was then obtained by utilising the lobby of the Parliament Hall. The hall

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itself was invaded in 1817, when the fixed benches were cleared out and bookcases thirteen feet high erected along the walls. The windows were at the same time tastelessly enlarged and despoiled of their finely moulded rabates and centre mullions. This addition to the book accommodation was fully occupied within ten years. A committee of the Commission of 1826 visited the Library on July 31, 1827, and reported that the building was "inadequate to contain the books belonging to the University." They also declared it to be damp, but capable of being made "perfectly sufficient for the purpose to which it is appropriated." As a result of this report, and through the influence of Lord Melville, Chancellor of the University, the Barons of Exchequer were instructed by the Treasury to proceed with an extension of the Library. In 1829 they pulled down the portion of St. Mary's College adjoining the Library and extended the Library westwards for thirty-nine feet. In this way a new lower and upper room were obtained exactly the same in design as the eastern section, but rather less than half the size. In little more than a quarter of a century the walls of both these rooms were lined with books. Any further extension of buildings being then almost impossible of realisation, the expedient was adopted of placing bookcases reaching from floor to ceiling across the lower room and the Parliament Hall. In course of time, these cases, nine in number, each holding about 3000 volumes, were filled, and rooms in St. Mary's College and in adjoining houses belonging to the University had to be used as book stores.

Many futile memorials and petitions to Government for a building grant were made in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. At last a vote of £5000 was obtained through the exertions of Mr. A. J. Balfour, while Rector of the University. With this sum a new wing, standing at right angles to the old building, and connected with it by a vestibule, was erected in

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1889-90 from designs by Mr. W. W. Robertson of H.M. Office of Works. The University spent fully half as much more in providing bookcases and internal fittings. This wing consists of a lofty hall 90 feet long and 29 feet wide, with a gallery all round, and four side rooms opening off it. There is also an excellent fire-proof muniment room in one of the staircase towers. The hall being used as a reading room as well as for ceremonials, and the side rooms being required for business and other purposes, the bookcases are confined entirely to the walls.

From the point of view of book storage this extension was altogether inadequate, and the old state of congestion set in almost immediately. It became much worse when the upper west room was cleared of books in order to provide an improved meeting place for the University Court and Senatus Academicus. Fortunately, when Dr. Andrew Carnegie, Rector of the University, realised that the Library was in urgent need of extension, he placed the sum of £12,000 at the disposal of the University Court for that purpose. With this sum a third Library building, communicating with the others, but having its own main entrance, was erected in 1907-08, from designs by Mr. R. S. Lorimer, architect, Edinburgh. The Carnegie building has been constructed on the principle of the American book stack, its primary purpose being to hold the largest number of books in the smallest possible space compatible with the free admission of light and air. Except in the basement, where wood is used, the bookcases and shelves are of steel. The main floors are of concrete and the upper floors of glass, so that the building is practically fire-proof. In the centre of the main block there is a well-lighted room, measuring about 50 feet by 38 feet, set apart for reading and research. By the erection of this substantial and well-appointed building the question of library extension has been settled for many years to come. With more ample

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funds for the purchase of books, as well as for improved organisation and administration, the University Library could, within certain limits, be made one of the best research libraries in Scotland.

J. MAITLAND ANDERSON.

*PART II*

THE

STUDIES AT ST. ANDREWS

*Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat  
Res angusta domi.*

JUVENAL.





## THEOLOGY



## Theology



T cannot be said that theology can tell such a tale of progress at St. Andrews as some of the younger sciences. Historically the mother science from which all the others sprang, she has been eclipsed by them, and even forbidden in various ways to share in their advance. The succeeding chapters of this work will contrast in some degree with this one, which yet by tradition and by courtesy stands at their head.

In the earliest period of St. Andrews University theology embraced all learning ; and though this came to an end with the rearrangement of studies at the Reformation and the concentration of sacred learning on the Bible, yet theology maintained at that period, more than at any subsequent one, a position of supremacy. The theologians of St. Andrews were men who stood in the front of the scholarship of their day, who had distinguished themselves in the Universities of the Continent, and to whom theological chairs were open in other countries. At the Reformation St. Andrews University was the largest and most important one in Scotland, and the question of the teaching of theology there was a matter of urgent concern to the leaders of the new church life. St. Mary's College became the school of theology of the University, the study of divinity being discontinued in the colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard. This was quite in accordance with the earlier

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history of St. Mary's, which had been founded under more directly ecclesiastical influence than the others, and regarded as specially the nursery for the priesthood. The new course of study formed by the wisdom of the leading Scottish Humanists and Reformers came fully into operation in 1578. It was quite different from that of the old period; the years of study were reduced to half the number required by the practice of the Old Church, and scholastic subjects were dispensed with. Aristotle had been read by Protestant professors after the Reformation; we hear of the Melvilles that they were the first in Scotland to read him, as well as Xenophon and other authors, with the students in Greek. But the Bible now became the text-book; the new scheme was devoted entirely to the Bible; there were four years of hearing Bible exegesis and disputations, and the candidates then taught as bachelors for four years more, the professors lecturing in the morning, the bachelors at later hours in the day. Three years were devoted, it is interesting to observe, to the Old Testament and one to the New. The cradle of the young divinity school rocked somewhat stormily during the conflict between James and the Church, and every vicissitude of the struggle was strongly felt in her experience—sunshine when the Church had the upper hand and Andrew Melville was the most powerful personage in the realm, depression and even suppression and bereavement of her leaders when the King prevailed. The theological teaching of St. Andrews has had no other period so exciting as that in which its leaders laid the foundation of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and were finally driven to end their lives outside of their own land.

The controversies then begun lasted to the union of the kingdoms, and even longer, the struggle of the Church with the State under the Stewart kings culminating in the great doings of the Covenant, and the long debates between



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Presbytery and Episcopacy, and between Presbyterians and Independents. Theology cannot any more than any other science flourish in an atmosphere of strife, and the few theological writers of whom St. Andrews can boast in this long period were controversialists rather than leaders in deeper religious thought. Samuel Rutherford, Principal of St. Mary's from 1647 to 1661, was a man of strong and original religious genius, and had considerable learning, but was a restless and contentious character. His *Lex Rex* is a political pamphlet, his other works are strongly marked by the struggle of the Covenant. His letters, by which he is now best known, are mystical, and are mainly of interest as a personal psychological document, though in them is to be seen better than anywhere what the personal religion of the Covenanters was. Thomas Forester, 1698-1707, was an able writer against Episcopacy, and James Hadow, who was Principal after him down to the middle of the eighteenth century, was an active and keenly orthodox defender of the doctrine of the Scottish Church.

Before and after the Union the College was very poor ; two of the four professorships were at times suppressed for want of funds. The Hebrew chair was restored in 1668, and further endowed by William in 1693 ; the Church History chair was revived and endowed by Queen Anne in 1707, since which time the College has had its normal staff of four professors. The second "Mastership" was converted by the Universities Commission of 1858 into a chair of Divinity and Biblical Criticism—a step called for at St. Andrews as at the other Scottish Universities by the controversies agitated at that period with regard to the Pentateuch and the origin of the Gospels. These successive steps testify to a continuous national desire for an adequate teaching of theology, but the roll of divinity teachers at St. Andrews during the last two centuries contains the names of few men distinguished as religious teachers. Church history

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and Church law have flourished most, and many divinity professors have proved themselves good leaders in University business and in the Church courts, but the theological output may perhaps be thought meagre. This state of matters has not been confined to St. Andrews; it has been the case with Scotland generally; and the reasons may be given for it. Scottish religion has been too controversial to develop theology—this was spoken of above. The union with England has had the effect of isolating Scotland from the Continent and Scottish theology from the Continental schools, from which fresh life was formerly drawn, while many young Scotsmen of ability have been drawn to the English rather than the Scottish Church. The theology of Scotland stood still in the eighteenth century, as did that of other countries. The one considerable teacher of St. Mary's College at this period was Dr. George Hill (Principal of St. Mary's, 1791-1820), the leader of the Moderate party, whose *Lectures on Divinity* was the text-book on the subject of doctrine in the Scottish divinity halls up to a time not long past, and set forth a moderate Calvinism in a graceful and persuasive style.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the dominant religious thought in Scotland was narrow and unprogressive in a marked degree. Men of spiritual character who showed any originality in their writings were deposed for no real heresy, the freer theology of Germany was held up to reprobation by men of small qualifications as critics but of unbounded assurance as champions of orthodoxy, and strict adherence to the traditional system was regarded and enforced as the first duty of the Church.

But a great change was at hand. The dawn of a more reasonable theology was connected at St. Andrews with the appointment of John Tulloch as Principal of St. Mary's College in the year 1854. Quite a young man—he was in his thirty-

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first year—he had already shown himself to be a graceful and forcible writer on theological subjects, with a strong tendency to broad and philosophical opinions, and his appointment was furthered by Baron Bunsen, one of whose works he had reviewed. His promotion aroused strong hopes in the young men who wished for more light in theology; Edward Caird and Robert Herbert Story were among his first students. His power and influence increased with years both in the University and in the Church, and he must be judged to have done as much as any other single man to lift theology in Scotland out of its enthrallment and to introduce reasonable ways of thinking as to the nature and the claims of religious truth. Many are living who attended his class and can speak of the spirit and methods of his teaching.

Tulloch's influence was felt by his class far more in what may be called his casual and side remarks than in his formal lectures. The former sprang like sparks from an anvil, with all the effect of surprise, and often charged with the feeling of the moment. The lectures may be judged of partly by the *Burnet Prize Essay on Theism*, which a portion of them reproduced in a slightly modified form, while the *Croall Lectures on the Doctrine of Sin* were the class lectures on that subject carefully worked over. But when he threw himself back in his chair and *talked*, he held the attention riveted. He frequently devoted one day a week to giving an account and abstract of some book he was reading at the time: these discussions were very interesting. He had great power in sketching the spirit and tendency of an age or an individual. He had a real insight into history without being strong in details. Examples of his work in this direction are his *Leaders of the Reformation* and his *English Puritanism and its Leaders*. The same power is discernible in his chief book, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*,

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being studies of Liberal Churchmen of the period and of the Cambridge Platonists. He wrote numerous minor works and magazine articles in which the same characteristic features were presented. His style was full and ornate, perhaps occasionally a little obscure. He was a great teacher, and perhaps a still greater personality.

Of the men who taught in St. Mary's along with Tulloch and came after him till the present professors were appointed, it must be said that they were all men of marked character, and all, even when they continued to stand on the old ground, felt the breath of the new age and more or less entered into it. Alexander Ferrier Mitchell was appointed Professor of Hebrew in 1848 when a very young man—he had been minister of Dunnichen for a single year. He was an admirable teacher of Hebrew, very thorough, though not working perhaps on modern philological lines. In 1868 he was transferred to the Chair of Church History, a subject which was more congenial to him, and for the teaching of which he had proved his fitness. He resigned in 1894. He was great as a student of the early history of Protestantism, especially in Scotland, and spoke and wrote with authority on the Confessions, the Catechisms, and the hymns of the Protestant Churches. Along with Dr. Struthers, minister of Prestonpans, he edited the Minutes of the Westminster Assembly. He corresponded with many leading theologians in Germany and in America, and felt as he grew older, though he always remained strongly conservative in his views, that progress in theology was not uncalled for. By his deep sagacity and comprehension of affairs he exercised much influence in the University and still more in the Church. John M'Gill, who succeeded him in the Chair of Hebrew, held it for only three years. He was a brilliant scholar, with a remarkable genius for languages, especially of the Semitic type. While still the minister of a small country parish he attracted the



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notice of Dr. Pusey by his review of that scholar's lectures on Daniel. Many notes in the later editions of this book are distinguished by the initials MG. It is understood that his nomination to the Chair of Hebrew was largely due to Dr. Pusey's influence, and the two divines, though belonging to different Churches and far apart in their theological views, remained friends and correspondents as long as both lived. Dr. M'Gill was one of the original company of Old Testament Revisers, and his judgment was greatly valued by his colleagues. His early death ten years before the completion of the Revised Version was a great loss both to that noteworthy undertaking and to the University of St. Andrews. He was succeeded by John Birrell (1871-1901), an accurate and painstaking Hebrew scholar, and also a member of the Old Testament company of the Revisers of the Authorized Version of the Bible.

Under Frederick Crombie, Professor of Biblical Criticism, 1868-1889, the study of the New Testament was brought to a higher stage than it had formerly attained at St. Andrews. In his class the Septuagint was read, with reference to the original Hebrew. He lectured extensively on the fourth gospel, the controversy on which was then acute, and introduced his students to the views of Bretschneider and other great German scholars on that book, though leading them to no extreme conclusions. The lectures he delivered on the Baird foundation about the fourth gospel were very unfortunately never published. He took a prominent part in a theological undertaking which ought for its own sake to be noticed in any account of theology at St. Andrews. The translation of the works of the Ante-Nicene Church Fathers was opened in 1866 with a translation of the Apostolic Fathers, which was prepared by Dr. James Donaldson, now Sir James Donaldson, Principal of St. Andrews University; Dr. Alexander Roberts, who two years later was appointed to the St. Andrews Chair of Humanity; and the



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Rev. F. Crombie. The series, which ran to twenty-four volumes, was edited throughout by Dr. Donaldson and Dr. Roberts, and Dr. Crombie contributed to it two volumes of translations of Origen. A supplementary volume, which appeared in 1896, was edited by Dr. Crombie's successor. The series has been of the greatest use to theological study in Britain and in America, and the University which has been so much connected with it may be proud of the work.

Dr. John Cunningham, who succeeded Tulloch as Principal of St. Mary's, was also a Church leader and statesman and an ardent champion of liberal measures—keen in debate, outspoken in the exposition of his opinions, but in character most kind and gentle. The work by which he will be most remembered was done a quarter of a century before he came to St. Andrews. His *History of the Church of Scotland* is a most readable book, well informed, full of penetrating judgment, and of a most reasonable and liberal spirit. His Croall lectures on *The Growth of the Church in its Organisation and Institutions* exhibit the same qualities in a more important field, but challenges comparison, as the earlier book does not, with the works of many commanding writers.

Theology at St. Andrews has no long tale to tell of additions to its staff, or of new material equipment. The Gifford Lectures, while in many cases a splendid addition to religious thought in the University, form no part of any course for students.

The Commission which placed Arts study on a new footing and increased to so large an extent the staff in the Arts subjects was precluded from doing anything for theology beyond increasing the emoluments of the Hebrew chair as not being exclusively theological, and giving the professor an assistant. The Carnegie Trust is under the same restriction; and the number of divinity professors remains as it was in 1578, and

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is likely so to remain for some time longer, though it is obvious that some of the chairs are burdened with too many subjects, and cannot therefore be as efficient as they should be. At least two additional professorships ought to be instituted to bring our theological teaching up to modern requirements. On the other hand, it must be said that the creation of the B.D. degree has given a powerful stimulus to theological study; the best students take the degree, and it connects the divinity hall with other Churches than the Church of Scotland. The University itself has been generous in the encouragement of theology. Principal Donaldson, who is himself a theologian, is warmly interested in our studies. A Berry scholarship is given annually to a student who has taken the B.D. degree, and the holder generally proceeds to a foreign university, so that Continental ideas of divinity study do not fail to reach us.

An addition will shortly be made to our equipment in the shape of a collection of papyri and ostraca, which the University Court and other friends of our studies are enabling us to procure from Egypt, and which will greatly stimulate and enliven our interest in the living Greek language in which the books of the New Testament were written.

A list of the contributions made to theological literature by the present teachers and scholars of our theological college would fill a considerable space; and this is likely to continue. Some of our graduates are becoming professors in various parts of the world, and others are preparing to follow them. The *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, published under the auspices of the divinity professors of St. Andrews, and written to some extent by them and their pupils, deals with books produced in various languages, and finds its way to all lands. The *Review* is now in its seventh year.

It is worthy of mention that the church of St. Salvator's College, having been recently taken by the University into its

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own hands, divine service is conducted in that beautiful building during the college session, the divinity professors with clerical professors in Arts acting as the staff of clergy and preaching in turn with preachers from outside. These services are highly valued by the students, by whom the building is filled on each occasion. Morning prayers are also read on week-days during the session, and these acts of worship are also well attended.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

ALLAN MENZIES.

# LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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## Language and Literature



WITH the single exception of History, Philology, or the study of Language and Literature, is the youngest department in our Faculty of Arts. In some respects it is still in its infancy. Romance and Teutonic philology are not twenty years old, and English has only been recognised for half a century. Even classical study is comparatively recent. Latin was not firmly established till the second half of the seventeenth century, and no provision was made for the teaching of Greek till the eighteenth. During the latter century St. Andrews was more or less decadent, and it is substantially correct to say that real classical study only began with the revival of the University in the nineteenth century, and that its growth was slow because that revival was slow. Unless we take account of the long and bitter struggle which ended in the tardy and grudging recognition of humanistic studies, it is impossible to form a just estimate of their present state among us. It is certain that philology is more backward in Scotland than in many European countries; but quite as certainly that is not due to any unfitness of the Scottish people for its pursuit. If we consider the amount and quality of the philological work done by Scotsmen trained in England or on the continent, it would seem rather that we have a real gift for it. In proportion to its population, Scotland has produced as many learned men as any other country; the trouble is that it has hitherto proved very difficult to raise a



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home-bred scholar. There can be no doubt, however, that this backwardness is due to definite historical causes which have almost ceased to operate at the present day, except as a dead-weight of tradition. Some of these causes are common to all the Scottish Universities, and some are peculiar to ourselves.

### I

St. Andrews was founded as a medieval University in the strictest and narrowest sense of the word. It was too late for the first revival of letters, and too early for the second. The *cursus philosophicus* which the Middle Ages had inherited from the Pythagoreans and Plato was exclusively scientific; and, though efforts had been made to graft the study of "the authors" upon it, this was considered dangerous to orthodoxy in the early fifteenth century. There was therefore no place for the study of Languages and Literature in the University curriculum of that age. It is true that the Renaissance had begun in Italy; but in 1411 Scotland was effectually cut off from Italy by its prolonged adherence to Benedict XIII. (Pedro de Luna, whose arms appear on our ancient seal). Even France had renounced his obedience after the Council of Pisa, and Scotland was in full communion with Spain alone among European countries. The University of Salamanca (which also displays the arms of Pedro de Luna) might have helped us, but it does not appear that it did. The new University had to be manned by ecclesiastics who had studied at Paris before the Council of Pisa, and these were the last people in the world to be touched by the spirit of Humanism. They had no idea beyond "reading" the *libri consueti*, that is, the Latin versions of certain works of Aristotle. This was done *more parisiensi*, that is to say, by dictating sections of the text along with the paraphrases of whoever were the approved doctors of the time. In this

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respect, the beginnings of St. Andrews form a striking contrast to those of Aberdeen, which was founded in 1494, and was influenced by Humanism from the first. The Humanism of the North never reached us, and all we can boast in this connexion is that Hector Boece, the friend of Erasmus and the first Principal of Aberdeen, was a native of Dundee, a city in our province and now intimately associated with our University.

There was indeed a brief moment of hope for us in the short interval between the foundation of Aberdeen and the Battle of Flodden. Alexander Stewart, the natural son of King James IV., was made Archbishop of St. Andrews, and consequently Chancellor of the University, at an early age. However irregular his appointment may have been, his education was specially designed to fit him for his position. Above all, he enjoyed the instruction of Erasmus himself, who mentions the Greek compositions he wrote for him at Siena. He tells us, in the language of the time, that the Archbishop was dedicated to "Christ and the Muses," and we hear of a sort of pilgrimage to the cave of the Sibyl at Cumae. Had he lived it cannot be doubted that he would have found means to introduce some tincture of Humanism into the University; but his untimely death at Flodden put an end to any such projects, and the first century of our existence passed away without seeing even the beginnings of literary study.

## II

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century there was another gleam of hope. Cardinal Beaton was not averse to Humanism, and it seems that he contemplated doing what his predecessor had been prevented from accomplishing. At any rate, in 1540, his cousin, Archibald Hay, addressed a *Panegyric* to him in which he showed a full sense of what the times

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required. He urged that Latin, Greek, and Hebrew should be taught, and even suggested readers in Syriac and Arabic. Hay became Principal of St. Mary's in 1546, but he only held office for a year, and nothing was done.

It is true that in the New Foundation of St. Mary's College in 1553 a first attempt was made to make provision for "the tongues" by the appointment of an *orator* and a *grammaticus*. It does not appear, however, that these offices were conceived in a humanistic spirit. The University continued to express itself then and long afterwards in the uncouth and debased jargon which had practically disappeared from the rest of Europe. At this date, learning was mainly Protestant, both in France and in England. The tardy reception of the Reformation in Scotland now cut it off from real scholarship just as effectually as its fidelity to the Antipope had done at an earlier date.

The first Reformers were naturally brought into contact with Continental scholars, and this was to bear some fruit for a time before long. In 1534 Erskine of Dun brought a Frenchman, Petrus de Marsiliers, to teach Greek at Montrose, and Andrew Melville learnt that language from him before he came to St. Andrews as a student in 1559, and his nephew, James Melville, whose *Diary* is our chief source of information for this period, was told at a later date how his uncle had astonished the regents by reading Aristotle in the original. That, however, was only a passing portent, and no one seems to have followed his example. The country was now in the throes of the Reformation, and men had other things to think of.

### III

It might be supposed that the establishment of the Reformed religion would lead to the introduction of classical studies, but nothing of the sort happened. In spite of the Reformation the

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curriculum remained thoroughly medieval in character. A few things were dropped as "superstitious," and the rest went on precisely as before. James Melville, who entered St. Leonard's College in 1571, eleven years after the official recognition of the new order of things, has fortunately left us an account of his course, which may be rendered as follows in modern language. In his first year he began with the Rhetoric of Cassander, the eminent divine of Louvain and Cologne, and in a note he adds that he "heard" one speech of Cicero, the *Pro rege Deiotaro*. That was the only concession made to modern ideas, and it will be seen that it is a very little one. After this the regent took his class through a compendium of philosophy, composed by himself, and covering the ground of the *Categories*, the *De interpretatione*, and the *Prior Analytics*. James did exercises in the conversion of syllogisms, and he must have begun geometry; for he mentions that a fellow-student helped him with the *Pons asinorum*. The second year was occupied with the *Posterior Analytics*, the *Topics*, and the *Sophistici Elenchi*, along with Arithmetic and "the Sphere," that is to say, the astronomical treatise of Johannes de Sacrobosco, the most authoritative manual of the Ptolemaic system. This implies a fair knowledge of plane and solid geometry. In the third year he went through five books of the *Ethics*, and the Aristotelian works on Natural Philosophy, eight books of the *Physics* and the *De ortu et interitu*, better known as the *De generatione et corruptione*. The fourth year was entirely given up to Astronomy. The class went through Aristotle's *De coelo* and the *Meteorologica* with a more exact study of "the Sphere." A good deal might have been learnt from such a course as this if it had been conducted with any knowledge or intelligence, and if the teacher at least had been able to read his text-books in the original; but this was not the case. No regent had ever lectured on a Greek book in Scotland at this date. James

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Melville himself was the first to do so later on, and that was at Glasgow, not at St. Andrews. It is important to observe that it was the same regent who took the class right through the course from beginning to end, according to a curious custom which had grown up in Scotland and long survived. Melville's regent was a kindly man, and he speaks of him with affection ; but when his almost legendary uncle returned from abroad, and he had an opportunity of listening to a real scholar, he was made to feel that "all he had got was some terms of Art in philosophy without light or solid knowledge." His final judgment on the regents of his day is that "as for languages and the Arts and Philosophy, they had nothing at all but a few books of Aristotle which they learnt pertinaciously to babble and flyte upon, without right understanding or use thereof." Even in his student days he had felt that there was something lacking. He says "I would have gladly been at the Greek and Hebrew tongues, because I read in our Bible that it was translated out of Hebrew and Greek ; but the languages were not to be gotten in the land. Our regent began and taught us the A, B, C, of the Greek, and the simple declinations, and went no further." The good man probably went as far as he could. The fact that the medieval curriculum survived both the Revival of Learning and the Reformation without substantial change is the cardinal fact in the history of St. Andrews University. It is intelligible enough that it should have survived even longer after weathering these two storms successfully.

### IV

There were, of course, attempts at reform, but they were all defeated by the passive resistance of the regents, which became active resistance upon occasion. They would probably have found little to quarrel with in the *First Book of Discipline*, if that



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had ever been ratified. As a scheme of national education it has been justly praised, and it would have secured that students should come to the University well prepared for humanistic studies. Unfortunately, they would have found no humanistic teaching when they got there. Knox was not a humanist, and the proposals of the *First Book of Discipline* for the organisation of the Universities are quite inadequate. The leading idea of the scheme was the specialisation of the colleges to particular faculties. That was a wise provision, and bore some fruit at St. Andrews later on; but the only faculties contemplated were the three traditional "superior faculties" of Divinity, Law, and Medicine, with so much of the *quadrivium* as was specially related to each. It was only in the divinity college that languages were to be taught at all, and these were, of course, to be Greek and Hebrew. That was forced upon Knox by the practical need of training a Reformed ministry; but it was confined to the first year of the course, and the only profane author suggested was "one book of Plato," whatever that may import. It is possible that Knox had some idea of counteracting the dominant Aristotelianism in this way; but Aristotle, or what passed for Aristotle, was to remain supreme for a long time yet. Such Arts teaching as was to be given in the other two colleges was to be of the traditional character; for Knox and his coadjutors were completely dominated by the medieval idea that "the tongues" and "the authors" are the province of the school and not of the university. All that can be said for the scheme is that, if the schools had been organised as the *Book of Discipline* proposed, the hand of the University would probably have been forced, and classical studies would have secured recognition at an earlier date than they actually did.

The next attempt at reform marks a great advance on humanist lines. In 1563 a petition was presented to the Lords of the Articles praying for a reformation of St. Andrews



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University on the ground of misappropriation of revenues and inadequacy of teaching. It is set forth that "few sciences, and specially they that are most necessary, that is to say the tongues and humanity, are in any part taught in the said city." We may trace here the hand of George Buchanan, who had returned to Scotland, and was reading Livy with Queen Mary. At any rate, Buchanan was one of the Commissioners appointed to visit the University, and an entirely new scheme was drafted. The idea of specialising the colleges was retained, but one of them was to be a College of Humanity, the other two being reserved for Philosophy and Divinity. That would have involved a complete breach with medieval tradition, and the course which was drafted for the humanity college embodied all the best features of contemporary humanism. Unfortunately this scheme too remained a dead letter, and, even when Buchanan was made Principal of St. Leonard's (or, as the humanists preferred to call it, *gymnasiarcha*), it does not appear that he succeeded in doing anything. James Melville's description of his course of studies refers to a period just subsequent to Buchanan's principalship, and the "hearing" of the *Pro rege Deiotaro* with the perfunctory teaching of the Greek alphabet seem to be the only traces left of the great humanist's influence.

In these circumstances, a new Commission was called for in 1579, of which Buchanan was once more a member, but its recommendations mark a further advance on those of 1563. In the interval, Andrew Melville had returned to Scotland, and had been reforming the University of Glasgow on lines which went rather beyond the ideas of Buchanan. Melville had been a pupil of Turnebus and Ramus, and had been closely associated with Joseph Justus Scaliger, and he therefore represented a more developed stage of humanism. He had succeeded at Glasgow, but only by doing the work of three or four regents in his own person, and at this time graduates of St. Andrews were glad

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to enter as students at Glasgow. It was natural that Andrew Melville, as a St. Andrews man, should be called upon to undertake the reformation of his own University, but he was very reluctant to do so. It required "compulsators of Horning," that is, the threat of outlawry, to make him give up his post in the west; but he had to come, and in 1580 he became Principal of St. Mary's College. Troubles now began in real earnest. So far as we can see, the regents had been able to resist Buchanan by the simple method of ignoring his schemes; but no such policy was possible with Andrew Melville, and open war broke out between the medievalists and the new learning. The regents were nominally Protestants, but they had the souls of Dominican friars, and Melville's life was one of "feghting and fasherie," as his nephew tells us in words which it would be a shame to modernise.

Andrew Melville set himself to get rid of the system by which the regents took their class right through the course. The "fixation" of the regents was the keystone of his whole scheme of reformation. One of the regents of St. Salvator's was to teach Greek; and, what must have seemed a still more ominous proposal, the Principal of St. Leonard's was to lecture regularly on Plato. Melville had introduced the Logic of Ramus at Glasgow, and he ventured to dispute the infallibility of Aristotle. He had read Aristotle, and the regents only knew him through the traditional interpretation; but Aristotle was their "breadwinner," and they raised the cry of "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," as James Melville puts it. He was, however, beginning to make some headway, and his nephew tells us that he had actually persuaded some of the regents to read Aristotle in his own tongue, when he became involved in ecclesiastical disputes which do not concern us here. Whatever the merits of these may have been, it is certain that they were fatal to the studies of our University, all the more so as they embroiled

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Melville with King James VI., who, with all his faults, was just the man to understand what he was trying to do. From 1584 to 1586 Melville had to take refuge in England. In 1590 he was made Rector, but he was soon deprived of the office on the curious ground that he had not observed the reformation of the University. Subsequently he became Dean of the theological faculty; but in 1606 the end of all things came. He was summoned to London, and the King threw him into the Tower, where he remained for four years. It is pleasant to think that the pupil of Turnebus and the friend of Scaliger was visited in his captivity by Casaubon. He was at last released in order to take up a professorship in the University of Sedan, where he spent the remaining eleven years of his life, not without troubles, and Scotland saw him no more.

It seems certain that Andrew Melville's schemes were never carried out except in the most imperfect way. A little elementary Greek may have been taught for a time at St. Salvator's, but the flame soon flickered out. The second century of our history ended like the first, without seeing any provision made for classical study at St. Andrews. In 1621 the last vestiges of the reforms were swept away. On the ground that it had "bred confusion in the professions of sciences," Parliament revoked the ratification of 1579, and "restored the first foundations of the said colleges." It seemed that all hope was gone; but the beginnings at least of better things were made in that very year. To understand how this came about we must look a little further afield.

### V

What the humanists and the reformers had failed to achieve in the sixteenth century was attempted with rather more success by men of the world in the seventeenth. The foundation of a new college at Aberdeen by the Earl Marischal

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in 1594 may be taken as the beginning of the new period. It is true that the ideals of this period were less comprehensive and less lofty than those of Andrew Melville; but, perhaps for that very reason, they were realised at least in part. As we shall see, the resistance of the regents was determined, and even unscrupulous; but it is true nevertheless that the foundations on which we are still endeavouring to build were laid at this time.

It must be remembered here that, though the University had successfully shut its doors to classical study, there was no lack of classical scholarship in Scotland. The King of Scots had to conduct the external affairs of the realm in the Latin tongue, and it was essential, even in the fifteenth century, that he should have secretaries capable of penning dispatches which would not excite the laughter of foreign courts. The great ecclesiastics before the Reformation were under the like necessity. Men like Reid, Bishop of Orkney, were scholars themselves and knew the value of scholarship. Further, it had more and more become the custom for young noblemen to travel abroad with a "pedagogue," and they soon learnt that they could not go far in the world without Latin. The ability to write a more or less Ciceronian epistle, and even to turn out a tolerable copy of verses, was as necessary as a passport to the best society in those days as skill in fence and horsemanship. We have seen something of this in the case of Archbishop Alexander Stewart, while, at a later date, St. Andrews has the honour of numbering the "admirable" Crichton among her sons. However legendary his talents and virtues may be, it is of importance to realise that such an ideal was possible in Scotland. Nor were such ambitions confined to the great nobles. Many a Scottish soldier of fortune had a touch of scholarship. It will be remembered that Dugald Dalgetty got his Latinity from Marischal College in Aberdeen.

In the seventeenth century St. Andrews already attracted a considerable number of young noblemen—Montrose and Argyll



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among the number—and they were naturally followed by the sons of the lesser nobility and the lairds. This would at once create a demand for classical teaching. It is, however, to the nobility of the robe that we owe our first endowment for classical scholarship, and it is pleasing to think that it may have been due in part to the influence of the banished Andrew Melville. The Aberdeen physician and scholar, Arthur Johnston, had resided for a time with Melville at Sedan after taking his degree at Padua, and his patron was Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, who at a later date bore the expenses of publishing the *Deliciae Poetarum Scotorum*. Besides this, Sir John had been a student at St. Leonard's in Melville's time, and he had enough scholarship to write a Latin poem on the departure of King James for his southern kingdom. It is possible, therefore, to trace a thread of continuity between the efforts of the sixteenth century and those of the seventeenth. In 1620 Sir John mortified a sum of 8000 merks "or thereby" to endow a "regent and professor of Humanity" in St. Leonard's, being moved thereto "for the love and favor I do carie to St. Leonards College in St. androis wher I and my umquhile father were educat in philosophie." This foundation was ratified in 1621, in the very year that Parliament gave the *coup de grâce* to Melville's reformation. Sir John was a shrewd man, and it is to be supposed that he knew what was going on and resolved to counteract it so far as he could.

The regents of St. Leonard's were not at all likely to refuse an endowment of 8000 merks, though they had little intention of carrying out the founder's intention. In those days the misappropriation of endowments was a fine art among us, and long remained so. The first professors of Humanity, Mr. Alexander Scot and Mr. Norrie, were harassed in every way. The chair was cheated of its share in the Priory revenues when they were attached to the College, and the regents of St. Salvator's com-

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plained that it created an inequality between the Colleges, and was likely to leave their schools of philosophy "desolate." It should have been founded, if at all, in a neutral place. The master of the Grammar School also complained later that the "private school" of Humanity at St. Leonard's damaged him by drawing away his best pupils. It is to be noted that the term "private school" at this date means "tutorial class" as opposed to the "public schools" or formal lectures. The fact that the new professor taught instead of "reading," that is, dictating in the medieval way, is regularly put in the forefront of the complaints that were made.

In 1641 a Commission, consisting mostly of old St. Salvator's men, was appointed, and they ordained that the new professor should teach in some neutral part of the town and that he should not be allowed to teach "grammar" even in his chamber. He was also to take rank below the four philosophy regents. All this seemed very satisfactory, no doubt, but the regents forgot that they had to deal with a Senator of the College of Justice and "Director of the Chancellery." He was a St. Leonard's man, and he knew the sort of people they were. We may be sure too that the author of that *chronique scandaleuse*, *The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen*, had a keen eye for sinister intrigues. In any case, he had very prudently inserted a "clause irritant" in the deed of foundation, and he now raised a summons of declarator, and had the whole transaction made null and void. The College had to refund the money and the chair was abolished. That was not enough for Lord Scotstarvit, however. He was determined that St. Leonard's should have a Chair of Humanity, whether the regents liked it or not, and in 1644 he petitioned Parliament to re-establish the chair in such a way as to exclude effectually the possibility of his wishes being disregarded. The petition was granted and the Act was passed. Thereupon the regents of St. Salvator's, who had been making



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much of the inequality between the Colleges, went with Lord Cassilis, the representative of the Kennedy family, to Parliament and asked that they too might have a Chair of Humanity. Their prayer was granted and the result of all the opposition to the plans of Lord Scotstarvit was that St. Andrews got two professors of Humanity instead of one. In the circumstances we cannot feel surprised that the founder retained the patronage of the chair in his own hands and those of his heirs, an arrangement which had a curious result later on. The fourth Duke of Portland married the heiress of the family, the daughter of the celebrated General Scott, and four professors of Humanity were appointed by an English duke during the nineteenth century. The patronage of the chair was not transferred to the University till the Commissioners under the Act of 1889 abolished private patronage, and Professor W. M. Lindsay is the first occupant of the chair elected by the University itself.

## VI

The regents were foiled in their endeavours to prevent the study of Latin in the University; but before the seventeenth century closed they had to face the still more serious question of the study of Greek. It is impossible to understand the policy which was adopted in this matter unless we consider it in the light of what was going on elsewhere, and especially in the Town's College, now the University, of Edinburgh. This has been elucidated by Sir Alexander Grant, and in the light of his researches the meaning of many things otherwise obscure becomes plain. To put the matter briefly, the plan adopted was as follows. It was clearly no longer possible to resist the admission of classical studies to the University, but it was possible to render them comparatively innocuous by preventing the teaching of Greek in the schools. To establish a regent

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or Professor of Greek was to diminish the importance of the Professor of Humanity, who was in theory Professor of Greek as well as of Latin; and, if Greek was not taught in the schools, there was no danger of its becoming an important subject in the Universities.

In 1672 the Privy Council was induced, "in the interests of the advancement of learning," to forbid the teaching of Greek in schools altogether. To teach Greek at school, they said, prejudiced the Universities "by rendering some of their professors altogether useless." It is to be hoped that the Lords of the Council saw the humour of this declaration; but the regents of St. Leonard's took it quite seriously. They were favourable, for the reasons indicated above, to the establishment of a Greek professorship, but they coupled with this a demand for the suppression of Greek in the school. The grounds they assign are that "there are a number of silly men who, having hardly a smatter of Greek themselves, do take upon them to teach others to the great disadvantage of many good spirits." This is the way in which the regents thought fit to speak of the burgh schoolmasters of Scotland in 1695. We can see now that, however defective these men's knowledge may have been, they were doing more for Scottish education than their critics.

After the Revolution, though the General Assembly and the Universities continued to oppose the teaching of Greek in schools, and though the University of Edinburgh appealed to the Town Council to put an end to it as late as the year 1772, a new spirit prevailed in the counsels of the Government, which may probably be traced to the influence of Carstairs. The Parliamentary Commission, which decided in 1699 that the Greek regent should be "fixed and not ambulatory," affords an instructive glimpse of the way in which Greek was treated, and explains the policy of St. Andrews in the matter. It was considered necessary to lay down that the Greek regent should

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teach "only grammar and the proper Greek authors"; he was not to give instruction in "even so much as any *structura syllogismi*." Apparently there was a danger that he should be made use of to teach elementary Logic, which had been the subject of the first year in the medieval curriculum. Further it was ordained that "for the better encouragement of said fixed teacher of Greek, no scholar bred at school in Scotland and not foreign bred" was to be allowed to study philosophy unless he had learned Greek "at least for the ordinary year" under "the said fixed Greek master."

In 1699 Francis Pringle came to St. Leonard's as regent, and for three years he had to carry on the old system. In his first year he was regent of the Bachelors; in his second, regent of the Magistrands, and in his third, regent of the *Bajans*, or, as we now call them (no doubt from the analogy of the word "regent") the "bejants." In 1702 he appears for the first time as Professor of Greek, and in 1705 we find Patrick Haldane as Professor of Greek at St. Salvator's. For the first time, St. Andrews had something like full provision for the teaching of classics. Unfortunately it came too late to be of much use. We know something from letters of Pringle which have been preserved of the decay of the University at this period, when St. Leonard's had "one country minister after another" at its head, and the most definite fact about his tenure of the chair which has come down to us is that he had to whip some students who had indulged in Jacobite demonstrations. The union of the Colleges in 1746 did something to arrest their rapid decay; but we have extremely little information as to the studies of the University at this date. There are practically no eighteenth-century minutes of the Faculty of Arts, and it is impossible to obtain any trustworthy information for that period.

It will be seen that the separation of Greek and Latin, and

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their assignment to separate professors, is to be explained from the course of events just narrated. Originally Humanity included Greek, but it now meant Latin only. This still obscures the essential unity of classical philology, and has given rise to the literally preposterous idea that Latin without Greek can be a profitable subject of study in a university.

### VII

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, the classical chairs were in the hands of some of the leading members of the Moderate party in the Church. They were cultivated and scholarly men as a rule, but it is not likely that they had the opportunity of doing work of a high order in their chairs. John Hunter, who held the Humanity Chair from 1775 till 1835, was not only a scholarly man but a scholar. He produced several editions of Latin authors, but he is best known to the present generation by the beautiful portrait which hangs in the hall of the United College.

With Hunter's professorship we emerge once more into the light of history, and we find that at some unknown date in the eighteenth century the medieval curriculum had at last faded away. After all that has been said, it is startling to find that it had become the custom for students to attend the Latin and Greek classes during the whole four years of their course. There appears to be no minute of the Senatus or of the College on the subject of this momentous change, and there are no minutes of the Faculty of Arts. That the change took place is, however, quite certain, and in the early years of the nineteenth century we find that, for this reason, the Latin and Greek classes far out-number all the others. This fact has had important consequences down to the present day. It had been a tradition for so long that classical studies were to be carried

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on throughout the course, that when at last provision was made for graduation with honours, the number of students who took advantage of this was very large in proportion to the size of the University. As early as 1853, seven years before graduation with honours was introduced, Professor Alexander started the Third Greek Class, which is the origin of the present Honours Class, and has gone on ever since. If we remember that twenty years ago the Third Classes of Latin and Greek at Edinburgh met only in alternate years, it will be seen how important this was. The tradition still lives, and St. Andrews has often had nearly as many students studying for classical honours as the larger Universities, and on a few occasions it has had a greater number than any of them.

In the early years of honours graduation, St. Andrews was extremely fortunate in its Professors of Greek. Men still living remember the impulse given to classical studies by W. Y. Sellar, who was succeeded in 1863 by Lewis Campbell, the value of whose contributions to Platonic study are only fully recognised now that he has gone.

The next period is marked by the Commission of 1889, which made Greek an optional subject. That, of course, decreased the numbers of those who take Greek for a pass degree ; but certain other provisions in the Ordinance had the effect of more than doubling the number of those who take honours in Classics. It was soon felt, however, that the new scheme had been insufficiently thought out, and the University, which has recovered its ancient power of autonomous legislation in these matters, adopted a new scheme of Arts graduation in the present academical year. So far as can be foreseen, this will encourage the classical student ; but an even more important measure is the institution of a new degree of Bachelor of Letters on the model of the existing degree of Bachelor of Science. There can be no question as to the impulse the latter



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degree has given to scientific study, and it may reasonably be hoped that the B.Litt. will do as much for philology. On the whole, the outlook seems bright enough, and it must be said that the recent and present successors of our old enemies, the philosophy regents, have more than atoned for the sins of their predecessors, and have shown themselves ready to co-operate with the classical department in every possible way. In particular, there is no doubt that Plato has come to his own at St. Andrews in a way that would do Andrew Melville good to behold if he could witness it.

### VIII

The history of other branches of philology at St. Andrews is short. After the classical department had borne the burden and heat of the day in the struggle with traditional prejudice, it was comparatively easy for them to obtain recognition.

The study of English Literature was introduced into St. Andrews as a recognised subject for the first time in 1861. There was no professor of the subject, but the Professor of Logic was also, by a curious survival from the days of "Cassander his Rhetorick," Professor of Rhetoric, and Spalding had already interpreted this as covering what were called *belles lettres*. The teaching of English Literature was, therefore, assigned to the Professor of Logic. It is interesting to observe that, early in the eighteenth century, the Duke of Chandos had done his best to found a chair of "Eloquence," which would naturally have developed into a chair of Literature, but his purpose was never carried out. The manner in which his intentions were frustrated affords an interesting study in the traditional St. Andrews hostility to literary studies, and of the skill with which the University pursued the art of defeating the founder's intention. The Duke of Chandos was not a Lord



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of Session like Scot of Scotstarvit, and he thought it more dignified to let the University have its way. However, even under the anomalous arrangement above referred to, good work was done, especially by Professor Spencer Baynes. The treatment of the subject under these conditions was necessarily almost entirely literary, and little could be done for English Philology in the strict sense. In 1892 the Professor of Logic gave up the subject, and from 1892 to 1897 it was taught at St. Andrews by the Professor of English in University College, Dundee. It is only since the latter date that there has been a Professor of English Literature in the United College. Since 1889 there has also been a Lecturer in English Language and Philology, and a healthy Honours School is growing up.

Modern Languages were admitted for the first time as subjects for graduation by the Commissioners under the Act of 1889. There has been a Lectureship in French since 1892; that in German is more recent. It is true that French was taught at St. Andrews during the last thirty or forty years of the eighteenth century, and that this continued, though with interruptions, well into the nineteenth. But the subject was hardly recognised as an academical one. At that date the Scottish Universities were setting themselves to give an education "suitable for the sons of gentlemen," and Aberdeen had arranged not only for French but for Dancing. The Modern Languages School at the present day has to contend with many great disadvantages. It is necessary to take German along with French; but, in consequence of the shortsighted policy of the schools, which encourage their pupils to take Latin along with French, the study of German seems to be disappearing altogether. Pupils who know Latin without Greek, and French without German, are doubly penalised, and find it almost impossible to take an Honours degree. Some of the Scottish Universities have tried to meet this difficulty by establishing a sort of Gallo-

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Roman Honours degree, but this solution has not commended itself to us. It would finally destroy the study of German, and it is quite unscientific to group French with Classical Latin. The work of the Honours Classes in Latin must imply a knowledge of Greek, and it would be necessary to have a Lecturer in Popular and Medieval Latin to form a proper school. On the whole, the best solution would seem to be the establishment of a school of Romance Philology by the institution of a Lectureship in some Romance language other than French. The case of German is still more difficult, as it is now so little known in Scotland. It would appear, however, that it would naturally be grouped with English Language and Philology, and there is much to be said for the institution of a Scandinavian Lectureship at St. Andrews.

Hebrew has been a subject for divinity students for many years, and it is now recognised as a subject for graduation in Arts. Under our new Ordinance it will be possible for candidates to take Hebrew along with Greek for their "special" or final examination. It is hoped that this may lead to considerable improvement in the philological equipment of our theological students. To complete this scheme, a Lectureship in Hellenistic Greek is required. In conjunction with the Professor of Biblical Criticism, such a Lecturer would be of the greatest service, not only to theological candidates, but to the increasing number of students who are interested in the Hellenistic world as the seedground of modern civilisation. There was for a short period a Lecturer in Modern Greek, whose salary was provided by the late Marquis of Bute, but this is now discontinued.

A Lectureship in Sanskrit was established some years ago, but there was no special endowment for it, and it is now vacant.

It will be seen that philological studies have had many difficulties to face at St. Andrews, and that those difficulties

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are not yet completely overcome. There is, however, good reason to hope that the second five hundred years of our history will be more favourable to them than the first. In any case, they can hardly be less so.

JOHN BURNET.

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## Philosophy



ANY distinguished names are found on the list of those who have taught Philosophy in St. Andrews. But their merit is in general due, not so much to any striking originality of their own, as to the able and successful exposition, the detailed development and criticism of current views, due in their main outline to others. Thus, Spalding, Veitch, and Baynes are dominated by the Hamiltonian Logic and Metaphysics; Jones and Ritchie, again, are brilliant representatives of the philosophical movement which traces its source to Hegel. Some, too, of the best known names on the list belong to men who were only birds of passage at St. Andrews, and who have done their chief work and earned their reputation elsewhere. This holds good more especially of the most celebrated of all of them—Thomas Chalmers. It is indeed true that Chalmers was educated at St. Andrews,<sup>1</sup> where, according to his own account, he and his fellow-students “inhaled not a distaste only but a positive contempt for all that is properly and peculiarly gospel inasmuch that our confidence was nearly as entire in the sufficiency of natural theology as in the sufficiency of natural science.”<sup>2</sup> But his return to his *alma mater* as Professor of Moral Philosophy appears to have been more or less of a

<sup>1</sup> “He entered the University when he was only eleven and half years old” (*Thomas Chalmers*, by Mrs. Oliphant, p. 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 5.



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mistake. Mrs. Oliphant's eloquence on this subject is extremely amusing. "We confess that all our ideas of what is life-like in nature are suddenly confounded when we find this great and energetic figure suddenly pause in the career thus shaped for him, like a ship in full sail with the most favourable winds sweeping her along upon her course, yet arrested in a moment in mid seas, and turning aside to some little haven where only the stress of storms would naturally drive such a vessel. . . . It is hard to imagine how it was."<sup>1</sup>

We may regard as a characteristic expression of the real greatness of the man that his appreciation of relative values differed so widely from Mrs. Oliphant's, though we may agree that a Professorship in a University did not afford him an appropriate sphere of usefulness. None the less, he proved an excellent leader, and his lectures were, it is needless to say, very eloquent and inspiring. It is also needless to say that he did not make any important contribution to philosophy comparable to the work of such men as Spalding or Baynes, to say nothing of Ferrier.

It is David Ferrier who stands out as *the* representative of St. Andrews Philosophy. We cannot, indeed, claim him a native product, for he received his education in Edinburgh, Oxford, and Germany. But the fifteen years which he spent in St. Andrews were the fruitful years of his life. In them all his most valuable and characteristic work was produced ; and it was produced in immediate connexion with his activity as a teacher, the substance of it having been given in class lectures before appearing in his published writings. Further, his thinking was no mere derivative stream having its primary source in other minds. He was himself a fountain head. In substance, the claim to originality which he himself puts forward is justified : "My philosophy is Scottish to the very core ; I disclaim for it the paternity of

<sup>1</sup> *Thomas Chalmers*, by Mrs. Oliphant, p. 143.

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Germany or Holland. I assert that, in every fibre, it is of home growth and national texture. Whatever my dominion over truth may be, I have conquered every inch of it myself." In this somewhat boastful utterance he does not mean to disown indebtedness to his predecessors. What he intends to assert is, that he adopted from them no ready-made doctrines, but that what he derived from them was rather stimulus, suggestion, and material for the development of his own thought. This is true more or less of all whose names deserve to appear in the History of Philosophy. But it held good in a special degree of Ferrier. He was, indeed, an assiduous reader of philosophical literature. He had, for instance, "read most of Hegel's work again and again." But what was the nature of his reading? An anecdote told by Dr. Hutcheson Stirling seems to me to throw a flood of light on this question. Stirling found him diligently engaged on a volume of Hegel which turned out to be upside down. Ferrier's explanation was that, being utterly baffled in the attempt to understand his author the right side up, he had tried the other way in desperation. Now, I am strongly inclined to believe that, in a metaphorical sense, most of Ferrier's reading was done with the book upside down. The book might be Plato's or Hegel's or Kant's or Berkeley's; what Ferrier read in it, or rather into it, was not so much Plato or Hegel or Kant or Berkeley, as Ferrier. His dominating interest lay in discovering not so much what his author actually said, as what from his own point of view his author ought to have said. Thus, there is a real sting in Samuel Bailey's remark, that Ferrier is "far more successful in involving himself in subtle speculations of his own than in faithfully guiding his readers through the theories of other philosophers."

This characteristic of Ferrier is most conspicuous in what is perhaps his best book, the *Lectures on Greek Philosophy*. As an historical exposition of Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, etc.,

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this work is extremely unsatisfactory. But as an exposition of Ferrier's own views on fundamental problems, its penetrating vigour, its incomparable lucidity, and its sustained eloquence, make it most delightful and instructive reading. As compared with the *Institutes of Metaphysic*, this book has the great advantage that in it Ferrier is not fettered by the attempt to follow a strictly deductive method in which succeeding propositions are supposed to follow preceding by a rigorous "necessity of thought." In the Lectures he deals freely and naturally with the various problems that suggest themselves in connexion with the course of historical development. As a good example of these discussions I may single out what is said on the distinction and connexion of thought and feeling in the lectures on Socrates and Plato. It is plain throughout that what Ferrier is primarily concerned with is not the special teaching of Socrates or Plato, but rather the problem itself as it took shape in his own mind. But his treatment of the question, taken on its own merits, though it is not adequate, is wonderfully lucid, penetrating, and comprehensive. Thought and feeling are shown to be at once radically distinct and inseparably united in all knowledge, just as the universal and particular are radically distinct and inseparably united in all reality. There is no attempt to derive either from the other, or to subordinate either to the other. It is as clear to Ferrier as it was to Kant that thought without sense is empty, and that sense without thought is blind. On the other hand, while insisting that thought is always sensuously conditioned, his doctrine has nothing in common with the Kantian view of sensuously presented object as constituting a sort of screen between the mind and things as they are in themselves. For him thought as conditioned by feeling is an immediate relation of the mind to reality. In all these points I find myself in principle in close agreement

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with Ferrier, and I regard his analysis as much more satisfactory than that of many later writers. But his treatment is none the less defective; and the deficiency is just such as might have been remedied by a closer and more docile study of the philosophers whom he is ostensibly explaining—Plato and Socrates as represented by Plato. Ferrier goes astray in the same way as Kant in identifying the universal with the merely general. For him a concept is always merely a discursive class-concept; the unity which is thought in it is merely that of the common nature of a class as separately exemplified in each of its individual members. Thus the relation of the particular to the universal is regarded by him as merely consisting in the relation of a particular instance or case to that of which it is a particular instance or case; as, for example, this or that member of the class, men, is a particular case or instance in which human nature is exemplified. Had he considered carefully what is involved in such a universal as Plato's Idea of the Good, he would probably have been led to see the essential inadequacy of this position. For the Idea of the Good can never be exemplified within the limits of any particular instance, and the same holds for all *ideals* as such. None the less, Ferrier's discussion really supplies a useful introduction to Plato. He fails, indeed, to bring out the most distinctive features of the Platonic doctrine. But the further exposition of the theory of ideas could not proceed better, for the beginner, than by showing how and why he fails, by showing how much more there is in Plato than in Ferrier's account of him.

All Ferrier's other work shows the same characteristic features as the *Lectures on Greek Philosophy*. We must not expect from him accurate and patient unravelling of the complexities of special problems, or careful and exhaustive analysis of possible alternatives. He had no faculty for detail, not even for the detailed development of his own views. His strength lies in



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the pertinacity, vigour, and consistency with which he keeps before his own mind and that of his reader certain propositions of high generality and far-reaching significance, so as to exhibit them from various points of view, and with most abundant, vivid, and apt illustration. No one ever possessed in a higher degree the power of saying virtually the same thing again and again without rendering it stale ; and this was because, to his own mind, it was constantly appearing in new lights, which gave it unfailing freshness of interest. This holds more especially as regards the systematic exposition of his philosophy in the *Institutes of Metaphysic*. What Ferrier regarded as the leading merit of this work was its rigidly deductive method. He intended it to contain and believed it to contain only propositions either self-evident or strictly inferred from other propositions which are self-evident. A careful examination of the book shows that this claim is illusory. If taken seriously it exposes Ferrier to damaging criticism, and tends to obscure the real value of his work. Many of the pretended inferences obviously do not mark any really fresh step at all ; they are merely restatements of what has been said before, considered from a somewhat different point of view. At certain points, there appears to be a genuine advance and not a mere marking of time ; but it is just at these points that well-founded doubt arises as to the strictness of the reasoning. The reader, when he seriously raises the question whether the new proposition inevitably follows from the assigned premisses, will, at first, find himself compelled to deny that this is so ; and he will be right in this denial if the premisses be taken in the sense in which he has been all along understanding them. But on further reflection he will discern that a proposition of vital importance to the argument is ambiguous, so that if it be taken in one sense his difficulty remains, and if it is taken in another his difficulty disappears ; he will then, for the most part, find that it is the second

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meaning which is really intended by Ferrier. When, however, this has become clear, it also becomes clear that the apparent advance to an important new position is illusory. What has been gained is not so much due to deductive inference as to a more precise and full definition of the meaning of the original proposition. Where this is not the case, it will be generally found that there is a fallacy in the reasoning. Thus the deductive form of the work is in the main a mere formality, and contributes little or nothing to its value. Wherein, then, does its value consist? I have already indicated the answer to this question. Both the leading merit and the chief defect of Ferrier's work is bound up with his practice of continually saying virtually the same thing over again in new forms and in varying contexts. There were certain fundamental postulates which formed the light of all his seeing; these postulates are constantly kept in view throughout his writings, so that their full significance is gradually disclosed; the attentive reader is thus compelled to examine them and re-examine them in their various bearings and applications, so that he becomes gradually penetrated with a full and vivid realisation of their meaning and importance. Whether he ends by accepting or rejecting, he will at least know clearly and distinctly what it is that he accepts or rejects.

We may illustrate by considering the main thesis of Ferrier's philosophy. This is formulated as follows in the first proposition of the *Institutes*: "Along with whatever any intelligence knows, it must, as the ground or condition of its knowledge, have some cognisance of *itself*." The proposition, if it is to be made the basis of a chain of deductive reasoning, ought at least to be unambiguously stated in the sense which it is intended to bear throughout its subsequent applications. But this is not the case. On the contrary, the sense which the wording of the original statement, *primâ facie*, conveys is not that which turns out to be most important for the development of



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Ferrier's philosophy. What he expressly asserts is that, together with whatever else is known, the knowing self must be known, and this is part of what he means. But it is not the whole or the most essential part. It becomes abundantly clear in the sequel that for Ferrier the really important question is this: when subject and object are apprehended together, what relation is apprehended as subsisting between them? Granting that they must always be known conjointly, it by no means follows that they are known as incapable of existing separately. For it would still be true that, in knowing or even in thinking of them as separate or separable, we should be bound to think of them together. I must think at once both of A and B, whether I think of them as being mutually dependent or as mutually independent, or of A as dependent on B but not B on A, or B as dependent on A but not A on B. In the case we are considering, it may be taken as self-evident that knowing or thinking can have no being apart from something known or thought of. But the inverse proposition, that what is known or thought of can have no being apart from the knowing or thinking, is by no means so obvious. Yet this is what Ferrier really requires his readers to grant. If this is not what is intended in the first proposition of the *Institutes*, all the important applications of it, the pretended deductions from it, become nugatory. Only on this basis can it be shown, as he attempts to show, that knowledge of matter *per se* is impossible, that the current distinction between primary and secondary qualities is indefensible, or that the ego cannot be known to be material. Hence these theses are not so much inferences from the original proposition as further determinations of what it is really intended to mean. Further, when it is understood in this fully developed and amended sense, it ceases to command assent so readily as in its original form. The reader may be prepared to admit that in all his knowing he has some awareness of himself, however vague,

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whereas he is much less likely to admit that he is always aware of himself as a necessary condition of the existence of what he knows. Thus, even if he has no clear recognition of the difference between the two propositions, he is none the less haunted by a vague sense of being somehow tricked, when he is required to take the one as equivalent to the other. Even the original statement, that subject and object are always known together, has frequently been challenged. But on this point I think that Ferrier is right, and that his arguments are sound. In particular, the following *reductio ad absurdum* (found p. 88 of the *Institutes*) seems to be thoroughly valid. "If it were possible for an intelligence to receive knowledge at *any one time* without knowing that it was *his* knowledge, it would be possible for him to do this at *all* times. So that an intelligent being might be endowed with knowledge without once, during the whole term of his existence, knowing that he possessed it." But if this be absurd, it is equally absurd "to suppose that an intelligence can be conscious of his knowledge at any single moment, without being conscious of it as *his*." On the other hand, the reason which Ferrier assigns for the fact that the awareness of self is frequently vague and implicit, is by no means adequate. His explanation is that "whatever we are extremely intimate with we are very apt to overlook." "Familiarity breeds neglect." But if this were the real reason, self-consciousness ought to be more distinct and emphatic in earlier than in later stages of mental development, which is contrary to fact.

There is another ambiguity in Ferrier's "primary law or condition of all knowledge." Taken as it stands on the threshold of the *Institutes*, it asserts that subject and object are known inseparably. What is really meant, as I have pointed out, is that subject and object are always known as being inseparable. But this statement also may be interpreted in two ways. The meaning may be that what is known is apprehended as

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inseparable from the individual who knows it, so that to conceive this individual as non-existent is *ipso facto* to conceive what he knows as non-existent. On this view, if I suppose that I now cease to exist, I must, on so supposing, also suppose that the sheet of paper which I am perceiving ceases to exist. This is not and could not be what Ferrier really intends to assert. None the less it is what the wording of his primary proposition inevitably suggests. What he says is that "Along with whatever any intelligence knows it must... have some cognisance of *itself*." The reference is to *itself* only, and not to any other self. But the assertion that the self must be known along with whatever else it knows is not distinguished by Ferrier from the essentially different assertion that the self and what it knows are apprehended as inseparable. Hence it is natural to assume that in this proposition also the reference is to the individual subject. What is meant is naturally assumed to be, that when I know anything other than myself, the being of what I know is inseparable from my own knowledge of it.

But this interpretation is expressly and emphatically disclaimed by Ferrier in the sequel, and it is quite incompatible with his philosophy as a whole. In what purports to be a strict deduction from the original proposition, we find what we took to be the meaning of this proposition covertly transformed. It turns out that what Ferrier holds to be inconceivable is not the existence of objects apart from their being known by this or that individual, but their existence as unknown to any mind. A's knowing them or B's knowing them is apprehended by A or B only as a special case or instance in which this general condition is fulfilled. Thus, if we take as an example some material thing, such as a tree, what Ferrier really intends to say is that the tree cannot be thought as existing unperceived. He does not intend to say that it cannot be thought as existing unperceived by me or by you. Just as any particular colour

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must be apprehended as a member of the class, colours, but may be either red or green or blue, so either everything must be apprehended as a member of the class, known things, but may be known either to A or B or C. A tree is only known as an element of the indivisible unity which is expressed by the phrase "perception-of-a-tree." Only the *words* used in this phrase are separable; their meanings are inseparable. But a perception of a tree may none the less exist independently of *my* apprehension of the "perception-of-a-tree." My apprehension of the perception-of-a-tree is not an indivisible unity, but contains parts which I apprehend as separable—*my* apprehension on the one hand and perception-of-a-tree on the other. But if we attempt to push analysis further and detach the tree *per se* from all perception of it, we find that "each of the divided members again resolves itself into both of the factors into which the original whole was separated; and that in this way the distinction undoes itself, while the subjective and objective are thus restored to their original unity."<sup>1</sup> This form of idealism, it is worth noting, escapes the difficulties which beset some current expositions of the Hegelian identification of thought and being. It does not refuse to make a distinction between the individual mind and what it knows. On Ferrier's view, when I apprehend the "perception of a tree," the perception-of-a-tree does not *pro tanto* become part of my existence; only the apprehension of it becomes part of my existence. Thus, in spite of his continual polemic against what he is pleased to call Psychology, he has really provided a field for the psychologist.

Here, however, a question arises to which we find no approach to a satisfactory answer in Ferrier's writings. In what way, we may ask, does the individual mind apprehend objective perceptions? So far as Ferrier suggests any answer at all, it is indicated by his use of the word "participation." Thus, in

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, vol. ii. p. 299.



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discussing the function to be ascribed on his theory to the senses he expresses himself as follows: "What becomes of the senses if this doctrine be admitted? What is their use and office? Just the same as before, only with this difference, that whereas the psychological doctrine<sup>1</sup> teaches that the exercise of the senses is the condition upon which we are permitted to apprehend objective material things, the metaphysical doctrine teaches that the exercise of the senses is the condition under which we are permitted to apprehend or *participate in*<sup>2</sup> the objective perception of material things."<sup>3</sup> Here the words "apprehend" and "participation in" are plainly intended to be synonymous. But if they are taken strictly, they really stand for two distinct theories. When we are said to "apprehend" the objective perception, the implication is that the objective perception is and remains a distinct and separable existence from ourselves in the act of knowing it. When we are said to participate in it, the implication is that, in the act of knowing it, the objective perception simply becomes our perception and so part of our individual existence. The first assumption involves difficulties, though these are not, I think, insurmountable. But the second leads directly to the solipsism which Ferrier is so anxious to avoid. If to be or to become known to me is to be or to become part of my own existence it is clear that I cannot know anything which is not included in my own existence. I can never know anything besides myself, or even think of the possibility of there being anything besides myself. On the whole it is the first view rather than the second which we must ascribe to Ferrier. But he fails to distinguish between them, and asserts both at once, without suspecting the inconsistency. Take for instance the following passage: "The

<sup>1</sup> This means for Ferrier the doctrine that things exist here independently of all relation to cognitive minds as a precondition of their coming to be known.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, vol. iii. 457.

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perception which a man has of a sheet of paper does not come before him as something distinct from the sheet of paper itself. The two are identical, they are indivisible ; they are not two but one. The only question then is, Whether the perception of a sheet of paper (taken as it must be in its indissoluble totality) is a state of the man's mind, or is no such state. And, in settlement of this question, there cannot be a doubt that he believes, in the second place, that the perception of a sheet of paper is not a modification of his own mind, but is an objective thing which exists altogether independent of him . . . All that he believes to be his (or subjective) is his *participation* in the perception of the object. In a word, it is the perception of matter and not matter *per se*, which is the *kind* of matter in the independent and permanent existence of which man believes."<sup>1</sup> Here the very same perception which "a man has" is affirmed both to be and to be known as being "an independent thing," and not a "modification of his own mind." Taken strictly this ought to mean that the perception which the man has is not the perception which he has. The only hint at an explanation of this apparent contradiction is the use of the word "participation." What alone is his and is believed by him to be his is his "participation in the perception of the object." But what does this mean? If we are to read it in the light of explicit statements made by Ferrier elsewhere, it ought to mean that the man apprehends or perceives the objective perception of a sheet of paper. This, however, involves the distinction which he here denies between the "perception which a man has" as a state of his own mind and the objective perception which he apprehends. On the other hand, if we insist on a strict application of the term "participation," we run into still greater difficulties. The meaning will then be simply that the "perception which the man has" is also a perception which some one else has.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 456.



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From this it does not follow at all that it is not a modification of his own mind; what follows is only that it also is a modification of another mind. The "independence" of the perception is thus explained; but only on the condition that it can never be known or even surmised to be independent. Its independence is secured, inasmuch as its existence is not exclusively bound up with its being a state of this or that mind; it may exist as a perception in another mind before and after it becomes a perception in mine. But such independence must remain for ever unknown and unknowable. For if there is no distinction between the perception being apprehended by me and its being my perception, how can I ever come to apprehend that it is or may be also the perception of a mind other than my own?

On the whole, it cannot be said that Ferrier has given us a satisfactory or even a consistent account of the relation of knowing and being in general, or that he has dealt satisfactorily with the special problem connected with our knowledge of the material world in which he was chiefly interested. But if he has not produced any definite solution of the problems which he set out to discuss, he has done much to help us to understand the nature of the questions at issue and the conditions to be fulfilled in attempting to answer them. He has done this in so fresh and original a way that his place cannot be supplied by any other writer. No other philosopher has quite the same kind of suggestiveness,—a suggestiveness which is by no means exhausted at the present moment.

G. F. STOUT.

## SCIENCE



## Science



THE pious Founders of our University and its three Colleges framed their statutes on comprehensive and liberal lines. The studies to be pursued were described in terms wide enough to embrace all the scholastic learning of the age, and wide enough, with a little stretch of imagination, to include even Natural Science when its time should come. The Studium Generale of Wardlaw and Benedict XIII. was to give instruction not only in theology and canon and civil law, but also in "arts, medicine, and other lawful faculties," and the College of St. Salvator, which Kennedy hoped would strengthen the orthodox faith and remove the "pestiferous schisms of heretics," was to this end to offer to the student the "pearl of science which furnishes the means of living well and happily." At St. Leonard's the Master of Arts had to perfect himself in physic, as well as in logic, philosophy, metaphysics and ethics, and the College of St. Mary was endowed for the time being with the privilege of conferring degrees in *omnibus licitis facultatibus*. It would be interesting to ascertain whether anything like what we now call science was taught in the early years of the University, but the inquiry is shrouded in a mist as impenetrable as the easterly 'haar' which doubtless, then as now, often veiled the College towers.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century the science of the University was confined to Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

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From the time of the foundation of the Colleges these subjects were taught by the regents both at St. Salvator's and at St. Leonard's, the Natural Philosophy being, however, probably only the Aristotelian physics of the age, mostly unprofitable in the opinion of the student of modern science. The interest of the science specialist is momentarily arrested on finding *pneumatics* comprised in the philosophy course, but, needless to say, the subject so denoted did not deal with the gases of the physicist and chemist.

In 1478-1496 we find the University presided over by a Chancellor, Archbishop Schevez, of European repute as an astronomer (or astrologer), who doubtless encouraged his own studies at St. Andrews. A certain Jasper Laet dedicates to the Chancellor a booklet on the "sentiments of the astronomers" concerning the eclipse of the sun in 1491, and commends him for having "brought from the darkness of obscurity into the light of day the mathematical sciences which through the negligence of the Scotch had become nearly forgotten."

In his quaint account of student life at St. Leonard's, James Melville tells how in his second year (1572), the "Primarius, a guid, peacable, sweit auld man, who luiffed me weill, teached the four speaces of Arithmetik and sum thing of the Sphere," and how in his third and fourth years he heard the "aught buikis of Physiks" and "lerned the buikis de Coelo and Mateors, also the Sphere, more exactlie teachit be our awin Regent."

The system of regents prevailing in the Colleges, according to which a student was taken through his entire *quadrennium* by a single tutor, was little calculated to promote special studies, and a notable advance was made when an independent chair of Mathematics was established in 1668. At the union of the Colleges in 1747 the position of Natural and Experimental Philosophy was similarly secured. A Third or Advanced Class in Mathematics was started so early as 1793, half a century

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before the corresponding classes of Greek and Humanity. It was originally a Class of Practical Mathematics, but later was devoted to ordinary Higher Mathematics, including the Integral and Differential Calculus.

Mathematics and Natural Philosophy were always prominent subjects of the Arts curriculum, and were practically compulsory for all regular students up till 1892, when the new regulations for graduation opened the door still more widely to science. St. Andrews, in common with the other Scottish Universities, was thus saved from the reproach which Professor Huxley was wont to hurl at Oxford and Cambridge, that the mass of their men were left in barbarous ignorance of even the rudiments of scientific culture. On the roll of those who taught or learned at St. Andrews are many whose names will be always held in honour wherever physical study is pursued. John Napier of Merchiston, whose discovery of logarithms is, according to Chrystal, unsurpassed in brilliancy in the whole history of Mathematics, was a student at St. Salvator's College in 1563. James Gregory, a mathematical genius perhaps second in that age to Newton alone, so it has been said, was the first Professor of Mathematics in the University. St. Andrews gave him to Edinburgh, as she has had to give many another, but his brilliant career was unhappily cut short within a year of the time of his translation to the sister University. On an October night of 1675 by a tragic irony of fate Gregory was struck with sudden blindness while in the act of showing his students the satellites of Jupiter through the reflecting telescope which he had himself invented, and a few days later he passed away. But he, being dead, yet speaketh, for in the Old Graduation Hall of St. Andrews, where he taught and made observations, his astronomical clock still tells the time, and there also may be seen, marked as a line upon the floor, the meridian of St. Andrews which he determined.



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Among such names might also be mentioned John Playfair, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, Sir John Leslie of 'differential thermometer' fame, Sir David Brewster, Principal James David Forbes, Lord Playfair, Balfour Stewart, and John C. Adams, who shared with Le Verrier the honour of discovering the planet Neptune. The immediate predecessors of the present occupants of the chairs of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy were Professors Chrystal and Swan. Of the former, as he happily still adorns his subject in the University of Edinburgh, it is not permissible to speak. Swan was not only a distinguished physicist but also a man of eclectic taste in many kinds of literature besides that of his own subject. His spectroscopic observations are still quoted in physical text-books, and scattered throughout the score of papers he contributed to scientific journals and learned societies there may be found many instances of his remarkable inventive genius, which has, however, not always received recognition. As an example might be mentioned a certain prism-photometer, which is commonly known to physicists by the names of Lummer and Brodhun, although the instrument was in fact invented and used by Swan long before it was 'made in Germany.'

Owing to the impoverished condition of the University, chemistry and the biological sciences were later in being provided for at St. Andrews than at the other Scottish Universities. To quote Mr. Andrew Lang, our University, though the "spiritual daughter" of the King and the child of many Bulls, was but poorly dowered; "a tocherless lass wi' a lang pedigree." To judge from the evidence given to the Royal Commissioners of 1826-30, the University at the beginning of the last century was reduced to the direst straits. Students were often too poor to pay their fees, or to remain in residence during the whole of the session, and the stipends of professors, eked out as they sometimes were with 'diet-moneys,' 'kain-hens,' and what not,

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were most meagre. A Professor of Humanity tells their Lordships that he had brought up a family of sixteen children on an average income of £200 a year. The buildings of the United College were in a ruinous state, and so disreputable in appearance that they were said to resemble "an old cotton mill" rather than a venerable "literary institute." It was no wonder that in such circumstances the appeals of Natural Science were disregarded, and that a century passed after the union of the Colleges without the professorial staff being extended.

The Commissioners, however, complimented the Senatus Academicus on having manifested the utmost zeal in the cause of literature and science, and for the efficiency and fame of their University. Two natural sciences, Chemistry and Natural History, were in fact being taught at the time referred to. Chemistry had received the blessing of the Church, in the person of the Principal of St. Mary's, as "indispensably necessary"; the Professor of Moral Philosophy testified that the subject was no longer to be regarded as an exclusively professional science, but as a general science, and the Regulations of the Senatus (1827) had made the subject compulsory on candidates for the Arts degree. The chair of Medicine from the time of its foundation by the first Duke of Chandos in 1721 had been practically a sinecure. The first three occupants of the chair, it appears, occasionally "demonstrated the skeleton," but no lectures on any branch of medicine had been delivered to regular medical students for nearly a century.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, when the chair became vacant in 1811, the new professor, Dr. Robert Briggs, was appointed to teach Chemistry and Pharmacy, and Chemistry has been ever since a regular subject of instruction in the United College. The new class was evidently welcomed, as thirty-two students were enrolled in the first year, and, judging from the full syllabus of the course, which was submitted to the

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to Mr. Maitland Anderson's *Matriculation Roll of the University*.

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Commissioners, the subject was taught in a very efficient way. There were examinations almost every day, and it is satisfactory to read that the professor found, as a rule, no unwillingness on the part of the students to submit to this frequent ordeal; only gentlemen who had been in the army and divinity students declined. Needless to say, however, the professor worked under difficulties which the teacher of the present day can scarce realise. There was, of course, no laboratory. The professor tells the Commissioners—whether humorously does not appear—that on exhibiting a mineral specimen to his class, he explains the method of analysis, and requests them to perform the analysis “at home.” The approach to the class-room was through a college dining room, and so ruinous was the place that entrance into it in stormy weather was even attended with danger. There was no fund for apparatus. As the professor pathetically informed their Lordships, “it is impossible for a man to be operating with glasses every day without breaking some of them”; when vessels were broken, the professor had to replace them himself, and there being no glass-house in St. Andrews the apparatus had to be brought all the way from Edinburgh or Newcastle. Despite such drawbacks, Chemistry was regularly taught by Dr. Briggs until his death in 1841.

In 1808 Dr. John Gray, an *alumnus* (1740) and honorary LL.D. of the University (1797), had left a sum of money to endow a professorship of Chemistry, but the bequest being insufficient for the purpose, it was left to accumulate until 1840. Even then the available proceeds amounted to only £70 per annum. On this slender endowment the chair was founded, and Mr. Arthur Connell, son of Sir John Connell, a Judge of the Admiralty Court of Scotland, was appointed as its first occupant. He had studied at Edinburgh under Playfair, Leslie, Dugald Stewart, and Hope, also at Glasgow University and at Balliol College, Oxford. His lectures covered a wide field,

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including Inorganic and Organic Chemistry, and they were illustrated experimentally, so far as the scanty apparatus at his disposal admitted. An old pupil says: "His style and manner of lecturing was that of a cultured gentleman—cultured after the manner of the Edinburgh advocate of sixty years ago—and, if somewhat pedantic, seldom wanting in elegance and never in accuracy."<sup>1</sup> Under his name in the Royal Society's Catalogue there stand no less than forty papers, embodying researches over the whole field of chemistry. The extent and accuracy of his work is amazing, especially considering the poor facilities for investigation existing at St. Andrews at that time. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1855.

On the resignation of Professor Connell in 1862, Dr. M. Forster Heddle, who as assistant had been practically in charge of the department from 1856, was appointed to the chair, which he held until his resignation in 1884. Professor Heddle was an excellent lecturer and skilful experimenter. Limits of space forbid biographical detail: a short memoir by Mr. Alexander Thoms will be found prefixed to Professor Heddle's monumental work, *The Mineralogy of Scotland*, at which he wrought with great fortitude during a long painful illness to the time of his death. Professor Heddle's dramatic style of lecturing, his lively illustrations drawn from personal experiences in the laboratory and in the field, and the flash of his eye on making a good point, are still fresh in the memory of his old pupils. He contributed a number of papers to the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* and to the *Mineralogical Magazine*, and wrote the article *Mineralogy* for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He was elected President of the Geological Society of Edinburgh, and of the Mineralogical Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Loaded with a 28-lb. hammer, he had climbed every important peak in the Highlands of Scotland, and part of the treasures which he

<sup>1</sup> Sheriff Campbell Smith in *Alma Mater's Mirror*.



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thus amassed, now preserved in the Museum of Science and Art in Edinburgh, is probably, as Mr. Thoms remarks, one of the finest collections ever brought together of any one country's minerals. Professor Heddle was succeeded by an old pupil of his own, one of the writers of this article, in 1884, and he in turn gave place in 1909 to the present occupant of the chair.

To return to Natural History, the claims of the science to a place in liberal education were so strongly supported by the University that the Commissioners of 1826-30 proposed to make attendance on a class in this subject imperative on intending Masters of Arts. In 1825-26 the United College instituted a Lectureship in the subject to which Mr. John M'Vicar was appointed, and "to promote the permanency and success of the measure, the Professors voted 25 guineas from their revenue as an annual salary to the Lecturer." The Commissioners expressed the pious hope that the lectureship, thus generously endowed, would "exalt the reputation and augment the attendance of the Seminary to which it belongs." The course of lectures covered a large field, embracing Meteorology, Hydrography, Mineralogy, Geology, Zoology and Botany. Mr. M'Vicar must have been an inspiring lecturer, as he attracted forty-five students, not to mention five professors, to his class, who, in his own words, showed an "interest approaching to enthusiasm" for the subject, which was all the more remarkable as the emoluments of the office were certainly not calculated to excite such sentiments on the part of the Lecturer. The sanguine views of the Commissioners were not realised, for after two years the lectureship came to an end, and the subject did not appear in the curriculum for the next five and twenty years. To find sustenance for this hapless branch of science, the ingenious plan was eventually devised of grafting it on the alien stock of Civil History. This latter, like the other Foundation Chairs of the United College, had a modest endowment, but it

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had been even more unfortunate than the Chair of Medicine. History in those days was apparently little in favour with Scottish students, probably because they could ill afford to pay fees for *extra* classes. However that may be, attempts to form a History Class had been uniformly abortive at St. Andrews, as at the other Scottish Universities. One of the unfortunate occupants of the St. Andrews Chair said he had fought away with a family almost starving, and he had never made as much from fees as paid the paper, pens, and ink that wrote his lectures. His successor, in order to draw the attention of students to historical studies, proposed to limit his lectures to one per month, a novel plan which a Dublin colleague was said to have adopted with great success, but the proposal did not find favour with the Commissioners. On the Chair of History becoming vacant in 1850, Dr. William Macdonald was accordingly appointed Professor, with the duty of lecturing on both Civil and Natural History. This unnatural alliance was ratified by ordinance in 1862; but practical divorce ensued, as Dr. Macdonald in his twenty-five years' occupancy of the chair is understood to have held but one class in Civil History. His courses in Natural History, described as "a kind of cosmogony," were also, it must be said, scanty and irregular.

A very different régime began when, in 1875, a distinguished naturalist, Dr. Henry Alleyne Nicholson, succeeded to the chair. Civil History—for which special provision has since been made—was, of course, discarded, and regular courses of lectures in Zoology and Geology were given in alternate years. Dr. Nicholson was a lucid lecturer, an excellent teacher, and an attractive personality. Before coming to St. Andrews he had been Professor of Natural History and Botany at Toronto, and of Biology in the University of Durham (College of Physical Science, Newcastle); he was transferred from St. Andrews to Aberdeen in 1882 as Regius Professor of Natural History. His numerous memoirs



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on geological and palaeontological subjects and his text-books are well known to all naturalists. The chair is now designated as that of Natural History only, and its scope is confined to Zoology. In the hands of the present occupant, Professor W. C. McIntosh, who succeeded Professor Nicholson, the Zoological Department has played an important part in the development of science in the University.

From the earliest times St. Andrews had always held an honoured place among the seats of learning in the country as a home of *literae humaniores*, but the University was not usually associated in public opinion with the pursuit of natural science. About the year 1885 a great change set in. At that time, besides the accustomed Natural Philosophy, the only natural science subjects taught were Chemistry, Natural History, and Physiology, and these were struggling for existence. Now, almost every important branch of natural science has its special representative on the teaching staff; commodious lecture-rooms have been provided, and well-equipped laboratories have sprung into existence, where students are busily engaged in practical class-work and research. The great movement towards natural science which characterises the education of the present day reached our University comparatively late, but once the wave arrived it spread with gathered force and volume. In five-and-twenty years a veritable transformation has been worked.

Many events and agencies conspired to bring about this sudden scientific awakening. Chief amongst these must be mentioned the labours of the Royal Commissioners of 1889, which resulted in the reform of the regulations for graduation in Arts, Science, and Medicine, the institution of a Science Faculty, and the setting of University finance on a sounder basis by a substantial increase of the Parliamentary Grant. Towards this latter result, that welcome event, the bequest of £100,000 to the University by Mr. David Berry of Coolangatta, New South Wales, contributed

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in a large degree, as did also the munificent benefactions of Mr. Carnegie, conveyed not only through the agency of the Carnegie Trust, but also by direct gift to the University. With increased resources it now became possible to institute lectureships in branches of science hitherto unrepresented ; professors were supplied with assistants and demonstrators ; the much-needed laboratories were erected, and post-graduate work was encouraged by the establishment of research scholarships. By the munificence of the late Lord Bute a chair of Anatomy was founded, and the Bute Medical Building erected, and to Mrs. Bell Pettigrew, the widow of the late Professor Bell Pettigrew, the University owed the extensive and well-appointed Museum Building which is just completed. Last but not least, there falls to be mentioned an important event in the history of the University, which has extended its scope and usefulness on the scientific side, the incorporation of a fully equipped third College, the University College of Dundee.

It is no mere coincidence that the time of these happenings corresponds with the period during which the University has been under the guidance of our present Principal. He has been the moving spirit in bringing about all the changes referred to. The captain has stood at his post on the bridge all these eventful five-and-twenty years ; he has steered the good ship safely through many a dangerous shoal, and his watchful eye has kept an outlook for every favouring breeze and current that might help her on her way. To the Principal's wide and liberal views on University education, and to his never-failing sympathy with his staff, science in particular owes a great deal. It remains to trace the course of the events which have been indicated.

One of the most important of these events was the introduction of the New Regulations for graduation, which came into force in 1892. As the Natural Sciences in general were now admitted under certain limitations into the course for the

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ordinary Arts degree, it became essential to impose a test of general education on students entering the University. When the Colleges were first founded such tests were not neglected, and in those early days there was no mincing of matters. According to Prior Hepburn's vigorous statutes relating to entrance into St. Leonard's College 'eternal malediction' was the penalty for any laxity on the part of the examining Master. If the provisions of the Preliminary Examination now in force are less drastic towards the delinquent examiner, they are severe enough, it is generally admitted, with respect to the qualifications of the examinee. This is not the place to discuss the intricacies of Examination Regulations; suffice it to say that the abandonment of 'compulsory Greek' and the infusion of a moderate amount of Natural Science into the Arts curriculum, while not prejudicing the interests of scholarship, have given a decided stimulus to scientific studies in the Scottish Universities.

After eighteen years' experience of the Regulations referred to, the St. Andrews Faculty of Arts concluded that they provided an excessive number of optional avenues to the degree, with the result that the perplexed candidate not infrequently dispersed his energies over an ill-selected course of miscellaneous studies.

Much discussion ensued in Boards of Studies, Faculties, Senatus and Court. Radical reformers advocated the Arts curriculum being still further 'opened up' to Natural Science, that the course for this degree should, in fact, embrace all branches of learning except the distinctly professional and technical; extreme conservatives, on the other hand, wished to bar and bang the door against the modern intruders. It was argued by the latter party that the essential qualification of a subject for inclusion in an Arts curriculum was that it should be 'absolutely useless,' and that bread and butter should be left to the purview of the Science Faculty. To this argument it was

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retorted that to the Scottish student, who had to make his way in the world, Latin and Greek were bread and butter in precisely the same sense as any pure science such as Chemistry or Zoology. The discussion has issued in the passing of a new Ordinance, which on the whole satisfies the advocates of the claims of science, and will, it is hoped, further the true interests of both the newer and the older studies.

A Faculty of Science was not instituted until 1897. The Senatus, with the sanction of the University Court, had, however, as early as the session 1876-77, instituted the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Science, and placed them in the charge of a Science Committee. The programme for the Bachelor Degree was certainly ambitious, the candidate having to profess in his first examination six distinct sciences. The science regulations were at first perhaps not so rigidly enforced as they are now. No such flagrant irregularity ever occurred as that disclosed by a Master of Arts of perhaps a century or so ago, who was excused his examination because the professor 'had gone to the fishin',' but one recollects an unexpected science candidate waiting for his paper on the 'Dynamics of a particle' until the examiner was fetched from the High Hole.

The Regulations for Graduation in Pure Science now in force require the candidate to pass a first examination in Mathematics or Biology, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, and a more advanced final examination in three sciences selected from a list of nine—now all taught, except Astronomy, both at St. Andrews and Dundee—one at least of the three being professed on a higher standard. Bachelors of Science may after five years obtain the Doctorate for an approved thesis embodying the results of original research. Special regulations apply to degrees in Engineering. The number of students capped B.Sc. averages now about ten yearly. The Doctorate has been conferred on eight candidates during the last five years.



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As already stated, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy were among the original eight chairs of the United College. The sciences in addition to these which are now taught at St. Andrews have been provided for partly by the foundation of new professorships, partly by the conversion of already existing chairs, and largely by the institution of lectureships, all under powers conferred on the University Court by the late Universities' Commission. The foundation of the chair of Chemistry, and the conversion of that of Civil History into a chair of Natural History have been already mentioned, also the establishment of a chair of Anatomy in 1901 by the generous endowment of the late Marquess of Bute. The chair of Medicine, as already stated, had been used during its occupancy by Dr. Briggs for the teaching of Chemistry. His successors, Professors Reid, Day, Bell, and Pettigrew gave courses on general Physiology, Anatomy, and the Laws of Health. These courses, which were intended for the general student as well as for the student of Medicine, were very useful and often well attended. They are not further referred to here, as the history of Medicine in the University, including the important developments at Dundee, is to be the subject of a separate paper. The provision made for the teaching of Physiology at St. Andrews must, however, be mentioned.

St. Andrews threw itself early into the movement in favour of women's education, and in this connection it is worthy of record that a Lectureship in Physiology (supported by the late Marquess of Bute) was held for two years by a woman. For nine years after the retirement of Professor Pettigrew from active teaching work, courses of Physiology, adapted to the needs of the medical and science student, were regularly given by a lecturer, provided by the University Court. The subject was at length invested with its proper dignity in 1908 by the formal conversion of the chair of Medicine into the Chandos Chair of Physiology.



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Botany has been taught systematically in St. Andrews since 1888. The late Dr. Hugh F. C. Cleghorn having generously given £1000 towards the promotion of the subject, a lectureship was formally instituted in 1891, and it is now supported by an endowment provided jointly by the Carnegie Trust and the University Court. In 1900 a Lecturer on Agriculture and Rural Economy was appointed, but much remains to be done before this department, so important in an agricultural county like Fife, is set on a proper footing.

In the preface to his *Geology of East Fife*, published in 1902, Sir Archibald Geikie said: "If I were asked to select a region in the British Isles where geology could best be taught by constant appeals to evidence in the field, I would with little hesitation recommend the East of Fife. It is a matter for regret that up to the present time these remarkable scientific advantages have not been made use of in the ancient University which stands in the midst of them." Incited by this appeal, the University Court in the following year instituted a Lectureship of Geology, and the department is now in full activity both at St. Andrews and Dundee. In the same year another gap in the scientific equipment of St. Andrews was filled by the establishment of a Lectureship of Applied Mathematics.

With the completion of the teaching staff, the mental outfit for science work was provided. But natural science without material equipment is at best but a disembodied spirit, shadowy and unreal. A science-degree giving University without a laboratory was 'an anomaly,' as Professor Heddle admitted to the Commissioners, or as one of themselves, Professor Huxley, put it more bluntly, 'a sham.' It remains to say something of the steps by which the indispensable material accessories have been provided.

The teaching of Natural Philosophy, which had developed largely into Experimental Physics, was in the time of Professor

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Swan as practical as was possible without an assistant and without a laboratory. Professor James Stewart, an old pupil, said of Professor Swan's lectures, "they were the most fully illustrated by experiments of any course of lectures I have ever attended or had to do with," and Professor Heddle's lectures also were largely experimental. Both professors, in 1876, urged the erection of laboratories on the east side of the United College, and their proposal was at length carried out; for chemistry in 1891 by a gift to the University from Mrs. Purdie, senior, of London, and for natural philosophy, in 1899, from University funds. Both laboratories are now efficiently equipped, and daily filled with students working under the direction of demonstrators. In 1905, with the help of a grant from the Carnegie Trust, the eastern wing of the College Quadrangle was completed by a large extension, and there the lecturing department of Natural Philosophy has been housed. Besides a well-appointed lecture theatre, the building provides a suite of rooms for preparatory work, and for the orderly arrangement of a valuable collection of physical instruments which has been gradually acquired for use in the lectures. A laboratory specially adapted for physical research is, however, still a desideratum. The needs of Chemistry in this matter have been met by the erection of a large building adjoining the teaching laboratory. Besides a general laboratory for research students, a professor's laboratory and various other rooms, all set apart and equipped for original investigation, the building provides also a new lecture theatre and its accessory rooms for ordinary teaching. The home of Natural History in the 'Auld College,' endeared to its occupants by many associations despite its rather mean and dingy character, is now to be broken up and transferred with all its belongings to luxurious quarters in the New Museum Building, from which zoological research will, we have no doubt, continue to flow in a stream as abundant as in the past.

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‘St. Andrews by the northern sea’ seems designed by nature to be a home of marine biology. Dr. Dohrn of the Naples Zoological Station spoke of the University as “inviting more than any other to the now all-important study of Marine Zoology.” In 1884, by the efforts of Professor M‘Intosh, a project which he had long had at heart was realised. With the aid of the Fishery Board of Scotland a temporary fever hospital, which stood on the East Bents between the harbour and the sea, was leased and converted into a Marine Laboratory. The north-east gales blew freely through its leaky wooden walls, but students of the University and eminent continental and other zoologists were not deterred by such discomforts, and did much valuable work in it. After twelve years this temporary home of marine research was replaced by the commodious and well-equipped Marine Laboratory, a gift to the University from Dr. Charles Henry Gatty of East Grinstead. The Laboratory was formally opened on 30th October, 1896, by Lord Reay, who in his address drew attention to the unique position of the University in regard to the study of marine biology. Sir William Flower, who also spoke, said that whilst Edinburgh was called the Athens of the North, St. Andrews had now established its claims to be called the Naples of the North. Its claim to this title has been endorsed since then by the scientific record of the Laboratory.

Anatomy, Physiology, Botany and Geology are all lodged in the Bute Medical Building, and are well accommodated there in respect both of lecturing and practical instruction. Anatomy, besides separate dissecting rooms for men and women, has an admirably arranged Anatomical Museum. Physiology is still insufficiently furnished with the refined apparatus which the modern science demands, but this want will be gradually supplied. Botany is particularly well equipped for both morphological and physiological work. The recent large extension of

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the Botanic Garden, and the provision of Plant Houses, made possible by liberal grants from the Carnegie Trust and by a generous gift from Mrs. Bell Pettigrew, have added greatly to the efficiency of the department in regard to both teaching and research.

After what has been said it is scarcely necessary to add that Practical Classes are now established in connection with all the courses in Natural Science. Except in the case of the Arts student of Natural Philosophy—who nevertheless commonly takes the class of Practical Physics—all candidates for degrees, professing any branch of natural science, have to pass Practical Examinations.

The University Museum has been the subject of frequent inquiry on the part of Royal Commissioners. In 1827 the Museum was in its infancy, but the Commissioners were informed that it had great possibilities, “as Dundee is a seaport town in the neighbourhood, to which a great many curiosities are brought from foreign parts, and with regard to native productions St. Andrews Bay and the estuary of the Tay are very rich in marine subjects of curious interest.” The Museum has grown greatly since that time, and satisfactory arrangements having now been made with its part-owner, the St. Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society, it is to be transferred to the beautiful halls of the new building, where its valuable mineralogical and geological collections, its famous ‘Dura Den Fishes,’ and its extensive series of marine zoological preparations will be much more accessible to students than they have been in the past.

St. Andrews has for long aspired to be a school of post-graduate study and research, and the place does certainly possess advantages which fit it for this special work. The smaller number of its graduates brings teacher and taught into nearer relationship than is possible in the other larger Scottish Universities, and admits of the close supervision which is indispensable



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when a student is setting out on the unknown road of investigation. Without laying too great stress on the appropriate 'peace and quietness' which, according to Pedro de Luna, "flourish in the said City and its neighbourhood," it is certain that the 'haunted town' attracts the serious student to prolong his stay at the University after graduation. As a grandson of the great Bishop Berkeley, who came from Eton to St. Andrews, said of himself, he drew sighs on entering the University, but he shed more tears on leaving it. Even the science student is not dead to sentiment, and leaves St. Andrews with reluctance.

Post-graduate study in natural science has made great advances here in recent years, as may be seen from the number of papers, embodying the results of research, which have been published from various departments. The best students are eager to engage in work of this kind, but pecuniary assistance is commonly required to enable them to remain in residence, hence the urgent need of additional scholarships in the University. The scholarships of the 1851 Exhibition Commissioners, of which unfortunately, however, only one is assigned to the University every other year, and the Carnegie Scholarships and Fellowships, of which St. Andrews has won a goodly share, have been a great help. The same has to be said of the Berry Scholarships, and of the liberal policy of the University Court in awarding smaller grants from the revenue of the Berry Bequest to graduates who show capacity for original work. The University and Natural Science in particular owe a debt of gratitude to the brothers Alexander and David Berry.

The bequest of £100,000 to the University was made by Mr. David Berry in fulfilment of the known wishes of his deceased brother, who was one of the early settlers in New South Wales, and had amassed the great fortune of which the bequest was only a fraction. Dr. Alexander Berry got his elementary education at the Cupar Burgh Grammar School, where a future



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Lord Chancellor, Lord Campbell, and a great painter, Sir David Wilkie, were his schoolmates. He came to the University as a youth of about sixteen, and his name is to be found on the matriculation roll of 1796-97. He remained for two years attending the classes of Greek and Latin, and of Logic and Rhetoric, and then passed on to Edinburgh, where he graduated in Medicine.

Medicine, however, did not offer scope or excitement enough for his roving spirit. The adventurous Scot and the canny Scot are both well-known types, but Alexander Berry was apparently a rare combination of the two, the former appearing in the thrilling adventures of his youth, the latter in the marvellous success of his later years in Australia. His life well deserves to be chronicled in more permanent form than it has yet found. But for limits of space, one would fain tell the story of how he sailed the seas in command of his own ship ; how with a valuable cargo from Lima he was wrecked in mid-Atlantic, took to the longboat, and arrived at the Azores ; how landing once on an island off the Australian coast his companions were promptly eaten by the cannibal aborigines, whilst he was spared for the time, thanks to his lean condition ; how in preparation for the same fate he was fed on certain large, supposed nutritious grubs, a diet which fortunately for himself—fortunately also for St. Andrews—did not suit, and how he was finally saved by the opportune arrival of a party of white men. And it would also have to be told how he transformed a set of Government convicts into hard-working colonists, and in the end became lord and master of a vast estate. Through all his misfortunes and successes he never forgot his College life at St. Andrews. Writing from Sydney in 1868, after the lapse of seventy years, to a College friend who had sent him a St. Andrews Calendar, he said he rejoiced to hear of the ‘resuscitation’ of his old University. To the still later resuscitation, which has been described in these pages, the Berry bequest contributed in no small degree.

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It has been already said that the incorporation of the Dundee College, as an integral part of the University is, perhaps, the most important event in the recent history of science at St. Andrews. The pressing need of bringing University education within the reach of the great industrial population of the third city in the country had been for long recognised, and it was felt that the natural method of supplying this want was to extend the scope of the ancient University at St. Andrews to the north side of the Tay. The University did, in fact, span the river before the great bridge was built by sending a number of its professors to deliver regular lecture courses in Dundee. This scheme, which was instituted in 1875, met at first with a considerable measure of success, but the double duty of teaching in both places proved to be an intolerable burden on the professors. The Professor of Chemistry reported to the Commissioners of 1876 that the attempt had 'half-killed' him. The scheme was but a make-shift at the best, and it was soon recognised on both sides of the Tay that Dundee must have a College located in its midst.

The story of the birth of University College, Dundee, and of its union with the University of St. Andrews, referred to in another part of this volume (p. 48), may be shortly told. Of the infancy of the College there is nothing to relate, for it had in fact no infancy. It sprang into being already nearly full-grown, furnished with an efficient staff of Principal and Professors, and equipped with all the panoply of requirements for the teaching of modern science. Unlike its elder sisters of St. Andrews, the College was born with the proverbial silver spoon in its mouth. It was founded in the year 1880 by a munificent gift of £120,000 from Miss Baxter of Balgavies, in the county of Forfar, and the endowment, which has been added to from many sources, already reaches to more than £300,000.

The College began its actual work in 1883 with a staff of

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five professors, teaching in seven subjects, four of which belonged to the domain of science. The present Professor of Mathematics, the only member of the original staff who is still with us, taught in the earlier days both Mathematics and Physics, and continued to discharge the double duty until 1895, in which year a new and separate chair of Physics was endowed by the Trustees of the late Miss Harris of Dundee. The other sciences included in the original curriculum were Chemistry and Engineering. The first Professor of Chemistry, Dr. Thomas Carnelly, was translated after five years' work in the College to the University of Aberdeen, where, not long after his appointment, his brilliant career was terminated by death. Mr. J. A. Ewing was the first Professor of Engineering; in 1890 he became Professor of Mechanism and Applied Mechanics in the University of Cambridge, and he is now, under the Board of Admiralty, Director-General of Naval Education.

Other chairs in the department of science rapidly followed. That of Biology, now represented by separate chairs of Zoology and Botany, was established in 1885, the donor of the endowment being Dr. Boyd Baxter of Dundee. The Anatomy chair was founded in 1888 by Mr. T. H. Cox of Maulesden, the separate chair of Botany was created in the same year by the family of Mr. James F. White of Balruddery, and the chair of Physiology was endowed in 1889. A Lectureship in Geology was created in 1903 by the joint action of the University Court and the Council of the College, and its permanent endowment is now being provided for by the Carnegie Trustees for the Universities of Scotland.

The original site on which the College was planted consisted of a garden of about three acres in extent with a row of villas stretching across it, then one of the brightest spots in the neighbourhood of the centre of the city and still retaining its reputation for beauty on account of its lawns and flower-beds,

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which face the busy street. The founders contented themselves at first with a simple adaptation of the villas for teaching purposes, linking them one to another and removing partitions to give floor-space for class-rooms and laboratories. The original buildings still remain, although somewhat modified at the eastern end of the row by a reconstruction which was carried out in 1893, but one by one the several departments of science have left their early home for new quarters specially designed for their peculiar needs. The laboratory for Chemistry was provided by an additional donation from Miss Baxter in 1883, and more recently has been largely added to so as to complete the original design prepared by Professor Carnelly. Space is provided for special departments of metallurgy, electro-chemistry, and dyeing and bleaching. A general Laboratory in Engineering was built in 1889 under the trust disposition of Sir David Baxter of Kilmaron, the founder of the Technical Institute of Dundee, and until recently has been in the joint occupation of the College and the Institute under a happy co-partnership which has contributed towards the development of both the institutions. The place of the old laboratory is now being taken by two new buildings, one already completed; the other, that which specially appertains to the College, is at present in course of erection; it is the outcome of a grant from the Trustees of Mr. Carnegie's great donation to the Universities of Scotland. Extended Laboratories for the two departments of Biology were established in 1893 at the time of the conversion of the original buildings. The Museums of Botany and Zoology though still small contain fair type collections for teaching purposes, the latter being in addition specially rich in specimens of the fauna of the arctic regions, with which the city has for long been in close contact through its fleet of whalers. A special building for the purposes of the School of Medicine was completed in 1904 under the joint auspices of the University and the College; it



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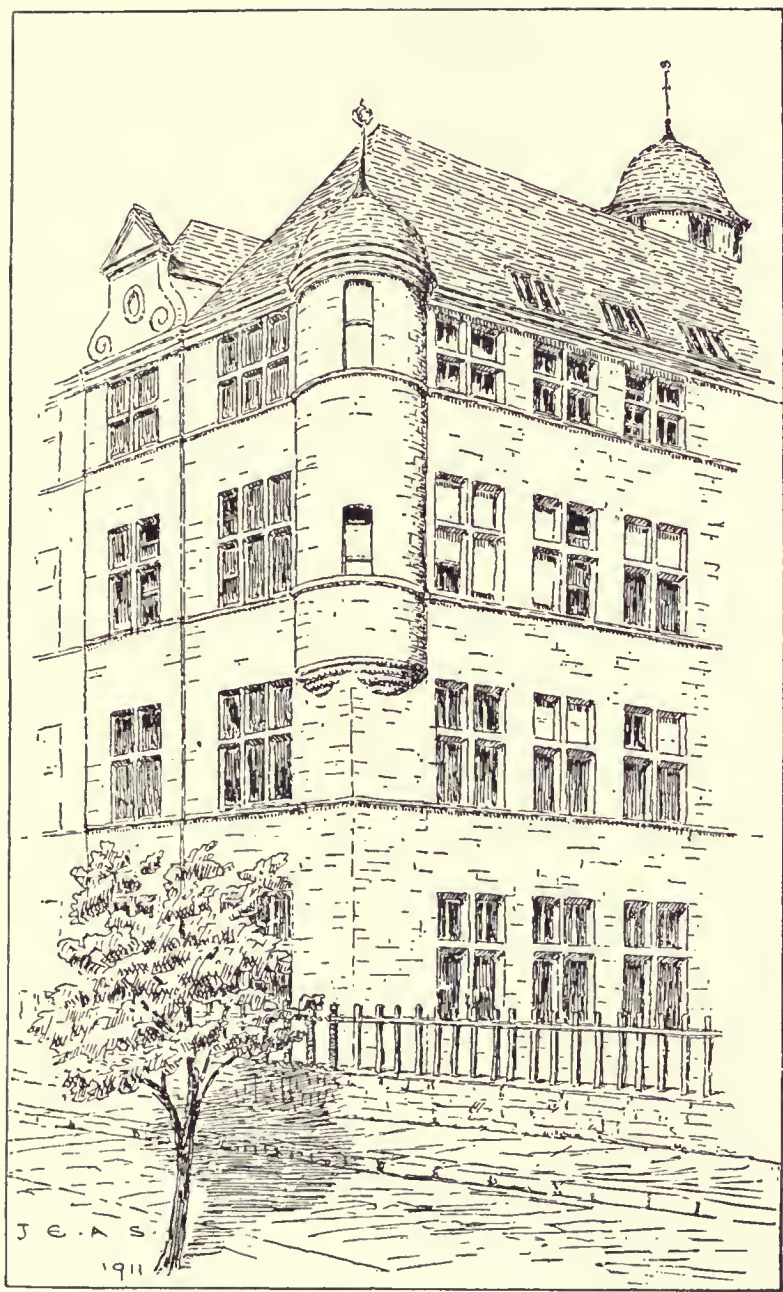
provides *inter alia* Laboratories for the departments of Anatomy and Physiology.

The growth of the College has necessitated additional purchases of land, and of recent years the acquisition of property adjoining the original site has doubled the former area of occupation. Upon the new ground there has been erected a spacious Laboratory of Physics, the personal gift of Mr. Carnegie in 1906 during the period of his Rectorship of the University. The building, which represents one of the most notable additions to the scientific equipment of the College, was completed in 1910 and is now in use. As a complement to the Laboratory of Physics and a future adjunct to that of Engineering, presently being erected in close proximity, there has also been built within the last three years a special Laboratory for Electrical Engineering, a gift from two ladies in memory of their brother, Mr. T. L. Peters, a Lord Dean of Guild of the city. The Peters Laboratory is at present undergoing equipment.

Although much remains to be done, much undoubtedly has been accomplished from the point of view of the establishment of science in the College in the twenty-eight years which have elapsed since the first professors were appointed. A considerable volume of original research has issued from the laboratories. An incomplete list compiled three years ago showed a total of more than three hundred and fifty separate contributions to scientific literature; still more may be confidently expected in the future under the extended opportunities which are now afforded in the College.

On 15th January, 1897, University College, Dundee, was "affiliated to and made to form part of the University of St. Andrews." The event was not hailed with universal acclamation, and candid friends were not wanting on either side who considered the aims and interests of the contracting parties incompatible. It was an ill-assorted union, an unholy





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alliance even. The University was approaching its 500th birthday, the age of the young College was precisely sweet seventeen.

“Crabbed age and youth cannot live together.”

So it was thought by some at the time of the union, but fourteen years' experience has happily falsified the forebodings of the pessimists. St. Andrews has renewed its youth. Dundee has acquired the sobriety and discretion of mature age, and harmony and co-operation prevail. The votaries of science on both sides of the Tay are proud of the traditions of their University, and stimulated by its reputation, past and present, in the older branches of learning, are confident that it will also play an honourable part in modern developments.

JOHN YULE MACKAY.  
THOMAS PURDIE.



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## Medicine



F legitimate ambitions that are hard to attain the desire of the University of St. Andrews for the establishment of its Medical Faculty is a striking example. In 1411 medicine was but a special scholarship, and in the foundation bulls and charters it is duly ranged among the potential faculties of the nascent University. Had the conditions of that prosperous time continued when the city was nearly as large as Turin, and the influx of pilgrims and invalids to the famous shrines made necessary the maintenance of hospitals for their entertainment, it might have been possible in St. Andrews itself to have followed the development of the last two centuries by which medicine has become a clinical science. The Reformation swept all these things away, but the ambition remained, and we shall endeavour to gather the straws that indicate its persistent course to the period when its aim was achieved by accepting the opportunities afforded in the industrial community of Dundee.

2. *Hospitals*.—The mediaeval hospital was essentially a pilgrim house, and its infirmary, when existent, a mere adjunct, and those in St. Andrews were of the same type as elsewhere. Their history has not yet been written, and their records are represented by scattered entries in old deeds and charters. Of the hospital of St. Leonard, which in 1512 with the church was incorporated in the College, the vicissitudes from its tenure by the Culdees in the twelfth century have been traced by Professor

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Herkless. Of it Archbishop Alexander Stuart in his charter states that "in the course of time the Christian faith had been established in our parts, and miracles and pilgrimages, as we may without impiety believe, had in a measure ceased, so that the Hospital was without pilgrims and the Priors aforesaid did set therein certain women chosen by reason of old age who did give little or no return in devotion or virtue," and he erected and created as a College the Hospital and Church of St. Leonard. We find in a deed that in 1529 Mr. George Martine was Preceptor, Master and Possessor of the Hospital and Leperhouse beside the city of St. Andrews (founded for the honour and worship of St. Nicholas), and that it was by him conveyed to Archbishop James Bethun to be added to the place of the preaching friars, and so entered into the patrimony of the See. In 1611 traces of still another are found in the "Testament and Letter Will of Mr. Johne Johnestoun," Regent in St. Mary's College, who leaves to the hospital of St. Andrews "in tuikin of my thankfullness to God, fiftie merkes and the annual rent thair of, to be mortifeit for that use, according to the laudable custome begoun be wthers."

3. *Manderstone*.—Of actual medical teaching in the early years of the University there is little direct evidence, but in 1529, when John Mair came from Glasgow to be Principal of St. Salvator's College, he brought with him William Manderstone, who had been a student of Montaigu College in Paris, and had graduated as Doctor of Medicine. In Paris, where he was Rector of the University in 1525, he had joined the School of Terminists under Mair's leadership, and with Mair in 1539 he was associated in the foundation of a chaplainry or bursary in St. Salvator's College. His published writings are scholastic, but in the dedication of his *Tripartitum Epithoma* to Archbishop Forman of St. Andrews, he is "Medices professor," and in the copy of his *Bipartitum in Morali Philosophia* in Edinburgh University

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is a dedication "Robertus Gra. medicinae amator preceptori suo vilelmo Manderstō apollonie artis professori peritissimo," and in St. Andrews University documents Manderstone is persistently described in a manner that suggests the probability of his having lectured on medicine there, as well as in Paris. Thus, in 1535, in "King James the 5 his grant to the Maisters of the Universitie to be fre of Taxationes" we read: "[We] Heirfor, and for certain utheris guid causses and reasonable consideratiounes moving ws, be the tenour of thir presentis, exoneris and dischairges our lovite masters James Brady, archdean of Cathnes, now rector of our said universitie; John Mair, provost of St. Salvatoris College, within our said citie, and dean of facultie of Theologie of the said Universitie; Peter Clephan and Martin Balfour, channones of the said College; and William Mandirstoun, doctour in medicin, persoun of Gogare, maisters and actuall lectourers of our said Universitie, of all maner of payment to ws"; and again in 1538 he is "Mr. William Manderstoun, Doctor in Medicin, quha laboures for the commoun weill of the said Universitie."

4. *Knox*.—The presumption that at this period there was at least occasional lecturing in medicine at St. Andrews is greatly strengthened by the procedures for the reorganisation of education in Scotland which followed the Reformation. Knox, in the *Buke of Discipline*, which was presented to the Privy Council in 1560, prepared not only the system of parochial schools which for three centuries gave such distinction to the nation, but also a complete scheme for secondary and university education. It is one of the ironies of time that Knox, who devised the ecclesiastical polity which found no use for the Cathedral, and rendered inevitable the conversion of St. Andrews from the ecclesiastical metropolis to a country burgh, thereby frustrated an essential part of his plan, according to which St. Andrews was to be the only university in the kingdom with medical teaching. A

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few quotations are needed to show the relations of medicine in his general scheme :

“we think it necessarie thair be three Universities in this whole Realme, establischt in the Tounis accustomed. The first in Sanctandrois, the second in Glasgow, and the thrid in Abirdene. And in the first Universitie and principall, whiche is Sanctandrois, thair be thre Colledgeis. And in the first Colledge, quhilk is the entre of the Universitie, thair be four classes or saigeis (chairs) : the first to the new Suppostis, shalbe onlie Dialectique ; the nixt, onlie Mathematique ; the thrid, of Phisick onlie ; the fourt of Medicine. And in the secound Colledge, twa classes or seigeis : the first in Morall Philosophie ; the secound in the Lawis. And in the thrid College, twa classes or saigeis : the first, in the Toungis, to wit, Greek and Hebreu ; the secound, in Divinitie.”

The first three classes were to occupy one year each.

“In the fourt classe, shall be ane Reidar in Medicine, who shall compleit his course in five years after the study of the whiche tyme being by examinatioun fund sufficient, thei shall be graduat in Medicine.”

“That nane be admittit to the classe of the Medicine bot he that shall have his testimoniall of his tyme weall spent in Dialectique, Mathematicque, and Phisicque and of his docilitie in the last.” Complete even to its economics the scheme provides “for the Stipend of everie Reidar in Medicine and Lawis, ane hundreth threttie thre pundis *vi s. viii d.*”

It will be noted that the study of Medicine, like each of the other special disciplines, was to extend over five years after the completion of the Arts course.

In Glasgow and in Aberdeen two Colleges only were provided, the first in Arts (without Medicine), and the second of Laws and Divinity.

The omission of Medicine is rendered more important by the facts that from 1497 Aberdeen had provision for a Doctor



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in Medicine, and that, though the measure was never carried into execution, the Nova Fundatio for King's College, ratified by Act of Parliament in 1597, directed the abolition of the Readership in Medicine.

5. *New Foundation.*—The ultimate failure of Knox's scheme as regards (Law and) Medicine cannot be attributed to any lack of interest on the part of the national authorities. King James, in his instructions for the Visitation of the University, issued in January, 1579, directs the Commissioners to deliver the properties of the Old College to "Mr. James Martine, principall Professour of Medicine thairin," who had become Provost of St. Salvator's College in 1570, and in the report of the Commission, issued in November and signed by Lennox, Dunfermline, George Buchanan, James Haliburtoun (Provost of Dundee), and P. Young, official sanction is given to the arrangement by the provision "That the Principall of Sanctsaluators College sall be professor in Medicine," "quhilks sall reid ordinarlie foure tymes in the oulk (week), Monunday, Tuysday, Wednisday, and Fryday, at the hours to be appointit be the electors and maisters of the vniversitie."

6. *Visitations.*—In the unsettled times that attended the Reformation in Scotland disputes between members of the staff and negligence or malversation in the management of the properties had dilapidated the resources of the Colleges as well as the buildings, and so interrupted their discipline that order was difficult to establish. Of this the reports of successive visitations afford more than enough evidence. In April, 1588, the report on teaching begins, "The Provest, sin the reformatioun, affirmis he teichis tuyis (twice) ilk oulk (week), the Aphorismes Hippocrates; quhill (until) October last; sensyne he hes teichit na thing; the Maisteris sayis he nevir teichis, skantlie anis (once) in the moneth. The lawer Mr. William Walwood sayis he teichis the institutionis Tysday, Thurisday,

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and Setterday, at *viii* hours in the mornyng. The Provest sayis he neglectis oft." In May of the same year "Mr. William Walwod, that sen our last Visitation, he being at his ordinar lessoun at *viii* hours in the mornyng, the Provest, accompaniit with the huill youth of the College, come to the scole, and commandit him to come down, for he wald teich himselff at that hour ; quhairupoun great slander followit." At the Visitation by the King and Commissioners in 1597 the report states, "That the Provest hes teichit Medicine according to the Act," and in July of that year Walwood was compulsorily retired, "it being fund that the Professioun of the Lawes is na wayes necessar at this tyme in this Universitie."

The ambitions of the University itself are set forth in "A Minut of Certane Articillis" prepared for submission to Parliament claiming the ratification of the ancient privileges of the University and certain extensions deemed necessary for its success. The parts relative to Medicine are, " That ther be wirthie men socht and gotting for the professione of Medicen and Lawis, without quhom our Vniversitie, quhilk suld be ane moder of all knowlege, is ane Vniversitie only in name ; and so mony men be appointit as is abill sufficientlie to do that turne ; and that ther be ane reasonabill number of Bursars fundat, to be auditors to the sayde Professoris." " For the advanement of the professione of Medicen within the sayd Vniversitie, thair be na doctor, apothecarie, chyrurgine, permittit to exercis his occupatioun within this realme, except he haue the approbatione of the Facultie of Medicen within this Vniversitie." Perhaps the most successful provision, could it have been made effective, would have been "To remember to spek concerning the College of Edinbroche, that thair power be restranit to the bernis of ther avine (own) citie."

The Commission of 1642 entered into detail in the prescription of the course of study as well as its methods. "In

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the fourth yeare sall be taught the other three bookes of the Acroamaticks, the bookes de Coelo, the elements of Astronomy and Geography, the bookes De Ortu et Interitu, the Meteors, some part of the first, with the whole of the second and third bookes De Anima, and if so much tyme may be spared, some compend of Anatomy." There are also recommendations against spending too much time in the "dyteing of notes," and that every student have the text of Aristotle in Greek, which are worthy of mention as illustrating the standard of education aimed at.

In 1649 we find a provision that the second Master of St. Salvator's College shall teach Medicine twice a week, the Principal being charged to teach the Metaphysics. In this same report the Commission accepted the demission, under compulsion, of Thomas Gleg, for whom after the Restoration an Act of the Scottish Parliament was passed in 1661, directing that "the whole dues and fies belonging to his charge since he was put from the same in the year 1649 shall be payed to him." In this Act is included the petition of "Thomas Gleg doctor of medicine mentioning that he being thrid Master of St. Salvator's Colledge in St. Andrews in año 1649 and had continued ther formerlie a proffessor of phisick the space of divers years Dureing the which tyme he endeavoured with faithfulness and painfulness the education of such youths as wer intrusted to his Charge in the sciences therin taught." It seems likely that 'phisick' is here used for natural philosophy rather than Medicine, with which Gleg's teaching had perhaps as little relation as the Essay which Alexander Pitcairn, who became Provost of St. Salvator's College in 1691, published under the title, *Compendiaria et perfacilis Physiologiae Idea Aristotelicae . . . una cum Anatome Cartesianismi . . .*"

7. *Libraries*.—Of the libraries of St. Mary's and St. Leonard's Colleges at the end of the sixteenth century, and of the University

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Library in 1612, soon after it had been initiated by donations from the family of James Sixth, inventories have been printed in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*. The list of medical books is a scanty one, including Aetius, Almansor, Celsus, Dioscorides, Galen, and Mesue in St. Mary's; Albertus Magnus, Pliny, and the *Alchemy* of Geber the Arab in St. Leonard's; and Pliny, Galen, and Averrhoes in the University. It is not unlikely that the list might be somewhat extended if we had the inventory of St. Salvator's College, where Medicine was officially instituted, but the scantiness seems a relative opulence when we compare the proportion of medical books in the total with the conditions found in an ordinary scholar's library like that of 268 volumes in the donation of Clement Little, which became the foundation of the University Library in Edinburgh, and from which medicine is entirely absent, or the 400 volumes of the young King James VI., where it is represented by a couple of books on gymnastics.

In the seventeenth century the University Library received a large donation of books from Sir John Wedderburne, who, having been a student from 1615-1618 and subsequently Regent in Philosophy, became Physician in Ordinary to Charles II.

8. *The University Skeleton*.—The last piece of evidence which it is necessary to submit in proof of the persistence of endeavour towards a Faculty of Medicine during the first three centuries of the history of the University is found in a series of extracts from the University Minutes, which are printed in the Library Annals. These show that the University took an opportunity of securing a skeleton and entrusted the preparation of it to Mr. Patrick Blair of Dundee, who is noteworthy in history as having, first in the British Isles, made the dissection of an elephant. Blair's account of the 'Osteographia Elephantina' is a classic which is preserved in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* for 1710, but its skeleton, which he mounted for



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a museum in Dundee, has disappeared as completely as that with which we are now concerned. The minutes, from the year 1707, are as follows :

“Jan. 30. The University being met, appointed Mr. Scrimmour to give four dollars of the Library money to the Rector to be given by him to Mr. Arnot, chirurgion, for his assisting at the dissection.”

“Feb. 17. The University appointed Mr. Scrimmour to advance, out of the Library money, six fourteins shilling pieces, for transporting the bones for the scelet to Dundee.”

“May 22. The University being met, and it being propos'd that Mr. Blair, having now brought over the sceleton, should be pay'd for the same, which was judg'd reasonable, and therefor they appointed Mr. Alexander Scrimmour, Library Quaestor, to advance ane hundred merks Scots, out of the Library money, for the said Mr. Blair his pains and expences for making the said sceleton, and bringing it over, and three pounds Scots to his servant, of drink money, and to give out two pounds sixteen shillings Scots upon incidental expences.”

“July 4. The University being met, they appointed Mr. Scrimmour to cause make a case for the skeleton and agree with the workmen for the price thereof, and to pay it out of the Library money.”

In 1714 we find under the date Jan. 23: “The University being met, there was presented to them an inscription relating to the skeleton, set in a frame and covered with a glass, which glass was broken. Whereupon the University appointed the Library Keeper to hing up the said inscription on the case of the skeleton.”

9. *General Condition of Medical Education in Scotland.*—In order to see in true relation the course of events in St. Andrews up to the early part of the eighteenth century it is necessary to set them in an outline of the circumstances existing elsewhere.



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By the Revival of Learning medical scholarship was thrown back from the Arab developments of Galenism to the original texts of Hippocrates, and thus in the beginning of the sixteenth century modern Medicine had its birth. Linacre and Kaye (Caius) gave Britain its share in the movement, of which, however, the most important feature was the re-establishment of Anatomy at the hands of Vesalius and his compeers. The transformation of war by the invention of gunpowder enabled Ambrose Paré to set practical surgery also on its modern course. Early in the seventeenth century Harvey published *The Movements of the Heart and Blood*, in the middle Sydenham made all the developing sciences ancillary to clinical medicine, and by its close the time was ripe for a reorganisation of medical education.

The actual education of the medical practitioner of every grade had been attained by a system of apprenticeship or pupillage and his qualification an acceptance by the guild. In Scotland the attempt at organisation dates from the charter by which the Barbers and Surgeons of Edinburgh were in 1505 erected into a Deaconry and granted the body of a condemned man each year for dissection; but it was just two centuries later when the first teacher was appointed, and still later when Alexander Monro, primus, induced the Town Council to transfer the chair to the Town's College, which was being insensibly transformed into a University. Thus, it was in 1722 that the first actually medical chair was established in the University of Edinburgh. In 1681 the College of Physicians was, after several attempts, incorporated, and four years later Sir Robert Sibbald, James Halket, and Archibald Pitcairne were appointed Professors of Medicine without salary and without duties. Sibbald began private classes in 1706, and in 1726 Chairs of Institutes of Medicine, Practice of Physic and Midwifery, were established in the University under a special arrangement. The conditions were similar in Glasgow. The Faculty of Physicians

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and Surgeons was established in 1599 by a grant which conferred privileges that caused the University much trouble later on. In the University a Chair of Medicine was established in 1637 but abolished on the death of the first holder as being unnecessary, and it was only in 1714 that it was revived and became permanent. In Aberdeen there was a Mediciner on the staff of King's College from the beginning, but though the proposals of Knox and Melville for abolishing the office failed, there seems little evidence that any actual teaching was done till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Before this period many Scotsmen had attained the degree of Doctor in Medicine, but this was always reached by study and inception in an English or foreign University. In the existing records of Aberdeen University the first medical degree is dated May 15, 1654, but that this was not the first actually granted is evident from a thesis 'De Hydropē' submitted in 1637 by William Broad of Berwick under the presidency of Dr. Patrick Dun, of which a copy is extant in the University of Glasgow. In Glasgow the first M.D. degree was given in 1703 and in Edinburgh in 1705. The first M.D. degree recorded in St. Andrews was granted on 11th September, 1696, to John Arbuthnot, the friend and compeer of Pope and Swift, who fixed the nickname of John Bull on England and who "hath every quality in the world that can make a man amiable and useful; but, alas! he hath a sort of slouch in his walk" (Swift).

The entries in the Matriculation and Graduation Rolls are:

"11<sup>mo</sup> Sept<sup>ris</sup> 1696. Quo die Generosus hic cujus nomen infra subscribitur Medicinæ Studiosus (praestitis praestandis) in album Academiae receptus est.

JO: ARBUTHNOTT."

"11<sup>mo</sup> Septembris 1696. Quo die Generosus hic, cujus nomen infra subscribitur Gradum Doctoratus in Medicina (praestitis praestandis) adeptus est, honorem hunc conferente R.D. Mr<sup>o</sup>

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Alex<sup>ro</sup> Monro D. praefecto Collegii St Salvatoris nostri ac  
Graduum promotore. JO: ARBUTHNOTT."

We would fain have more details of an event of such interest and importance, but alas! *praestitis praestandis*, there are none to tell.

10. *Chandos Chair*.—The circumstances attending the establishment of the Chandos Chair of Medicine and Anatomy in 1722 are related by Mr. Maitland Anderson in an interesting article from which enough may be quoted to show that this measure, which seemed, in the conditions of medical education then existing, a natural development as well as the culmination of three centuries of University polity, was recognised to contain in itself those factors which inevitably led to the ultimate confession of failure and set on foot the evolution of the present Conjoint School. The Duke of Chandos, in recognition, apparently, of some civility which the University had afforded to his son, through the intermediation of his tutor, Dr. Charles Stuart, offered the University £1000 with the suggestion that it should be employed for the establishment of a Chair of Eloquence. The University requested that it should be used for the foundation of a Chair of Medicine and Anatomy, and in spite of the protest of Dr. Stuart this proposal was carried through. A letter asking the support of Dr. Stuart for the University policy, contains: "we adventur'd to suggest, with great submission to his Grace, another Liberal Profession to be considered of before the last hand is put to the writs, namely, that of Medicine and Anatomy. . . ."

"The Profession we have taken upon us to mention is that you have the honour to be well acquainted w', & where can we meet with a more proper advocate. Therefor we believe you will use all the freedom you can, in decencie, to fortifie our humble motion. . . ."

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On November 28, 1720, Dr. Stuart wrote to the Rector from Oxford :

“ Reverend S<sup>r</sup>,

I take this first opportunity of thanking the University for the honour of y<sup>e</sup> letter I lately receiv’d from you by their appointment; I was present with y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Chandos when your letter came to his hands, and upon reading it he desired me to let you know that he was very willing to consent to y<sup>e</sup> alteration you inclin’d to make in y<sup>e</sup> disposition of his donation in favours of Medicine, and said he wou’d write to you himself upon that subject: I hope you will not suspect me of any partiality to Eloquence or any other faculty in preference to Medicine to which I have y<sup>e</sup> honour to belong, when I tell you that while it was under deliberation here how his Grace’s bounty might be most usefully imploy’d Medicine was not forgotten, but it was carry’d against it for reasons which I mentioned in a letter to Mr. Pringle, and to which I must confess I can not finde an answer; y<sup>e</sup> Theory and Practise of Medicine are not only considered as distinct Professions in some of y<sup>e</sup> Universitys abroad, but there are likewise other Sciences such as Anatomy, Chimistry, and Botany, which are unseparable retainers to that Science and absolutely necessary to y<sup>e</sup> study of it: now there are no foundations in your University for any of these Sciences, nor perhaps will be for these hundred years to come, and as one man can hardly be sufficient for more than one or at most two of them, I can not see of what great use a Professor of Medicine wou’d be at St. Andrews, where an Anatomist may be ten years in looking for a body to dissect; I think I plainly forsee that this Profession wou’d quickly fall into y<sup>e</sup> hands of some young Physitian who, wanting imployment, should have interest enough to get himself chosen to it, for a livelyhood to him, without having so much as one scholar to teach, and if this

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should be the case in My Lord Duke's own lifetime I leave it to you to judge if his Grace would have great reason to think that he had imploy'd his money well, for I can assure you (however he may not think fit to dispute with you about y<sup>e</sup> manner of disposing of it) that his design is to have it imploy'd to y<sup>e</sup> best advantage for y<sup>e</sup> promoting useful learning. . . .

I am, Reverend S<sup>r</sup>, Your most obedient and most humble Ser<sup>t</sup>.

C. STUART."

Dr. Stuart's objections did not move the University from their position, and early in 1721 the regulations for the Chair were prepared. The duties of the Professor are defined in the following clauses :

"That the Chandos Professor shall have full freedom to treat of the rise, progress and perfection of Anatomy and Medicine, and to teach the theory and practice thereof in all their several parts ; and shall have the use of the University hall for his prelections, of which sort he shall be obliged to have four the first year, to be published, and six every year thereafter, to be delivered at such times as the University shall appoint ; and shall, how often a human body can be got, have a public dissection of the same, and demonstrate the skeleton in public once a year."

"That for his further encouragement and the public good he be obliged to teach any scholars that shall apply to him, and that once a day, at least every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, by explaining to them any system of Anatomy and Medicine that likes him best, and be allowed to take such premium from his students as the University shall agree to."

In December of the same year just before the election of the first Professor was carried through, the following further resolutions were adopted : (1) "That the Chandos Professor shall not keep an Apothecary's shop either *per se* or *per alium* lest hereby



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he should be diverted from giving due application to prelecting and teaching Medicine and Anatomy which we judge his proper work ; and what insight and instruction he shall give his students in the *Materia Medica*, he shall do it in the University Apothecary's shop " ; and (2) " That Mr. Andrew Watson shall be the University's Surgeon Apothecary, and from this date shall be designed so, to whose shop the students may resort for learning the *Materia Medica*, for which such a premium shall be given by them as the University shall afterwards appoint."

11. *The First Epoch of the Chandos Professorship* (1722-1811). —Of three candidates the University selected as first tenant of the Chandos chair, Thomas Simson, whom Irving describes as one of the most able and efficient of the medical professors in the Scottish Universities at this time. He was second brother of Robert Simson, whose greater fame was earned as Professor of Mathematics in Glasgow, and whose *Euclid* was a text-book in Scotland for over a century. Thomas Simson had graduated M.D. in Glasgow in 1720, with a thesis, "*De Fluxu Menstruo*," in which with a gallantry prophetic of a professor in St. Andrews he protests "*adeoque maxime iniquum fuit illud opprobrium Helmonti promulgantis Fluxum hunc accidisce Delicatulis in sigillum perpetuum, tanquam sigillo sanguineo immundo, stigmatizatis ; cui convitio contra pulcherrimum et consummatissimum naturae opus parum attendit ille qui observat quantum ab omni sensu aberravit spagiricus quoties ab igne decesserat.*" On his election Simson was required to defend theses '*de motu musculari*' and '*de ventriculi concoctione*,' which he did on the 10th of January, 1722, and then delivered his inaugural oration, "*De Erroribus tam veterum quam recentiorum circa Materiam Medicam.*" This is somewhat scholastic in its methods, but wisely lays stress upon the need of investigating the laws of the human machine, studying the natural history of diseases and determining the powers of individual medicines by experiment.

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Simson fulfilled one of the regulations of the chair by publishing, in 1726, this dissertation along with three others, under the title, *De Re Medica*, and it is, perhaps, their highest praise that, in addition to being re-issued in 1771 by J. C. T. Schlegel, Dr. Andrew Duncan, a loyal St. Andrews student to whom Edinburgh owed so many of its medical developments, reprinted them as the first of the *Miscellanies* on which he afterwards laid the foundations of the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*!. Simson also published *A System of the Womb* in 1729, and in 1752 *An Inquiry how far the Vital and Animal Actions of the more perfect Animals can be accounted for independent of the Brain: in five Essays: being the Substance of the Chandos Lectures for the year 1739, and some subsequent years*.

The change from Latin to English in Simson's Chandos Lectures is of interest as a sign of the transition going on in University teaching at this period. In Edinburgh some of the professors, Monro being one, lectured in English, others in Latin. John Fothergill, who was a student there about 1830, translated those given in Latin into English, and after consulting the ancients and moderns on the subject, "added such notes as his reading and reflection furnished." Latin was maintained as the language of M.D. theses well into the nineteenth century.

James Simson, who succeeded his father in 1764, graduated Doctor in Medicine at St. Andrews, with a dissertation "*De Asthmate Infantium Spasmodico*," which follows his father's papers in Duncan's *Miscellanies*, and of which we shall have occasion to speak at greater length in the next section. He died in 1770, and was succeeded by James Flint, who for forty-one years performed the duty of recommending for the doctorate in Medicine those whose testimonials were submitted to him.

Flint resigned on 28th April, 1804, and in July he and his son John were admitted joint professors. Their election was,

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on 26th May, 1809, declared by the House of Lords to have been illegal and void. James Flint was re-elected on 29th July, 1809, and died in the end of the following year. There is no evidence that either James Simson or Flint had at any time been called upon to teach Medicine.

12. *Conditions of Graduation in Medicine in the Eighteenth Century.*—While the essential fact of graduation was the pronouncement by a degree-granting corporation of the judgment satirically summed up by Molière in the “*dignus est intrare in nostro docto corpore*,” the method by which this judgment might be gained was the defence by the candidate of a series of theses, and from this have sprung the two modern customs which require from the candidate for a higher degree the presentation of a thesis dealing with some subject chosen for investigation by himself, and compel the candidate for a lower qualification to struggle with a series of questions chosen for him by the examiner. In addition, various subsidiary modes were in vogue, of which the granting of a degree *honoris causâ* to men of great distinction, and the admission *in eundem gradum* of the graduate of another University still exist. Besides these arose the system of granting degrees *in absentia* on the nomination of persons of credit, which during the eighteenth century grew to such proportions in the Scottish Universities that by the end of the century they were making shamefaced attempts to get away from it, and in 1830 it elicited the severest condemnation from the Royal Commission. In the transitions which were then affecting medical education this system afforded great conveniences to men who had entered the profession without at the outset contemplating passage into its higher grades, and we find that a very large number of men in colonial practice or in the services took advantage of it. To the Universities and to poorly-endowed professors it offered an addition to their annual resources which they did not despise, and its importance as a

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factor in the maintenance of the University Libraries must still be gratefully acknowledged.

Of graduation by dissertation we may take in illustration the thesis "*De Asthmate Infantium Spasmodico*" which James Simson, the second Chandos Professor, presented at St. Andrews in 1760. It is an essay of twenty-four quarto pages, and is divided into twenty sections, in which, after some general remarks as to the specific qualities of tissues and the liability of muscles to contraction, he proceeds to show why the laryngeal muscles should be easily excited in the infant, and then passes on to the influence of cold incurred in the custom of taking the infants to church for baptism within a day or two of birth, and later to the disturbances of teething and aptness to thrush. He discusses in turn treatment by bleeding from the jugular vein and by blister, the use of specific antispasmodics of which valerian is 'known to the cats,' of purgatives, avoidance of raw milk except that of the nurse, the use of inunction and of bland diet and white wine whey. Thereafter follows the differential diagnosis from whooping-cough and putrid angina and the prognosis, the whole ending "*Sed de hoc asthmate, pro exertii hujus naturae, satis multa,*" from which we may at least conclude that the anxieties of the St. Andrews graduand were in those days less than they are now.

As no St. Andrews examination paper of the eighteenth century is in my possession it may be of interest to quote the questions minuted as proposed in 1787 by Dr. William Chalmers, Mediciner in Aberdeen to Richard Watson Dickson. They are :

"1. What are the principal peculiarities in the structure of the Foetus, and are there any impediments to seeing or hearing at birth? What are they?

"2. In how far may acrimony be considered as existing in the system, and what are its effects?

"3. In what proportion of our present diseases may debility



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be supposed to take place, and how may it be most effectually obviated?

“4. What are the advantages resulting from the Brownian doctrines?”

In 1727 we find an early example of admission *in eundem* in the case of Dr. Alexander Dick Cunninghame, afterwards President of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. According to the Library Annals of January 23: “Dr. Simson produced an attested double of Mr. Alexander Cunninghame’s diploma of his being made Dr. of Medicine in the University of Leyden, dated August 31st, 1725, whereupon the University appoint the degree of Dr. of Medicine *in eundem* to be granted him according to their act of the 16th past, and a diploma to be issued out accordingly; and the said Dr. Simson informed he had a guinea from the said Dr. Cunninghame for his complement to the Library, which the University appoint Dr. Simson to employ for buying what books upon Medicine for the Library he shall see meet.” From the same source we have 1746, May 8: “The meeting having ordered the diploma in Medicine for Mr. Robert Simson and that in Laws for Mr. Francis Hutchison to be honorarie and gratis, therefore that the Clerk and Archbeadle may not sustain any loss, they appoint them to bring in their accounts to the Rector.”

The Library Annals furnish valuable evidence as to the gradual development of a regular system of fees for medical degrees in place of the compliment to the library and the gratifications to the officials. In 1747, November 28, “The Committee who were appointed to make enquiry into the present appointments or perquisites of the Clerk to the University reported . . . and further gave it as their opinion that of the dues formerly paid to the Vice-Chancellor for the degree of a Doctor in Medicine, one pound, six shillings and eight pence sterling should be paid to the Professor of Medicine. Which the



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University approved of, and accordingly appoint... and that the ten pounds sterling for a degree in Medicine, Divinity, Laws, etc. be divided in the following manner, viz. Three pounds to the Professor of Medicine for degrees in Medicine; eleven shillings, one penny and four twelfths of a penny to the Library Keeper; eleven shillings, one penny, four twelfths of a penny to the Archbeadle; and the remainder to the Library."

In 1815, on 8th August, another committee report states that on an average of ten years twenty-three degrees in Medicine are granted a year, and the Library Keeper's perquisite may have amounted to £31 18s. 3d.

In 1822, on the motion of Dr. Briggs that the fee for degrees in Medicine be £30 sterling, the Rector proposed that instead of £30 there should be charged £36, which was agreed to, and that this payment for all degrees should commence on the 1st May next, it being understood that the dues to the Library, and the fees to those who have been in use to receive them shall be increased in proportion to the rise upon degrees.

13. *The Foundation of Chemistry* (1811-1841).—On the death of Professor James Flint the University took measures which made the Chandos Chair a stepping-stone to the development of the school of Chemistry, which has now become so important. At a meeting held on 9th February, 1811, before electing another Chandos Professor, the University enacted, *inter alia*, "That the Chandos Professor shall be a teaching Professor, who shall open classes to be regularly taught during the session of the United College, for the instruction of those students who may apply to him, in the principles of Medicine, Anatomy and Chemistry, and that he shall be entitled to receive from them such fees as the University may direct. Further... there shall be paid to the Chandos Professor, out of the money received for every degree of M.D. ay and until the University shall see meet to

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alter the same, the sum of £1 13s. 4d. being the emolument of the Chandos professor, fixed by Minute of the University, December 17, 1728....”

On the appointment of Dr. Briggs “the University, considering that without some addition to our Medical Establishment, and without a Public Hospital, any attempt to teach in his own departments must evidently prove abortive, took him bound to give annually a Course of Chemistry [and Chemical Pharmacy], as an interesting branch of general science, the most nearly connected with Medicine, and provided an Apparatus for the purpose.” This new departure was immediately successful, and was continued till the death of Professor Briggs in 1841, by which time the foundation of Dr. Gray in 1808 had become available for a special Professorship of Chemistry to which Arthur Connell was appointed.

14. *Conditions of Graduation in Medicine in the Nineteenth Century.*  
—Of the degrees granted by the University in the latter part of the eighteenth century over nine-tenths were Medical, and most of these were granted *in absentia*, on the recommendation of outside physicians. About one applicant in twelve was refused, and on the average twenty degrees were granted each year. Of the heart-searching to which the growth of so obvious a trade gave rise among the Universities we have evidence in a St. Andrews Minute of May 14, 1802. “The Committee appointed to report upon the existing regulations concerning Medical Degrees, having met this day, and having found that those regulations as collected in a University Minute dated June 15, 1799, appear to require some amendments and improvements, humbly submit to the University as their unanimous opinion, that the regulations concerning medical degrees shall be conceived in the following terms:—That when a candidate for a degree in Medicine presents himself to be tried by the University, he shall in the first place deliver to the professor of Medicine

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certificates of his character, and of his having had a regular education; That the professor, if he is satisfied with the certificates shall lay them before the Rector, who if he sees no objection, shall give directions for the candidate undergoing a private examination by the professor of Medicine in presence of two members of the University; That if his appearance at this examination gives satisfaction, the professor of Medicine shall prescribe to him an Aphorism of Hippocrates, and a Discourse or a History of a Medical case; his illustrations of which, written by his own hand in the Latin language, shall be read by him at a meeting of the Senatus Academicus summoned for that purpose, and then given into the meeting, who will judge from the report of his examination and from the exercises submitted to them, whether he is worthy of the honour of the degree he solicits.

“That when a candidate for a degree in Medicine does not present himself to be tried by the University, he shall transmit a certificate under the hands of not less than two Physicians of eminence, known to the University, in the following words: We, A. B., residing at . . . and C. D., residing at . . . do hereby certify that G. F., candidate for the degree of M.D., is a gentleman of respectable character, that he has received a liberal and classical education, that he has attended a complete course of lectures in the several branches of Medicine, and that from *personal knowledge* we judge him worthy of the honour of a doctor's degree in Medicine. Dated and signed A. B., M.D., and C. D., M.D.”

In the immediate prospect of the Universities Commission of 1826 the University enacted new and much more stringent regulations, the first being, “No degree in Medicine shall be conferred on an absent candidate.” The succeeding clauses require certificates of a liberal and classical education, of four years' attendance on lectures in some University or celebrated

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school of Medicine and of two years' hospital practice, then "if the candidate shall have so far satisfied the University, the Rector shall be requested to fix a day for his examination by the medical or other professors on all branches of Medical Science; and provided that the examination shall satisfy the Senatus Academicus, the candidate shall have delivered to him a medical case or cases, with questions subjoined, which questions he must answer in writing, and defend his answers before the members of the University. The whole proceedings were then to be submitted to the consideration of the Senatus Academicus; and if they are satisfied "the degree of M.D. shall be conferred on the candidate by the Rector in the hall of the public library." In the case of a candidate possessed of a surgical diploma from Edinburgh, London, Dublin, or Glasgow, who had been in practice for some years or who had acted as surgeon in his Majesty's navy or army, or in the forces of ships of the East India Company, one year was subtracted from the attendance on lectures and on hospital practice.

The immediate result of this new regulation was that the number of degrees conferred fell from an average of twenty-four a year to one, almost enough to satisfy the Commission, which in its report of 1830 ordained that no medical degrees should be conferred by the University of St. Andrews till there were professors regularly teaching classes to the number included in one or more years of the curriculum. This provision never became effective, and the next important step was not taken till after the Universities Act of 1858, when the Commission limited the number of M.D. degrees to ten in each year, and made the age of forty years an essential part of the preliminary qualifications for candidates who had not previously taken the degree of Bachelor of Medicine.

15. *Gbandos Professorship* (1841-1898).—Subsequent to the establishment of the Chair of Chemistry the University was



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fortunate in appointing to the Chandos Chair so able a man as Dr. John Reid. Some of Reid's Researches, such as those on the Nerves of the Eighth Pair, are medical classics, and though the work for all that are purely medical was done in Edinburgh before his election to the professorship, his energy is revealed in the transference of his investigations to the zoological material which St. Andrews Bay afforded, and by the new direction which his lecturing on Descriptive and Comparative Anatomy and on General Physiology gave to the teaching facilities of the Chandos Chair. Reid's tenure of the chair was cut short by malignant disease, and on his death in 1849 the University was successful in attracting to its service George Edward Day, who had already made a great reputation in medical scholarship by translating Simon's *Animal Chemistry* for the Sydenham Society and by the considerable revisions and additions by which he brought it entirely up to date. While at St. Andrews he translated for the same series the fourth volume of Rokitansky's *Pathological Anatomy*, dealing with the Respiration and Circulation. Till his resignation in 1863 Professor Day regularly taught classes in General Physiology and Comparative Anatomy, and gave his service to the honour of the degrees of the University by the stringency of the examinations which he conducted.

The work of Reid and Day had laid the foundation for the next development by which the teaching of the Chandos Professor was made purely physiological, and this was rendered inevitable by the action of the Commission of 1858, which formally added Natural History to the duties of the Professor of Civil History. This chair had been established at the union of the Colleges in 1747, but had never become effective, though various devices had been adopted from time to time with a view to making it useful. An experiment made in 1825-7, by the appointment of a Lecturer in Natural History, had shown that this would probably be a successful class, and when Dr. Mac-



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donald was appointed to the Chair of Civil History it was made a condition that he should be able to teach Natural History. Dr. Oswald Home Bell, who succeeded Dr. Day in the Chandos Chair, taught only Physiology, and on his death in 1875 James Bell Pettigrew was elected, and the reminiscences which his students retain of his lucidity and of his urbanity are tempered by the pain with which they saw a man of so great ability hampered in his work by the lack of proper apparatus for demonstration and for a practical class. While still an undergraduate Pettigrew had delivered before the Royal Society the Croonian lectures on the muscular fibres of the heart, and the question might be debated whether in more favourable circumstances his high capacities might not have been signalled by even greater achievements than his brilliant investigations on the flight of birds and his monumental work on *Design in Nature*. In the establishment of the Conjoint Medical School the Chandos Chair was continued in St. Andrews as a Professorship of Physiology.

16. *University College and the Conjoint School of Medicine.*—Founded in 1880 and opened three years later with Chairs of Classics, Mathematics, English, Chemistry, and Biology, this new College, with the developments which it was undergoing, offered the prospect of rivalling the neighbouring University and of impairing its usefulness. The Scottish Universities Commission of 1889 incorporated the College in the University by an order which gave rise to another of the prolonged lawsuits which mark the history of St. Andrews, and which terminated in the annulment of the order by the House of Lords. The incorporation was, however, accomplished in 1897, by which time Chairs of Physics, Botany, Anatomy, and Physiology, and a Lectureship in Surgery, had been set up. In 1898 the University Conjoint School of Medicine was inaugurated on the basis of duplicating the teaching of the first two years of the curriculum

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and conducting in Dundee alone the final three years, which are dependent on clinical work. Since that time considerable extension in detail has taken place, but the principle of organisation is unchanged, and in spite of the more recent pronouncement of a Departmental Committee of the Treasury in favour of the abolition of the duplicate Chairs of Anatomy and Physiology at St. Andrews, it may be affirmed that if full national benefit is to be reaped from the clinical wealth which Dundee offers for the final years of the medical curriculum the teaching of the first two years must be continued both in St. Andrews and in Dundee.

R. C. BUIST.

THE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION OF WOMEN  
AT ST. ANDREWS



## The University Education of Women at St. Andrews



It is not yet fifty years since the rigorous exclusion of women in Great Britain from all the benefits, intellectual and social, conferred for centuries upon men by the national Universities, began to break down under the influence of more generous and enlightened thought. Before that time the ancient Universities of England, true to medieval traditions, had never recognised the existence of women in any capacity save one, that of Founder or Benefactor, unless we add that of unwilling victim, the position of the inmates of convents suppressed at the Reformation, stripped by arbitrary power of property which it was convenient to appropriate to University uses. What education was still within the reach of women in the sixteenth century—poor no doubt at best, a mere relic of that higher learning which had been at least partially accessible to studious women under the monastic system in the Middle Ages—was swept away with the religious houses. How low the education of girls throughout the whole country had fallen in the interval between the Reformation and the days of the Georges, we know from many sources. Fifty years ago women were held to be immeasurably and hopelessly inferior to men in intellect, and therefore, of course, incapable of serious study. Inconvenient instances to the contrary were easily disposed of as



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exceptions proving the rule. To the many holders of such theories the awakening under Queen Victoria to some recognition of the intellectual interests of women brought a shock of surprise, and in many quarters of disapproval and displeasure. Girton College, founded in 1869, was soon followed by Newnham in knocking at the doors of Cambridge, asking for the admission of women-students to the examinations and degrees of the University, and a few years later similar colleges for women were established in Oxford. To some extent these colleges have obtained recognition, but neither Oxford nor Cambridge has even yet been willing to go much farther, and while their examinations are open to women who have fulfilled University conditions, degrees are still withheld.

Scotland was slower than England to realise the fact that women—so long submitting in silence and humility to their intellectual boycott—were yet growing increasingly impatient under it. The education of girls in Scotland had not indeed been entirely neglected in the past. Girls' schools of a sort had no doubt long existed in Scottish burghs. James Melville tells us in his *Diary*, that when in 1569 he was "put to the scholl of Montrose," an old friend, Marjorie Gray, who welcomed him "as her awin sone," had a "scholl for lasses" in that town. The Statutes of Icolmkill, passed under James VI. in 1609, enact that "every gentleman or yeoman in the Islands possessing 'thriescore kye,' and having children, must send at least his eldest son, or failing sons, his eldest daughter, to some school in the Lowlands, there to be kept and brought up 'quhill they may be found able sufficientlie to speik, reid and wryte Inglische.'"

Probably this Statute remained a dead letter as far as girls were concerned, but the mere fact that it was made, proves that girls' schools existed. May we dare surmise, too, that burgh schools may not invariably have excluded girls? Our parish

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schools have always been mixed—does not one of our sweet singers tell how he and Jeanie Morrison “cleeked thegither hame”?<sup>1</sup> Why not then, at least here and there, our burgh schools also? But higher mental training was denied to women, and with it of course the freedom of the world of study, thought and learning. Nature did not, indeed, forget her daughters. Mother-wit has passed into a proverb, and Scots-women have ever been of sound and sturdy mind, nor all untouched here and there, as song and ballad show, by the magic power of genius. But to neither Church nor State were women of much account. The Book of Discipline, while prescribing learning for boys, is content with careful upbringing for girls and an honest dower. Naturally, public opinion was shaped by authority, and the fashionable education of girls became more and more what Charles Lamb called “the female garniture which passeth by the name of accomplishments.”

“I learnt much music,” says *Aurora Leigh*, describing her education under her aunt’s care,

“I washed in  
From nature, landscapes (rather say, washed out),  
I danced the polka and Cellarius,  
Spun glass, stuffed birds, and modelled flowers in wax,  
Because she liked accomplishments in girls.”

Greatly needed, therefore, and most valuable was the stimulus given to girls’ education by the University of Edinburgh, when in 1865 it instituted Local Examinations and opened them to girls’ as well as boys’ schools, an example speedily followed by the other Scottish Universities. Once the stimulus was given other developments followed. Here and there, notably in Edinburgh and St. Andrews, “Associations for the Higher Education of Women” were formed, and courses of lectures delivered by University Professors. To St. Andrews belongs the farther

<sup>1</sup> *Angl.* = Went home arm in arm.

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credit of organising a scheme for the Examination of Women by University Professors, after passing which examination they might receive the Diploma of L.L.A. (Literate in Arts), and thus of bringing some measure of higher education within the reach of women in their own homes and amid their ordinary occupations. The L.L.A. Scheme was started in 1877, and its aim was, in the words of its Convener, Professor Knight, “(1) to develop the education of women on the only lines possible to the University at the time when the scheme was started, viz., by *Examination Tests*; (2) to raise a fund by means of which the University might ultimately build and equip a *Hall of Residence* for its women-students, should they ever be admitted to an equal footing with men-students; (3) to have a *Bursary Fund* for the women-students of the University.” The success of the L.L.A. Scheme could hardly have been foreseen even by its most sanguine supporters. In 1877 eight students entered for examination. From 1894 to 1896 there were over 900 annually, the total number of those who had by the latter year completed the examinations and taken the diploma was 1,542, and centres for examination had been opened, not in this country only, but in France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, South Africa, Australia, India, Constantinople, and the United States of America. Even now, although women who desire higher education are free, on the same terms as men, to become students of all the Scottish Universities, of the University of London, of the newer English and Welsh Universities, and of the Universities of Ireland, not to speak of those of many foreign countries, and although the women’s colleges in Cambridge, Oxford, and elsewhere, grow in standing and importance year by year—yet, spite of all this, the L.L.A. Examination still meets the needs of the many women for whom home duties or professional or other engagements make University residence impossible, and the scheme shows no signs of becoming obsolete.

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Assuredly, in the success of the L.L.A. Examinations, as well as in the increasing numbers of women who resort to Universities, abundant proof is given both of the earnest desire of women to seek learning for its own sake, and also of the necessity, which modern conditions of life impose upon them, of submitting their acquirements and qualifications to authoritative and impartial tests, and thus of obtaining that academic stamp which is of indispensable value in the work-a-day world. The faults inherent in the L.L.A. Scheme lie on the surface, first, the difficulty felt from time to time, as the regulations plainly show, in maintaining a standard equivalent to that of University examinations, and second, that the L.L.A. diploma is merely a certificate of having passed certain intellectual tests, and is no guarantee that the holder has shared in the "life of study, implying living and personal intercourse between teacher and student, student and student, which it is the essential function of a University to make possible."<sup>1</sup> Fortunately, therefore, for women, neither St. Andrews nor any other Scottish University has been content with the L.L.A. standard. In 1889 the Universities (Scotland) Act was passed, under which Commissioners were empowered to enable each University to admit women to graduation in one or more Faculties, and to provide for their instruction. This great step led to the admission of women to all the Scottish Universities, and now, in 1911, the total number of matriculated women-students of the University of St. Andrews is 251. Of these 162 attend the United College, 151 being Students in Arts, eight in Science, and nine in Medicine; while eighty-nine—sixty-eight Students in Arts, eight in Science, and thirteen in Medicine—attend University College in Dundee. This College was founded by Miss Mary Ann Baxter, who thus takes a high place among women benefactors to Universities, a list short

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviated from Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 714.



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indeed in Scotland, as compared with that of English benefactors, though the English list is headed by a Scotswoman, the Lady Devorgoil of Galloway, foundress of the oldest College in Oxford, Balliol. The number of women who have as yet taken Honours at St. Andrews is twenty-four, three of these having taken double Honours, and this number, we may hope, will increase in proportion to the stress now laid by University regulations upon proficiency in a few, rather than on a more general knowledge of many subjects. Among its Bachelors of Divinity St. Andrews counts the first woman to take this degree in Scotland, Miss Frances Melville, who while Warden of University Hall, attended the Divinity course in St. Mary's College, and obtained the degree in 1910. From 1898 to 1905 thirteen women held Berry Scholarships in Arts, and three Thow Scholarships in Science, and in the present year two students, both resident in University Hall, hold, one a Berry Scholarship for Classical, and the other a special grant for Chemical research.

The other and larger Universities of Scotland show much the same conditions, the greater numbers of women corresponding to those of the men-students. Thus in the present year there are 624 matriculated women-students in the University of Edinburgh, 653 in Glasgow, and about 268 in Aberdeen. By far the larger number of these students in each University attend the Faculty of Arts, but many attend the Faculties of Science and Medicine, nor are Law and Divinity unrepresented.

In the Colleges of St. Andrews, including of course University College in Dundee, the classes in every faculty are open to women, and this is also the case in both the Colleges of the University of Aberdeen, King's and Marischal. In Edinburgh the Faculty of Medicine is the solitary exception, women being admitted to the examinations, but obliged to supplement otherwise the instruction given them in the ordinary classes. In Glasgow many classes are open to women, but besides these



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mixed classes instruction is given in some subjects to women alone in Queen Margaret College, the centre provided by that University for its women-students.

As in St. Andrews, so in the other three Universities, most Research and other Scholarships can be conferred upon women and are often held by them. Thus in 1904 the Ferguson Scholarship, the blue ribbon of the Scottish Universities, competed for by all, was won in Mental Philosophy by a student of Aberdeen, Miss Jessie Murdoch, who is now Lecturer in Logic and Ethics under the Provincial Committee.

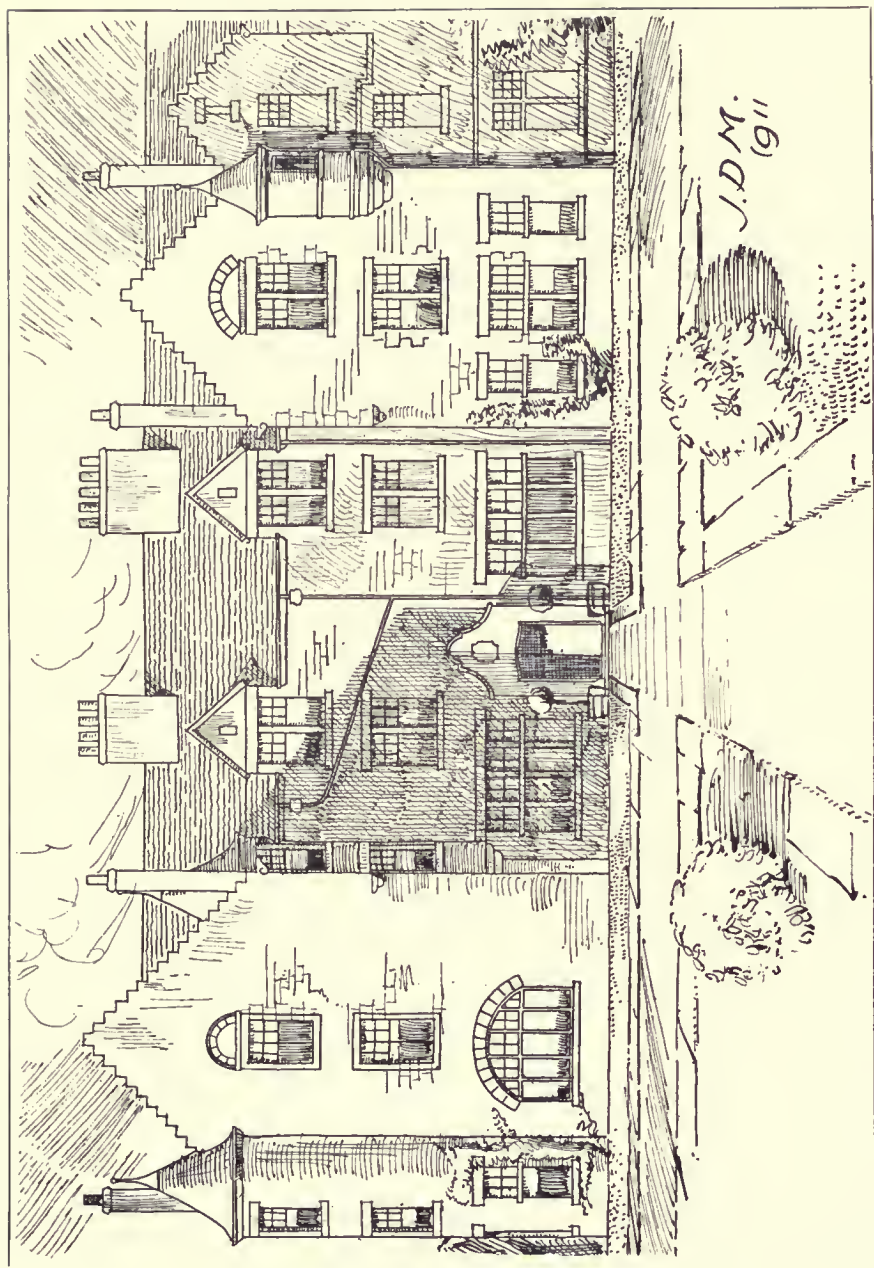
The entrance of women as students into Universities has naturally opened a way towards their holding some academic appointments. For two years, from 1896 to 1898, Miss Alice Marion Umpherston, L.R.C.P.S. Ed. and L.F.P.S. Glas., was Lecturer in Physiology in St. Andrews. At the present time Mrs. Neave, B.Sc. Lond., is Warden of St. Andrews University Hall for women-students, and in Glasgow, Miss Frances Melville, M.A. Ed. and B.D. St. And., is Mistress of Queen Margaret College and Head of the Women's Department in the University, while under her Miss Spens, D.Litt., is Tutor in Arts, and Miss Picton, M.B., Tutor in Medicine to the women-students. As Examiners women have been and are appointed in all the Scottish Universities, Miss Hutchison Sterling, M.A. Ed., having examined in History at St. Andrews; Miss Eleanor Ormerod, LL.D. Ed., F.R. Met. Soc. & F.E.S., in Agricultural Entomology in Edinburgh; Miss Marion Newbigin, D.Sc., in Zoology in Aberdeen; and Miss Helen Wodehouse, D.Phil. Birm., is this year (1911) Examiner in Logic and Moral Philosophy in Glasgow. In each University some women hold posts as Assistants, Aberdeen having at present the greatest number, four, and some of these Assistants lecture to mixed Honours classes.

Thus, though in humble fashion, women in Scotland are

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now beginning to follow in the steps of those women doctors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries who were, says Mr. Rashdall, "among the medical practitioners, teachers and writers of the palmiest days" of the famous Medical School of Salerno, and of those women professors and lecturers—such as Signora Anna Manzolini (1716-1774), Professor of Anatomy in the University of her native city of Bologna—who in later times taught Law, Medicine, and Greek at Bologna and elsewhere. It seems strange at first sight that it should have been in Italy and Spain—countries where for so long the social position of women has been depressed and their education neglected—that women in former days held such honourable posts. Probably the explanation lies in the ecclesiastical stamp borne by the University of Paris, and by the English and Scottish Universities which followed Parisian lines, and which therefore naturally excluded women. But it is not altogether easy satisfactorily to account for the total eclipse which gradually descended upon the intellectual life and opportunities of women in all European countries, north and south alike, when the brief, bright promise of the Renaissance had faded.

Turning now to another and very important department of University life—that of collegiate residence for women—we find the most ancient of the Scottish Universities leading the way. In days of old no woman was allowed to set foot within the precincts of the Colleges of St. Andrews—except, indeed, the laundress, who, however—so the careful disciplinarians of monastic days prescribed—must be over fifty years of age. A few poor women had once dwelt in the old Hospital of St. Leonard, but when, in 1512, Prior John Hepburn founded his new College, the hospital and its helpless inmates were alike got rid of, on the ground that they, poor creatures, "exhibited but little fruit either of godliness or virtue." One trusts that at least they were provided for otherwise. Ancient precedents



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then were against women. But it will be remembered that one of the aims of the L.L.A. Scheme was to build a Hall of Residence for women-students, and though it needed courage to take practical steps to realise this idea—especially as the failure of a similar attempt to revive the ancient system of collegiate residence for men was still fresh in memory, and many difficulties, financial and other, barred the way—still faith in the ideal overcame all obstacles. “We cannot expect to have a Girton all at once,” wrote Professor Knight in 1894, but this, “the creation of a Scottish Girton, and nothing less, was the inspiring ideal which he had the faith and courage to set before the first Warden, who, for her part, would never have accepted a lower.”<sup>1</sup>

A temporary Hall of Residence was accordingly hired in 1895 and occupied by the Warden, with only three students. But when, in the next year, University Hall itself was opened, with accommodation for twenty students, it was at once almost filled, and from that day to the present its career has been one of unbroken prosperity. Successive overflow houses have had to supplement the accommodation in past years, but recent extensions, both beautiful in themselves and thoroughly suitable to all the requirements of residence, have now been added, so that sixty-five students can be received. Each student has a study-bedroom, while a spacious dining-hall, common room, library and tutorial rooms meet the needs of social life. Adjoining the Hall is the women-students’ Pavilion, shared by all alike, whether resident or non-resident, and beyond the private tennis and garden grounds of the Hall lies the Athletic Field belonging to the University.

The remarkable success of University Hall, shown by the fact that its students have already come, not from the United Kingdom only, but from America, Germany, Holland, Russia,

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of University Hall*, by the present writer.



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Denmark and Bohemia, is the result of many factors. One of these factors, shared however by the inmates of University Hall with all their fellow-students, is the historic interest of St. Andrews, once the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland, though now of all its ancient splendour only ruined fragments remain—"walls that have been witnesses of suffering, and pillars that rise out of the shadows of death"—to show where of old Kings and Queens worshipped, and powerful Churchmen ruled. And yet another element in the charm of the old gray "City of the Scarlet Gown" for its students is the common property of all—the services held on Sundays and the daily morning prayer offered in the University Chapel, where the once gorgeous tomb of the Founder is a reminder to the present how great is its debt to the distant past. To the good Bishop Kennedy, we fear, unless Buchanan does him heinous injustice, the presence of red-gowned women in his College Chapel would have been anathema. But the present has the happy power, if it wills to use it, of making good the mistakes, condoning the failures, and crowning with unimagined realisation the aspirations of the past,

"And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence  
For the fulness of the days?"

But there are besides these attractions others which University Hall alone possesses, its stateliness and domestic comfort, and its healthful and pleasant situation on the high ground west of the Bay, commanding a lovely view over sea and tilth and woodland to the blue Highland hills. Yet the real secret of its wonderful success lies deeper still, in the fact that the life led in the Hall combines most of the advantages of the English and Scottish academic systems, widely different as these are in many respects. The students of the Hall share with their comrades, the men and the non-resident women-students, in

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the free and to some extent self-governed life of a Scottish University. Like their fellow women-students in all the Scottish Universities, they elect and are elected as members of the Students' Representative Council, on which men and women deliberate together. Resident and non-resident women-students share the pleasant rooms of the Women's Union. Petty restrictions have no place in such a system, and yet this freedom is combined with just that amount of discipline which is inseparable from the ordered life of a community. The social virtues of tact, consideration for others, helpfulness, courtesy, and sympathy are insensibly practised, the hand of the Warden quietly, without display of authority, guides, and her spirit inspires the whole body, and a sound, healthy *esprit de corps* springs continually into life, which regards the honour of the Hall and of the University as a precious trust, to be handed down, not untarnished only, but enhanced, from generation to generation of students. Here truly is the ideal student life realised—no mere burrowing among books in solitary lodgings—but a free, many-sided existence, helped and helpful, an invaluable training for after days, whether those days are to be spent in the strenuous life of study or of business, or amid the great responsibilities and engrossing interests of the teaching profession, for which indeed at present a very large proportion of women in all our Universities are preparing, or in the life of home, less strenuous perhaps apparently than other careers, but richer even, it may be, in untold possibilities of influencing other lives.

There are those who advocate the creation of special Universities for women. Why, we may ask, should such a step be suggested, surely a retrograde one in this twentieth century? Why should we return to old monastic ideals, once undoubtedly of value, but now dead as the medieval past itself is dead? Granting that some immediate advantages would be gained,

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among others a freer field for the organising and teaching powers of women, would not these be outweighed by ultimate loss? In colleges for women faddists might easily find happy hunting-grounds. For, as has been truly said, "Women's education is usually designed according to preconceived notions of women's powers, and the limitation of women's interests in life. These are changing and broadening from day to day."<sup>1</sup> One thing is certain, that in a women's University a constant difficulty would be felt, as the experience of the L.L.A. Scheme plainly shows, in maintaining a standard of acquirement and of examination above all question, and this objection would seriously affect the professional value of special degrees for women. Moreover, why "build far off from men a college like a man's," when every day women and men are standing shoulder to shoulder in the work of the world, and are likely to do so more and more as civilisation develops? The recluse life which would almost inevitably be led in such colleges for women—we cannot call them Universities—would rather unfit women for active life and home duty under modern conditions than adequately train them for either. No matter whether the work of women in after years may lie in professional or business occupations, or in the home, strict mental training tells with advantage on all work, and domestic work is no exception. And after all, of the great profession of Home-making domestic occupations are but a part. Surely the woman who has gained that wider outlook over life, past and present, which Knowledge gives, is likely, other things being equal, to be the best Home-maker. "It is always difficult," says a woman writer,<sup>2</sup> "for a woman to recognise that the facts of life are hostile to her expectations." Granting this criticism to be sometimes, though assuredly not "always," true, why should it be so? Simply

<sup>1</sup> *Education of Women*, F. Melville. *The Position of Woman, Actual and Ideal*.

<sup>2</sup> Florence A. Maccunn, *John Knox*.

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because very often no adequate training for life saves a woman from avoidable mistake and bitter disappointment. May not this lack of wider discipline in youth be the reason why many women cease to be to their grown-up sons and daughters what they were to them as children? Lastly—to urge the strongest argument for mixed Universities—it must be wholesome for young men and women to mingle freely together under fitting conditions—and these can be secured by residence—to influence and help one another, to gain insight into one another's characters—on which knowledge mutual respect ought to be grounded—and each to inspire the other with noble ideals of life and service to the family, the country, and the world.

LOUISA INNES LUMSDEN.





*PART III*

THE  
INSPIRATION OF ST. ANDREWS

*Quique pii vates et Phoebæ digna locuti,  
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,  
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.*



THE POETS OF THE UNIVERSITY



## The Poets of the University

### I



THE University had its beginning under auspices which might well have made it a nursery of poets. For the youthful King, who was associated with Bishop Wardlaw in the petition to the Pope for confirmation of the Charter of Foundation, became a poet of eminence. He had, moreover, spent part of his boyhood in the Bishop's Castle-palace, and he must have seen the city, even then of reputable age, in all lights and shadows, and under all aspects of sea and sky. Then, as now, it stood proudly on its rocky eminence, and then, as now, its sunsets were a summer and autumn glory. Yet in the poems attributed to King James I. there is nothing to recall the settlement of St. Regulus, or his story, or the story of St. Andrew, whose relics the later Saint is reputed to have brought to the Headland of the boars.

The first of the poet students is possibly Gilbert Hay, who is referred to by Dunbar in the *Lament for the Makaris* :

Clerk of Tranent eke he has tane  
That maid the awnteris of Gawane,  
Schir Gilbert Hay endit hes he :  
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Hay is also mentioned as one of many poets in *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* by Sir David Lyndsay. Gylbertus



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Hay is second in the list of Determinants in 1418, and he becomes a Licentiate or Master of Arts in 1419. He is commonly supposed to have been the translator of the *Buke of the Law of Armys* or *Buke of Battailis* of Honoré Bonet, as well as of the *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*. This is, from a French original, a Scottish translation, the only MS. of which is at Taymouth Castle.<sup>1</sup> The scribe gives a few particulars of Hay's life towards the conclusion of his work :

Translatit it vas forsuithe, as I hard say,  
At the instance of Lord erskeine be Sir Gilbert Hay  
Quhilk into France treulie vas duelland  
Veill tuintye four zeir out of Scotland  
And in the King of francis service vas.

Hay wrote with his own hand the rendering of the French poem, which had never before been translated. He lived long enough to help the scribe in the year 1499 to amend the faults of the original version. For this seems the natural interpretation of a passage immediately to be quoted. Yet possibly it may mean merely an earlier transcriber, who had copied the original :

And to the translatour now vill I pas againe  
Efter his vreting schortly to conclude  
That this gret storie richt <sup>2</sup> as he onderstuid  
Richt sua he vret vithe his avin proper hand,  
Vas never befor translatit in this land.  
That is to say, out of þe frenche leid.

After mentioning the good lessons, which Kings may draw from the romance, he goes on :

<sup>1</sup> The Marquess of Breadalbane, K.G., an old student of St. Andrews, kindly sent the MS. to the University Library for examination.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reading is *vicht*: *richt* is a conjectural reading given by Dr. Albert Herrmann in his Programme upon *The Alexander* in the Taymouth Castle MS.



ST. ANDREWS CASTLE AT EVENING



## THE POETS OF THE UNIVERSITY

Thankit be god ! now neir<sup>1</sup> hand haif I endit  
This nobill buik, and part of faltis mendit  
Vithe help of him þat maid þe first indyit  
Thair is na man vithe out sum falt may vret.

Accordingly, he apologises for slips, and prays readers to keep his book clean, and announces that he had entered upon his task in pleasant May-time, and finished it on 21st August, 1499, the same year as there reigned in the land a fell pestilence.

It seems a little difficult to believe that a man who graduated in 1419 was still able in 1499 to help a scribe to amend faults in a translation. There was, however, a later Gilbert Hay, who was a Determinant in 1449 and a Licentiate in 1451.

Of other names than Hay's in the *Lament for the Makaris* there are in the University registers no certain traces. Even where names are found, as they are only names, no one can be confident that they are the poets referred to. There is a Joannes Clerk who is a Licentiate in 1434. He may be Clerk of Tranent. He may not have the most remote connection with him. Henryson, *pauper*, who is a Determinant in 1463, is certainly not Robert Henryson, the poet, if the latter be, as is highly probable, the venerable Master Robert Henryson, Licentiate in Arts and Master in Decrees, who was admitted a member of Glasgow University on 10th September, 1462. The Jas. Auchlek, *pauper*, graduate in 1471, may be the James Afflek of the stanza :

That scorpioun fell hes done infek  
Maister Johne Clerk and James Afflek  
Fra balat making and trigide.

With Dunbar himself fairly sure ground is reached. A William Dunbar is B.A. in 1477 and M.A. in 1479. As these dates fit in with Dunbar's career it is highly probable that he

<sup>1</sup> The MS. reading is *heir*.

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studied and graduated at St. Andrews. Yet we look in vain through the many and widely diverse poems of this great artist in rhyme and rhythm—perhaps in mental energy the greatest but one, and in metrical skill the greatest of all the poets of Scotland—for even the faintest trace of interest in St. Andrews or reflection of any phase of the life of Man or of Nature there. In *Sanct Salvatour ! send silver sorrow*, he indeed invokes Christ by the title given by Bishop Kennedy to his College. For, at St. Andrews, Christ's is St. Salvador's College. But in the *Vision of St. Francis*, where we might look for some indication of time, or place, or circumstance, to give a natural setting to the message addressed to the poet, we are neither in St. Andrews nor on any other individual bit of earth.

Gavin Douglas, who was ordained priest in 1496, and who may have been born in 1472, was at the University from 1489 until 1494, and he profited by his studies, as his *Translation of the Aeneid* shows. He may even have begun, in his later or earlier graduate time, the first of his poems—the lost translation to which he refers in certain lines appended to his version of *The Aeneid* proper :

So thus, followand the flowr of poetry,  
'The batellis and the man' translait have I :  
Quhilk zeir ago, in myne ondantit zowth  
Onfructuus idylnes fleand, as I couth,  
Ouydeis<sup>1</sup> 'Of Lufe the Remeid' did translait.

Douglas thus found his earliest inspiration in Ovid, as Marlowe did and Shakespeare after him, but in different fashion. It would be a pleasure to believe that St. Andrews sunsets and dawns supplied the material for part of the *Proloug of the Twelt Buik* :

As fresch Aurora, to mychty Tythone spous,  
Ischit of hir safron bed and evir hous,

<sup>1</sup> Ruddiman reads "Of Ouideis Lufe." Small gives the unintelligible MS. reading "Of Lundeis Lufe."



## THE POETS OF THE UNIVERSITY

In crammysin cled and granit violat,  
 With sanguyne cape, the selvage purpurat,  
 Onschot the windois of hyr large hall,  
 Spred all with rosys, and full of balm ryall,  
 And eik the hevinly portis crystallyn  
 Vpwarpis braid, the warld to illumyn.  
 The twinkling stremowris of the orient  
 Sched purpour sprangis with gold and asure ment,  
 Persand the sabill barmkyn nocturnall,  
 Bet doun the skyis cloudy mantill wall:  
 Eous the steid, with ruby hamis reid,  
 Abuf the seyis lyftis furth his heid,  
 Of cullour soyr, and sum deill brovn as berry,  
 For to alichtyn and glaid our emyspery.  
 Quhill schortly, with the blesand torch of day,  
 Abilzeit in his lemand fresch array,  
 Furth of hys palyce ryall ischyt Phebus,  
 Wyth goldin crovn and vissage gloryus,  
 Crysp haris, brycht as chrysolite or topace,  
 For quhais hew mycht nane behald his face,  
 The fyry sparkis brastyng fra his ene,  
 To purge the ayr, and gylt the tendyr grene,  
 Defundand from hys sege etheriall  
 Glaid influent aspectis celicall.

The first of our poets to show unmistakeably something of a St. Andrews strain is Sir David Lyndsay. (In point of influence upon his countrymen he is the greatest of Scottish poets before Burns.) Lyndsay entered St. Salvator's College in 1505 and graduated in 1508. On the register his name follows that of Beaton (Da: Betone), whose death he was to commemorate in his one poem with a St. Andrew's theme—*The Tragedie of the Cardinall*. Yet even in this poem the individual touches are infrequent. Beaton's ghost gives a brief description of the Castle:

Than to preserve my ryches and my lyfe  
 I made one strenth of wallis heych and braid,

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Sic ane Fortres wes never found in Fyfe,  
Belevand thare durst no man me invaid ;  
Now fynd I trew the saw quhilk David said,  
'Without God of one hous be Maister of wark,  
He wyrkis in vaine thocht it be never so stark.'

Lyndsay refers to the Bottle Dungeon :

That dreadful dungeon maid me no supplye,  
and he indicates some features of the treatment of the dead  
Cardinal, which are given in grim detail by Pitscottie :

To the Pepill wes maid ane spectakle  
Of my dede and deformit carioun.  
Sum said, it was ane manifest myrakle ;  
Sum said, it was Divine punitioun  
So to be slane, in to my strang dungeoun :  
Quhen every man had jugit as hym lyste,  
Thay saltit me, syne closit me in ane kyste.

*The Justing betuix James Watson and Ibone Barbour* has its scene  
"at Sanct Androis on Whitsoun Monnunday," and in *The Testa-  
ment and Complaynt of the Papyngo* Archbishop Beaton is taken  
as one illustration of the change of fortune. But the most  
pleasing of all the traces of St. Andrews are to be found in the  
Prologue to *The Dreame*.

Pensyve in hart, passing full soberlie,  
Unto the see, fordward I fure anone ;  
The see was furth, the sand wes smooth and drye ;  
Then up and down I musit myne allone,  
Tyll that I spyit ane lyttill cave of stone,  
Heych in ane craig : upwart I did approche,  
But taryng, and clam up in the roche.

The poet sits still, sees the weltering of the waves, and folds  
him in his cloak :

The skowland craig me coverit from the sleit.

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And with sleep the dream comes. The waking is equally reminiscent of St. Andrews. Remembrance takes him by the hand :

And sone, me thoct, scho brocht me to the roche,  
And to the cove, quhare I began to sleip.  
With that, one schip did spedalye approche,  
Full plesandlie saling apone the deip,  
And, syne, did slake hir salis, and gan to creip,  
Toward the land, anent quhare that I lay :  
Bot, wyt ye weill, I gat ane fellown fray.

All hir cannounis sche leit craik of at onis :  
Down schuke the stremaris frome the topcastell ;  
Thay sparit nocht the poulder, nor the stonis ;  
Thay schot thair boltis, and doun thair ankeris fell ;  
The Marenaris, they did so youte and yell,  
That haistalie I stert out of my Dreme,  
Half in ane fray, and spedalie past hame.

At St. Andrews Lyndsay had, as a junior contemporary, John Bellenden, who matriculated in 1508. But Bellenden is a historian, not a poet, although Lyndsay praises him warmly as

Ane cunning Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftelie,  
Ane plant of Poeitis, callit Ballendyne,  
Quhose ornat workis my wytt can nocht defyne.

He deserves grateful mention as the translator of Hector Boece's *History of Scotland* and of Livy ; but his *Probemes* are very prosaic, and have no bearing at all upon the scene of his early studies.

## II

During the greater part of the sixteenth century the Scottish poets who studied at St. Andrews fall into two main groups—those who by their vernacular verse were helpful to the Refor-

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mation of Religion, and those who, however favourable otherwise to the New Faith, were of the Renaissance in their writing of Latin poetry in classic metres after Latin models.

Sir Richard Maitland, who has been claimed as a student of St. Andrews, belongs rigorously to neither group. But although Mr. Joseph Bain, who edited his poems and wrote his life for the Maitland Club, states that he studied here, Richard Maitland's name is not to be found in any University register, and there is nothing in any of his poems with even the faintest suspicion of a St. Andrews flavour. His sons, John and Thomas, as we shall see, have a place on the roll both as students and as poets.

As linking with the work of Lyndsay in the line of Reformation the most famous names of all are the Wedderburns, whose story has been told by Professor Alexander Ferrier Mitchell in his Introduction to the S.T.S. edition of *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. There are many sixteenth century and later century Wedderburns, but as Professor Mitchell expended great labour upon the identification of the men who played so great a part in the educative work which confirmed the new religion, his conclusions may be accepted. James, the eldest brother, entered St. Leonard's College in 1514, and, if his doubtless crude dramatic work had been extant, the lost comedy which lashed the vices of prominent churchmen would probably have been found to owe some of its colour to ecclesiastical doings at St. Andrews. John Wedderburn, the second brother, matriculated in St. Mary's College in 1525, and Robert, the youngest, in St. Leonard's College in 1526. Robert was Bachelor of Arts in 1529 and Master in 1530. In Professor Mitchell's opinion, of these men (all natives of Dundee) the most active in the work of composing, collecting, and publishing religious poetry was John, the second brother; and Dr. Mitchell finds in the line

Thay brint and heryit Christin men

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a reference to the burning of Patrick Hamilton, which John Wedderburn probably witnessed during his undergraduate course in February, 1528. But what *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* show, is not, to any appreciable extent, definite reflection of any individual experience so much as the spirit of revolt against the old form of faith, and the abuses too long associated with it, as well as ardour for the New Faith and its central verities. This strangely assorted collection of verse, so slightly poetic, so intensely devout, is as striking an indication as any, from that century, of the passion for religious revival which was nowhere more fervent than in the reforming section of St. Andrews University.

Another reforming writer of verse had a twofold connection with St. Andrews. This was John Davidson, who entered St. Leonard's College in 1567, and was one of the regents after his graduation in 1570, certainly as early as 1572. He is chiefly known as one of the bravest and most vehement defenders of Presbytery, and as a bitter opponent of the Episcopal policy of King James VI. His verse—the best known part of it—is in praise of John Knox, who, on one occasion, so far unbent as to witness at St. Leonard's College a play written by Davidson in honour of a marriage.

In his *Ane Schort Discours of the Estaitis quba hes caus to deploir the deith of this Excellent seruand of God* Davidson refers to St. Andrews :

Sanctandrois als not to leif out.  
His deith thow may deploir but dout,  
Thow knawis he lude the by the lave,  
For, first in the, he gave the rout  
Till Antichrist, that Romish slaue,  
Preicheing that Christ did only saue.

A later satirical poem, in condemnation of Morton's thrifty policy of uniting parishes to save payment of stipends out of the



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teinds, was in part applied by John Rutherford, Principal of St. Salvator's College, to himself. He naturally objected to be called 'a crusit, i.e. angry, guse,' and wrote an answer to *Ane Dialog or Mutuall talking between a Clerk and ane Courteour Concerning foure Parishe Kirks till ane Minister*. The *Dialogue* and Rutherford's reply became the subject of a process before the General Assembly. The passage specially complained of was this :

Thair is sum Collages we ken  
Weill foundit to vphald leirnit men  
To teiche the zouth in letters gude,  
And vtheris also that ar rude ;  
Among the rest foundit we se  
The teiching of theologie  
With Rentis sum Students to sustene  
To that science to giue thame clene.  
Let anis the Counsell send and se,  
Gif thir places weill gydit be  
And not abusit with waist rudis  
That dois nathing but spendis þai gudis  
That was maid for that haly use,  
And not to feid ane Crusit Guse.

The *Dialogue* as a whole is a vigorous and pungent plea in behalf of Knox's scheme for using the teinds to maintain the Schools, the Poor, and the Clergy.

A word may be said, parenthetically, on the other side. Davidson and his friends were not without Catholic antagonists. One of the most violent was Nichol Burne, Professor of Philosophy in St. Leonard's College. Burne had been reared a Calvinist, but he became "be ane special grace of God ane membre of the halie and Catholik Kirk." Only the most famous Scottish *Flytings* equal Burne's virulent *Admonition to the Antichristian ministers in the Deformit Kirk of Scotland*. It vilifies the leading Protestant clergy with Knox at their head, in the most shameless fashion. Davidson escapes most easily :

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Davidson, zour poet, that skipper crous can craw  
Sua that he knaw the lurnay to succeed.

To return to the Protestant verse-writers. One of the most famous, as scholar, jurist, and man of affairs, was Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. He matriculated at St. Andrews in 1551, was B.A. in 1554, and M.A. in 1555. He had a light touch in his best known poem, *In Praise of Women*. His University experience led him to write *The Miseries of a pure Scholar*. It does credit to his good heart, but it lacks the colour and freshness which give vitality to Buchanan's *Quam miser sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae*.

At the very close of the century there appeared a volume of religious verse in the *Hymnes or Sacred Songs* of Alexander Hume. This carried on and intensified the religious current of *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. Hume probably entered St. Mary's College in 1571, graduated B.A. in 1574, and after varying fortune in France, in Edinburgh at the Scottish bar, and eventually at the court of King James VI., was called to the parish of Logie, near Stirling, where he ministered from 1597 to 1609. Nevertheless, although he wrote an autobiographical poem in the form of a letter to his friend, Gilbert Moncrieff, physician to the King, he never mentions St. Andrews, and he dismisses his four years' residence in France in a single line. Perhaps his St. Andrews education may have been responsible for his one or two references to the sea :

The stabill ships vpon the sey  
Tends up their sails to drie.

Calm is the deep and purpours se,  
Yee smuther nor the sand ;  
The wals that woltring wont to be  
Are stable like the land.

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Latin poets of St. Andrews stock are more remarkable than writers of verse in the vernacular, but poems bearing in any way upon St. Andrews life or affairs are few. From George Buchanan through Andrew Melville—a greater man if not so great a poet—and the Maitlands to Hercules Rollock, there is but the occasional touching of the fringe of things or persons St. Andrean, and the scantiest light upon University personages and pursuits. Buchanan was a student in the Pedagogium in 1525, and he was Principal of St. Leonard's College from 1566 till 1570. He wrote the dedication to the Earl of Moray of his revised *Franciscanus et Fratres* at St. Andrews on 5th June, 1564. But the poem, scathing and extravagant as it is in its condemnation, has no particulars characteristic of monastic life in St. Andrews as being either better or worse than such life elsewhere. Perhaps the poet acquired, Fano Andreae, the trait which he mentions :

Namque ego sum teneris semper veneratus et annis  
Pontifices, sanctosque patres, quos candida virtus  
Reddidit aeterna dignos in secula fama.

*The Baptistes* gives, without doubt, a revelation of the character and designs of Archbishop James Beaton, who had in 1539 imprisoned Buchanan, probably at St. Andrews, on a charge of heresy which might have led to serious consequences, if he had not escaped by a window after drugging his keepers. Malchus, who believes in rope and sword and flame, who seeks royal aid to prevent the ruin of his order, who sees in the Baptist a preacher of revolution, and warns him

Et quando amicos nos habere negligis  
Quid possit odium forte cognosces senum

is certainly modelled on Beaton. And there is something of George Buchanan's own rhetoric and political philosophy in the speeches of the Baptist.

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Andrew Melville's fame as a scholar, as a University teacher of unrivalled gifts and power, and as an ecclesiastical statesman, is so great that it has quite overshadowed his reputation as a poet. Yet competent judges rank him next to Buchanan among Scottish Latin poets. One is sorely tempted to write at large about a man whose life is a kind of scholar's romance, ending in a churchman's tragedy. Melville had the tragic frailty, the impetuous temper of Oedipus, and his masterfulness likewise, but he had a heart as great as his mind and greater even than his learning. But our task is his St. Andrews connection and his verse in the light of it. He entered St. Mary's College in 1559 and completed his undergraduate course there. He spent ten years in France and Switzerland, chiefly regenting, and he was for six years Principal of Glasgow University. He returned to St. Mary's College as Principal in 1580, after it had been reconstituted as a college purely theological. He remained its indefatigable head till 1606, when King James summoned him to England, whence he was banished to France. He died in exile at Sedan.

One of his poems is most appropriately devoted to the memory of a kindred spirit, David Black—*De Davidis Blakii profectio in patriam caelestem historia vera*. Black was minister at St. Andrews, and was, if possible, more vehement than Melville himself. He was earnest, forceful, high-minded, and as devoted to his flock as to his cause. He was the hero of an encounter with King James VI., who, as auditor of a strongly political sermon, commanded the preacher "to speak sense or come down" from the pulpit. Black replied that "he would neither speak sense nor come down." He finally incurred lasting royal displeasure by denouncing Queen Elizabeth as an atheist, kings as devil's bairns, the Lords of Session as miscreants, and the nobles as cormorants; also by declining, in common with his fellow-ministers, the royal or secular jurisdiction in things

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spiritual, namely, in the preaching of the Word. Com-manded to enter into ward beyond the North Esk river he became minister of Arbirlot, and he died of apoplexy at Dundee on 12th January, 1603. He had administered the communion on the previous Sunday.

Melville's elegy unites genuine sorrow with a spirit of triumph. He writes of his friend as of one who

post duri praelia Martis  
Aspera, victor ovans de victa morte triumphat  
Quemque in vita adeo sitiit Christum haurit ocellis.

Black's death, which came in a moment as he was saying grace, "sine morsu ullo sensuve doloris," is described in language of rare felicity springing from simplicity of feeling. To the poet death scarce has a sting, and his friend's journey heavenward is as the passage of an Elijah or the translation of an Enoch.

Ad superas felix migravit Blakeus arces  
Fluctibus è rerum tumidis dubiisque procellis,  
Adversoque aestu, undosoque aevi aequoris hujus  
Transmissoque freto fati tranquilla per alta  
Ocyus et ventis, ac fulminis ocycus alis.

Melville's other poems with a St. Andrews colouring are his epitaph for Alexander Arbuthnot and a brief lament for Arbuthnot and Thomas Smeton, Principal of Glasgow University after Melville, and, like him, a St. Andrews student. Smeton entered St. Salvator's College in 1553 and was expelled as a Catholic regent in 1560. He went abroad with his friend Thomas Maitland, and remained a Catholic for many years, but eventually changed. To Melville, Arbuthnot and Smeton were kindred lights, one of the North, one of the South, and he grieved bitterly that they were extinguished in quick succession :



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Ille quidem Arctoa tenebras de nocte fugabat  
Fulgebas medio Glasgua stella die.

As interesting as any of Melville's shorter pieces is a brief complimentary poem to John Lindesay, Lord Menmuir, who was Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews. It takes the form of an address by the University to Lindesay, and is headed *Eum compellat Academia*. Lindesay is praised as jurist and lover of truth, as patron of poetry and philosophy, and as Chancellor of a University

Florentis varia eruditione  
Ad fanum vetus, ad recens sacellum,  
Fanum ad Reguli, ad Andreae sacellum.

Among his St. Andrews poems may be reckoned his two epigrams addressed to Buchanan, his epigram to King James on Buchanan's History, and his epitaphs on John Maitland and Robert Rollock, a St. Andrews graduate, who became head of King James Sixth's College in Edinburgh and thus the first Principal of Edinburgh University. Melville had the faculty of admiration, and even where his praise falls into common enough Latin phraseology, there is a personal note which speaks of genuine feeling.

In 1558 on the list of Masters of Arts there is a Patricius Constyne. This graduate had many changes of fortune and two changes of surname. For he became Patrick Constantine and, by and by, Patrick Adamson, who in 1576 was installed as Archbishop of St. Andrews. His preferment led to bitter antagonism from all the Presbyterian leaders, especially from Andrew and James Melville, and finally to excommunication, persecution, and death in wretchedness. Andrew Melville showed him kindness in the days of his misery. Adamson wrote much religious poetry—the longest of his poems being a paraphrase of the Book of Job. The only part of his verse with a

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St. Andrews reference is his epitaph on Walter Mylne, who was burned here in 1558 :

Non nostra impietas, aut actae crimina vitae,  
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces.  
Sola fides Christi, Sacris signata libellis,  
Quae vitae causa est, est mihi causa necis.

One wonders if the lines reflect his own experience or are an unconscious prophecy of it.

The two younger brothers of William Maitland of Lethington, already mentioned, were students in the University and writers of Latin verse. John Maitland, afterwards Lord Thirlstane, entered St. Salvator's College in 1554. He wrote little, but his epigrams are pithy and pointed. Thomas, the youngest of the three brothers, was a class-fellow of Andrew Melville and entered St. Mary's College with him in 1559. He was a friend of Thomas Smeton, and they travelled together in France and Italy where Maitland died. His Latin verse shows greater variety of interest than his brother's, as well as a family loyalty which is very pleasing. He admired Buchanan's version of the Psalms :

Dat vates Buchananus ille princeps  
Et flos Aoniae cohortis unus  
Tanto suavior omnibus Poetis,  
Tanto clarior omnibus Poetis,  
Quanto Psalmographus potentior rex  
Est et sanctior omnibus Poetis.

Like Andrew Melville, he greatly admired Arbuthnot, and wrote an Elegy to be prefixed to Arbuthnot's *Lectures on the Origin and Dignity of Law*. This poem is as wise in its commendation of law, the civilising force, as in its praise of the jurist, who is addressed with great warmth. He is "doctarum spes sororum," and is invoked

O decus, O patriae splendor amorque tuae.

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His fame is secure :

Nec Cereris laudi aut Bacchi tua gloria cedet,  
Si modo jus potius frugibus atque mero est.

Hercules Rollock, Principal Rollock's brother, who entered St. Mary's College in 1563, and was B.A. in 1566 and M.A. in 1568, and James, the Admirable Crichton, who was enrolled in St. Salvator's College in 1570, complete the tale of our sixteenth century poets. But neither in Crichton, who wrote very little, nor in Rollock, whose poems fill sixty-five pages of the *Delitiae*, is there anything with local reference or local colour.

ALEXANDER LAWSON.

### III

James Melville (1556-1614), nephew of Andrew, entered St. Leonard's in 1569. He was for some time Professor of Oriental Languages in the New College and also minister of Kilrenny. Though his literary reputation rests on his *Diary*, he wrote a few poems, some of which are still in manuscript in the Advocates' Library. One, originally published in 1611, has gained some currency, through its having been reprinted in Laing's *Fugitive Scottish Poetry principally of the Seventeenth Century*, 1825. It is called *The Black Bastill, or, a Lamentation of the Kirk of Scotland*, and is a mournful poem in rhyme royal.

Sir Robert Aytoun (1570-1638) was born at the castle of Kinaldy, near St. Andrews. He matriculated at St. Leonard's in 1584 and took his degree in 1588. Thereafter he is supposed to have studied Civil Law in Paris. Soon after his return to Britain he became attached to the household of King James, in which he held various offices, among them the Secretaryship to Queen Anne. He was continued in his honours by Charles I. Aytoun cut a considerable figure in the literary society of his time. He wrote poetry as a gentleman at ease and with ease,

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more or less. His verses are for the most part adulatory and mildly erotic. He is a courtly amorist with few sparks of real passion. At his best, as in *I loved thee once, I'll love no more*, he attains to something of the grace and felicity of the later Cavalier lyrists. Unfortunately, the canon of his works is in an uncertain state. There is no proof that he wrote either *I do confess thou'rt smooth and fair* or *Auld Long Syne*. A selection from his Latin poems was printed in *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*.

Among Aytoun's poems is one entitled *Aethon Cragio Suo*. It is a reply to another—*Alexander Craig, to his Dear Friend and Fellow-Student, Mr. Robert Aytoun*. Alexander Craig (1567-1627) "of Rosecraig" (in the town of Banff), as he loved to add, studied at St. Leonard's, 1582-86. Like his friend, he followed the fortunes of King James, who bestowed on him a yearly pension, and sometimes paid it. Craig was a confirmed scribbler, as the following list shows: *Poeticall Essayes*, 1604; *Amorose Songs, Sonnets, and Elegies*, 1606; *Poeticall Recreations*, 1609; *Poeticall Recreations*, 1623; *The Pilgrime and Heremite*, 1631. His work may be said to have been forgotten for two hundred years, till Dr. David Laing once more rattled the dry bones and in 1873 edited the collected poems for the Hunterian Club. Craig's rather lean matter is heavily larded with classical allusions and aureate and pedantic terms. His poems abound in fulsome flattery addressed to King and Queen, nobleman, and humbler friend. As a sonneteer and love-lyrist he is unique, in that in his second volume he distributes his favours among eight mistresses, each of whom shares his attentions in irregular turns through a long series of cycles.

Sir James Sempill (1566-1625; St. Leonard's, 1582) was a college contemporary of Aytoun and Craig. He was educated along with King James, whom he assisted in preparing *Basilicon Doron* for the press. He wrote *The Packman's Paternoster*, a satire against the Church of Rome, in the form of a dialogue



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between a packman and a priest. It was enlarged and republished by his son Robert.

The David Murray who matriculated at St. Salvator's in 1584 may have been Sir David Murray of Gorthy (1567-1629), son of Murray of Abercairney, Perthshire. He served at the Court of King James, was a favourite with Prince Henry, and got lands for fee. In 1611 he published a slender volume of poems, which were reprinted by the Bannatyne Club in 1823. One of the commendatory sonnets prefixed is by Michael Drayton. The opening poem is called *The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba*, and it treats of the last hours of Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, who preferred death by poison to falling into the hands of the Romans. It is written appropriately in rhyme royal, but the metre is not handled with much distinction. There follow a short series of sonnets called *Caelia, A Paraphrase of the CIV. Psalme*—not the worst thing in the volume—and a sonnet addressed to Drummond of Hawthornden.

Robert Ker, Earl of Ancrum (1578-1654), probably matriculated in 1596 (college uncertain). He held various Court appointments under James and Charles I., but retired into private life on the outbreak of the Civil War. His few poems have been printed in his *Correspondence*. He versified ten of the Psalms—*Psalmes in English verses, to the measures of the French and Dutch*—mostly in sextains and octaves. He wrote a respectable sonnet, *In Praise of a Solitary Life*, and a poem with a title which seems somewhat of an anti-climax, *An Hymne to the Saints and to Marquesse Hamylton*. Such is the poetic output, so far as is known, of the man whom Drummond called "The Muses' Sanctuarye."

When King James paid a visit to his native country in 1617 he received ovation after ovation, and at various points on his route was welcomed with poems in Latin, Greek, and English. In the following year these effusions were collected and



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published with the title of *The Muses' Welcome*. For the occasion Drummond wrote his panegyric *Fortb Feasting*. From far-away Banff to Kinnaird in the Carse of Gowrie came Alexander Craig to lay at the feet of his august Sovereign a poem in his best Anglo-Scots—the most nauseating of his productions. At Dundee Peter Goldman, M.D., a St. Andrews graduate (St. Salvator's, 1601), did chief honours with a Latin poem called *Sylva*. In St. Andrews, for weeks before, professorial brains had been racked, and when “the King's Majestie came to the Citie on Fryday the ellevent day of July,” Latin poems were read and presented by the following: James Blair, S.S.T.D.; James Wedderburn, S.S.T.B.; James Glegg, Philos. Prof.; Andrew Bruce, Philos. Prof.; Andrew Wood, Phil. Prof.; William Martin, Philos. Prof.; Henry Danskin, Philol. Profes. (but really schoolmaster). The following graduates shared in the industry and glory of the time: William Erskine (M.A., 1592), John Cornwall (M.A., 1614, Regent in St. Leonard's, 1621-22), John Durward (M.A., 1605), David Kinloch (M.A., 1611).

Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet (1586-1670; St. Leonard's, M.A., 1605), brother-in-law of the poet Drummond, a Director of Chancery and a Lord of Session, was a patron of learning and founded the Chair of Latin at St. Andrews in 1620. He was the author of a curious prose work, *The Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*. At his expense the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* was printed by Blaeu of Amsterdam in 1637. It has been constantly asserted that Arthur Johnston was the editor of this work, but the tradition is contrary to evidence. Johnston's most recent editor, the late Sir William Geddes, admits that Scot “superintended as well as projected the undertaking.” The Dedication written by Johnston and the two poems by the same author in vol. i. pp. 537-41 afford incontestable proof that Scot performed editorial duties, with or without the help of Johnston. Some of

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Scot's own poems are included in the second volume, and the following graduates of St. Andrews, in addition to those already mentioned in this connection, are represented: Henry Anderson (St. Leonard's, 1575), Henry Danskin (*supra*), Peter Goldman (*supra*), David Hume of Godscroft (St. Leonard's, 1578), Adam King (St. Leonard's, 1575), who completed Buchanan's *De Sphaera*.

Zacharias Boyd (1585?-1654) studied at Glasgow, St. Andrews (St. Leonard's, 1603-7), and Saumur. He was minister of the Barony Parish, Glasgow, three times Dean of Faculty, as often Rector, and lastly Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, to which he bequeathed his books and manuscripts. Besides sermons and other prose works he wrote many thousands of lines of verse. He celebrated the Battle of Newburn (1640); *The Garden of Zion*, paraphrases of many parts of Scripture, appeared in 1644; his *Psalmes of David in Meeter* in 1646. The following works have never been published entire: *The English Academie*, *The Foure Evangelis*, and *Zion's Flowers*. The last consists of Bible episodes, together with *The Popish Powder Plot* and *The World's Vanities*, thrown into the form of interludes. In 1855 Gabriel Neil edited a selection—*Four Poems from "Zion's Flowers."* Zachary wrote more delightfully than he knew. His frequent grotesqueries render his works rather a means of amusement than an instrument of grace. But Boyd was no fool, and passages of shrewd sense and pithy expression are not far to seek. Unhappily for his fame he is popularly known only through certain wicked parodies.

James Graham (1612-50), fifth Earl and first Marquis of Montrose, entered St. Leonard's in 1627. His public career forms part of the history of his country; his place in the annals of poetry is a very modest one. To most he is a poet of one poem, that beginning "My dear and only love, I pray." Doubt has been expressed regarding Montrose's authorship of this

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piece, and not unreasonably, but the arguments cannot be discussed here. Nor need Napier's assertion that the poem is a political allegory vex our souls. It is founded on an older set of verses with the refrain, "I'll never love thee more." It is too long, the stanzas are very unequal, some are extremely poor, three are gems. The lines *On Charles I.* and the *Metrical Prayer* are not impeccable; the other poems are negligible.

Sir George Mackenzie (1636-91), "bluidy Mackenzie," Lord Advocate, and founder of the Advocates' Library, matriculated at St. Leonard's in 1653, his name occurring among those "*recepti in quartam classem.*" He was the author of prose works in politics, law, morals, and heraldry, and of an extravagant heroic romance, *Aretina*. In verse he wrote *A Paraphrase upon the 104 Psalm*, lines addressed to Charles II. on his restoration, and *Caelia's Country-house and Closet*, a poem early Drydenian in style and praised for its good English. Watson printed it in his *Choice Collection of Scots Poems*, 1706-11. It is a medley, describing the lady's house, the gardens, a multiplying echo, the boudoir, the pictures, the books, not forgetting the works of Dryden, whose friend the author was.

James Philip (1656?-1713?; St. Salvator's, 1672) was a native of Arbroath. He was the author of a Latin poem, *Panurgi Philocaballi Scoti Grameidos Libri Sex*, more conveniently called "The Grameid," 1691. It has been edited, with a translation, for the Scottish History Society by Rev. A. D. Murdoch. It describes the campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689, but ends abruptly before Killiecrankie is reached. It is replete with all the paraphernalia of an ancient epic, and is written in polished hexameters. Though bitterly partisan in spirit, it is of considerable value for its side-lights on contemporary history.

As a counter-irritant to Philip comes William Clelland, who entered St. Salvator's in 1676. He was the first lieutenant-colonel of the Cameronian regiment, fought at Drumclog and Bothwell

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Bridge, and lost his life in the gallant defence of Dunkeld after the battle of Killiecrankie. At the age of eighteen, while at college, he wrote some additional stanzas to a set of whimsical verses called, *Hallo my Fancy, whither wilt thou go?* He was also the author of a Hudibrastic satire, in a mixture of Scots and English, *Upon the Expedition of the Highland Host, who came to destroy the Western Shires in Winter 1678*, and of another on the Episcopal clergy. They are storehouses of invective, uncouthly vigorous. Along with some miscellaneous pieces they were published as *Poems and Verses* in 1697.

Alexander Robertson of Strowan (1668-1749) matriculated at St. Salvator's in 1686. He took some part in the rebellion of 1689, was 'out' in the '15, and less conspicuously so in the '45. He wrote and recited a considerable number of slap-dash verses on a variety of subjects. A collection of these—said to have been stolen by a servant—was published at Edinburgh in 1751. Some were included in a volume printed in 1785, and entitled *The History and Martial Atchievements of the Robertsons of Strowan, and the Poems on Various Subjects and Occasions by the Hon. Alexander Robertson of Strowan, Esquire*. Robertson knew his Butler well, and paid him even a sincerer form of flattery than imitation.

John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), an eminent physician and famous wit and satirist in the Augustan age of letters, received the degree of M.D. from St. Andrews in 1696. He is best known by his prose satires. He wrote a short piece in verse, called Γνωθι σεαυτόν : *Know Yourself*, much in the manner of Pope's *Moral Essays*. His share in the verse part of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* cannot be determined.

William Robertson (—— 1745 ; St. Leonard's, 1701) was minister of Borthwick and of Lady Yester's and Old Greyfriars', Edinburgh, in succession. He was the father of Dr. Robertson, Principal of Edinburgh University and an eminent historian.



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He was the author of three of the Metrical Paraphrases of Scripture in use in Presbyterian churches—xxv., “How few receive with cordial faith”; xlii., “Let not your hearts with anxious thoughts”; xliii., “You now must hear my voice no more.” They were considerably altered by the Revision Committee.

David Doig (1719-1800; St. Leonard’s, 1740-43) was for over forty years Rector of the High School of Stirling. Irving calls him “the most learned of Scottish schoolmasters in modern times.” He was a man of great erudition, and, though he published little, he planned huge undertakings and left a vast variety of work in manuscript. In 1796 he printed *Extracts from a Poem on the Prospect from Stirling Castle*. Poetry was not Doig’s forte.

John Barclay (1734-98; United College, 1751) was a native of Muthill, Perthshire. He studied for the ministry of the Church of Scotland, but was accused of Antinomian heresies and refused ordination. He founded a sect called Bereans (from *Acts* xvii. 10, 11) at Sauchieburn, in the parish of Marykirk, Kincardineshire. In 1767 he published *Rejoice Evermore, or, Christ All in All*, consisting of spiritual songs, paraphrases, and metrical versions of some of the Psalms. They show facile rhyming-power and a lack of taste. He also wrote *A Dialogue between Will Lickladle and Tam Clean-cogue, twa Shepherds, who were Feeding their Sheep on the Ochil Hills on the day the Battle of Sheriffmuir was fought*. On this Burns founded his *Battle of Sheriffmuir*.

Henry Erskine (1746-1817), advocate, orator, and wit, studied at St. Andrews (United College, 1760), Glasgow, and Edinburgh. He was the author of *The Emigrant, an Eclogue occasioned by the late numerous Emigrations from the Highlands of Scotland*, 1783. It gained considerable popularity, and was reprinted for private circulation in 1879. A volume of his miscellaneous poems in manuscript is in the Advocates’ Library.

GEORGE SOUTAR.



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### IV

William Wilkie occupied the chair of Natural Philosophy in St. Andrews University from 1759 to 1772. He gained some literary repute as the author of an epic called *The Epigoniad* and a volume of *Fables* in verse. He studied at Edinburgh University, where two of his college friends were Robertson, the historian, and Home, the author of *Douglas*; and by such men he was considered the ablest of his day. Previous to his appointment at St. Andrews he held the pastorate of the parish of Ratho; this post he received in 1753. His chief volume was published during the same year. In 1776 St. Andrews University conferred on him the degree of D.D. He gave considerable attention to agriculture as part of the subject of his chair, and successfully put his theories into practice on his farm of Morton, near St. Andrews. Wilkie is described as a man of much kindness of disposition, but of somewhat eccentric habits. His name is closely associated with the biographies of two men of much greater note, Robert Fergusson and Sir David Wilkie, who was his nephew.

*The Epigoniad* proved a kind of enigma to Wilkie's contemporaries. Hume alone among the critics accorded it praise. Endeavouring to narrate the second siege of Thebes in the Homeric style, the writer achieved, at least, a creditable imitation of Pope's translation of *The Iliad*. The heroic couplet is handled with skill, while certain of the incidents are told with undoubted effect. The *Fables*, which have Gay's work as their model, are written in smooth octosyllabics and are deftly turned.

The literary value of the Scottish dialect was a vexed question when Robert Fergusson wrote. By his preference for the vernacular as a literary medium he showed not only that

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he recognised that it was a suitable medium for him, but also that he was endowed with independence of judgment. As an Academic poet he might have followed Academic convention. Ramsay's employment of the vernacular was appropriate enough: he wrote as one of the people. Alexander Ross also used the vernacular, and did so as a University man and a scholar; but he was a near contemporary of Fergusson, and his work could not be available as a model. Opposition to the vernacular was strong in certain Academic circles. Beattie flouted the idea of writing in dialect, and even decried the practice. "To write in the vulgar broad Scotch," he says, "and yet to write seriously is impossible. For more than a century past it has been considered as the dialect of the vulgar." The choice was indicative of a notable phase of Fergusson's genius—his power of invention. In other particulars of his art Fergusson struck out a new line. He attempted the conventional pastoral, but speedily abandoned it; on the other hand, the pastoral charm of such a lyric as the ode *To the Gowd-spink* was something fresh alike in English and Scottish literature. With regard to metrical treatment, also, he was, if not a creator, unquestionably an innovator; and here he seems to have had the sedulous imitation of Burns. The stanza favoured by Burns for his short narrative and reflective poems very likely owed its attraction for him to the pronounced preference showed for it by Fergusson.

Fergusson entered St. Andrews University in 1765, being then in his fifteenth year; he had previously been a pupil at Edinburgh High School and at Dundee High School. He came to be a noticeable figure in the University both by his ability and his vivacity. Owing to the death of his father he broke off his college career in 1767, and went to try his fortune in Edinburgh, becoming there a law-clerk. Some diversity of opinion prevails among his biographers as to his

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life and tragic end in the capital. He would appear to have indulged too freely in the extravagance characteristic of social life at the time, thereby seriously imperilling a delicate constitution; neither Irving's theory of dissipation, however, nor Stevenson's allegation of the "damnatory creed" is of itself sufficient to account for the final disaster, which was probably caused by a fall. He lived for two months after his removal to an asylum, evincing throughout proofs of the severity of his illness; the end came on 16th October, 1774, when he had just completed his twenty-fourth year.

His gift as a poet manifested itself distinctly while he was a student at St. Andrews. The younger Ruddiman speaks of Fergusson's early impulsive issue of *Macaronic Satires*. And it was now that his rare accomplishment as a poet of the vernacular declared itself, in his *Elegy on the Death of Mr. David Gregory, late Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews*, and a rendering of Ode 11, Book I. of Horace. These two pieces are the surviving poems of his student days. The poet's pathetic return to Edinburgh, if it tended to crush his spirit, did not, to all appearance, weaken his imaginative power. From 1769 to 1771 his verse was altogether tentative, consisting of English poems of the accepted artificial type; but in 1772 there was begun and continued, with unflagging power to the last, that splendid series of poems in dialect which were to make his name one of the most cherished in our national literature. Most of these poems were contributed to Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*. First came *The Daft Days* and the *Elegy on Scots Music*. The later part of 1772 saw the publication of *Braid Claith, An Eclogue to the Memory of Dr. William Wilkie, late Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews*; *Hallowfair, Ode to the Bee*, and *The Farmer's Ingle*. The pungent, though unembittered, satire of *Braid Claith* is as telling as that of *Sartor* :

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Braid Claith lends fouk an unco heese,  
Makes mony kail-worms butter-flees,  
Gies mony a doctor his degrees  
For little skaith :  
In short, you may be what you please  
Wi' gude Braid Claith.

For tho' ye had as wise a snout on,  
As Shakespeare or Sir Isaac Newton,  
Your judgment fouk wad hae a doubt on,  
I'll tak' my aith,  
Till they cou'd see ye wi' a suit on  
O' gude Braid Claith.

The elegy on Dr. William Wilkie possesses distinctive interest. It is one of several poems of those years which prove how closely the poet's affection was yet bound to St. Andrews. It is, besides, of biographical value. Wilkie's regard for Fergusson was obviously sincere and strong; his advocacy helped the young poet when he was threatened with rustication; he associated with him in visits to Morton farm (the Professor's Sabine fields); and Grosart mentions that the manuscript of Wilkie's fable of *The Partan and the Hare*—his one example of vernacular verse—is in Fergusson's handwriting. The elegy, constituting a dialogue after the particular manner of Theocritus, contains generous praise of Wilkie as a poet :

Whase sangs will ay in Scotland be rever'd,  
While slow-gaun owsen turn the flow'ry swaird.

The debate which ever goes on regarding the respective merits of *The Farmer's Ingle*, one of Fergusson's principal poems, and *The Cottar's Saturday Night* calls for some remark. Burns derived so little from *The Farmer's Ingle*—little, in fact, save the idea conveyed by the title—that it is unfair to ascribe to him any material debt to Fergusson. That Fergusson's poem



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excels the other, as some authorities maintain, may also be questioned. Burns impairs the effect of his admirable transcript from rural life by his Anglicised diction—a concession probably to the polished construction of the Spenserian stanza—but the very reality of his presentment transcends the best artistic effects in *The Farmer's Ingle*. Burns's poem forms a clear, well-selected, and absorbing narrative; that of Fergusson is obscured by the over-abundance of its images. Apart, however, from any comparison with *The Cottar's Saturday Night*, *The Farmer's Ingle* must be adjudged an accurate and a delightful study of Scottish humble life.

The *Elegy on John Hogg, late Porter to the University of St. Andrews*, and the three poems referring to Dr. Johnson, which belong to the year 1773, reflect vividly the strong influence which the poet's *Alma Mater* still held over him. At the same date were written two of his finest poems, *Leith Races* and *To the Gowdspark*. The *Elegy* gives proof of an advance in poetical power: it has more dramatic style, greater faithfulness of detail, greater excellence of expression than the similar work of his student days. The portraiture is thorough and expert; the environment, too, is happily imagined and drawn:

Say ye, red gowns! that aften here  
Hae toasted bakes to Kattie's beer,  
Gin e'er thir days hae had their peer,  
Sae blyth, sae daft;  
You'll ne'er again in life's career  
Sit ha'f sae saft.

The Johnson poems are all excellent. That addressed *To the Principal and Professors* consists mainly of genial banter; but the other two are lively and trenchant disquisitions. Their parody of Johnsonese claims praise: "literarian lore," "silential muse," "Scoticanian shores," and other phrases form travesty of



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undeniable merit. *Leith Races* and *To the Gowdspink*<sup>1</sup> represent two of Fergusson's most fascinating qualities, his radiant humour and his power of interpreting Nature. The second of these poems is an exquisite and faithful example of natural description, with one passage of pre-eminent success.

Sure Nature herried mony a tree,  
For sprains<sup>2</sup> and bonny spats to thee ;  
Nae mair the rainbow can impart  
Sic glowing ferlies o' her art,  
Whase pencil wrought its freaks at will  
On thee the sey-piece<sup>3</sup> o' her skill.  
Nae mair through straths in simmer dight  
We seek the rose to bless our sight ;  
Or bid the bonny wa'flowers blaw  
Whare yonder Ruins crumblin' fa' :  
Thy shining garments far outstrip  
The cherries upo' Hebe's lip,  
And fool the tints that Nature chose  
To busk and paint the crimson rose.

While Fergusson's work in dialect is slight in quantity, it has the recommendation of being uniformly excellent in quality. An equally sure penetration, an equally notable felicity of expression, mark one poem after another. Deliberate criticism of his English poems is unnecessary. They failed, it is generally urged, from the fact emphasised by Wordsworth, that no Scotsman can write good English. English admirers of the Scottish vernacular genius strongly maintain this. As an alien tongue, at all events, it was unsuitable to his genius, and his English poems lack vitality and charm. Fergusson's best characteristics are his inventive faculty, already dwelt upon, his keen and delicate humour, his dramatic handling, his sympathy with outward Nature, and his gift of expression. The satire which

<sup>1</sup> Goldfinch.

<sup>2</sup> Stripes of different colours.

<sup>3</sup> Trial piece.

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has his humour for its instrument never approaches the scathing bitterness of Burns's invective, but it has veracity, sureness, and force. Such satire informs *Hallowfair*, *The Election*, *Braid Claith*, and indeed most of his best pieces. The excellence of his dramatic situations was more than once practically approved by Burns ; take, for instance, the opening stanzas of *Leith Races*, passages of *Hallowfair*, and the plan of the *Mutual Complaint of Plainstones and Causey*. Not his great successor himself delighted more to introduce glimpses from Nature into his poems. *Hame Content*, *Leith Races*, *The Daft Days*, and *Scots Music* contain natural descriptions both vivid and picturesque. In point of expression Fergusson claims especial estimation. Without the compelling directness of Burns's speech, his diction yet possesses an element of grace which decidedly rises above the somewhat commonplace level of Ramsay's style. Fergusson owes not a little of his permanence to his supremacy of expression. Burns, who was a sound critic, spoke of "the excellent Ramsay, and the still more excellent Fergusson." The merit of expression was involved in the criticism. Ramsay is undoubtedly, as Carlyle remarked when speaking of the two poets, "becoming very cloudy in some of his features." To each of these poets may fairly be attributed unusual vigour and freshness of imagination ; but Fergusson's technical mastery is the finer, and ranks him nearer to Burns as a genuine artist.

WILLIAM BAYNE.

### V

William Laurence Brown (1755-1830) was the son of William Brown, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Mary's College, 1757-93. He entered the United College in 1771. In 1795 he was appointed Professor of Divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and soon after was elected Principal. He was the author of several theological works, and was winner

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of the first prize in the first Burnett Essay competition. In 1809 he published a poem, in ten books, called *Philemon* ; or, *The Progress of Virtue*. It was avowedly suggested by Beattie's *Minstrel*, and is in old-fashioned eighteenth century style. It is a St. Andrews document of some interest, but hitherto it seems to have escaped notice. *Philemon* is reared somewhere on the Braes of Angus, and studies arts and divinity at St. Andrews. The author was a *filius addictissimus*, and he has introduced a few topographical and academic features. Here are the sands :

A level floor of sands, on either side,  
Invites th' approaches of the placid tide ;  
Kiss'd by its curling lips, they smoother grow,  
And gently murmur with its soothing flow.  
Where, round the bent-clad downs, the beach extends,  
His current Eden with the Ocean blends.  
When reflux surges bare the oozy strand,  
The lofty heron stalks along the sand :  
The restless plovers, clam'rous as they spring,  
Skim o'er the shallow pools with whirring wing ;  
Th' unwieldy seal lies basking in the sun,  
Or plunges, fearful of the flashing gun.

The author refers to the story of St. Rule, and laments the "desolating rage" of Knox. Then follows this apostrophe :

To thee, Andréa ! when my fancy flies,  
What forms of pleasing recollection rise !  
Sweet recollection of my dawning day !  
When Hope her flowrets strew'd along the way,  
Each splendid image of delight supplied,  
And promised bliss, Experience has denied ;  
When Fraud, Suspicion, Artifice unknown,  
I saw the hearts of others—in my own,  
My only fear a Rival's brighter powers,  
My only task to gather classic flow'rs,  
Or tread the field of Science, while she show'd  
Her wonders op'ning on th' advancing road !

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Famous teachers are thus commemorated :

Buchanan here renew'd true Learning's light,  
Train'd artless Genius to direct his flight,  
Cleared Study's paths, and led the youthful mind  
Along the course that Nature had design'd.  
While Scotia hail'd her son, she found his name  
Placed as a Roman in the rolls of Fame.  
Here Greg'ry with new optics ranged the skies,  
Taught latent orbs to brighten to his eyes,  
Made Nature's powers to Man's dominion bend,  
His efforts strengthen, and his sphere extend,  
And proved a mind, great Newton ! such as thine—  
Transmissive, tracing the Gregorean line !  
Here Campbell, opulent in ancient lore,  
Essayed the source of Virtue to explore ;  
Here classic Wilkie wrote, whose lays resound  
The theme of Homer's verse, which Time has drown'd ;  
Here Watson's pencil, with just light and shade,  
The Spanish Tyrant's portraiture display'd.

The following lines will give golfers the opportunity of admiring and envying Philemon's 'form' on the Links :

Each gallant sport employ'd his vacant hours,  
And added vigour to his mental pow'rs ;  
But, chief, of Scotia's sons the native game,  
Golf cheer'd his spirits and new-strung his frame.  
Oft, with brisk ardour and contention keen,  
He met his rival on th' extended green.  
Swung by his arm, th' elastic club convey'd  
The stroke whose pow'r the faithful ball obey'd.  
It cleft with rapid whirl th' ethereal space,  
Descended, well commission'd, to its place,  
Avoided hazards, chose the level ground,  
From the just club partook another bound,  
Along the verdant carpet smoothly sped,  
And gently dropt into its hollow bed.

Down in two !



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In course of time Philemon writes and circulates a satire on academic men and manners, and is in danger of expulsion. He becomes misanthropic, and is in the habit of retiring to a cave on the sea-shore, there to muse on the wickedness of the world. This gives the author occasion to describe Kinkell cave and spring, and to relate a legend connected therewith. The last local touch is the description of a shipwreck in the bay and the rescue of the crew by Philemon. The incident is founded on fact. In January, 1801, a divinity student named Honey saved the crew of the sloop *Janet* of Macduff, which had been driven on the sands.<sup>1</sup> As a whole, however, *Philemon* is not a success, and the hero is an insufferable prig.

George Monk Berkeley (1763-93) was the son of a Prebendary of Canterbury and grandson of Bishop Berkeley. He was educated at Eton, St. Andrews (United College, 1781), and Oxford. He published two comedies—*Nina*, in two acts (said to have been translated from the French in two hours!), and *Love and Nature*, which was performed at the Theatre Royal, Dublin. The titles of some of his poems are very ominous: *To Robert Merry, Esq.* (of *British Album* fame), *Invocation to Oblivion*, *Address to the Winds*. The contents are mostly Della Cruscan sentimentalities and insipidities. Probably, and very naturally, his mother did not think so, for in 1797 she published them with a long introduction. A presentation copy is in the University Library.

John Leyden (1775-1811), linguist, Orientalist, and poet, studied at the University of Edinburgh, but he received the degree of M.D. from St. Andrews in 1802. From 1796 to 1798 he was tutor to the sons of Mr. Campbell, Fairfield, Edinburgh, and during part of the years 1797 and 1798 he was with

<sup>1</sup> Honey, afterwards minister of Bendochy, was the father of the Rev. Dr. Honey of Inchtute. He died early, and his premature death was due to his heroic act. Dr. Chalmers preached his funeral sermon.



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them in St. Andrews. There is no proof that he was enrolled as a student ; his name is not found in the matriculation list. He was a contributor to Scott's *Border Minstrelsy* and Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*. He wrote one lengthy and rather diffuse poem, *Scenes of Infancy*, but he is probably best known by some of his shorter pieces and translations from various languages. The following lines are from an irregular sonnet said to have been written at St. Andrews :

When o'er the crisping waves the sunbeams gleam,  
And from the hills the latest streaks of day  
Recede, by Eden's shadowy banks I stray,  
And lash the willows blue that fringe the stream ;  
And often to myself, in whispers weak,  
I breathe the name of some dear gentle maid ;  
Or some lov'd friend, whom in Edina's shade  
I left when forced these eastern shores to seek !  
And for the distant months I sigh in vain  
To bring me to these favourite haunts again.

G. S.

## VI

In the nineteenth century, partly owing to the remoteness of the stirring national events associated with St. Andrews, and partly owing to the new attitude towards the past which had marked the later eighteenth century, poets who taught or were taught within the University were almost all moved by the *genius loci*. St. Andrews themes are common, St. Andrews colour is abundant, and a certain St. Andrews spirit is unmistakeable.

William Tennant (1784-1848), a native of Anstruther Easter, is the first of the new race. He was a student of the United College, but only for two years—1799-1801—owing to straitened circumstances. After thirty-three years, chiefly spent in

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Secondary School teaching, in writing poetry, and in acquiring Oriental tongues, he returned to his *Alma Mater* in 1834 as Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages. He continued in this post till 1848, and died in the same year shortly after his resignation. His East of Fife birth, which made him familiar with the history and tradition of the whole district, and his period of study at St. Andrews gave him a love for the city and its Colleges. Tennant wrote *The Anster Concert*, *Anster Fair*, *The Thane of Fife*, *John Baliol an Historical Drama*, *Hebrew Dramas*, *Cardinal Beaton*, and *Papistry Stormed* or *The Dingin' down o' the Cathedral*. *Anster Fair* and *The Thane of Fife* have occasional passages about St. Andrews. In *Cardinal Beaton* and *Papistry Stormed* St. Andrews is the scene, and the incidents belong to St. Andrews and to Scottish history. In *Anster Fair* Tennant imitates what Francis Jeffrey called "the gay fantastic poem of Pulci and Ariosto." This is "neither pure burlesque nor pure mock heroic." It tells with abundant gaiety how the hand of a maid of Anstruther was won after contests of various kinds, King James V. being judge of these Scottish Olympic games. The author is incited to his task by a dream of the poet of *The Quair*. Among the maid's wooers are many St. Andrews students :

Up from their mouldy books and tasks had sprung  
Bigent and magistrand to try the game ;  
Prelections ceased, old Alma Mater slept,  
And o'er his silent rooms the ghost of Wardlaw wept.  
So down in troops the red-clad students come  
As kittens blithe, a joke-exchanging crew,  
And in their heads bear learned Greece and Rome  
And haply Cyprus in their bodies too.

The inspiration of King James I. did not include verse-form. Tennant does not use the stanza of *The Quair* but a variation of *ottava rima* with an Alexandrine in the eighth line.

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*The Thane of Fife*, an unfinished narrative-poem, tells the story of a Danish invasion in the ninth century. Constantine, the King, hears of the invasion :

Where then he lay  
Within the city which the Achaian saint,  
Advised by dream, had founded near the bay,  
On Kilry's hill with fane and turret quaint.

From St. Andrews, Constantine goes forth to war. To its walled defence he returns, and thence he summons from far and near "every Thane and Baron bold," and it is within the chapel of St. Rule that a national intercession is made for success in conflict against the invader. It is to St. Andrews that the host "widowed of their chief" retreat, and here the poem is left unfinished.

*Cardinal Beaton* is a dramatisation of the story of the martyrdom of George Wishart and the murder of Beaton. It is a glorification of the martyr and an indictment of his persecutor. Sir David Lyndsay is one of the characters, and, as a moderate man, is denounced by Norman Leslie, whose classical studies have been imperfect :

Home to your mount, Sir David, home  
With your "But yets," and scruples, and demurs.  
'Tis always so with you milk-livered bards  
From Cic'ro downwards.

Tennant was thinking of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* rather than of the facts of classical literature when he made Norman Leslie put Cicero, as a craven, among the critics of bold enterprises.

*Papistry Stormed or The Dingin' down o' the Cathedral* is unfortunate in its title and in its theme. Only the ultra-Protestant Scot can sympathise with the destruction of a great historic sanctuary which was dedicated in thanksgiving for the victory of Bannockburn. A combat between ecclesiastics about

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the position of a lectern, as in Boileau's *Le Lutrin*, lends itself to mockery ; the demolition of a cathedral even if a fact of history does not. Nevertheless, when Tennant's choice of subject is allowed, his comic narrative can hardly be overpraised. The characters, their exploits, their constant movement, their speeches, and the setting of the whole, all are vital. The poem is full of animation and supremely mirthful. The versification and dexterity in rhyming are in keeping with the force, freshness, and variety of the Lowland Scots diction. Nowhere, indeed, does Tennant show to such advantage his native vigour of mind, sprightliness of fancy, and command of the East Coast dialect. He enters so completely into the spirit of the motley mob, which translated Knox's violent language into more violent action, that the modern reader may understand, if he will, how men carried out a work so repellent to reverent minds.

What could be better as a description of a May morning ?

Mid sic joyeusicie, I wot,  
The east neuk o' Fife was nae forgot ;  
The aits and barley there were springin',  
The lavricks i' the lift were singin',  
The leas wi' ploughmen's lilt were ringin';  
Auld grandshers at their door sat beikin,  
While younksters, by the sea-side streikin',  
Gaed paidlin' in without a breik on ;  
E'en senseless kye did rowt wi' glee ;  
The sillie fishes i' the sea  
Lap frae their element in play  
To kiss the gowden gleam o' day.

Or this, of the crowd on its way to St. Andrews ?

As whan, in tail o' hairst, some day  
Whan skiffs o' wind blaw aff the brae,  
A field o' beans (lang dainty strae !)  
Are touslet by the blast ;

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The bean-taps slap on ane anither,  
Ilk meikle stalk assails his brither,  
The reisslin' cods wag hither-thither,  
The shearers look aghast ;  
Siclike the breissil and the clatter,  
As to the loan the burghers blatter.

The single combat between the champions of the old and new faiths, and the final combination of forces, which brought ruin to the ancient fane, give excellent illustration of Tennant's powers.

Tennant had at least one poetical colleague, Thomas Gillespie (1777-1844), Professor of Humanity from 1835. Gillespie was more famous as an angler than as a poet, and the quality of the verses in his *Trip to Taymouth*, when Queen Victoria visited Lord Breadalbane, scarcely makes one regret that his poems have not been collected. John Hunter, an advocate, son of Principal Hunter, made verse translations of Italian poetry. The fame of Tennant's fellow-townsmen, Thomas Chalmers, who was Professor of Moral Philosophy, 1823-1828, drew to St. Andrews among many others a young Edinburgh student, William Lindsay Alexander (1808-1884), who was a student in the United College, 1825-27. He became minister of Augustine Congregational Church, Edinburgh, and a Doctor of Divinity of St. Andrews. His fruitful life as a preacher, and theologian, and scholar, did not exhaust his energies, however : he wrote hymns, and *Lusus Poetici*—occasional Latin verse, the most noteworthy specimens of which were his translation of *Roy's Wife* and *Willie brewed a peck o' maut*. These are singularly happy, and Burns himself would have enjoyed

Nam non sumus Bacchi pleni,  
Adhuc lucidae sunt mentes ;  
Cantet gallus, surgat dies,  
Hic manebimus gaudentes.



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Ten years after William Lindsay Alexander left the United College, Patrick Proctor Alexander (1824-86) entered it. He was a son of Andrew Alexander, Professor of Greek from 1820-59. One of his class-fellows was John Tulloch, afterwards Principal of St. Mary's College, 1854-86. Alexander's serious interest, through a somewhat diversified career, was philosophical rather than poetic. He wrote, however, many poems, chiefly sonnets, of which the subjects—*Rest, Sleep, Death*—are trite enough, but the treatment is far from commonplace. Alexander was not only a poet but a cause of poetry in others. He provided Lord Stormonth Darling with a subject for one of the happiest of parodies, which is here published for the first time.

### PAT'S KIT-CAT

(Tune—"Kate Dalrymple.")

Up a lang, lang stair, in the brave auld toun,  
That Edina is ca'd in the tongue o' the Romans',  
Lived a man that, whene'er from his height he looked doun,  
Got a glint o' the Forth and a keek o' the Lomons.  
Oh! a dainty lad was Pat Alexander,  
And a weel-faured man was Pat Alexander;  
I doubt if ye'll find, where'er ye may wander,  
A buirdlier chiel than Pat Alexander.

Row dowdy dow, etc.

Pat ne'er could be fashed wi' ony kind o' trade,  
Nor wi' fee or reward wad consent to be fykit;  
Nae hours did he keep, and nae rule he obeyed,  
For he loved to be free, and to gang where he likit.  
O! he played at the golf whiles, did Pat Alexander;  
And a bumper he'd quaff whiles, wad Pat Alexander,  
If ye tried to control him ye'd set up his dander,  
For a gentleman at large was Pat Alexander.

Row dowdy dow, etc.

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Pat aft wad think, as he sat by himsel',

“ It's a raal queer thing that I never was painted,  
I'd mak' a better head than ony young swell,

Or ony auld haggis-bag with whom I'm acquainted.  
They paint a' the provosts noo,” quo' Pat Alexander ;  
“ And bailies and buddies too,” quo' Pat Alexander ;  
“ Yet nane o' them a' but wad look like a gander,  
If hung next the portrait o' Pat Alexander.”

Row dowdy dow, etc.

But at length cam' a Welshman o' skill and repute,

Wha was painter-in-chief to a wheen Maharajahs,  
And in less than a twinklin' his paint-brush was oot,

And Pat Alexander was drawn—like the badgers.  
In a braw gilt frame he clapped Alexander,  
Cut off at the wame o' Pat Alexander,  
And the canvas depicted wi' truth and wi' candour,  
A smirk on the features o' Pat Alexander.

Row dowdy dow, etc.

When the hangin' Committee saw the wark was sae fine,

They were sair at a loss (it's the truth, as I've heard it),  
They kent, if 'twas hung 'mang the lave on the line,

That nae other pictur' would e'er be regardit,  
'Twas sae fu' o' fine feelin', this Pat Alexander,  
That they hung it at the ceilin', this Pat Alexander,  
Where a' may behold, if a shillin' they'll squander,  
The pale, prood face o' Pat Alexander.

Row dowdy dow, etc.

## VII

A group of professor-poets, and a student group, every member of which died young, close the present tale of St. Andrews writers of verse. The Professors were John Campbell

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Shairp, John Veitch, and Lewis Campbell. The students were Alexander Charles Oughterlonie, Joseph Brown, James M'Reath, and Robert Fuller Murray.

John Campbell Shairp (1819-1885) was successively Assistant Professor of Humanity, Professor of Humanity, and Principal of the United College. During his later years he was also Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Principal Shairp had no early tie with St. Andrews, but the place and its history threw their glamour over him, and the fascination of its past grew deeper as the years passed. By lovers of Scottish poetry he will always be gratefully remembered as the writer of *The Bush aboon Traquair*, a perfect lyric. In this, and in the body of his poetry, by no means inconsiderable—*Kilmahoe*, *Glen Desseray*, *Balliol Scholars*, and numerous shorter pieces—he is a Wordsworthian, who is more than a mere disciple, doing for his beloved Highlands and Scottish peasants what Wordsworth did for the Lake Country and Cumbrian dalesmen. As Palgrave has pointed out, Shairp saw aspects of nature which Wordsworth ignored, and his poetry is due as much to kinship as to discipleship. To his old students he abides as one of the gracious and inspiring influences of their early time, as an apostle of poetry and the ideal life, who had no ambition for himself or for his pupils, save that they should enjoy complete citizenship in the kingdom of spirit and do a little to extend it. More Celtic than Saxon in the strain of his nature, he was as passionate in his reverence for the higher elements of Celtic character as in his love for Highland burns and bens and stretches of moorland. In the three elegies called *Highland Students*—poems commemorative of three students of his own from the braes of Rannoch—he has given expression to his solemn joy in strength and sweetness of spirit, which ever appealed to him more than brilliant gift. Avoiding traditional forms of elegy, he has deliberately used blank verse as more completely expressive of sincere emotion and

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actual experience. These poems breathe the very spirit of Wordsworth—the Wordsworth of *Michael* and the finer parts of *The Excursion* :

And as they rest, all that is mortal rests  
Of those three students, in their native vale ;  
Two on this side the Rannoch river, one  
Beyond it : and above them evermore  
Schiehallion's shadow lying, and his peak  
Kindling aloft in the first light of dawn.

His sympathetic study of Scottish history and poetry found voice in *The Good Lord James at St. Andrews*, and *King Robert Bruce in St. Andrews Cathedral, 5th July, 1318*. The first of these poems, based on the relative portion of Barbour's *Bruce*, expressed Principal Shairp's love of chivalry and feeling for friendship. The cathedral dedication poem gives not only a description of the royal progress and of the sacred ceremonial, but in the chant of the choristers a poetic retrospect of earlier royal pilgrimages to St. Andrews. Principal Shairp's one other St. Andrews poem celebrates the visit of Dean Stanley as Rector in 1875.

John Veitch, Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the United College from 1860 to 1864, was an intimate friend of Principal Shairp and a fellow Wordsworthian. They had a common love of Scotland and of Scottish ballad and nature poetry. Both loved the Borders and the Highlands, but Veitch was characteristically the Borderer as Shairp was Highlander. He chants the murmur of Tweed and makes music of Southern story, but the only echo of his sojourn in St. Andrews is a poem in memory of his friend. These *In Memoriam* verses are as wise and simple as Shairp would have desired them to be. His brightness, his openness, his love of nature, his realisation of the supernatural, his love of poetry and of Scottish history, and his enthusiasm for the Highlands and Highland lore, all are touched upon briefly and tenderly.

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The stanza in praise of his love of nature is very happy :

The simple things of mother earth  
The wayside flower, the moorland birth,  
The heather spaces high and free,  
The bent sae brown, the bracken lee,  
The grey rock where the burnie breaks,  
The linn-pool where the rowan makes  
A shadow o'er the water's face,  
The braeside with its birken grace,  
These were thy joys, O gentle mind.

The blessed hope, which the two friends cherished, is not forgotten :

From my poor life a light is gone,—  
The shadow where the clear eyes shone :  
I cannot pierce that foreign strand,  
But where thou art, no sunless land.

A. L.

Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D. (1830-1908), was Professor of Greek in the United College, 1863-92. During those years his reputation shed lustre on the University, and many who came under his influence still remember him with gratitude as a teacher, with admiration as a scholar, and with veneration for his personal worth. Outside the immediate duties of his chair his life-work was centred on the study of Plato and the Greek dramatists. He translated into English verse the seven plays of Sophocles (1883, revised 1896), and his version of Aeschylus appeared in 1890. To reconcile the demands of poetry with the claims of just interpretation, and to deal adequately with the many subtle somethings to be found in every great work of art, is so baffling a task that it is easy to belittle all attempts of the kind. Campbell's versions are those of a scholar of good taste and fine feeling, nor are they lacking in high poetic moments. They are marked off, on the one hand, from the declamation and



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turgid rhetoric of eighteenth century translators, and, on the other, from the ingenuities, brilliancies, and audacities of more recent interpreters. He has been in large measure successful in giving a faithful rendering of the letter and the spirit of the originals, without straining after romantic decoration and alien beauties. Alike in blank verse and in lyric measures the excellence of his renderings is well sustained in fluency and freedom. The merits of his translations as acting versions have been appreciated by discriminating audiences, and their value in the education of those who labour under the heavy misfortune of knowing no Greek has been proved in various academic centres, St. Andrews included. Moreover, Professor Campbell wrote *Carmen Seculare*, and the days will be degenerate indeed when St. Andrews brotherhoods have neither lung nor Latin enough to sing—*En juventus Andreana* ! G. S.

Alexander Charles Oughterlonie, a student of the United College, 1866-1871, and Joseph Brown, United College, 1863-1868, St. Mary's College, 1871-1875, are mentioned for what they might have been. Both were men whose literary gift was marked, but in a measure secondary. In Oughterlonie love of poetry was blended with love of philosophy and of science, in Brown with an enthusiasm for politics, which was almost a passion. The latter wrote *The Death of Polycarp*, and the former short poems on his native Kinghorn, which give a very imperfect impression of his poetic gift. Unhappily the greater part of his verse was inadvertently destroyed, and had been seen or rather heard but by one or two personal friends. He had a warm admiration of Fergusson, and like Mr. Andrew Lang thought that Fergusson's fame had been unduly cast into shadow by the lustre of Burns. A. L.

From 1875 to 1879 James M'Reath (1858-1895) was a distinguished alumnus of St. Andrews. Not of a robust

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constitution, he undermined his health by close application to study, and fell into mental derangement, from which he never recovered. During his curriculum he impressed professors as well as students by his brilliant intellectual gifts. In Classics, English Literature, Logic, and Moral Philosophy he gained the highest honours. One of his most noteworthy accomplishments was his wonderful command of language, in the use of which he was at once fluent and scholarly ; his class-essays were described by Professor Baynes as of 'unrivalled excellence'; and the same quality gave to his compositions as a poet and as a speaker a rare power.

From his early years M'Reath showed his possession of remarkable poetic faculty ; and even before entering College he had won recognition for the excellence of his verse. In a public competition, when he was only fourteen, he gained the second prize, the first prize-winner being Alexander Anderson. M'Reath's poem, entitled *Night*, is a striking achievement for a boy of fourteen ; maturity of thought, boldness of imagery, extraordinary sweep and beauty of language, and gracefulness of metre unite to produce a lyric which it would be difficult to parallel in its kind. He repeated his triumph a year later, and while at College surpassed his former efforts by gaining two first prizes in like competitions. His poetical work attracted the notice of Principal Tulloch, then editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, and there were published in the *Magazine* two poems by M'Reath, *A Village Idyll* and a sonnet called *A Voice from the Bastille*. His keen wit secured him a leading place as a contributor to *Kate Kennedy's Annual*, the last number of which was almost entirely his work. Having a special admiration for the poetry of Shelley and Keats, he was also akin to these writers, it may be said with truth, in the fashion of their interpretation of man and nature ; and thus the following stanza from his fine monody on Shelley may fitly be applied to himself :

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So passed the singer ere his song was done,  
So died he from the clear light of the sun,  
Mute lay the music quivering on pale lips,  
Dead the high thoughts that never can be known.

W. B.

Robert Fuller Murray (1863-1894), who was a student in the United College, 1881-1889, is the poet *par excellence* of St. Andrews and of the University. Greater poets are on her roll, and there are poets, like Fergusson and Tennant, who have made artistic use of St. Andrews experience. But there is not one who has so seized the soul of the place, who has more completely and joyfully apprehended the natural setting which makes its charm, or who, in spite of a certain aloofness which makes the sympathy more penetrating, has so happily presented the varying lighter phases of St. Andrews student life. Murray's whole poetic life, beautiful in its tenderness and humour, fresh in its lyric sweetness and simplicity, drew its power from St. Andrews seas and skies and ruins, and from the manifold College experience, which here, more than anywhere else in Scotland, is possible to men because St. Andrews is a little town with a scarce communicable fascination for all the young who live in it, and because intense and frequent intimacy is inevitable where students meet so easily and under such happy conditions. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," therefore we should hardly say it is strange that the significant voice, expressive of the very essence of St. Andrews and its history, should be found in a young Scoto-American who drifted to its halls with a Unitarian bursary. And Murray's passionate joy in the place and in what it gave him of food for the heart and the imagination was little more than half-spoken when the hand of death was upon him. He had not the toughness of fibre needed to fight with the rough sea of circumstance which must be traversed in the early stages of a literary career

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beginning with journalism. One wonders if a Fellowship in Poetry, with no duty but to write when where and what he pleased, might have prolonged his life. Yet there is an ominous undertone in some of his poems, notably in *The Voice that Sings*, in the lines—*To C. C. C.*, and in *After Many Days* :

That was a barren time at best,  
Its fruits were few,  
But fruits and flowers had keener zest  
And fresher hue.

Life has not since been wholly vain,  
And now I bear  
Of wisdom plucked from joy and pain  
Some slender share.

But howsoever rich the store  
I'd lay it down  
To feel upon my back once more  
The old red gown.

This undertone is the more significant, because Murray, in his College lyrics, is mirthful and happy-hearted : all are humorous or serio-comic. Sadness is present also in his warmest expression of affection for St. Andrews itself :

O not in leaves or flowers  
Endures the charm,  
That clothes those naked towers  
With love-light warm.

O dear St. Andrews Bay,  
Winter or Spring  
Gives not nor takes away  
Memories that cling  
All round thy girdling reefs  
That walk thy shore,  
Memories of joys and griefs  
Ours evermore.







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His very love is consecrated by the characteristic features of St. Andrews. Thus, in *Moonlight South and North* he contrasts the moon's full splendour on Taunton dene with her light on 'the bleak and rude land' from which he is exiled :

The moonlight shone her fairest  
Along that level coast  
Where sands and dunes the barest  
Of beauty seldom boast.

And he closes :

Across the window glasses  
The curtain then I drew  
And as a sea-bird passes  
In sleep my spirit flew  
To grey and windswept grasses  
And moonlit sands—and you.

With this feeling for Nature, which is never forced, there is also appreciation of his fellow-students. The 'Waster' is sketched, but not censured, except as a nuisance forbidding sleep. So are the laborious incapable in *Andrew M'Crie*, the bore in *Adventure of a Poet*, the hopeful 'chronic,' *Our James is going in for his Degree*, and the restless but happy midnight stroller like himself :

And I fear we never again shall go  
The cold and weariness scorning  
For a ten-mile walk through the frozen snow  
At one o'clock in the morning.

The past of St. Andrews rests upon his spirit too, yet he touches this chord deliberately but once, and then with rare felicity :

St. Andrews ! not for ever thine shall be  
Merely the shadow of a mighty name,  
The remnant only of an ancient fame,  
Which time has crumbled as thy rocks the sea.

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For thou to whom was given the earliest key  
Of knowledge in this land (and all men came  
To learn of thee) shalt once more rise and claim  
The glory that of right belongs to thee,  
Grey in thine age, there yet in thee abides  
The force of youth, to make thyself anew  
A name of honour and a place of power.  
Arise, then ! shake the dust from off thy sides ;  
Thou shalt have many where now thou hast few ;  
Again thou shalt be great. Quick come the hour !

A. L.

ROBERTO BURNS





# Roberto Burns

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS

SALUTEM

ET

POETICAM BENEDICTIONEM



ROBERTE, Graecis addite vatibus,  
ROBERTE, nostris ! gratus ades choro  
Per te sonaturo quod imis  
Dîs placeat melos et supernis.

Nunc sanctiori digna silentio  
Mirantur Umbrae carmina, non prius  
Effusa volgatas per artes  
Nec solitis socianda chordis.

Cocytos errans frenat aquas ; Charon  
Sistit carinam ; cum volucris rota  
Stat pressus Ixion ; recumbit  
Sisyphus ab medio labore.

Quin et Prometheus ore novo stupens  
Haec mente volvit : Fallor ? an Orphea  
Victurus accessit poeta  
Voce alia et potiore plectro ?

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Me major ipso scilicet artifex  
Donavit aurae particulâ hunc virum  
Divinioris, sic domantem  
Cuncta necis mala, cuncta vitae.

Hinc fraus avara et caecus amor sui,  
Hinc optimatum spiritus insolens  
Ac volgus infidum recedunt  
Tergaque dat pede concitato.

Sed caritas nec morte domabilis,  
Sed corda cuivis dedita proximo,  
Sed vera virtus huic canenti  
Se socios comitesque jungunt.

Hic spem salutis fert humili reo ;  
Hic, siqua lapso vis manet integrans  
In majus afflat ; me meosque  
Asserit hic Jovis ad tribunal.

Quae volvit audax Iapeti genus,  
Nec vana ; sed nunc tempus erat tibi,  
ROBERTE, securo vagari  
Ætheriam, duce me, per aulam,

Qua dia nobis otia, qua datur,  
Inter beatos, ducere nectaris  
Sucos, Camenarumque sacris  
Colloquiis sapienter uti.

Jam nunc magistros artis amabiles  
Nostrae videbis : Vergilius venit  
Ad te relaturus priorum  
Fata ducum lacrimasque rerum.

## ROBERTO BURNS

En alter et de sanguine Celtico  
Vates ! Catullus fert tibi flosculum <sup>1</sup>  
    Utrique carum, cui pepercit  
    Vi sine praeteriens aratrum.

Te gestit Umber noscere, saucius,  
Ut tu Mariae,<sup>2</sup> sic vice Cynthiae  
    Tristi : sed illae, ceu sorores,  
    Elysiis recreantur auris.

Naso et Tibullus te petit, et lyrae  
Cultor Latinae summus in exteris  
    Oris poetarumque princeps  
    In proprio Buchananus aevo,

Cui mox recumbes ad latus, Optimi  
Hospes Tonantis, vespere caelites  
    Vocante convivas et Heben  
    Ad cyathum statuente plenum.

J. P. STEELE.

<sup>1</sup> The Mountain Daisy (cf. Cat. xi. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Highland Mary, the counterpart of the Cynthia of Propertius.



## STUDENT LIFE—PAST





## Student Life—Past



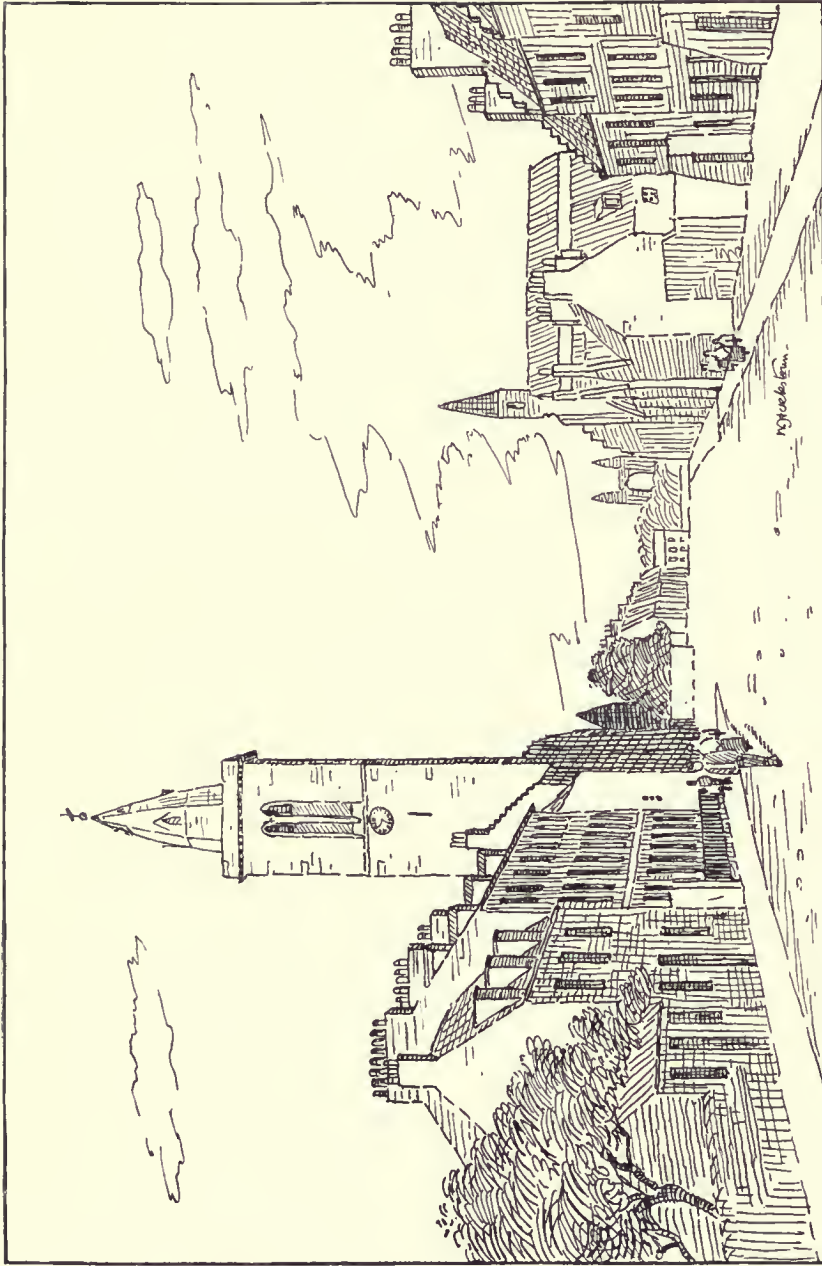
IN the earliest days of all, when academic life involved a secluded and systematic routine, one feels that the experience must have been monotonous and possibly hostile to the development of individuality. The practically monastic system was long maintained, lingering even as an alternative resource till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some of the qualifications for the young men's guidance seem to have been at one stage of a somewhat limited order. The revival of learning would appear to have made rather tardy progress at St. Andrews. Under date 1574, James Melville in his Diary regrets that it was impossible to learn Hebrew and Greek, because "the languages were not to be gottine in the land." His regent could get the length of the Greek declensions, but no further. A few years later, with Andrew Melville as leader and director, this state of things was substantially altered. Then, says the diarist, regents and scholars "fell to the Languages, studeit thair Artes for the right use, and perusit Aristotle in his awin langage; sa that *certatim et serio*, they became bathe philosophers and theologes, and acknawlagit a wonderfull transportation out of darknes into light." Thus we pass from rigid mediaevalism to the new attitude of the serious and precise student of scientific method.

The four years' course, representing the regenting quadrennium, continued till recent times to be the standard routine

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of professional study. Classics and Mathematics for two sessions each, and Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy, each for a year, constituted the indispensable subjects for graduation. The consequence was that many, unable to compass "all-round" accomplishments, completed their course without securing this hall-mark and token of their credentials. For some time during the nineteenth century the degree, perhaps too easily acquired by those fully equipped, seems to have been comparatively neglected. In Mrs. Oliphant's *Memoir of Principal Tulloch*, Dr. Gray, long the parish minister of Liberton, narrates how simply the classical section of his degree examinations was disposed of. When he presented himself—apparently the sole candidate—at the proper time and place, the janitor informed him that Professor Gillespie of the Latin Chair had gone to the fishing, and before starting had instructed him to say that Mr. Gray had passed. The candidate's qualifications would, of course, be perfectly well known, but the story emphatically illustrates the easy methods that must have prevailed at the time.

Matters were very different soon afterwards when Dr. Gray's fellow-student had become Principal of St. Mary's, and the chairs in the United College were filled by eminent men, each with a high sense of duty. Then it was felt that the degree was worth having, and consequently it was regarded as the bright *ultimatum* of methodical study. The classical professors of the time were eminent scholars and men of letters, who presently gained European reputations. After Alexander's long reign, William Y. Sellar gave a new impulse to the study of Greek, which was in a measure enhanced by the somewhat stringent training of Lewis Campbell. John Campbell Shairp was not the minute verbal scholar that the University had known in John Hunter, but his large humanity, his quick and tender sympathies, his pervading humour, his enthusiasm for literary excellence, put



NORTH STREET FROM THE WEST





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him upon a different plane from that on which we find the mere philologist. He was an accomplished Latinist, and his personality provided for the observant disciple a strong and abiding inspiration. So it may also be said, and with emphasis, of the philosophical teachers. Thomas Spencer Baynes, with no assistant in his exposition of Logic, etc., had to squeeze in text-book and essay days somehow among his lectures, and managed to complete large forays of stimulating investigation. Thrice a week he taught English, and within such limitations succeeded in revealing the general grandeur and the special features of the complex record with which he was concerned. With the Chair of Ethics was associated a great tradition, latterly enhanced by the vehement eloquence of Chalmers and the keenly analytical and illuminating expositions of Ferrier. It was not an easy task worthily to follow where such bright examples had been set, but it was fully accomplished by Professor Flint, who succeeded Ferrier at the age of twenty-eight. Burdened with the incubus of Political Economy, as well as with the large intricacies of his major theme, he proved himself more than equal to his exacting responsibilities. Infinitely patient with the inexperience of his auditors, he led them through his vast field of inquiry with strength and tenderness of guidance and unfailing clearness of purpose. Professors Fischer and Swan, occupying respectively the Chairs of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, were wise and genial preceptors, noted each in his own way for special accomplishment and charged with stimulating messages for those to whom their prelections specially appealed. For others they had diverse merits which were manifest on the surface.

These were the members of Senatus under Principals Tulloch and Forbes, attendance on whose classes was an indispensable preliminary to a degree in Arts. Others there were who dwelt apart, but were readily found by interested inquirers. Dr. M. F. Heddle, Professor of Chemistry, and otherwise scientifically

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distinguished, was a genial and attractive personality, and always secured earnest and devoted students. Dr. Oswald Home Bell, official medical adviser to the University, discoursed on Physiology, and easily commanded the presence of thronging and eager auditors when he chose to discuss a popular branch of his subject. A venerable colleague, whose lecture-room was rarely visited by any but himself and the college servants, was Dr. William Macdonald, who was entrusted with the somewhat incompatible subjects, Natural and Civil History. As a rule, he occupied his twofold chair at his ease and with abundant leisure for special research. Neither of his subjects being included in the degree course, his professional services were in small demand, and the tradition is that in twenty-five years he had but one Natural History class and six in the Civil department. In the late sixties it was understood that he held a sinecure, and there was only one occasion on which he seemed likely to have a session's work before him. Discovering that, when the winter's routine had been fairly started without his co-operation, he intended to go to Egypt, six or eight conspirators determined to assume the accuracy of the Calendar regarding his scheme of lectures, and put him to the test. So, on an early day of the session they appeared in his room at the canonical hour, duly provided with formidable note-books, and ostensibly eager for action. But the Professor, who probably fostered a chronic suspicion that such a surprise was possible, was not to be taken at a disadvantage. He straightway began his Civil course with an ancient and fragmentary discourse on the age of Elizabeth, estimating the Queen in particular with an engaging frankness that greatly charmed his playful auditors. The game, it may be added, ended with the one hour's frolic, and the Professor, relieved from harassing anxiety, thereafter proceeded to his winter quarters in peace.

The only preliminary examination in those days was that

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which was set for bursary candidates. These were usually youths well trained in school, or otherwise, in Latin, Arithmetic, and English—the subjects of examination for bursaries—and some of them also, having come from High schools or having themselves been teachers, had more than an elementary knowledge of Mathematics and Greek. Others similarly qualified did not take the bursary examination, while the rest of the beginners generally had very limited pretensions to scholarship. The result was that a first year's class was inevitably of a very motley order. It contained men almost ready to face the examination on school subjects for the pass degree, and others with only very elementary Latin and Mathematics and no Greek at all. The course of study pursued made a kind of intermediate appeal between the extremes thus indicated, the well-prepared entrants usually having but little difficulty in securing the class honours at the close of the session. An unusually hard worker of the untutored section, if gifted with the right abilities, might probably climb to a degree of eminence in the course of the winter, but this was almost sure to be an exceptional case. The nondescripts usually passed out as they had come in—a little better for their experience, but inevitably awkward and inefficient as before. This type of learner, so far as Classics and Mathematics were concerned, was not often asked to display his powers in the presence of the class. On the occasional opportunities offered for his acceptance, he was prone to confess a state of unpreparedness for the ordeal, and was at length told, directly or by implication, that nothing remained but to leave him to the part of "dumb dog" which he had evidently chosen to play. Sometimes, if he advanced to the philosophy classes, he rose to quite unexpected heights, and even gained honourable distinction, but as a general thing he suffered from first to last from the lack of fundamental discipline. There may be room to complain

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of some of the features in the preliminary tests that are now considered indispensable to the formal entrance into the University, but at any rate they are calculated to ensure a higher general standard of scholarship than could possibly be secured in the days when such examinations were unknown.

The vagaries and the oddities of the casual student—the man who intended to be a teacher or a lawyer, and his neighbour who merely desired a smattering of culture—were always pleasant and stimulating diversions. They were welcome and charming interruptions of the formal routine, and they were appreciated in their respective ways by the Professors of Humanity, Logic, and Ethics, although they were hardly so welcome to other dignitaries. There was, for instance, general joy when a reader who pronounced the name of Hector's spouse as if it had been "Andrew Mackie" was comforted from the chair with the genial assurance that his originality of vocalisation was not altogether unprecedented, for that at least once before in similar circumstances the lady had been called "Andrew Mack." It was again a supreme hour in the Class of Logic and Metaphysics when the writer of an essay was asked to read his production from the beginning onwards, as the examiner had found the MS. illegible. After three futile attempts on different pages, the essayist achieved a perfect culmination with the remark, "It doesn't matter; there is not much in it any way," and incontinently sat down amid the rapturous appreciation of his fellows. A similarly ingenuous disciple, prompted by the instigation of a crafty senior, gave occasion for rousing the echoes of Prof. Flint's room by a severe castigation of a philosopher whom he persistently called "Jeremiah" Bentham. His explanation afterwards was to the effect that, while a man might be familiarly called Jeremy by his comrades, it was necessary to use his proper name in a college essay. Mention may be made in passing of fun from



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a different source, and extremely entertaining in its own way, that was once produced in the same class-room. On this occasion both the Professor and many of the students were puzzled to account for the hilarity that accompanied the calling of the roll by a humorous front-bench man. The secret was that, as he progressed, he steadily introduced the first letters of nicknames as middle initials. When at length "X" was given its proper place, the Professor manifestly grasped the joke, and pleasantly restored order with the remark that the reader's device had evidently been carried far enough.

Those who knew Prof. Campbell may imagine how he looked, and what he was provoked to say, when he was told by a novice, who was struggling helplessly to read the text of Homer, that he had "no genius for Greek." Also, they will readily conclude that there were some exciting moments when another adventurer, barely able to spell through the original, was found to be a fluent and elegant translator because he had a leaf of Bohn, or another convenient medium, dexterously adjusted within his text-book. They will further be able to appreciate the scene in which the Professor and a completely unconscious jester were the protagonists. It was a snowy morning, and the student (who was above scholarly ambition) was clad in an expansive overcoat adorned with huge white buttons after the manner displayed on garments worn by coachmen. Seated as he had come from outside, with the neck of his coat raised to his ears, the youth in perfect innocence wondered along with his class-fellows what could possibly be causing the strain of painful suspense under which everything seemed to lie. At length the problem was solved by the authoritative and palpably anxious deliverance, "If gentlemen choose to come here in disguise, it is to be hoped that at least they will behave themselves." As it was evident that much might possibly be said for both sides, there was less mirth at the moment than such an



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essentially droll situation might naturally have been expected to produce.

Two representatives have sufficient significance to be worthy of standing by themselves and together. The elderly mathematical Professor, who was a very genial and delightful man when not wrestling with problems, was somewhat short-sighted and prone to be impatient when irregularities occurred. Never very familiar, as some of his colleagues were, with the members of his classes, he had to depend upon his roll when he wished to test the quality of an individual. On one occasion he chanced to call to his feet a middle-aged man unknown to anybody, who timidly explained that, in spite of being in the front bench, he was unable to see the board. This produced some incisive remarks from the platform, after which the luckless searcher for mathematical truth resumed his normal position and his dim outlook upon the didactic proceedings. The scene, of course, delighted the youthful and less thoughtful section of the onlookers, who instantly accorded it unstinted applause. Next day, and throughout the remainder of the session, they received a tacit and impressive rebuke, when they saw the scion of a noble house, who was destined to high distinction in the councils of the nation, seated beside the scientific aspirant and copying upon his note-book whatever was written on the black-board. How the Professor felt about the incident and its sequel one never heard, but in the other anecdote that is now to be recounted there occurs a complete and amusing triumph from the preceptor's point of view. This time the story concerns the zealous and kindly Professor Swan. Unsympathetic auditors, especially when the room was darkened for optical experiments, frequently harassed the gentle and patient demonstrator beyond the limits of endurance. One day he suddenly named five or six vigorous songsters, and asked them to see him in his room at the end of the hour. At the solemn meeting he seemed to

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state his grievance particularly to one member of the apprehensive group, who presently said, "I am very sorry, Prof. Swan, to find that you think I was at the bottom of that disturbance." At once came the joyous and crushing reply, "I don't think you were at the bottom of it, but I am very certain you were at the top of it." Musical himself, he had no difficulty in detecting a voice otherwise familiar, and in his satisfaction at his success he instantly closed the episode without the slightest reference to any but the one offender. Long years afterwards the culprit and his generous accuser rejoiced together over the recollection of this and other things that they had in common from their University experiences.

Outside their classes the students of those days had a variety of interests. With regard to Sunday there was fitful and gentle supervision, but absolutely no constraint. On Saturday evenings the Classical and the Literary Society attracted their respective members, and provided abundant opportunities for stimulating oratorical powers that have since been notably exercised in the pulpit, on the platform, and in Parliament. Other smaller and special societies furnished separate and peculiar attractions. After the draughty cloisters were transformed into rooms, somewhere about 1864, opportunity was provided for the practice of gymnastics, to which a fair number of enthusiasts readily devoted themselves, largely encouraged in their zeal by the advice and the expert example of Professor Campbell. The triennial election of the Lord Rector was invariably a stirring event, sharpening wits and provoking strong and vehement party discussion. At a meeting connected with one of these elections a casual student, fresh from some rural retreat, definitely revealed himself. Making an appeal in the whirling turmoil to a senior neighbour, he anxiously asked for a definition of a motion, pathetically adding, "I dinna ken what they mean be't a'." Whether in the end he voted for Froude or Disraeli it is

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impossible now to say. It was on the same occasion that certain tactics, associated with the totally improbable candidature of Carlyle, roused party feeling to such a degree that it found expression in burning the effigy of one of the keenest partisans in the struggle. Another exciting time was the annual celebration of Kate Kennedy's Day, which increased in the later sixties in interest and importance because of opposition given to it by the Principal of the United College and others. In 1867 horses for the first time appeared in the procession, and appreciably added to the splendour of the display. Although essentially joyous and harmless, the festivity was the kind of thing that is particularly liable to abuse. Thus, there is little room for surprise when we find that it gradually degenerated in character, and at last faded out, to the deep regret of former celebrants. Beyond the College walls there were various recreations, all distinctly good of their kind. Golf, of course, had its devotees, and there were academic experts who occasionally rose towards professional form. A flourishing football club was able to give a good account of itself in matches; University sports were instituted, and proved successful; and walking, riding, and driving all found willing responses to their respective attractions. An annual University ball was an institution that was speedily its own high recommendation. When there was sufficient snow on the ground, good-natured battles were waged between town and gown, a common sequel to the struggles being the necessity to raise a subscription towards providing repairs on shattered windows in North Street. Students of the same year broke into social sections, and within these again were formed close and lasting friendships. In the leisurely afternoons, undisturbed by other distractions, couples of comrades, united through this intimacy, might have been seen slowly traversing the principal streets and evidently finding interesting matter for discussion. It is on record that one notable result of these peregrinations

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was a group of pseudonymous "characters," dexterously adjusted within resonant and winsome quatrains. Such a permanent impress has its own place in substantially supplementing reminiscences, and together they form a rare and invaluable possession.

Reflecting on the work done in the somewhat remote days thus recalled, one cannot but admire the courage, the methodical treatment, and the unfailing tact that were brought to bear on the available resources. What was accomplished in all departments could not be other than of a more or less elementary character, and yet it was planned and directed with such breadth and suggestiveness of outlook, such a high regard for the supreme importance of exact knowledge, and such felicitous skill in selecting and co-relating dominant points of view, that every capable citizen of the University received an appreciable impress of true culture. From the day on which he was introduced in the Humanity class-room to such theories as those concerning Virgil's "Pollio" to the date of his departure from St. Mary's, inspired and encouraged by the eminent Principal's lofty teaching and example, the man who was worthy of his privileges enjoyed a rich and stimulating experience. His subjects were not too many, and as far as it was possible for him to enter into their recesses and intricacies they served as interpreters and trustworthy guides. They prompted research, and they afforded fairly adequate means for fresh enterprise. It was not, perhaps, much to get within the purlieus of the imposing temple wherein the priceless treasures of the world's experience are gathered together, but to be there at all, and to have a clear idea of what the position implied, was something to warrant satisfaction and to excuse modest pride of achievement. Thenceforth it rested with each neophyte, soundly if still but imperfectly equipped, to make the very best of his accomplishments, and to add, if he could, to the grand total of speculation and regulated scholarship. With such a favourable starting-point for individual



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effort, exceptionally gifted *alumni* of St. Andrews have all along been able to approve themselves notable scholars, men of letters, and philosophers. Some have reached their distinction by simply working forward on their own account from the stage at which their academic training left them ; others have supplemented their outfit by utilising the resources of extraneous seats of learning ; and all have abundantly illustrated the abiding worth of their fundamental acquirements. With larger initial conditions, there would undoubtedly have been an appreciably enhanced brilliance in the ultimate revelation of their sovereign value.

It must, however, be admitted that the old curriculum was restricted and hampered by its inevitable limitations. Had it been otherwise, the men who rose to eminence in the line of its provisions might have asserted themselves sooner, and taken even higher rank among their fellows, than it was their lot to do. In that case also it is just possible that their numbers would have been materially increased. But the range was narrow and confined, and the results, on the most liberal estimate, could never have more than a general and essentially preparatory character. The students who completed their course, and especially such of them as graduated, were, in the main, satisfied with what was accomplished, and therefore settled straightway to their life-work. It was only the ambitious few, destined to make quest in special directions, who aspired to go further. This latter class all along felt that the revered *Alma Mater* failed to do what she was essentially capable of doing, and what without doubt she could do if Fortune would but smile on her enterprise. But it was so ordered that she had constantly to practise a rigid economy, and to impart instruction to those who came under her sway provided with only the barest rudiments of knowledge. These were the formidable impediments to great achievement and true progress. Without money it was impossible to elabo-



## STUDENT LIFE—PAST

rate or modify standard methods, and every Professor was under the stern necessity of struggling against time, with the certain knowledge that he waged a losing battle. There was a clamant need for such division and subdivision of labour as new and potent influences have at length made possible in these latter days. Besides, with the bar presented by the inexorable examiners who preside at the entrance ceremonies, there should be no successors to the ingenuous and diverting type already denominated the "casual student." It should no longer be possible to hear, as aforetime, a graduate in Classics translating Seneca in the Private Class, and boldly interpreting *secundum Naturam* as a "second nature." Other old things—the odd Chairs, the practical sinecures, the miscellaneous hosts of candidates for medical degrees—must have finally ceased and determined, duly passing to the limbo of forgotten ventures. Perhaps the risk to be obviated now is that of dissipating energies amid a plethora of attractions. If this is so, then the old appeal, *Ne multa discas sed multum*, may safely be proffered still as an embodiment of perennially sound and generally applicable wisdom.

THOMAS BAYNE.



## STUDENT LIFE—PRESENT



## Student Life—Present



THE student life of the present day is a thing of as many facets and attributes as there are names on the Matriculation Roll, and it is therefore the more difficult to reduce it for the purposes of contemplation into anything like a continuous whole. Rather it appears as a series of disconnected images and impressions, a chaos of indiscriminate trifles, tinged throughout with the vagaries of one's own career. This personal element is always dominant; one cannot define student life as this or that persistent quality,—one can only present it as the collected essence of all these impressions, as it has appeared to oneself. Doubtless it has seemed quite otherwise to most others.

I fancy, though, that the first and essential charm of student life is its freedom, the absence of those terribly unwritten laws that fetter more conventional society. Within the ordinary limits there is no reason why the student should not do just as he thinks fit. He depends on no one, and no one depends on him; he can harm no one but himself. If it occurs to him to set out upon a ten mile walk at three o'clock on a February morning, he may go without preliminary, he may even find company. If he feels it more expedient to remain in bed than to attend his earlier classes, there is no emphatic reason why he should not do so. He is more or less independent of those dire manacles of society—meals. But for a few concessions to his landlady, a



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certain bowing to the academic laws, he is entirely his own master ; and this state of existence, though of doubtful ultimate benefit, is very pleasant at the time.

Then there is the delightful sense of progress and development ; one can, as it were, see oneself growing. One learns a little of the arts and sciences,—a great deal more of the world and of one's fellow-men. I take it that the great aim of a University training is to make men out of boys, and the main duty of the student to develop along these lines. It is all done gradually and beautifully ; one has time to stand aside at intervals and note the change ; there is no hurry, no jerk or upheaval. At the end of each term one sees oneself as an ineffably superior being to the self of its commencement. One begins as a bejant, that is to say, a schoolboy with a red gown on his back, and from that, by infinitely small stages, one makes advance.

One forms, too, curiously intimate intercourses with one's fellows. The Englishman's home is reputedly his castle, but the St. Andrews bunk is any one's who finds the door unbarred ; he neither knocks nor rings, nor considers the suitability of the hour. It is understood that his host will be glad to see him ; if not, he will say so. One borrows amazingly, and about this community of property there is something very charming. If one's cupboard is empty, one sallies forth in search of one that is full, and it is no unusual thing to find on one's table a note which says " Have borrowed your hat to go home." Yet there is no little nonsense talked about the universal brotherhood of St. Andrews men and their indiscriminate intimacy. St. Andrews is too small a university for factions and feuds, but it is still large enough for sets and dislikes, and these flourish vigorously. I have no sympathy for those who would paint it otherwise, for it seems to me that if this were indeed so St. Andrews would be a vastly less human and less delightful place.

Of the St. Andrews curriculum I have little to say, partly

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because I have always found it incomprehensible, and partly because it is a thing in which men as a whole take little interest. In the *Calendar*—delightful enigma—one reads much of ordinances and groups—obscure and impalpable things defying comprehension, but I fancy that most men settle their course by following in the wake of some one who has gone before, and who has solved these mysteries by first-hand investigation. I cannot help mourning, however, for the old summer session, that blissful time of sun baths in the Quad. and endless brilliant evenings, and never a hand's turn of work. As to the classes themselves, if one is to believe the tales that come down, they would seem to be less boisterous than of yore, vastly less humorous, and this must surely be a matter for regret. The old class songs set a sort of hall-mark on the Bohemianism of the singers; it was as if men shouted aloud their irresponsibility. But the gift of song seems to be slipping from us; men do not sing now as they did, either in the streets or in the Colleges, or anywhere else.

But be this as it may, there are still worthy citizens of St. Andrews who regard the students with awe. The old strifes of town and gown are now hushed except during the Parliamentary elections, when I have seen great things done outside Henderson's shop in Church Street, but there remains among certain sections of the community a lingering and incredible terror of the student and his ways. I recall one of my earliest experiences of St. Andrews as walking along South Street in the dusk and hearing a tremendous uproar of singing approaching from the Cathedral end. I passed two worthy ladies in conversation, and one of them said "IT'S THE STUDENTS." She said it so,—in large capitals; she spoke as though it were a manifestation of the Hosts of Darkness; she was genuinely apprehensive.

I have not infrequently heard members of other Universities refer to some one of our number as a "typical St. Andrews

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man," but when I asked them the meaning of this expression they knew no more than I did. There is no such thing as a typical St. Andrews man, any more than there is a typical professor or a typical caddie ; if there were, I have no conception what he would be like. We have all sorts and conditions of men in St. Andrews, a fine variety of types. We are told by those who have been some time down that our men are less men than were theirs, and in this I think there is some truth. If the men of to-day are less rough, they are also less virile, and this is not altogether a good thing. There is a lack of reverence for the old traditions ; Raisin Day, for instance, is a failing institution, and the Big Math Maul has lost its prestige. I hold the older men altogether responsible for the growing presumption and arrogance of the modern bejant, whose life has become a bed of roses, and I can picture the pious horror with which the men of old would view a Heckling Meeting of to-day, or a session which contained four conversaziones and not one Gaudeamus. There is a universal lack of keenness, a tendency to take without giving in return, a narrowness of interests : from all these things I think the old men must have been free. I am not sure how far this is due to the women, and how far to our increasing numbers, and how far it is just pose. After all it may be no more than a passing phase.

To the purely social side of St. Andrews student life,—that side, I mean, that attends and organises societies, that manipulates dinners and dances,—there is no end. Societies come into being and wane and die, coalesce and ramify, almost every term ; they pass through critical periods of uncertainty or triumph according as the public taste veers for the moment. We have not enough men to go round our societies, and that is at once the drawback and the salvation of the St. Andrews social life,—the drawback because it means that our leading men have necessarily too many irons in the fire, and the salvation because

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it does away with that competition which in other Universities renders the *cursus honorum* a strenuous and a specialised affair. The old days of the Classical and the Literary—they that ramified into Debaters and Alexandrians and Philosophicals and much more—are gone, and in their place has grown up a struggling mass of smaller societies—mushroom growths and crumbling ruins—fighting desperately for existence. That there are too many is, I think, universally granted; the difficulty is to decide which shall go and which shall remain. It is so scandalously easy to become an official on at least one out of all these, and so absolutely unimportant. More serious is the management of that little-appreciated periodical, *College Echoes*, and some of the vividest memories I have are of sitting in an atmosphere charged with smoke, drinking evil coffee and endeavouring to devise copy in time for the four o'clock post a.m. All such work is probably pointless in the extreme and in no way connected with the obtaining of one's degree, yet its fruits are an undying satisfaction, and a very real, if a temporary and restricted, importance.

In the way of social intercourse there has been growing up of late a terrible habit of conversaziones and socials, of which, I fear, the men of old would have little approved. I remember these things as rather dull and interminable evenings punctuated by amateur music, through which one sat red-gowned in the Union Dining Hall—the men all together in one half, and the women huddled and inaccessible in the other—and drank atrocious tea and coffee, and rarely if ever got within speaking distance of the people one sought. Pleasanter memories are of nights danced away in that same Union, when that dreary building would assume for once some appearance of colour and comfort. And then there are, too, the Gaudeamuses—a dying institution, some say, but Heaven forbid that it be so—long riotous evenings of song and mirth and unheard speeches and incredible aftermaths. I cannot believe that we have too much



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frivolity ; rather I think we have too little, for men do not come to know each other within the four walls of a class-room, and I have never known a worker yet so earnest that he could not afford a few hours' holiday when a fit occasion came his way.

The St. Andrews man has a considerable passion for meetings, and he takes them with a certain solemnity. I have many memories of such assemblies—held generally “immediately after the dines.” In all of them I sit, usually on the floor, in the Union Council Chamber, and gaze through a haze of smoke at the dim but important figure of the chairman ; out of the smoke-cloud behind me comes the voice of some earnest reformer eager on this or that grave trifle. Seldom was the outcome of these meetings more than the appointment of a committee, and often they endured for whole stuffy afternoons, yet they, too, were in a sense enjoyable.

Vignetted and interspersed among all these impressions are little mind-pictures of the place itself wherein they happen, this wise, defiant, time-ridden place that must surely now and then lead the thoughts of even the dullest into unsuspected channels. The St. Andrews guide-books, adhering loyally to the principles of all such works, say nothing whatever about anything that really matters ; and I fear that we of the Scarlet Gown are apt to make all too little use of our own eyes. Always one says “I shall do this for the rest of my days,” and always one reverts and relapses. But I have vivid memories of long fresh walks into the rolling southward hills, whose charm is that there the weather is of little moment ; for if it be a grey day with flying clouds and gulls wheeling it is good to be up there in the midst of it ; and, if it be fine and still, one may look away indefinitely across the Bay and the Firth and the fields of Angus and the frame of cold snow hills. And another picture is of the Kinkell Braes, where the little capes and bays run in and out all the way eastward to Crail, on a late afternoon when the sun is getting out



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of sight behind Strathkinness and St. Andrews grows first orange and then red and then grey, with all its smoke going up very straight and slow. There stand out, too, one or two immortal walks to the top of Drumcarro, whence one looks down on all the flat ground of the Eden mouth spread like a carpet, with on one side St. Andrews, remote and sad-coloured by a vast grey arc of sea, and on the other the Howe of Fife and the black bulwark of the Lomonds. All my pictures are in winter, for then, I think, comes the real St. Andrews of wind and rain or wide frosty distances; the nearest thing to summer that I can think of is falling noiseless leaves and blue October hazes. And I have as well several cherished pastels of the Pier in all times and conditions—a Pier standing out into a sea of dead blue with white waves frothing in December sunshine; of a Pier where one was soaked needlessly and delightfully by mountainous thundering billows; of a Pier mysteriously dusk with the tide well out and the little rocks round the buoy all showing, and a lemon-coloured moon lifting gently out of the great North Sea. Not exactly student life, perhaps, all this, for I believe very many of us never see these things; but I have always thought that we learn as much from this patchwork of sea and ruins and broad St. Andrean vistas as ever came from the inside of a class-room.

It may be that I have disappointed some because in all this paper I have made no mention of that so-called "St. Andrews spirit," of which at one time we heard so much. This has come about for the reasons that I do not believe it exists, or ever did, and that as I have never heard it adequately defined, I do not at all know what it is. I rather doubt it was someone's invention. It prided itself on that fallacy of an universal loving brotherhood, which I have heretofore tried to expose; it indulged in catch phrases anent old red gowns and the like; it clung terribly to symbols and shadows. At times, I fear,

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it came perilously near to sentimentalism. Of late years it seems to have vanished—perhaps because its non-existence can no longer be disguised ; and yet, if it were indeed a fallacy, it was a pleasant fallacy and a loyal, and a very cohesive factor in student affairs.

It occurs to me, on looking over what I have written, that I have unintentionally painted our lives as things without purpose—as an alternation of pointless meetings and unprofitable social gatherings and hours of outdoor dreaming. It is, perhaps, true that the work of the classes comes last in most men's thoughts, but there are also a few to whom it comes first, and these I feel I have somewhat neglected. Certain it is that this ultimate purpose of our St. Andrews being has now and then to be faced, and I do not mean to imply by anything I have said that the majority of men do not then face it. All of us—save the very privileged and the very foolish—get through a certain amount of work, and some of us, to whom be all respect, a very vast amount ; but the average man, I think, makes it his aim to put off as long as possible, and at the last to make the most of the minimum. And I like to think that we have not altogether lost sight of that strain of St. Andrean madness that ran through the great men of old, and has handed down from bunk-fire to bunk-fire undying and well-nigh unbelievable tales—full of a sort of daft humour that was at once their source and their salvation. We must have both sorts of men in our University, the men whose names go down to the roll of scholarship, and the men whose histories are never written nor ever die.

Such, then, is the Student Life, all built up of infinitesimal vicissitudes that yield somehow a solid final effect. One goes up as a bejant, if one is lucky one is tried, and after that one goes on steadily through the procession of terms, changing, growing, broadening. The whole thing is coloured with

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emphatic and salient trifles, recurring episodes that have impressed. It has a sort of subtle music—an echo of the Latin graces at the Dines and these fine sweeping songs of Farmer's, blended with the St. Leonard's chimes and the interminable noise of waves. A life in miniature, red-letter days and black, little brief importances and fallings ; over it all the crowning charm of irresponsibility. One or two memorable talks and discoveries, a few abiding faces, this or that unforgettable day. Now and again a spasm of belated, feverish work ; here and there an all-night sitting and an emerging into the chill unshaven world of dawn. It is all clouded in a fine haze of reminiscent tobacco smoke and indolent careless dreamings, and so one goes through it. One is so heedless that it cannot come again any more than it can ever be taken away. So the terms drift by and carry one somehow to that final agonised moment of graduation ; there comes a great parting wrench, and it is all ended. It is all, I have said, made up of and dependent on small things, but it is not possible to go through it unchanged. Of the educational value of an University training I have many and grave doubts ; but I maintain that no man can grow fully in all his parts without some fair experience of this Student Life.

C. HILTON BROWN.



THE ROMANCE OF ST. ANDREWS





## The Romance of St. Andrews



NE evening I was walking on the sands with the only fellow-student whom I called my friend. The afternoon had been dull, and when we reached the Eden there was little promise of a fine sunset. The tide was far out, and stretches of wet, grey sand were spread before us.

Yet in the monotone there was a restful feeling, and the level foreground and middle distance blended peacefully with the masses of the grey city, low on the horizon south-eastward. We turned and walked towards it as the first sunset tints flushed the sky. The light was very tender that evening; there was no gold, no orange, no fiery red. The moist and misty air cut off all glories of sunlight. Only the faintest rose-pink came, to last but a passing moment and then mingle with the softest of blues. Nor was this tint so evanescent as its forerunners. Nature seemed in love with her own colour-scheme, and the delicate hues spread from north-west to zenith and onward till they touched the sea-line on the east. Even the grey city was caught in the delicate tints, and the wet sand flushed in a pale reflection. The air was full of light, and the whole landscape seemed as though carved out of an amethyst. We had been walking slowly and for some time silently. At last we stopped. I turned to my companion, as soon as the feeling which filled us both found words, and said, "If I could die in this moment, I should be happy."

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That was years ago, but I have never forgotten the moment; it was the culminating point in my realisation of the St. Andrews charm.

Every lover of our *Alma Mater* is something of a pantheist. Many students come to her already in tune with nature and more than half aware of the influence which peaceful horizontal lines and great sky expanses have upon them. Others remain unconscious for long of the feelings roused in them. Some never realise the spell until they leave the place, and some never really know what it was that stirred them. To me, the most lasting charm of St. Andrews lies in this evening calm, in the low-lying dunes, in the level sea, and in the outline of the city, so little elevated above the water-line that the highest tower scarcely breaks the great sweep of sky from horizon to mid-heaven.

And yet, as one stands at the turn by the Eden and looks back, what wealth of interest is crowded into that almost negligible angle. One knows that when the soft white sand has been ploughed through, and the firmer, red-yellow sands have been passed, the links safely crossed, and one's feet set once more on the narrow pavements, the quiescence of pantheism will be a mood of the past, and the student will turn to those very human interests which meet him everywhere, all the more ready for feast or fray because of that hour of quiet abstraction.

It is true that these feelings are not confined to students; but those who come to the little city in the autumn and leave it before a northern spring has passed into summer, cannot fail to have a greater store of such memories than the residents. It is just at these times of natural changes—times, too, of beginnings and endings in academic life—that the mystery and romance of the St. Andrews atmosphere are greatest, and that the student most frequently turns to the “stretch of sand beside the sea.”



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*From a print by JOHN SLEZER, 1693*





## THE ROMANCE OF ST. ANDREWS

There is, of course, a feeling of more active enjoyment in a quick-paced winter tramp, either under a February morning sun, shining as I verily believe it does nowhere else, with the north-wind blowing straight off the snow-hills beyond the Tay, or after dark on a clear, still, frosty night. And there is another joy, of midsummer, when one stands between yesterday and to-morrow, striving to catch the moment when sunset turns to dawn. The sea sings low beside the pier on many a day and night, and beauty, born of murmuring sound, draws the student to her side like a siren, and there are ideal hiding-places in the cliffs where one may be alone all day and yet keep a watching eye upon the little town. But as for me, the evening walk along the west sands is the memory I cling to most of all, and would least willingly forego.

To-day I have been looking over Professor Knight's *Andreapolis* with a feeling of disappointment that so few among the ardent admirers of the city seem affected by what attracted me most strongly. But then, few of the celebrated writers were actually students of the University. Among those who were must be numbered Andrew Lang and R. F. Murray, for both of whom the sands and sea had infinite attraction. Others dwell on the antiquity of the city, its interest as the resting-place of St. Andrew and the home of St. Regulus, as the eastern outpost of the Columban Church, as the theatre of tragic and historic action, as the scene of vanished greatness. Lord Cockburn finds that it is the "ruins of ruins" which makes, "improves" is his word, the mystery of the place. But there are many other places with ancient remains which yet lack the curious happy-melancholy of the grey city. Think of the "ruins of ruins" which confront one in Rome. Yet it is only on the rolling Campagna, with the age-worn arches of the viaducts breaking its level lines, that one gets something akin to the St. Andrews feeling—and even then there is no sea.

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A similar challenging comparison is made in Mr. Lang's *Haunted Town*. Oxford is as supreme in one way as Rome is in another, and while Mr. Lang does not seek to minimise her charm, he is also forced to own that "dearer far" is the little town by its northern sea. For him it is friendship, and the memory of friendship, that makes *Alma Mater* "still more dear," and here again the student must feel a stronger magnetism than the ordinary inhabitant. College friends are not necessarily best friends, but they are the comrades of an age when the emotions are strongest and when companionship is most enjoyable. This is true of all Universities; more true in some ways of Oxford, with its collegiate life, than of St. Andrews; yet in St. Andrews, its smallness and, paradoxically, the very absence of collegiate life, give opportunities for human intercourse undreamed of under collegiate restrictions.

"Out by Cameron, in by the Grange,  
And to bed as the moon descended."

What Oxford undergraduate can parallel a memory like that! Yet there are few St. Andreans who cannot recall at least one long walk after an evening's work which ended at midnight, and a return with cool, fresh brain for a few hours' sleep before the early tutorial.

"He levys at ese that freely levys,"

and though St. Andreans do not always use their liberty well, it is exhilarating to know that one is free to enjoy the moonlight and the silent, black, frosty night, without fear of proctors and bulldogs.

But I fear that so far I am only proving the night to be "the best part of the day" in our northern university, and that would be unwise in a memorial volume which has a chance of being unearthed from the top shelves of the library and read as

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a document in social history, some hundred years hence. Besides, we are not afraid to face a daylight competition.

In daylight the mystery may lessen but the interest and the associations awakened are intensified. The slender east and west ends of the Cathedral stand out sharply against blue sky on a sunny morning and set you wondering at their unsuspected strength. Guide-book tales of the havoc wrought in a single day by fanatics who attacked still more solid parts of the massive building cause you to smile and then to think of the strange life of a certain galley-slave, who became a leader among men and a counsellor in England as well as in Scotland. Remembering Knox, we must needs recall his opponent the Cardinal and the siege by land and sea of his great castle. Tap the history of St. Andrews where you will, you are almost certain to come upon strong passions and fierce deeds, things that the student cannot ever quite forget, even under the bluest of windless skies, with the lark singing his midday chant of joy. Such memories are always present among the sub-conscious "free ideas" of the student, and their existence is just one more of the distinctive qualities in the St. Andrews atmosphere.

But what of the steady, unromantic worker whose very practical aim is a good place on the class lists and a beeline progress towards his degree? Even he cannot escape the impressions which enthrall others; the historic charm and the nature-spell work on him too, though more purely on his subliminal self. And in his daily work there is a something peculiar to the place. "The effect of bracing air" says the sceptic, but I believe the very lamp burns with a difference. Many of the conditions under which we work suggest tradition unbroken for centuries; the scarlet gown itself is an inheritance from early days and a link with the old-world "nations" of the Continental universities. Then, just when the worker has reached the conclusion that St. Andrews is a "survival," that its methods are

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mediaeval, its atmosphere quaint and interesting, if you like, but provincial, there comes a morning hour of illumination in the —no ! I must not particularise—in a certain classroom, when a lecturer, who is teacher as well as scholar, throws far-reaching light on new worlds of thought and the class file out as the bell rings, knowing that there are some things to be found in this northern university unobtainable elsewhere.

*Alma Mater* is indeed difficult to classify. Other universities may win an easy victory over her in any single contest for superiority. She cannot even claim to be the smallest of her kind in Europe. She is not the most ancient, nor the most northerly, nor the most learned, most lively, most picturesque, most hospitable, nor even—dare I say it !—the most interesting. But what the friends of *Alma Mater* all feel and are all more or less conscious of, is the manifold appeal to all sides of their personality—

“Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale  
Her infinite variety.”

The more complex the character of the student the more interest and delight can he experience during his college days and from their memory. Hence comes it that the best men St. Andrews sends out are also her truest lovers.

The essence of romance lies in the wonder of unexpected charm, and this is the secret of *Alma Mater's* spell. You think our University a lonely outpost of learning, and you find, on studying its history, that its contact with European thought has been close and intimate in all but a very few years of its life. You think it insignificant in these modern days of great educational developments, and forgotten by the world, and then on its five hundredth birthday you find a pilgrimage from all the habitable globe to its shrines. You think the town a “grey city” and suddenly a day comes when the shore vibrates with colour waves—blue sky, clear green water, and red-white sand—





ST. ANDREWS HARBOUR





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and the aged stones are warm with light. You think the landscape too peaceful, too tame, and the bay mere empty water, listless and dull. Then comes a pitiless gale from the east which cuts the face like a lash, the shallow sea rises quickly, the breakers churn upon the rocks, and as evening closes in, guns are heard and some unfortunate boat struggles for life in the bay. Or it is summer and the visitors have done their best and their worst, with considerable measure of success, to make a "fashionable seaside resort" of the place. But while they are yet speaking, golfing, peacocking over the last putting-green as the players come home, a great white veil is seen in the offing, pendant above the water. Shortly it moves towards the land, hiding tower after tower in its thick, silent folds. The blue fades from the sea, the light from the sky, the gay dresses flutter and shiver as their wearers cross the grass and seek cover, the serious golfer cannot follow his ball after a full drive. The links are deserted, the seabirds and the white mist have it to themselves. All the history, all the tragedy, all the variegated hues of student life, all the learning, the brilliant, the careful work—are as though they had never existed and as though St. Andrews had yet to be.

But striding home, through the chilly haar, with scarlet gown pulled closely round him, the student sees, even through the mist that hides material things, the ghosts of a great past, the immanence of a happy present, the shadow of a noble future.

E. P. STEELE-HUTTON.



JAMES CRICHTON OF ELIOCK





## James Crichton of Eliock



KNOWN to history as the Admirable Crichton for his universal accomplishments as scholar and man of action, the figure of James Crichton of Eliock and Cluny stands out as one of the most remarkable and mysterious in that exceedingly interesting period of Italian life and letters towards the close of the sixteenth century. Born, presumably at Eliock House, Dumfriesshire, on the 19th of August, 1560, James Crichton was the son of parents whose families had played a not unimportant part in the history of Scotland. His father, Robert Crichton, was a Lord of Session, and, from 1562 until his death in June, 1582, held the high office of Lord Advocate; and his mother, Elizabeth Stewart, was of the Royal House of Scotland. Where James Crichton received his early education is not known, although Patrick Fraser Tytler,<sup>1</sup> to whom we are indebted for the first English account of Crichton in any way approaching authenticity, thinks it probable that the first rudiments were acquired at a school in Perth or in Edinburgh. But the records of some important phases of his career at St. Andrews University are to be found in the original registers still preserved. At nine years of age he entered St. Salvador's College, he took his B.A. degree three years later, and proceeded Artium Magister at the age of fourteen. A year afterwards he was one of several youths chosen to assist by

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Crichton*, by Patrick Fraser Tytler (Edinburgh, 1819 and 1823).

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their companionship in the education of King James VI., at that time a boy of nine years of age.

Crichton's movements for the next four years cannot be detailed with any great historical accuracy. One or two writers have stated that he went to Paris, where he distinguished himself at the College of Navarre, and, later, spent a couple of years in the French army.<sup>1</sup> But the first actual proof of his appearance on the Continent is furnished by a printed oration<sup>2</sup> in Latin which he delivered on the first of July, 1579, in the Ducal Palace at Genoa at an election of the Senate. He is next to be traced to Venice,<sup>3</sup> where he was hospitably entertained by Aldus Manutius and others, and where he gave a display of his varied accomplishments. The particulars are recorded as fully as they need be in Tytler's work, and in the present writer's more recent short biography. But the results of the latest investigations in Italy and of the writing and discoveries of recent times, while they enhance rather than diminish Crichton's fame, show him in a very curious light, and afford a better indication as to the character and temperament of the man than, probably, anything that was previously published concerning him.

Leaving, therefore, the story that has already been told so often, we come to the time, February, 1582,<sup>4</sup> when Crichton

<sup>1</sup> *Relazione delle Qualità di Iacomo di Crettone, fatta da Aldo Manutio al . . . Duca di Sora*; in Vinegia, MDLXXXI. Appresso Aldo.

<sup>2</sup> *Oratio Iacobi Critonii Scoti pro Moderatorum Genuensis Reipub. electione coram Senatu habita* (Calen. Iulii; Genuae, cum licentia Superiorum, MDLXXVIII.).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, Aldus Manutius; handbill, Guerra Brothers (1580), etc.

<sup>4</sup> (a) Original documents in the R. Archivio di Stato, Mantua, discovered by the Chevalier Stefano Davari; (b) "Una Pagina della Giovinezza del Principe Vincenzo Gonzaga," by G. B. Intra (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, quarta serie, tomo xviii.); (c) "The Last Days of the Admirable Crichton," by Lily E. Marshall (*Scots Lore*, 1895); (d) "The Circumstances relating to the Death of James (the Admirable) Crichton. . . and the evidence as to the existence of a contemporary bearing the same name," by Douglas

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entered the service of Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. He was strongly recommended to "his highness" in a letter written by Annibale Capello, secretary to Cardinal Luigi D'Este, to Aurelio Zibramonti, secretary to the Duke of Mantua. Capello stated that Crichton knew Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German, Hebrew, and Chaldaic; was well versed in philosophy, theology, astrology, and mathematics; improvised verses and orations; was a graceful dancer, a skilful fencer, and an accomplished musician. Crichton was not, as has been so frequently stated, employed in the capacity of tutor to the Duke's son, Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga, for the education of that spirited young gentleman was attended to, as far as it was possible to attend to it, by learned Italians, to one of whom, Marcello Donati, reference will later be made.

In what definite capacity the young Scotsman was engaged it is difficult to say; he seems to have made himself generally useful. We find him in the midst of other occupations drawing up plans for the fortifications of the Palazzo T<sup>1</sup> at Mantua—plans which seem to have pleased the Duke, but which, probably owing to the tragedy by which Crichton lost his life, were never carried out. Prof. Giovanni Battista Intra<sup>2</sup> tells us that during his few short months at Mantua Crichton disputed with the learned friars of the Franciscan, Carmelite, and Dominican Orders, and that in these mental and oratorial contests—always keenly watched by the pious but parsimonious Duke—Crichton invariably emerged triumphant, leaving everybody astounded at his scholarship and wide knowledge, his force in attacking his opponents, and his promptness in defending himself. In addition, he seems to have distinguished himself as diplomat, as

Crichton (*Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xliii.); (e) *The Admirable Crichton: The Real Character*, 1909 (short biography by the same writer).

<sup>1</sup> So called because it is in the form of the letter T.

<sup>2</sup> "Una Pagina della Giovinezza del Principe Vincenzo Gonzaga," *Archivio Storico Italiano*.

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knight, as courtier; being aided, moreover, by an extremely handsome presence, he became the most popular figure in the Court and city of Mantua. Duke Guglielmo, in recognition of the high estimation in which he held Crichton, made him a member of his Council. All this appears to have greatly displeased the Duke's son and heir, Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga, himself a handsome youth; and there seems little doubt that the jealousy of the Prince, who had been accustomed to rank first in everything, developed into intense hatred of the young Scotsman. Crichton was well aware of the fact that he had an enemy, and, seemingly, more than one, in Mantua. The Duke assured him that no one would be permitted to interfere with him. Nevertheless, he was subjected to continual annoyance, and one reads something almost sinister in his complaints in more than one letter as to his carriage having broken down. Here is a translation of one letter, addressed to the Duke's secretary, in which Crichton expresses his regret at not being able to join his Highness, who had left Mantua, and announces his intention of employing the time, during which the coach is being mended, in attempting to carry out the Duke's wishes in regard to the plans for the fortifications of the Palazzo T:

“Most illustrious and my respected Sir,—

“Not to be wanting in respect towards a master by me most loved and esteemed, I have read the paper of your Excellency, notwithstanding that I had almost sworn not to do so, you treating me as you do. The desire to see and serve his Highness and also to find myself near his person is very great, but the carriage is so broken and falling to pieces that were I to set out this evening, I fear lest I should be left on foot; and, therefore, it is more convenient for me to have it mended first. I have proposed to-day, together with Facciotti, to examine the site of the Teo [T], and measure it, so as to be able more thoroughly to carry out the commandment of his Highness, to



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whom I beg your Excellency to excuse me, and say that I shall be with him to-morrow without fail. Nor do I think of doing anything else as soon as possible, but what I said to you on your departure, and with this I kiss the hands of your Excellency and beg our Lord to make you happy.

“From Mantua on the 6th of February, 1582,

“Your Excellency’s most humble Servant,  
JAMES CRICHTON.”<sup>1</sup>

In another letter, also addressed to Zibramonti, dated 25th March, 1582, Crichton again complains of the state of his carriage :

“Most illustrious and my respected Sir,—

“I write these [lines] to your Excellency and send them through the bearer (recommended to me, as a virtuous and good-living young man, by Signor Giacomo Alvisè Cornero), come here to teach the pages, as you will see from the enclosed letter, and as you will hear from his own lips. I cannot leave here until the carriage is in order, and I expect with it the commission of the Signor Augusto, which I beg your Excellency to hasten and to preserve me in the grace of his Highness and in your own, whose hands I kiss with reverent and sincere affection, begging for you from our Lord the happiness and contentment that you desire.

“From Mantua on the 26th of March, 1582,

“Your most illustrious Excellency’s

“Most affectionate Servant,

JAMES CRICHTON.”

<sup>1</sup> In Italy Crichton was known and always subscribed himself by an Italianised form of his name, thus, “Giacomo Critonio.” It appears that he told Sperone Speroni, one of the most learned Italians of his time, that his ancestors came from Italy (*Opere di M. Sperone Speroni, Venezia, 1740*).



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It will be noticed that in this letter is to be found the first reference to Giacomo Alvisé Cornaro, a member of a noble Venetian family, who had assisted and entertained Crichton at Venice and Padua, Crichton, in return, paying high tribute in verse and prose to the good qualities of his benefactor. He now announces his departure for Venice, and his object will be made clear by a despatch from a source of which Crichton probably knew nothing. To the Duke's secretary Crichton appears to have confided his most intimate affairs.

“Most illustrious and my respected Sir,—

“In answer to your letter from Sacchetta, I inform your Excellency that the Signor Augusto has done what he promised you, and I, for the remembrance you preserve of me, grow more obliged to you day by day with the little spirit that remains to me. To-morrow, therefore, God willing, I shall go towards Venice, well comforted at the thought of seeing once more my beloved Signor Cornero, as well as my less important friends, who, however, are not blessed, like that gentleman, with the possession of rare, nay, almost divine qualities. So much the greater, however, will be my affliction at being deprived of your most gracious presence, but, with the true hope of a speedy return, I reverently kiss your Excellency's hands, commending you to the Most High God.

“From Mantua on the 27th of March, 1582,

“Your most illustrious Excellency's

“Most affectionate Servant,

JAMES CRICHTON.”

But before he leaves for Venice, he writes another letter to Zibramonti, enclosing his plans for the fortifications already referred to, and suggests, rather artfully, that if the Duke, who had demurred to the cost, knew that the engineer Facciotti

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were willing to spend in "offices of Christian charity" a third part of the emoluments, that might facilitate his Highness's decision. The letter is as follows :

"Most illustrious and my respected Sir,—

"I have already written in answer to yours from Sacchetta. Now I come to greet you with this, and I send you my [plans of] fortifications of the T, in which I have tried to accommodate myself according to the site with as little enclosure of wall as has been possible for me, drawing from it the greatest number of *tiri* [*ranges*?] and defences that can be drawn in such case, not obliging the Prince to have immense mounds and other exorbitant expenses. Inside there are no *case di matti*<sup>1</sup>—I mean to say, casemates—but outside there is a covered way with certain squares, as you can see in the plan. When the fortress shall have been approved by the overseers, I shall then communicate to his Highness my idea about diminishing the expenses. What till now I have designed in the paper is my own invention, and discussed, to tell the truth to your Excellency, with Facciotti, a very intelligent fellow in this business; drawn by his hand according to my ideas and measurements. The business of this poor and most virtuous man has been told me by him, and he has spoken of it to me in detail; and has particularly expressed to me his pious desire of spending in offices of Christian charity the third part of the emoluments which his Highness should give him for his invention and his labours; which thing, being known by the Duke, might much facilitate the carrying out of the plan. Please, Signor Padre,<sup>2</sup> in your virtue, goodness and benignity, do not fail him; and let there be added to the honesty of the

<sup>1</sup> Crichton evidently wrote this jokingly, the three words meaning "houses of mad people."

<sup>2</sup> Zibramonti was first Bishop of Alba and then of Casale (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, quarta serie, tomo xviii.).

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matter the merit of my love towards you, whose hands I kiss, praying God to give you a long and prosperous life.

“From Mantua on the 28th of March, 1582,

“Your most illustrious Excellency’s

“Most humble Servant,

JAMES CRICHTON.”

An explanation can now be given of Crichton’s object in going to Venice. A marriage had been arranged between the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and Anna, the second daughter of the Duke of Mantua, by whom Crichton was sent, as a kind of ambassador of love, to report the matter to the Venetian nobles. Word of Crichton’s visit to and commission in Venice is contained in an “avviso,” or private dispatch,<sup>1</sup> dated from Venice, 7th April, 1582, and directed, probably, to the Court at Ferrara. This is what the dispatch says:

“There is now here the young and famous Scotsman, who has a provision of a thousand scudi [crowns] in the service of the Most Serene of Mantua, from whom, it is said, he is sent to report to these gentlemen of the marriage of his [the Duke’s] second daughter with the Archduke Ferdinand.”

Curiously enough, on the same date as that of this dispatch, Crichton addresses another letter, from Padua, to Zibramonti. The belief that he was still in Venice was perhaps reasonable in view of the short distance between the two cities, and he may have left for Padua hurriedly, as his creditors in Venice—for he was in debt there as well as in Padua and elsewhere—may have been pressing him for payment. Anyhow, the letter reveals a troubled state of mind, and confesses that he does not know what he should do were it not for the friendship of Cornaro.

<sup>1</sup> Document in Archivio di Stato in Modena (*Cancelleria Ducale, Arrivi e notizie dall’Estero*).

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“ Most illustrious and my respected Sir,—

“ Though your Excellency may be much occupied in the multitude of your great affairs, you can at least comfort yourself with your own prudence, and hope to find a happy issue to every labyrinth, however intricate ; but in mine I cannot, indeed, find the same consolation, being but little aided by prudence, and, as yet, little accustomed to suffer. I, however, should not mind such accidents were not the wicked offices of false friends added to my other misfortunes. And I know not what I should do were it not for the sincere friendship of the most illustrious Signor Cornero (in whose mind is impressed, together with his most excellent virtues, the sweet and greatly-honoured remembrance of your Excellency’s great merits and incredible virtue, in which he almost vies with me), which shows me how to navigate in the ocean of my greatest troubles. He has promised me to write more particularly to your Excellency, informing you of everything. I refer you, therefore, to his relation, and, reverently kissing your hands with all my heart, I pray our Lord to give you a long and happy life, and to make me worthy of a particle of your favour and of that of my most serene patron.

“ From Padua on the 7th of April, 1582,

“ Your most illustrious Excellency’s

“ Most affectionate Servant,

JAMES CRICHTON.”

His next letter is also dated from Padua, and in it he explains that having been engaged in devotional exercises at Codivio, he had not been able to dispatch a note, but, as before, he refers Zibramonti for information to Cornaro’s communications.

“ Most illustrious and my respected Sir,—

“ At the departure of the last courier, I being at Codivio, a place remote from the illustrious Corneri [family], to attend

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to my soul, I had no time, had I ridden a whole night, to write to your Excellency ; and I should not have written to you if not in token of my most humble and devoted reverence to your most illustrious person, endowed with the greatest graces which Heaven gives to man. Rendering you always infinite thanks for the love that you deign to bear towards me, and because I hope to see you soon, the Signor Cornero will write what happens. Kissing the hands of your Excellency from my heart, I recommend you to our Lord.

“From Padua on the 19th of April, 1582,

“&c., &c.,

JAMES CRICHTON.”

For some reason his return to Mantua is delayed. He has had more trouble, and one might infer from his statement that “some of my affairs are still imperfect” that his creditors had interfered with his peace of mind, and possibly even seized his belongings for debt, and that for a time at least he found himself without the usual means of conveyance to take him back to his “longed-for haven.” But what grieves him most is that he has missed the opportunity of attending the wedding of the Duke’s daughter with the Archduke Ferdinand. Again he confides his sorrows to Zibramonti :

“At last I have reached Mantua, as a longed-for haven, after so many and such grave perils sustained by me during my absence. And, although some of my affairs are still imperfect, I trust, nevertheless, to have them so arranged that none of them may alienate or divert me further from the service of my most serene patron. Nor do they in themselves grieve me so much as the trouble which the Signor Giacomo Alvise Cornero gave himself for my troubles, as he writes to you in the enclosed letter. There remains one only sorrow, caused by my having lost the opportunity of seeing the wedding of the most serene Archduchess, for certainly it behoved me to be



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present more than anyone else, as a foreign servant, honoured beyond my deserts by a great signore. But I believe that when you will have heard what new and bitter trouble came upon me while I was in Padua, occupied in the business for which I left the Court, according to the permission kindly granted me by his Highness, you will sigh once for the love you condescend to bear towards me, in return for the infinite which I bear towards you. Besides, if I had been informed in time that the marriage was to take place so soon, I should have sent everything else to perdition. And if it seems well to you, you can present to his Highness my most humble and too true apologies. I have come, thank God, in time for the disputes, although I expressed myself on things of this kind some time ago. I have not yet seen the conclusions, but, as I cannot consult the demon of Socrates, I shall avail myself of the spirit of Homer, extemporising as well as it shall please God. May He always preserve in His favour your Excellency, whose hands I kiss.

“From Mantua on the 7th of May, 1582,

&c., &c.

JAMES CRICHTON.”

In the next letter, dated 22nd June, 1582, Crichton complains of the conduct of other people towards him. It should be borne in mind that he was killed by Prince Vincenzo, and that, according to the story told afterwards by the Prince, the only other person who took part in the encounter was one Ippolito Lanzone, who was killed by Crichton. The letter is addressed to Zibramonti. Apparently the carriage had proved more than usually obnoxious !

“I believe your Excellency has done me the favour of letting his Highness know the reason of my return to Mantua, and the vexation caused me by the little respect which others showed to bear towards my honour in the request made to his Highness ;

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which may be the cause of my repenting of my simplicity and treating those who promise themselves so much from me in a very different manner. My health has been much injured by the carriage. Nevertheless, I hope during this illness to be able to serve his Highness in some way, since all my thoughts are directed, next to the glory of God, to that of my master; and the greater the difficulties may be in the carrying out of such a plan, so much more sweetness shall I feel in it. But Signor Cavallero, whom, by means of his Highness's apothecary, I have informed of my illness, gives me no hope of my being able to present myself to his Highness for the space of eight days without danger of great infirmity. I should be happy, and have a quiet mind, if I obtained license for this period; and I would pray your Excellency, by that humanity which is all your own, to maintain me in his Highness's favour and in that of your Excellency, whose hands I kiss with all affection, begging the Lord to give you all contentment and felicity.

“From Mantua on the 22nd of June, 1582,

“&c., &c.,

JAMES CRICHTON.”

Zibramonti duly conveyed Crichton's message to the Duke, and Crichton, in acknowledging the courtesy, again complains of his enemies, or, rather, of one—“that gentleman”—who sought every possible occasion to display his feelings against the writer, and, as one may read between the lines, to induce him to enter into a blood-thirsty dispute. Could the enemy have been Lanzone, who was a bosom friend of the Prince and accompanied him on his wild escapades? The thought seems feasible enough in the light of Crichton's comment—that greater was his duty towards his God and the Prince *than towards his friend*. The letter bears date, from Mantua, 25th June, 1582 :

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“I thank your Excellency infinitely for having given an account of my state to his Highness, whose hands I reverently kiss for the favour he deigns to grant me, and I hope shortly to recover my perfect health to come there and serve as I ought. That gentleman does not fail to show with new ideas the effect which his love towards me bears, almost seeking extravagant occasions which may lead me often to see him. But I assure you that he will not succeed, because there are two duties greater than those one holds towards the friend—one towards God and the other towards the Prince. I shall never take any step that is not commanded me by our most serene Highness, whom may our Lord long preserve,” etc., etc.

The concluding letter in the series written by Crichton and preserved in the State Archives at Mantua, bears date 2nd July, 1582, and, as he was killed on the following night, it may have been the last he penned. In it he desires Zibramonti to inform the Duke of his recovery, and of his now being in a condition of health which will permit him to attend to his Highness's commands. The short note appears to have been scribbled in haste, and the handwriting is by no means as clear and as steady as that of his previous letters. Could it be that, as he wrote, his hand trembled with some strange premonition of the terrible fate that was so imminent? Crichton was a cabalist, and understood the horoscope. Like the others, the letter is addressed to the Duke's Secretary :

“Most illustrious and my respected Sir,—

“Finding myself at last, thanks to God, out of purgation, and quite recovered, I inform your Excellency of it so that you may, if necessary, communicate it to his Highness; and that you may know how, owing to the rest of the past few days, I find myself quite able to follow and serve his

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Highness, as is my duty, this letter being only to tell you this. With all my heart I kiss your hands.

“From Mantua on the 2nd of July, 1582,

“Your most illustrious Excellency’s

“Most affectionate Servant,

JAMES CRICHTON.”

On the following night, in one of the streets of Mantua, a tragedy was enacted which disgraced the name of Gonzaga and brought Prince Vincenzo greater disrepute and dislike than he had ever earned before. The original documents are preserved in the State Archives of Mantua ; they were first printed in Italian in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* by the late Prof. Intra, translations of them being given by the present writer to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland a couple of years ago, and briefly commented upon in a short biography issued about the same time. But it is only fair to add that the first English publication of some of these letters was made in a little-known periodical (*Scots Lore*, 1895), by Miss Lily E. Marshall. Further information can be obtained from the publications already referred to in a foot-note on a previous page ; but, as they are not readily accessible to the general reader, the story as related by the Prince—and that is practically all the information we have—to Luigi Olivo, the Castellan at Mantua, and the latter’s report on the subject to Zibramonti, may be repeated here. According to these documents, it seems that, late in the evening of the third of July, Crichton left the Ducal Palace for the purpose of enjoying a little fresh air. Accompanied by a servant, who mysteriously disappeared after the tragedy—probably a disappearance effected through the same hand that gave the young Scotsman his death-blow—he turned out of the Piazza Purgo towards the Via San Silvestro. As he did so, he met the Prince, along with the dissolute Ippolito Lanzone. All three were wrapped in their cloaks, and



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they were said not to have recognised each other in the darkness. Crichton, according to the Prince's first relation to the Castellan, attempted to keep to the wall-side of the road, and the Prince, unwilling to make room for him, gave him a blow which sent him to the ground. Crichton drew his dagger, and encountering Lanzone first, inflicted a serious wound. Vincenzo then took part in defence of his friend, and, sheltered by his buckler, attacked Crichton and wounded him mortally. Then, in great excitement, he reported the news of the occurrence to the Castellan, who immediately wrote to the Duke's secretary the following letter :

“At two o'clock in the night, just as I was on the point of getting into bed, I was advised that the Signor James Crichton had been mortally wounded. I immediately dressed myself in order to send someone to see him, and to provide in so far as there was need ; but, on leaving my rooms, there came to me the Prince, who requested me to have the small door opened to four of his men whom his Highness desired to place in ambush on the lake so that, as his Highness told me, the Signor Crichton might not escape over the walls and swim the lake, he having slain Ippolito Lanzone at the feet of his Highness. I replied to his Highness that I could not comply with his request, because, the Signor Crichton having been mortally wounded, as I had been informed, he was not in a condition to enable him to escape by swimming. The Prince then calmed down, saying that he certainly thought he had wounded him, but that he would not be sure. His Highness, then showing me his sword and buckler, the one bloody and dented, the other marked by several cuts, told me that it came about in this wise : that, having gone in his doublet with the said Lanzone about half-past one at night to bid good-evening to the Signor Valeriano Cattaneo, he met one with his mantle before his face and his sword under his arm who wanted to keep



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to the wall-side of the road ; and, thinking that it was the Count Langosco [Vincenzo's groom-in-waiting] he had struck him down with his buckler, sending him to the middle of the road, and passed on ; but, the man aforesaid, having just passed Lanzone, gave the latter a stab in the back, so that Lanzone with his sword had turned upon him ; when his Highness, seeing him (Lanzone) swoon, and not knowing the cause, stepped forward and commenced fighting, giving and receiving cuts upon his buckler until at last, with a thrust, he wounded his adversary, who then said, ' Pardon me, your Highness, for I had not recognised you.' Nothing further happened save that Lanzone, having said that he felt badly wounded in the back, had been helped along a few paces by the Prince (who wished to take him to be doctored), when he fell to the ground and then and there died at the feet of his Highness, who recommended his soul to the care of two priests, there present. Whence did his Highness, most grieved and in very great choler at having seen Lanzone dead, depart with the thought of providing against the escaping of the Signor Crichton ; but there has been no need for this provision, for, at three o'clock in the night—just now struck—the said Signor Crichton, having been medicated, rendered his soul to God. It is a truly strange case, for, beyond the manifest danger to which the Prince has been exposed, there has followed the death of these two gentlemen, worthy in truth to be mourned by all. I have sped the bearer right away, so that he may arrive at daybreak, and I have had him given a horse to make sure of his doing so in good time.

“ I humbly kiss the hand of your illustrious Excellency.

“ From Mantua, at four o'clock in the night of the 3rd July, 1582,

“ Your most illustrious Excellency's

“ Most obliged servant,

LUIGI OLIVO.”

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[Postscript.]

“The said Signor Crichton has died in the house of Messer Ippolito Serena, according to what I have just heard ; Lanzone on the street of San Silvestro, where he was wounded.”

The Duke, on learning of the unhappy occurrence, expressed his deep sorrow, and instructed Zibramonti to write a letter of censure to the Prince's tutor, Marcello Donati. Three reasons are given for the Duke's grief :

“The first, that the most serene Prince has stained his hands with blood ; the second, with that of a servant of his Highness of such world-wide fame ; the third, for the company of Ippolito Lanzone, because, in view of the promise given to his most serene Highness, his father, not to let him (the Prince) into his (Lanzone's) company, his Highness thinks that the world will take occasion to doubt the faith of the Prince.”

Donati replied in self-defence to the charge of neglect, and he did not hesitate to speak his mind concerning both Lanzone and the Prince. “It cannot be denied,” he affirms, “that Lanzone was hardly the right sort of man to converse with his Highness, being of a bestial character” ; and, towards the conclusion of the letter, he adds : “If the prudence of the Duke does not find means of altering the ways of his son (would to God I spoke untruly !), I fear worse will follow, living the life he does. It is public opinion, both here and elsewhere, that the Prince permits himself too much occupation in what he should not and too little in what he should.”

Passing over various letters, let us see how the Prince, in a written statement, explains the encounter. Many accusations had been levelled against him, and the whole affair had become such a scandal that even Alessandro Bianchi, Bishop of Osimo, and Lord Chamberlain to the Gonzagas, while passing through various towns in Italy on the Duke's service, considered it necessary to admonish the Prince and to tell him of the censures

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that were being passed upon him. In reply, Vincenzo gives his version of the fatal meeting in the following letter :

“Illustrious and reverend Sir,—

“I thank you for the loving admonishment you give me in yours of the 17th of this month, knowing that it has been dictated by that goodwill which you have always held and hold for my welfare ; and in order that you may know the truth about the unfortunate circumstance which befel me, and be able also to tell it to whom you may think fit, I will tell you in detail how it happened. It was in this wise. One of these evenings, taking fresh air about the town, about one o'clock in the night, and having with me Messer Ippolito Lanzone, a gentleman of this town in whose humours I found much gusto, I met by chance James the Scotsman, and, thinking that it was the Count Langosco, my groom-in-waiting, whom he resembled in stature, I went to strike him in jest ; but, on coming nearer, I observed that it was not he ; and, therefore, putting a buckler, which I had shoulderd, before my face, I passed on, leaving the Scotsman suspicious ; and he, seeing Lanzone (in like manner having his buckler before his face) follow, tried to pass him at the wall side, and, having done so, drove into his shoulders his dagger to the hilt. Whereat both did take to arms ; but Lanzone, being mortally wounded, could not defend himself ; therefore I, hearing the uproar, seizing hold of my sword, turned towards the noise, and the Scotsman, not recognising me at first sight, aimed at me a great cut and a thrust, which I parried with my buckler ; and myself levelling a thrust at the Scotsman—which he tried to parry with his dagger, but through being too impetuous, could not—he got wounded in the chest, and, having recognised me, commenced begging for his life. I left him and returned to my companion, who, I found, could hardly stand upon his legs ; and when I would support him, he fell before me dead. It has

## JAMES CRICHTON OF ELIOCK

truly been a case of pure misadventure, and if I had had to do with any but a Barbarian, so much evil would not have resulted. I am sorry that the most illustrious Monsignore Farnese, my uncle and lord, has felt displeasure at this my unforeseen misfortune ; though I do hope that, understanding my justification, he will thank God that the thing has had end with the salvation of my life, placed in not little danger by the barbarity of that wretch, whom God forgive and relieve your most illustrious Highness of the gout. To which end I heartily offer and recommend myself.

“ From Mantua on the 27th of July, 1582,

THE PRINCE OF MANTUA.”

This account disagrees from that given by the Prince to the Castellan, for in this he states that he had knocked Crichton down and sent him to the middle of the road. There is also equivocation as to the precise moment of his recognition of Crichton, and his statement that, “seeing Lanzone mortally wounded, he *turned towards the noise*,” needs explanation. How did he know that Lanzone was mortally wounded when, in the darkness, he had, presumably, only the uproar to guide him to the scene? Again, leaving Crichton in an almost unconscious condition in the Via San Silvestro, he rushes to the Castellan, with four of his men, and demands that precautions should be taken to prevent him from swimming the lake and escaping from the city ! An additional report by the Castellan to Zibramonti, on the day following the tragedy, is conclusive as to the condition in which Crichton was left by the Prince, for in it one reads : “The Signor Crichton walked as far as San Tomaso, where he sat down upon a stone, wherefrom he was lifted into a chair and carried to Serena’s house, where he died well disposed, although he was almost entirely unconscious. His wound above the right breast was very small

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and not very deep, but ill-luck would have it that it cut across the *vena cava*, which, besides being incurable, caused such a profluence of blood that he was instantly suffocated." Is it possible that Vincenzo could have been unaware of the Scotsman's dying state?

The Duke of Mantua, for reasons which will be obvious, made no order for the last rites of the Church to be accorded to Crichton's remains; in fact, they were not even given the decent burial which was at least due to so distinguished a member of his highness's court and council. The body was left in Serena's house until the worthy pharmacist refused to keep it any longer; and Crichton's servants, who were without money, placed him in a well-tarred coffin and buried him privately in the neighbouring church of San Simone. Without ceremony his remains were bundled into the ground, and nothing in the church to-day indicates where he reposes. The people of Mantua were indignant at this abandonment of one who had been held in such high estimation by the Duke and by all in the city, and in a letter to Zibramonti, the Castellan appeals for the Duke's consideration. "It seems," says Olivo, "that the people are left little satisfied that the body of the Signor Crichton has been taken into San Simone privately and almost as if abandoned; rather, should I say, amazed, seeing that, besides, he was of his Highness's Council. Therefore, let his Highness think—Crichton being still in a tarred coffin—whether it were well that remains so rare should be left in such wise abandoned, having at least regard for the rare gifts of his soul and not for the error committed." But not a finger stirred at the Court of Mantua to give effect to the sympathetic request of the Castellan.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> While the writer has been in Italy, he entered into communication with the Sindaco of Mantua in regard to the possibility of placing a simple memorial tablet to Crichton in the Church of San Simone, and the Ecclesiastical authorities of Mantua have agreed to the proposal.



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We must, however, be just to the Duke, who, in the midst of his self-imposed religious duties, found time, through Zibramonti, to invite the Capitano di Giustizia to investigate the deaths of Crichton and Lanzone, "to establish the most minute circumstances, and to punish the culprits." The report of the Capitano di Giustizia to Zibramonti, dated from Mantua, 6th July, 1582, tends to exonerate the Prince. "From everything," says he, "it is acknowledged to have been an accidental affray, the one party not knowing the other until after the unhappy success of the wounds; and that all the information is well disposed in favour of his Highness [the Prince's] doings in this affair; and that there reasonably follow his acquittal and liberation for justice's sake." But even in this report there is a significant qualification: "always provided that his Highness be so content both to repress every sinister opinion of the world, as also to remove from his most serene person every stain that the [evil] deeds of men are wont to bring to those who commit them."

Nevertheless, in Mantua and in other parts of Italy it was believed that the Prince had been guilty of murder; indeed, an instructive little dispatch, dated from Venice, 14th July, 1582, is couched in the following significant words:

"The Prince of Mantua has retired to Ferrara to await the conclusion of the trial which is now taking place concerning the death of the Scotsman, to prove that his Highness did kill him to defend himself."

Another "avviso" preserved in the State Archives at Modena contradicts the opinion given by the Capitano di Giustizia, for from it one learns that Vincenzo was condemned to banishment from Mantua for a period of twelve months. Here is a translation of the note, which is dated from Venice, 4th August, 1582:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Document in Archivio di Stato in Modena (*Cancellaria Ducale*), for which, with others, the writer acknowledges the courtesy of the Director of the Archives.

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“The most serene Prince of Mantua having heard that as a result of the trial held concerning the death of the Scotsman, he, the Prince, was by sentence banished for a year from Mantua, went, so they say, accompanied by about thirty horses [horsemen] during the night in Mantua to the house of one of the chief councillors of the Duke, through whose hands had passed the sentence and the documents, and asked him if this deliberation of the father (the Duke) were true ; and the councillor having answered ‘Yes,’ he quickly made an end of him by stabbing. And it is said that he had in mind to struggle still more, but he did not succeed in this ; and then he saved himself by flight. This act has much distressed his Highness the Duke, his father, and all the city, everyone being confused and afraid, especially those that side with the Duke.”

Crichton, no doubt, had his failings ; the worst seems to have been a facility for getting into debt. Numerous documents are preserved in the Archives at Mantua concerning the pressing demands of his creditors, some of whom, after Crichton had paid the last great debt to Nature, took occasion to write of him in terms of detraction. The bitterest of all his creditors was his “beloved Cornaro,” who charged Crichton with deceit and even treachery. But Crichton was dead and Cornaro was in financial straits.

Doubts have been expressed by many writers in the past as to the exact date of Crichton’s death. This uncertainty is accounted for by the fact that another James Crichton appeared in Italy and published various Latin verses in Milan in 1584 and 1585, one being an epicedion on the death of San Carlo Borromeo.<sup>1</sup> But even apart from the proofs, as afforded by the letters in the Gonzaga collection, as to the date of the Admirable Crichton’s death in 1582 in Mantua, further and more con-

<sup>1</sup> *Epicedium Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Cardinalis Caroli Boromei*, ab Iacobo Critonio, Scoto. Mediolani : ex typographia Michaelio Tini, MDLXXXIII.

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clusive evidence as to these two Crichtons being totally distinct persons is furnished by Bernardino Baldini,<sup>1</sup> a contemporary Milanese author, who addresses to James Crichton, whom he designates "the survivor," some verses, in which, referring to the Admirable Crichton, he bestows high praise upon "thy kinsman," and Crichton the Survivor fittingly acknowledges the compliment to his relation in lines addressed to Baldini. The latter has more than one eulogium to lay at the feet of the first and more celebrated James in this work.

If there were not in existence these various documents, one would feel inclined to regard the whole story of his career as pure romance; but there is a large mass of contemporary evidence—which is the best we can have—in his favour.

His letters, it must be confessed, are not altogether pleasant reading. Although the epistolary style of the period frequently degenerated into gross flattery, one would have preferred less of the servility and superlative praise which Crichton too often expresses in these letters. As far as present investigations show, he has not left any writings of outstanding merit; but that does not mean that he had not considerable knowledge and great natural gifts. We have no complete record of his life and works, and it is impossible to say what may have been lost in the centuries that have passed since he dazzled the courts and palaces of Italy by oratory and action and mnemonic powers which won for him, even in his own brief lifetime (if we accept the statement alone of Bishop Zibramonti) world-wide fame. What makes it so difficult for us to estimate his real worth to-day is the fact that his celebrity was largely the result of the impressions he made on the minds of his contemporaries as orator, philosopher, theologian, linguist, courtier, and gentleman of arms. That Crichton was blessed with endowments of a high order we

<sup>1</sup> *Bernardini Baldini lusus ad M. Antonium Baldinum fratris filium.* Mediolani: ex typ. P. Pontii, 1586.

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cannot doubt. His memory was extraordinary ; as Dr. Bartolomeo Burchelati<sup>1</sup> (writing probably when Crichton was still alive) says, he never forgot anything he had ever read or heard. To what great purposes his life might have been dedicated, to what further eminence the development of his gifts might have brought him had he lived, we can only conjecture. There are few spheres of worldly affairs he could not have filled with distinction ; and we can but think generously of him when we remember that he died before he had completed his twenty-second year.

And however much we may believe or disbelieve, we shall have to admit that there are few persons in history who, in versatility of talent and accomplishment, approach this remarkably endowed young Scot, who, even in his poverty, seems to have upheld in France and Italy the best Scottish traditions of that day both in scholarship and knighthood, at a period, too, when learned Italians were being sent to Oxford “to teach,” as an old record says, “that barbarous university some notions !”

The writer desires to express his acknowledgment of many courtesies, advice, and assistance rendered to him by Cav. Alessandro Luzio, Director of the R. Archivio di Stato, Mantua ; Dott. Marengo, Avv. Bensa, and Chas. de Grave Sells, Esq., of Genoa ; Prof. E. Marshall, for the loan of her pamphlet ; Prof. A. O. Munro ; the Directors of the State Archives in Modena, Milan, and other cities ; the Rev. Sac. Achille Ratti, Prefetto of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan ; and others with whom he has been in communication in Italy, and to whom he hopes to make fuller acknowledgment on a future occasion.

DOUGLAS CRICHTON.

<sup>1</sup> *Epitaphorium Dialogi Septem*, Bartholomaeo Burchelato : Venetiis, 1583.

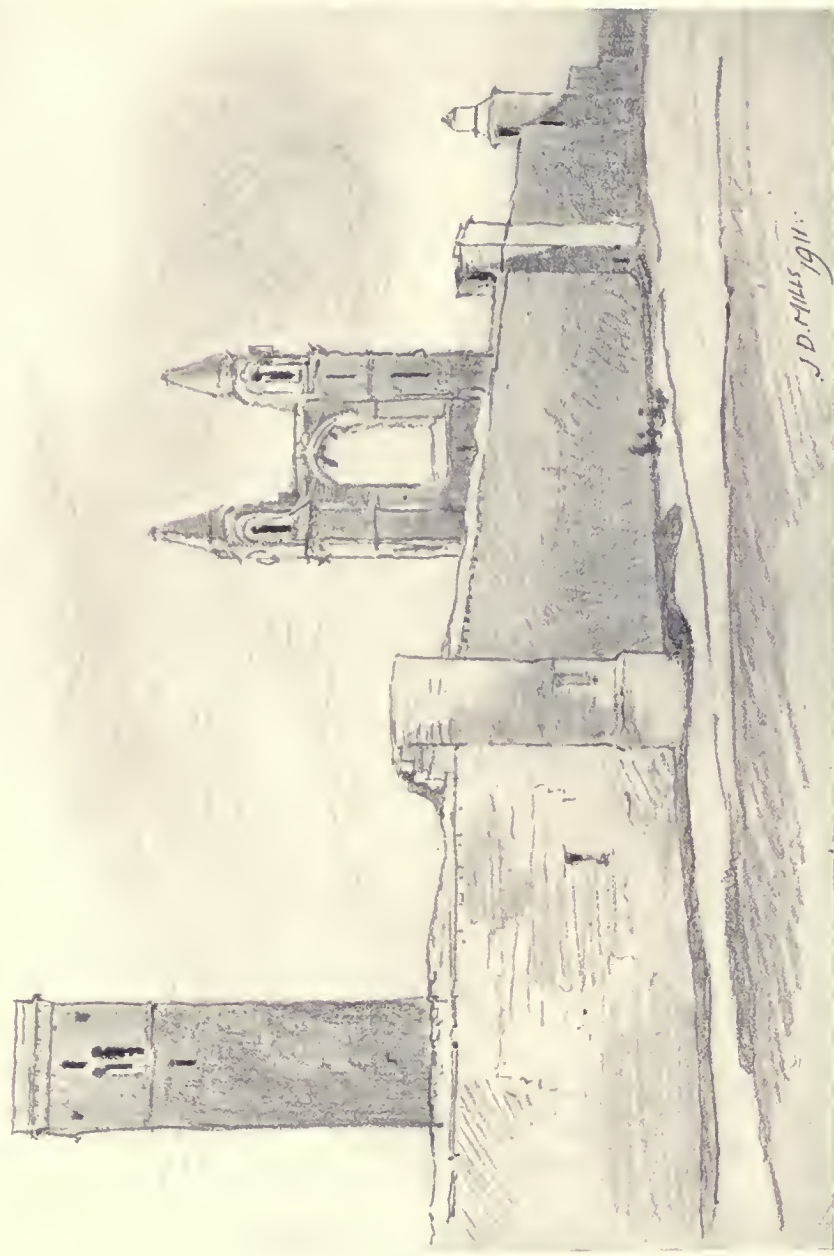
THE ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF  
ST. ANDREWS







1911  
J.D. Mills



OLD ABBEY WALL AND TOWERS

## The Architectural Features of St. Andrews



ALTHOUGH the town of St. Andrews contains many buildings of exceptional interest both from historical association and from architectural feature, yet the small size and peculiar situation of the city preclude any generally imposing effect. The city faces the sea, and seen from the opposite coast it forms a mere detail in a somewhat flat landscape. The principal approaches, namely, those from Dundee and Strathkinness, are directed more towards what may be called the narrow face of the town ; and it is only when one descends from the south or the east upon St. Andrews that the grouping of its buildings is seen to any great advantage. But the traveller who enters either from the Anstruther road or from that which runs in a fairly straight course to Largo, will receive a most agreeable impression from the combination of the ancient churches, the ruined cathedral, the old tower of St. Rule, and the more or less modern buildings that have grown up alongside of the more venerable landmarks. The magnificent stretch of St. Andrews bay, and the remote range of the Grampian hills that towers above the spurs of the Sidlaws, which themselves receive dignity due to the height from which they are viewed, form a spacious and worthy background to the buildings of the old town.

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Perhaps the best impression is made on a fine autumn day, when across the expanse of waters, deep blue, save where it is divided from the yellow shore by the wide and ever-changing fringe of foam, the glistening white tops of the Clova hills, at a height of three thousand feet and a distance of forty miles, lead the eye upward to a dazzling sky, broken by tumultuous white billows, that rivals or even surpasses the brilliance of the seas below.

And once within the town, a succession of buildings is seen which satisfies the critical eye, and rouses the receptive mind. These slender towers that, perhaps, were observed first from the northern shores of the bay, or more probably from the neighbourhood of Leuchars, separate themselves into distinct elements, while round them spring into notice other features of less prominence but of almost equal interest. As one passes in and out through the three main streets of the city, these hoary ruins of the Cathedral dominate every aspect of the place, and there are other buildings too, ancient and modern alike, that impress even the least impressionable with some thought of the ceaseless questioning of mankind, the enduring quality of learning, and alas! the evanescent influence of the individual.

We turn through the old West Port, the only survivor of the old city gates, and enter South Street, the most dignified of the three avenues that converge on the Cathedral. A small portion of the old chapel, belonging to the Black Friars, stands in the open space in front of the Madras College, that fine monument to the public spirit of its founder, Dr. Andrew Bell. Further along, on the opposite or north side of the street, is the old parish church dedicated, as was an older church, to the Holy Trinity, and founded in 1412. The church has been recently restored by Macgregor Chalmers, and the lover of architecture will find much worthy of study in the original yet harmonious blending of the old tower and the old pillars, with





THE BELL TOWER OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGE



## ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF ST. ANDREWS

the recent extensions and additions ; in the delicate carving of small creatures which, sparingly and with exquisite taste, decorates the building here and there ; carving that delights the critical eye and in its delightful execution breathes the spirit of the ancient craftsmen at their best ; and in the remarkable monument, carefully guarded during the work of reconstruction, to Archbishop Sharp.

We have on our right the peaceful court that is surrounded by the fine old buildings of St. Mary's College, the solid but decidedly plain library buildings of no great antiquity, the bright and commodious modern additions in which the expert will be able to compare two pieces of renaissance work by different architects, and the extending laboratories and museums that have been recently built through the generosity of present-day benefactors.

The ruins of the old parish church dedicated to St. Leonard, and existing at least a century before the college of the same name was founded, contain many memorials of interest : the building has been altered and rebuilt, and except in details here and there has little architectural effect, an effect that is not improved by the roof recently erected, and doubtless necessary for the protection of the monuments.

It is at the extreme end of South Street that the architectural beauties of St. Andrews are most closely grouped. A wall built in 1523 by Prior Hepburn, about half a mile in circuit and 22 feet high, strengthened by sixteen turrets, round or square, each niched for a statue, encloses the tower of St. Regulus and the ruins of the Cathedral and the Abbey. The massive square form of the first has weathered, probably for 800 years, the north-eastern winds that sweep this exposed coast : it is in good preservation, and from its summit, 108 feet above the ground, a striking view of the town is obtained. A short steeple, much like many others that are to be seen on the church towers of

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the Fifeshire coast, formerly terminated that of St. Regulus and added 16 feet to its height.

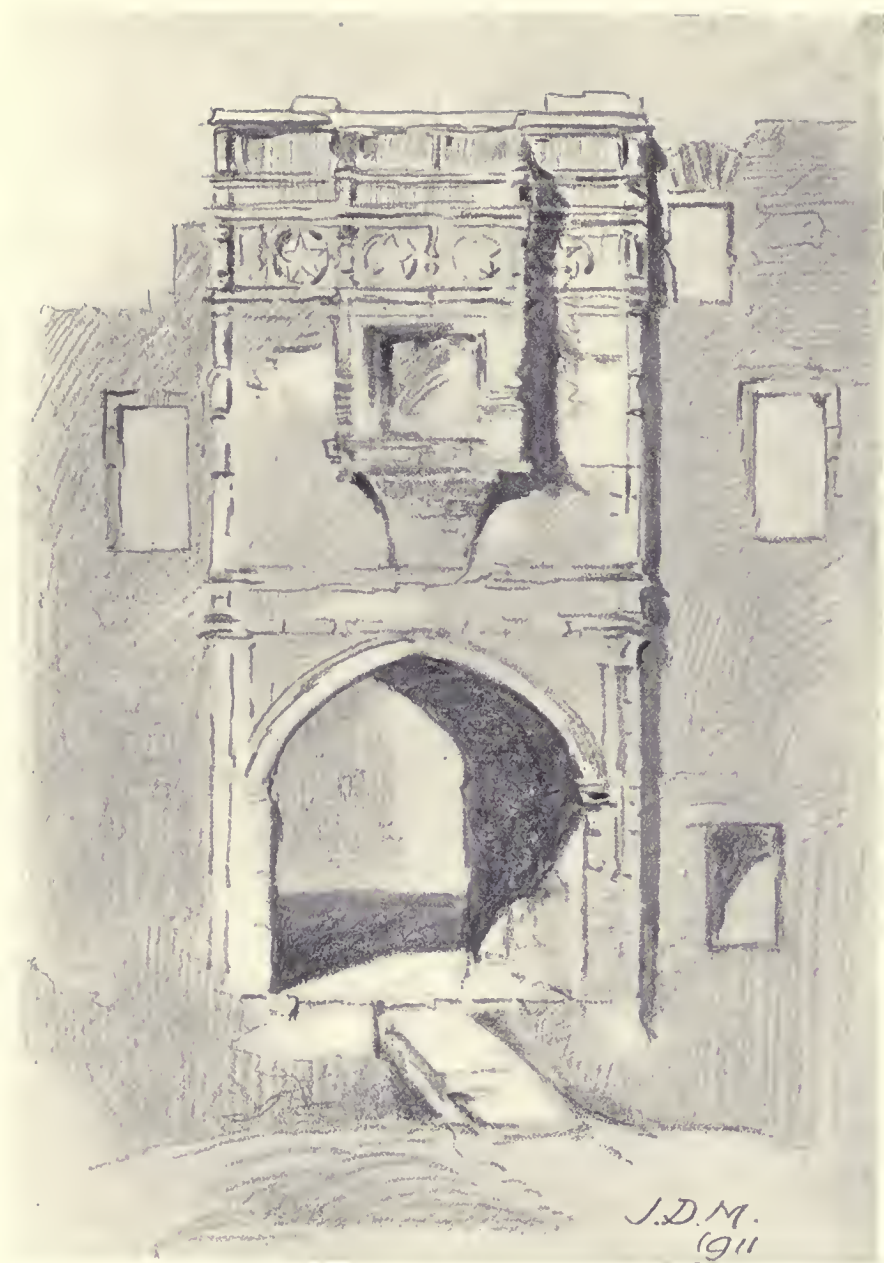
The remains of the Cathedral are most imposing : there are sufficiently large and complete fragments for the imagination in some degree to construct the whole, and there is a wide area, unoccupied save by the carefully tended or carefully outlined bases of the ancient pillars, to impress alike the past glory of the Cathedral and the inevitable end of all human achievement.

A tradition that the Cathedral was the longest in Christendom is difficult to explain, for while its total length is about 360 feet, that of St. Peter's is over 600, Winchester 556, York 524. Glasgow is 302, and Elgin 289 feet in length.

The style varied from Norman in the eastern part to Early English in the western ; the close resemblance observed between this architecture and that of other churches of the same date strengthens the generally received opinion that there were frequent conferences and congresses at which opinion was interchanged by mediaeval architects.

One hundred and sixty years, and the rule of fourteen bishops, passed before the building was completed : two hundred and forty years afterwards the interior was wrecked by iconoclasts hot from a sermon preached at Crail by John Knox in 1559.

The original mutilators did little more than disfigure the building ; but neglect followed, and it was left for later generations to make restoration impossible. Just as the massive monuments of ancient Roman architectural skill have been removed piecemeal to adorn or even to build the mediaeval city, just as the steadings of farm houses are often found repaired with the hewn stones of venerable abbeys, so in the substantial walls of the Cathedral a rich quarry was found by the masons and builders of old and even modern St. Andrews ; and so well was this quarry worked that of the great central steeple only the pier-bases are left. The Lycæum, the Prior's House, the Cloisters



THE CASTLE GATEWAY





## ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF ST. ANDREWS

have gone long ago : the Abbey Mill survived, and was in use till 1797.

At the east end of the street, and in sharp contrast with the modern gateway that abuts upon it, stands the ancient main entrance to the Priory. The ruin, now open to the sky, was formerly a spacious vaulted passage with rooms above, possibly for the gatekeeper's use. The two Early English arches that span the road are extremely dignified, and their sombre effect is relieved in a charming way by the enrichment of seven small decorated arches inserted with their pillars into the wall a little above the apex of the main archway.

The only other old public buildings of importance are the Castle and the College Church. The former in its chequered past has served as fortress and as bishop's palace, and has been the scene of many tragedies, amongst which the burning of George Wishart under the eyes of Cardinal Beaton, and the murder of the cardinal within three months, stand out in ironic juxtaposition. The gateway tower of the Castle is fairly well preserved, although its masonry is much weather-worn : it is of purely renaissance style, with interesting embellishments between the string courses : it was probably built or rebuilt in the sixteenth century ; and the decorative corbelled tablet over the gateway shows that by this time defence was only a secondary part of the Castle's purpose. The College Church, or the Chapel of St. Salvator, has a fine square tower with a short spire, and presents a striking perspective by reason of its row of handsome buttresses that give a constant and pleasing sense of alternating light and shadow. The interior of the building presents no very important features except the extraordinary tomb of Bishop Kennedy : this tomb, built into the wall, was so seriously damaged by the fall of the old stone roof of the Chapel that it has never been restored, but sufficient of the detailed work

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remains to excite the admiration of the critic, not more for the marvellous delicacy of the work than for the lavish expenditure of the Bishop.

Apart from the greater public buildings there are in St. Andrews many old dwelling houses rich in memories of those who took part in the religious and social upheavals of the sixteenth century. For the most part these houses were originally built on the lines familiar to all who knew the towns and villages of the Fifeshire coast. They abounded in those quaint crow-stepped gables, overhanging corners, and substantial outside staircases that are associated with Scottish domestic architecture: they were of a type thoroughly fitted to withstand the rigours of a northern winter; many of them were vaulted on the ground floor; and though the modern zeal for sanitation, for large windows, and for the greater comfort of life generally has in some cases shorn these houses of interesting and characteristic features, yet there are a sufficient number of older houses left, notably in South Street, to give a very good idea of the dwellings, handsome or humble, of our ancestors.

On house after house is to be seen the coat of arms that tells where Cardinal Beaton gave hospitality to those guests who came from all quarters of Europe. With other houses is associated the name of the ill-fated Mary Stewart. A long, low building near the east end of South Street, and on the south side, is still called Queen Mary's: and in the same street another house is also said to have been for a time the residence of the unhappy Queen. An oratory and a bedroom where she slept are still preserved, although one wing of the house has perished.

On the other side of the street is a house with a pleasant turret, unfortunately flattened at one side to make space for some improvement: this house belonged to Prior Holdenstoun, who,



OLD CLOSE LEADING FROM NORTH STREET TO MARKET STREET





## ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF ST. ANDREWS

“after ruling his monastery wisely for twenty-four years, died on the 18th July, 1443, and was honourably interred with this epitaph:

“Qui docui mores, mundi vitare favores,  
Inter doctores sacros sortitus honores.  
Vermibus hic donor; et sic ostendere conor,  
Quod sicut ponor, ponitur omnis honor.”

(Lyon's *History of St. Andrews*, 1843, i. 216.)

Dean's Court, with a large courtyard now converted into a garden inside the gate, is another of those houses whose exterior gives an inadequate idea of the quaint internal plans and the charming gardens behind. It was the residence of Sir George Douglas of Loch Leven, in the days of Mary Stewart. His coat of arms is to be seen over the old built-up doorway.

In North Castle Street, a typical narrow lane between North Street and the Cliff Road, on the property partly occupied by All Saints' Episcopal Church, is an interesting old house and garden called Castle Wynd. It probably dates from the time of Archbishop Hamilton (1549); the crow-step gabling is a prominent feature of its unpretentious exterior.

Of good modern buildings there is a fair proportion: most of them are on familiar lines, but here and there a handsome mansion arrests the eye by its originality. To some critics the more recent smaller dwelling-houses towards the south-west seem rather lightly constructed, but in the heyday of their youth they generally present a pleasing aspect. In the same district by far the most imposing mass is the enlarged residential hall for women, while, near the Cathedral, the buildings of St. Leonard's School, which include both ancient and modern work, deserve study.

The University buildings are of various ages and styles. Apart from the College Chapel, and from the old court of St. Mary's College, to both of which reference has already been made, there is nothing of any antiquity. The United College consists of a large quadrangle built about seventy years

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ago, in a renaissance style without much boldness, and of several important extensions which have been made during the past twenty years ; some of these completed the eastern side of the quadrangle, others are detached buildings, amongst which the Chemical Laboratory is the most important.

University College, Dundee, in which a large proportion of the University work is carried on, and which is the youngest College of the University, consists of a great many detached buildings. Some of the older, facing their charming garden that adorns the town, are quaint and not without an element of the picturesque. The more recent erections are the Chemical Laboratory, a low building with suggestions of classical influence ; the University School of Medicine in a kind of Scottish domestic style, and the new quadrangle, still in progress, containing the Physical, Electrical, and Engineering Laboratories. These three buildings are singularly successful examples of good renaissance work : the lines are strong, and the decorative treatment simple and bold.

The town of St. Andrews has seen great changes since it became the seat of the primatial see of Scotland in 1472 : the central buildings of that time still, in their ruins, survive ; but there is now no influence so powerful as that of the Archbishop then.

Surrounded by priories at Loch Leven, at Pittenweem, at Inchcolm, abbeys at Dunfermline, Cupar, Balmerino, Lindores, Arbroath, and Inchaffray, and a nunnery at Elie, the Church was well-nigh omnipotent, and the centre of its government was St. Andrews : to-day we feel that, in a quiet but no less beneficent way, the University wields a benign authority which, equally extensive, is steadily moulding the character of the Scottish race through widespread educational institutions, in the government of which her representatives have often a direct share, and over which her inspiration is felt through her children.

J. E. A. STEGGALL.

# ÜBER EINE STROPHE DES “GAUDEAMUS”



## Über eine Strophe des “Gaudeamus”



UF den meisten Universitäten des In- und Auslandes wo man es kennt, wird das Gaudeamus nach dem Text gesungen, wie ihn Kindleben in seinem Hallischen Studentenliederbuch von 1781 festgelegt hat. Indes finden sich lokale Abweichungen. W. M. Lindsay erzählt mir, dass man in seiner Leipziger Studienzeit von der zweiten Strophe, die bei Kindleben lautet

Ubi sunt, qui ante nos  
In mundo fuere,  
Vadite ad superos,  
Transite ad inferos,  
Ubi iam fuere.

die drei letzten Verse in der älteren Form *Abeas ad inferos, Transeas ad superos, Quos si vis videre* oder ähnlich gesungen habe. Rückkehr zu diesen Fassungen empfahl nun für den letzten Vers allgemein ein kleiner Aufsatz im Feuilleton der No. 280 der Kölnischen Zeitung, 13 März 1911, und ein paar Tage später teilte ein neuer Kommersbuchherausgeber mit, dass er in *Quos si vis videre* bereits geändert habe. Natürlich müssen dann auch die beiden vorhergehenden Verse, dem geänderten Numerus entsprechend, geändert sein. Damit wäre die Leipziger Version eingeführt. Aber es erheben sich einige Bedenken gegenüber diesen Vorschlägen. Die Lesarten *Si eos vis, Si hos vis, Si vis hos, Hos si vis* und *Quos si vis: videre* gehören früheren Stufen an,



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auf denen das Gedicht eben noch nicht das war, was es durch Kindleben geworden und seitdem gewesen ist. Gewis ergeben sie im Zusammenhang mit den andern Versen einen guten Sinn: "Wo sind die hin, die vor uns gelebt haben? Man wandre zur Hölle und von da zum Himmel"—oder umgekehrt, je nach der überlieferten Reihenfolge—"wenn man sie [die, diese] zu sehen verlangt." Ob hier aber *hos* einfach aus metrischen Gründen für das schon in dem alten Bussliede der Pariser Handschrift stehende *eos* eingetreten ist, sich also auf das *qui* des ersten Verses bezieht, oder auf *superos* und *inferos*, oder auf *inferos* allein, wäre nicht zweifelsfrei zu entscheiden, während im Falle des *Quos si vis videre* wol nur die erste Möglichkeit zuträfe. Ein solches Schwanken kennt nun der Kindlebensche Text nicht: ein Grund mehr, zuzusehen, ob ihm nicht doch ein Verständnis abzugewinnen ist. Jede vernünftige, vom Wortlaut zugelassene und in den Zusammenhang passende Erklärung ist besser als eine Änderung, selbst wenn letztere eine ebenfalls historisch beglaubigte Wendung anbringen soll. Wir haben es ja doch auch nicht mit handschriftlicher Überlieferung, sondern mit einem einzigen, gedruckten Text zu tun, der von Kindleben festgestellt und korrigiert ist, und darum seine Intentionen getreulich widerspiegelt. Der deutsche Text, den er beigegeben hat, ist für das Verständnis des lateinischen, wo sich eine Unklarheit bietet, natürlich mit heranzuziehn, sei's auch nur, um festzustellen, wie Kindleben diesen verstand oder verstanden haben wollte. Aber dessen kann man wol gewis sein: Er hätte nach den ihm wahrscheinlich auch bekannten andern Versionen geändert, wenn er sich bewusst gewesen wäre, einen vernünftigen Sinn nur mit Interpretationskünsten gewinnen zu können. Er scheint ja doch auch sonst nicht mit übertriebener Pietät an dem überlieferten Text festgehalten zu haben. Die Divergenzen zwischen dem deutschen und lateinischen Text sind auch nicht, wie schon ein oberflächlicher Blick zeigt, der Art, dass man prinzipiell Bedenken

## ÜBER EINE STROPHE DES “GAUDEAMUS”

haben könnte, den einen zur Erläuterung des andern herbeizuholen.—Im lateinischen stehen nun nach den drei mittleren Versen Kommata: im deutschen dagegen ist durch einen Punkt nach dem mittelsten ein stärkerer Sinneseinschnitt markiert:

Sagt mir doch, wo trifft man an,  
Die vor uns gewesen?  
Schwingt euch zu dem Sternenplan.  
Gehet hin zu Charons Kahn,  
Wo sie längst gewesen.

Der Sinn ist also: “Viele sind schon im Himmel; aber davor haben sie eine andere Station durchmessen, die viele nach ihnen Gestorbene grade passiren, die Hölle oder das Fegfeuer.” Man kann’s natürlich auch unter Verwendung von antiken Vorstellungen ausdrücken.—Wenn also die Suchenden gleich den Richteweg einschlagen, und die Dahingegangenen in ihrem endgültigen Domizil auffinden, so brauchen sie diese nicht mehr da unten zu suchen. Aber es herrscht ein fortwährendes Kommen, und die Kommenden weisen rückwärts auf den Weg, den alle gegangen sind. Es steht ja für *iam* auch nicht “schon,” so gut dies gepasst hätte, sondern noch schärfer, *längst*, was sicherer die Vorstellung des Graduellen hervorruft: *iam* wäre dann Gegensatz zu dem in der Frage *ubi sunt* zu ergänzenden “nunc,” und bezöge sich auf die Scharen derer, die aus den weiter zurückliegenden Perioden des von *ante nos* einseitig abgegrenzten Zeitraums stammen. Vom Standpunkt der im Himmel eingetroffenen Suchenden aus gesehen passt das *längst* natürlich erst recht gut, ebenso von dem der dort Wohnenden. Die Form *fuere* erörtert man bei diesem Latein am besten gar nicht: die Scholaren würden sich wol keinen Augenblick bedacht haben, sie auch für “fuerint,” “fuerant” und “erant” zu gebrauchen.—Wird die Strophe gelesen, so lege man im letzten Verse einen vollen Ton auf *sie* (=“diese”), den nächsten, etwas geringern, auf *längst*, und einen

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wieder etwas stärkeren auf *gewesen*. Im lateinischen Text hat man unter *superi* jene jetzt bei ihnen Domizilirten miteinzugreifen, unter *inferi* nur die Örtlichkeit zu verstehen, wo sich andere vorübergehend aufhalten.—Es handelt sich also nicht um zwei Koordinaten (wenn der Ausdruck erlaubt ist), wie wol jeder zuerst annehmen wird, um zwei Gebiete, die jedes auf besonderem Wege erreicht werden, sondern um ein Endziel, zu dem der Weg durch eine Etappe hindurchführt: durch Nacht zum Licht. Sehr gut passen darum die Verba *vadite* und *transite*, die lediglich den Beginn der Wanderung nach dem einen, und den Übergang von ihm zu dem andern Orte bezeichnen, es also vermeiden, dem *superi* und *inferi* entsprechend die Bewegung präziser, in ihrer Richtung, auszudrücken: weil sonst sofort die Vorstellung Platz greifen würde, dass es sich um zwei Bewegungen, jedesmal von demselben Orte aus, aber jedesmal auch mit verschiedenem Ziele, handele, eine Vorstellung, die dann nur durch den Zusatz eines prosaischen “inde ab eo loco” an der zweiten Stelle, vermieden werden könnte. In der deutschen Übersetzung bleibt durch die Wiedergabe von *transite* mit *gehet hin* die richtige Vorstellung intakt, und auch das *Schwingt euch zu* ist sehr hübsch gewählt, weil nun auch für das zweite Glied des Gegensatzes *Sternenplan: Charons Kahn* das entsprechende zu deutliche Verbum der Bewegung vermieden wird. Aber *superi* und *inferi* waren besser als *Sternenplan* und *Charons Kahn*. Jenes war durchaus christlich gedacht, denn “Götter” kann *superi* nicht bedeuten, weil nach der antiken Vorstellung die Geister der Abgeschiedenen nicht zu den Göttern kommen: die deutsche Wiedergabe aber mischt christliche und antike Vorstellungen. Es ist wol unnötig zu sagen, dass aus dem Begriff *Charons Kahn* kein Zweifel daran hergeleitet werden kann, ob Kindleben und seine Vorgänger das Ganze wirklich so genommen haben wie ich: die Vorstellung von dem Durchgang der Menschen durch eine intermediäre Etappe war auch den Alten eigen.

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Wäre meine Auffassung falsch, und die ganze Wendung so zu verstehn, dass man einmal zu den Sternen, das andre Mal von eben dem irdischen Ausgangspunkte zur Unterwelt sich begeben solle, oder dass die Einen jenen, die Andern diesen Weg zu machen aufgefördert würden, dann stände sicherlich neben dem *Schwingt euch auf* ein "Steigt hinab," und in diesem Falle könnte sich *Ubi* eben nur auf beide Bereiche beziehen, die in keiner Kommunikation stünden. Dieser Auffassung aber steht das *iam fuere* gegenüber, das nicht bedeuten kann "wo sie schon lange sind," auch dann nicht wenn man sich hinzudächte "wenn ihr sie dort erblickt." Auch lässt weder die älteste Form des Gedichts, obwol Busslied, den Gedanken zu, noch legt ihn die Situation, in der die moderne Gestalt gebraucht wird, nahe, dass die im Leben gut Gewesenen sich im Himmel ewig freuen, die Bösen in der Hölle ewig schmoren.

Man werfe von hieraus einen Blick auf die erste Strophe. Kindleben hat sie noch mit wiederholtem *Post molestam senectutem*, während schon das Jenaer Blatt anstelle des ersten ein *Post exactam iuventutem* zeigt, was in der Form *Post iucundam iuventutem* heute allgemein angenommen ist. Diese Fassung schafft eine Art von Pendant zur zweiten Strophe. In der ersten handelt es sich jetzt um die Lebenden; der Blick ist nach vorwärts, zum Ende gerichtet; der Rest der Jugend und das Alter liegen auf dem Wege. In der zweiten dagegen um die Dahingegangenen; der Blick geht rückwärts nach demselben Punkt, wie dort vorwärts; über den Anfang dieses himmlischen Lebens und das Fegfeuer hin. So nach der post-Kindlebenschen Fassung: das Jenaer Blatt zeigt nicht das antithetische Verhältnis, sondern in fortlaufender Kette die Entwicklung, da es in der zweiten Strophe die Folge *Abeas ad inferos Transeas ad superos* bietet.— Das himmlische Leben ist das Ziel der Menschheit, *inferi* und *senectus* sind durchgangsstadien gewesen: Grund genug für die Studenten, die durchaus nicht freudig über diesen vom Tode



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—*nos habebit humus*—halbirten Raum hin nach dem Ziele blicken, der Jugendzeit den vollsten, freudigsten Inhalt zu geben. Haupt soll den Vers dadurch zu “heilen” versucht haben, dass er hinter *Ubi* ein Fragezeichen anbrachte, womit dies *ubi* das erste, interrogative wieder aufnehmen würde: “Wo sind sie? Längst dahin!” In diesem Falle könnte man die beiden Parallelverse entweder so interpretiren: An Himmel und Hölle glauben die Burschen, aber nicht daran, dass die Seelen der Abgeschiedenen dorthinkommen; mit dem körperlichen Leben sei alles aus. Oder: *Vadite ad superos* und *Transite ad inferos* sind lediglich Wendungen für “Sucht im ganzen Weltall: Nirgend eine Spur.” An und für sich wäre ja nun nichts dagegen einzuwenden, wenn die Aufforderung, das Leben zu geniessen mit der Behauptung, dass es ein zukünftiges nicht gebe, begründet würde: aber dieser Gedanke liegt dem Gedichte von Anbeginn fern, und auch Kindleben, der in einer Anmerkung betont, er habe die Verse die den akademischen Gesetzen zuwider, ausgemerzt, wird ihn nicht darin gefunden haben. Auch bliebe noch zu erklären, warum man wol an *superi* und *inferi*, aber nicht an das zukünftige Leben der Menschen bei ihnen glaubt.—Im Fall der zweiten Erklärung wäre nicht bedacht, dass es sich doch nur um das Erdenleben handelt, und *mundus* im ersten Vers nichts als “Erde” bedeutet. Haupts angeblicher Vorschlag ist also abzulehnen, da er Verständliches entfernt und dafür Schwierigkieten schafft.

Ich bilde mir nicht ein, mit den geringen Hilfsmitteln, die mir hier zur Verfügung stehn—dem Artikel der Kölnischen Zeitung, dem Neudruck des Hallischen Liederbuchs, Boltes Aufsätzen in der Vierteljahrschrift 1, 248 ff und 528 ff und Du Méril’s Buch—eine schlechthin sichere Erklärung für die Aufnahme des Verses *Ubi iam fuere* finden zu können, bezweifle aber auch, dass sie auf Grund des gesamten bekannten Materials möglich wäre. Was wir besitzen, das sind ja nur sporadische Niederschriften, die man nur unter Beobachtung gehöriger



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Vorsicht als Glieder einer Kette benutzen darf. Darum, vergleicht man die drei Fassungen von Altdorf, Jena und Halle, und beobachtet, wie sich zwischen dem Altdorfschen (dem Günther'schen nahestehenden) deutschen und dem Jenaer lateinischen, zwischen dem Jenaer deutschen und Kindlebens lateinischem Text Bänder schlingen, so ist damit noch nicht gesagt, dass wirklich diejenigen vorhanden gewesen sind, die wir erblicken. Zuvörderst fällt das Verhältniß des deutschen zum lateinischen Text in der Crailsheim'schen Niederschrift auf:

Ubi sunt, qui ante nos  
in mundo vixere : | :  
abeas ad tumulos, : | :  
si vis hos videre.

Wo sind diese, sagt mir an,  
die vor uns gewesen ? : | :  
sie sind zu den Sternen Plan, : | :  
wo sie längst genesen.

“Hier wird wohl der Ursprung der falschen Lesart *ubi iam fuere* zu suchen sein. Crailsheim schreibt—natürlich, um auf *gewesen* reimen zu können—*genesen*. Daraus ist irgendwie *gewesen* gemacht worden, und nachher hat man dementsprechend auch den lateinischen Text geändert”: sagt der Mann in der Kölnischen Zeitung. Man braucht nicht mal die Tatsachen zu kennen, und wird doch sofort vermuten, wo die schwachen Stellen dieser Beweisführung liegen, wenn die Worte “natürlich” und “irgendwie” gefallen sind. Es ist nirgends überliefert, dass Crailsheim der Übersetzer gewesen ist oder dass auch nur einzelne Wendungen von ihm stammen. Anderseits fragt es sich, ob man nun ohne weiteres “der Übersetzer” dafür einsetzen kann: der deutsche Text ist im einzelnen so verschieden von dem lateinischen, dass man wol eine längere selbständige Entwicklung bei ihm anzu nehmen hat; vielleicht zählte er auch noch mehr Strophen als die drei, die Crailsheim im Anschluss an die drei lateinischen mitteilt. Wie dem auch sei: *wo sie längst genesen* ist so eng verbunden mit dem *Sternenplan*—im *tumulus* kann man nicht *genesen*,—und der erste Vers im deutschen Text steht so frei dem korrespondirenden

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lateinischen gegenüber, dass von Rücksichten des Reims nicht die Rede sein kann. Dazu erinnert der letzte Vers deutlich an das *molestam senectutem* der ersten Strophe oder an den Text der zwei letzten des alten Bussliedes

In hac vita nascitur vir omnis cum moerore  
et in vitam ducitur humano cum labore  
et post vitam clauditur cum funeris dolore.

Si conversus fueris et velut puer sanctus,  
et vitam mutaveris in meliores actus  
sic intrare poteris regnum Dei beatus.

Die Version, die in der Jenaer Handschrift aufbewahrt ist, zeigt den Ersatz der Wiederholung des dritten Verses durch einen Parallelvers. In der zweiten Strophe aber war der erste der beiden, *Abeas ad inferos*, direkt an das frühere *abeas ad tumulos* angeschlossen, der zweite, *Transeas ad superos*, an die in dem Crailsheimischen *Sie sind zu der Sternen Plan* vertretene Version, der letzte Vers in der überlieferten Form geblieben. Mit der so entstandenen Fassung war nun aber ein neuer Zug in das Gedicht hineingekommen. Zwar der Gegensatz von dieser Welt und der andern erscheint schon in dem alten Busslied—vergl. den oben abgedruckten Schluss davon und das *in hoc mundo* der ihm vorhergehenden Strophe—! aber der Gegensatz, der in den Parallelversen auftritt, ist neu, sei es nun dass man sie nahm in dem Sinne: “die einen sind zum Teufel, die andern bei Gott,” oder: “die einen, später Gestorbenen, sind erst im Fegfeuer, die andern, früher Gestorbenen, schon im Himmel.” Dass schon hier eine Zweideutigkeit empfunden wurde, die zu vermeiden war, scheint der Jenaer deutsche Text zu beweisen. Er dreht die beiden Parallelverse um, und verbindet den nunmehr zweiten enger mit dem Schlussverse, der so gefasst ist, dass man ihn nur auf den vorhergehenden beziehen konnte. Denn sonst müsste man

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das *sie* auf zwei verschiedene Klassen von Menschen beziehen und das *wo* auf ihrer beider verschiedenen Aufenthalt nach ihrem Tode, womit sich der Unsinn ergäbe: "Gehet hin zum Himmel, wo die einen, und zur Hölle, wo die andern schon längst gewesen sind." Es war also unzweideutig ausgedrückt, dass man nur die Toten schlechthin meinte und nicht daran dachte, Unterschiede zu machen, was ja wol auch angesichts der Mahnung, die Jugend zu geniessen nicht recht gepasst hätte.—Es ist ganz unmöglich, in der Umkehrung der beiden Parallelverse Willkür oder Zufall zu sehen, wenn man die Änderung des letzten dazuhält, und umgekehrt. Aber wie das Wort *Sternenplan* herübergenommen ist, so wird natürlich auch der Vers *wo sie längst genesen* die neue Fassung beeinflusst haben, wobei man jedoch nicht den zweiten der Strophe vergessen darf. Die Umdrehung der Verse war Notwendigkeit; man probire jede andere Möglichkeit: immer erheben sich Bedenken wegen des richtigen Verständnisses.—Die Frage, warum nicht schon im lateinischen Jenaer Text eine dem deutschen entsprechende Änderung vorgenommen sei, lässt sich mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit dahin beantworten, dass man sich bei Einführung des Parallelverses, den die Jenaer Fassung zum ersten Mal zeigt, noch nicht über ihre Konsequenzen für den Sinn klar war, dass die neue Fassung schnell fest wurde, und dass man sich auch scheute, noch tiefergehende Änderungen an dem überlieferten Text vorzunehmen. Es war ja doch der lateinische, nicht der deutsche, der Träger der Überlieferung, und der erstere wird der weitaus häufiger gesungene gewesen sein, wie er heute ausschliesslich gesungen wird.—Blickt man zurück, dann erkennt man deutlicher, dass die Einführung des Parallelverses der Grund aller Schwierigkeiten gewesen ist.

Kindleben druckt nun zum ersten Male. In der oben erwähnten Anmerkung rechtfertigt er seine Änderungen: *Ich habe mich genöthigt gesehen, dieses alte Burschenlied umzuschmelzen,*

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*weil die Poesie, wie in den meisten Liedern dieser Art, sehr schlecht war . . .* Er zieht die Konsequenzen auch für den lateinischen Text, dreht die Parallelverse, soweit nötig, um, ändert den Numerus des Verbums, ersetzt das *abire*, worauf das zugehörige *ad inferos* gleichsam abgefärbt hatte, durch das wolgemutere und darum für die neue Verbindung mit *ad superos* tauglichere *vadere*, und ändert den letzten Vers völlig. Zeigt er hier schon logisches und sprachliches Feingefühl, so offenbart er sich noch mehr im deutschen Text als Klotzens Schüler. Wenn er an die Stelle des Jenaer *Steigt hinauf zum Sternenplan* ein *Schwingt euch zu dem Sternenplan* setzt, dann ist gar nicht zu verkennen, was er damit bezweckt: Er will statt eines Verbums, das scharf die einseitige, unbedingt von dem Niveau abführende Richtung ausdrückt, ein solches verwenden, das eine Wesensverschiedenheit der neuen Bewegung von der bisherigen, gewöhnlichen bedeutet, damit aber die Eigenschaft verbindet, im gewöhnlichen Gebrauch dieselbe Richtung zu bezeichnen wie jenes andere Verbum, und dennoch auch zur Bezeichnung der entgegengesetzten Richtung zu dienen! Alle diese Eigenschaften besitzt "sich schwingen": Es ist dem Wesen nach verschieden von "gehen," man schwingt sich dahin, wohin einen die gewöhnliche Art der Fortbewegung nicht bringen kann. Es braucht nur in gerader Richtung zu sein: Aber gewöhnlich verbindet sich die Vorstellung des Steigens damit. Und doch steht nichts im Wege, es auch mit "hinab" zu verbinden. Das feine Kompromiss zwischen Verstand und Gefühl war durch die nun einmal vorhandenen zu anschaulichen Begriffe *Sternenplan* und *Charons Kahn* und angesichts ihrer Verwendung zur Darstellung einer nur von der Phantasie geschauten Entwicklung nötig geworden.—Weniger fällt die Besserung bei dem zweiten Verbum ins Auge. Hier hatte schon Jena recht gut *Gebt zu*. Aber Kindlebens *Gebet hin zu* drückt sowol rhythmisch als auch stilistisch noch feiner aus,

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dass es sich nur noch um ein Weitergehen, eine Fortsetzung des Weges handelt.—Dass er schliesslich auch die Interpunktion zur Verdeutlichung des Zusammenhangs zu Hilfe genommen hat, ist oben schon gesagt worden. Kindlebens Verdienst liegt also bei dieser Strophe darin, dass er den lateinischen und deutschen Text mit feinem Gefühl so weit wie möglich einander angeglichen hat, ohne von dem überlieferten Bestand etwas aufzugeben. Seine Lesart besteht zu Recht.

G. SCHAAFFS.





## A WORD ABOUT DONKEYS



## A Word about Donkeys



JOANNA was a happy country girl ; and she was pretty too, for all happy young girls are pretty. If you don't think so, it is because there is a film over your eyes which a sorrow may remove suddenly ; and then you will see with painful clearness how beautiful the familiar things have been : perhaps all of them except yourself.

To-morrow Joanna was to be married, so she was even very pretty. A tomboy she had been called sometimes, because of her exultation in rough sports, which made a boy of her in the hockey field, and perhaps clung to her after the game was ended. She was so full of vitality that she never walked demure ; some who had known her in her baby days said that she had learnt to walk long after she had learned to run.

Her baby days. They had been last week or thereabouts, and now her mamma was somewhere upstairs, very busy packing the trousseau.

Joanna and her young conqueror were in the only cool room in the house, the great drawing-room, where many windows faced each other ; those looking north on turf and tree and flower had never seen the sea, those looking south had never seen anything else. They lived as different lives as the two sides of a penny.

This is what Joanna and Master Harry were doing. They were once again counting their wedding presents in the hope of

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making the number come to a hundred instead of ninety-nine. For long the gifts had poured in deliciously in flood, so that even while Joanna was "trying on," she had sometimes rushed away to uncover a mysterious parcel and had to be repinned when caught. But for two days the figures had stood at ninety-nine.

Harry, who was a cricketer, recalled the difficulty of stealing that extra run when you were within one of the three figures.

The squire, once a soldier, and not an imaginative man, save that still "through his head a regiment of horse exercised," had been sometimes in the room, sometimes out of it, wandering the house restlessly like one who is prepared for a ceremony twenty-four hours too soon. He knew what was troubling those young people. "I think," he said, after wondering whether he should say it, "that I could bring the figures up to a hundred."

Joanna was of opinion that an extra gift from her father would not count. Harry compared it to sending down the batsman an easy one to let him get his century. Then the least dramatic of squires made the interesting announcement: "The present I am thinking of is not one for myself, little Joanna. Someone gave it to me on trust for you long ago."

He was a man not given to being demonstrative even to his child, though jealous perhaps of his privilege of complaining that she was demonstrative to him. It was only since the wedding was at the door, so to speak, that he had taken to calling her little Joanna; just when she was at her biggest, as she reminded him.

Of course she enveloped him in her impulsive way now. But how romantic. And who was the person?—man or woman?—and what was it and where was it, and produce it at once.

Joanna, the happy girl, knew so little about herself, that for the moment she was really wondering whether there had



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once been someone who had "cared for her" without her knowing it.

The squire sat down beside them with a sigh : he always sighed when he had to talk. "He was a very old man," he told them, "and I am afraid the present is nothing that can be exhibited like the other ninety-nine, with a card attached ; though I suppose his card itself would be a gift of value now."

"Father, who is he?"

"He is dead. You saw him once only, four years ago. Your mother and I took you to see him when you were in such distress about your donkey."

Then, of course, Joanna remembered. Four years ago her dear beloved Dobbin had died, and she had hid in the shade and sworn never to look upon the sun again. Substitutes had been offered to her. "O cruel," her eyes had said in tears or flashing. She had expressed a desire to bear it alone. She had begun to grow quite thin and ladylike. Sometimes the squire had held her hand, sometimes he had damned donkeys.

Then happily, she was sent a book in which there is a superb account of the death of a donkey, done with such insight that the animal might have been Joanna's. There are a few pages of it only, but it has been accepted as the final word about donkeys.

At last there was someone to whom Joanna could talk about her Dobbin. In the end her distracted parents had to put the case in writing before the great author, and in a delightful reply he said, "Bring her to me and we shall talk donkeys."

Joanna said now that she remembered the visit as if it were yesterday. She had written it all out in her album. It had been the most memorable day of her life.

"Yet I see," remarked the cynical squire, "that you have not mentioned it to Harry."

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"I have known him for a year only. We have had so many other things of which to talk."

"Yes," the old gentleman said, "that would be so."

This hurt Joanna. "Surely," she exclaimed hotly, "he did not think I could ever forget him."

Her father lit a cigarette. "My dear," he said, "I don't suppose he cared. There are three people in the world to whom it matters whether you forget them or not : your mother and Harry and myself. Not all of us have three."

"He had thousands. You must remember what the newspapers said, and how his house was bought by the nation. And at any rate," cried Joanna triumphantly, "he must have liked me if he gave you something for me."

"It is only something he said I might tell you if I cared to do so. 'Don't speak of it to her,' he said, 'till she can smile over her grief about Dobbin.' I remember he suggested my telling it to you as a wedding gift, with an old fellow's best wishes."

"Oh, what is it?"

"It is the end of the story of his dead donkey. The story is not quite all in the book. Do you remember that I remained with him a few minutes while your mother and you were looking at his roses? Well, it was then that he told me the little bit more about the donkey."

Joanna wanted to have it at once, but her father said she must first show Harry what she had written about her famous visit ; so the album was produced, once a very precious affair with a key to it, and Joanna read aloud while the two men listened.

What she read had been a tremendous literary effort, with fine passages that looked a little shyly at their mamma now, though once as proud of themselves as Joanna had been. They would have cried to-day if she had laughed.

## A WORD ABOUT DONKEYS

No reader shall have the chance of laughing, for all except a few pages are to be put back softly in Joanna's album without another word about them.

"...and then, with a singing in my ears and trembling limbs, I knew that we were at last in the presence of this great man. How can I describe him? My pen is entirely inadequate to the delicious task...."

She then describes him at great length.

Joanna, it seems, soon found herself apologising to her host for not being able to laugh, and the result of this was to bring them quickly to the subject of donkeys.

"'I can't laugh yet,' I said to him with quivering lip, 'it was all so recent, you see.'

"I was too excited to be able to note his exact reply, though I do remember how dear and sympathetic it was. He asked me how long it was since my donkey had died.

"'Eight days,' I said. 'And yours?'

"'Several years, I think,' he said.

"I suppose I looked a little reproachfully at him for not knowing precisely, for he asked me so sweetly to forgive an old man.

"'I suppose,' I said to him, oh so sadly, 'that as the years roll on I shall begin to forget Dobbin. Father says so, everyone says so, and they all seem to think it such a good thing, but to me it seems the saddest thing of all. Are you beginning to forget?'

"He made such a dear reply. 'I begin to forget many things,' he said, 'especially those that have happened recently, say during your short lifetime; but I have never begun to forget my Dobbin. I have long ceased to feel anguish about him, but I recall him still with the greatest partiality; I suppose I never loved anything so much.'

"It made me so happy to hear him say this that I believe I

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slipped my hand into his. I think father and mother were a little shocked to hear him speak thus of a mere donkey, but it encouraged me to say, 'I am glad that in what you have written you have not called your donkey perfect. When mine died I could not endure a thought against him ; but you have taught me how much dearer it is to have loved him despite his faults rather than because he had none.'

" 'Heigh-ho,' he said, 'I admit that there was a time when I also could not endure to hear a word against my donkey. He was very young and spirited and gay in those days, and I swore by him as if he were an Arab steed. He was mine, you see. I probably should not have admired him nearly so much had he belonged to any one else.'

" 'You could not have known him so well,' I pointed out.

" 'I don't know that I did know him very well in those early days,' he said ; 'it was as he grew old that I got my real knowledge of him. I never knew my Dobbin thoroughly until I could laugh at him and mock him for all his glaring absurdities. My dear old ridiculous Dobbin !'

" 'Here he did laugh so heartily that it wounded me a little.

" 'What were his glaring absurdities ?' I asked.

" 'The gorgeous ideas he had of himself in his great days !' he exclaimed. 'He thought there never was such a fellow ! And he was not merely vain and proud ; he could be selfish and cruel and unthankful and——'

" 'Oh, no,' I cried.

" 'Mine was. I am sure yours was a much nicer donkey.'

" 'This, of course, I could not allow. 'He was really very naughty often,' I said, 'and many of the dreadful things you say yours did, mine did also. It might have been my Dobbin you were writing of instead of your own.'

" 'When we know a little about one donkey,' he said, 'I suppose we know something about all the others.'

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"I complained of this. 'It implies that ours were only average donkeys after all.'

"'That is what mine was,' he said. 'I refused to believe it for a long time, but I see now that on the whole he was only an average donkey.'

"He was smiling but he looked sad, and I said something which I think pleased him. It was that I believed I had never quite understood my donkey until I read about his. In his old age my Dobbin had been what is called 'difficult.' He ceased to care for sugar and endearments, such as having his nose kissed; he no longer nestled against me when I told him what a darling he was; these things annoyed him and even made him kick viciously. I had put this down to some malady of age, but that was not the reason. My wonderful friend had discovered the true reason. His donkey as he grew old became wise, and understood himself, and knew that he was not really a specially admirable creature, and longed, not to be praised for what he was not, but just to be known for what he was.

"'Even donkeys,' he said, 'come to that in the end. They want the truth, nothing but the truth.'

"Of the death of my sweet donkey I could not write without blinding tears. We knew that he would die soon, and there is a saying that no one has ever seen a donkey die, but I had made up my mind to be with mine when the sad day came. I was so hopeful that he would be helped if he felt my arms about his dear neck. Many a morning I rose so early that no one else in the house was astir, and went to the stables and called out loving things to him through the window of his box, just to let him know that though I had not the key, I was near my Dobbin.

"Yet in the end (oh, the agony to me) he wandered away and died alone. When we found him I laid my head on his



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and asked him to forgive me. I felt that I had broken a promise to him.

"But my friend comforted me. 'If your donkey was like mine,' he said, 'he passionately desired to die alone, so that he might have no nonsense spoken of him or to him in the last hour. Had he been able to speak to me he would have said: "I beg you now to let me go; I am not unhappy but I am old; I really died when I ceased to be of any use. I know so much better than you what have been my faults and what my virtues, and that though I have often meant well I have been a failure as a whole; it is distasteful to me to hear myself spoken of any more; I want to go away and die and be forgotten."'"

"Not surely forgotten,' I cried.

"I think so,' he said. 'Dobbin wanted peace forever; and there is never quite that if someone is sitting weeping on your grave.'

"But mine was such an active donkey. People used to say of him that he was always "spoiling for a fight." He loved fighting.'

"So did my Dobbin once upon a time. It was the breath of his nostrils. Ye Gods, how he loved a fight.'

"Mine,' I said, 'was famous as the finest donkey in the county. You should have seen the prizes he got, and how proud he was of them. I am sure he would not like his prizes to be forgotten.'

"It may be so,' he said (he was much less dogmatic, I see now, than I was); 'and yet mine was a rather famous donkey also, and won a prize or two in his time.'

"He can never be forgotten,' I exclaimed. 'You have immortalised him.'

"He smiled. 'If I have shown him,' he said, 'for what he was I am content.'

"I said: 'How strange that human beings and donkeys

## A WORD ABOUT DONKEYS

should be so different ;' but I don't think he heard, for he made no answer."

"This," said Joanna grandly to Harry, "is the last paragraph : 'There was one last glorious moment of the sun as we said good-bye, and in it I saw him standing as in a golden frame. He was a great man and I was only an ignorant girl, but I felt as if I had known him for years. It was as if a common sorrow had lit up the heart of each to the other.'"

"And now, what was it he wanted you to tell me?" asked Joanna of her father, as she closed the album.

The squire fidgetted like one not over comfortable.

"It was this, my Joanna," he said, stroking her hair, "that he had never had a donkey."

Joanna's eyes widened. "What! It was not his own donkey?"

"It was nobody's donkey. He had never known a donkey."

"I see," said Harry in answer to Joanna's bewildered look. "He had just imagined it. I have heard that writing chaps are like that."

But the squire shook his head. "That was not how he put it to me," he said, "nor how he wanted it told to Joanna. What he wanted me to explain to her was that the donkey was himself."

"Himself, father?"

"Yes, he called it a little bit of autobiography from one who was waiting at the end of the journey. He was the donkey."

"Read your pretty account of it again, my child," her father continued, "in the light of what I have told you, and I dare say you will discover for yourself what he really meant. I am no hand at explaining literary matters. But I know he

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thought you a dear girl, and wanted you to learn the truth about his donkey when you grew up, so that it might help you to be long-suffering with other men and women—other donkeys, you know—and especially with Master Harry here, and Master Harry with my Joanna.”

JAMES MATTHEW BARRIE.

## RELIGIO LOCI





## Religio Loci



THE oldest, the smallest, and the poorest of Scottish Universities, St. Andrews, is the richest in the *religio loci*, in haunting historic memories and associations. "Dear city of youth and dream!" says Mr. Bridges, addressing Oxford; and though Cambridge is some thirty times richer than Oxford in great English poets, once her *alumni*, yet the poems on Oxford, such as Matthew Arnold's *Scholar Gipse*y, are more magical than any in which Cambridge men have sung their Alma Mater. In truth Oxford is a more beautiful and fascinating town, even now, than Cambridge, and Wordsworth was better inspired when he wrote

"The streamlike windings of that glorious street,"

the High, than when, in Cambridge

"We at the Hoop alighted, famous inn."

I do not know that the other Scottish universities are propitious to poetry evoked by their charms and their historic memories. The Town's College of Edinburgh is built, indeed, on the site of Kirk o' Field, the scene of a great, passionate historic tragedy, but not a visible stone of the old city wall, of the house of murder abutting on it, of the gardens, the Gate of the Potter's Row, and so forth, is left. There is only a small heavy black modern quadrangle, though some of the rooms have seen Scott

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and R. L. Stevenson, and many eminent surgeons and physicians "mewing their mighty youth."

Not much matter for poetry here; while of the old Glasgow University buildings, where for a dreary term I was instructed, I remember nothing romantic except that in the smoky garden Rob Roy stopped a promising duel between Frank Osbaldistone and his caitiff cousin, Rashleigh Osbaldistone. The new Glasgow Victorian-Gothic edifice makes me nervous when I see a photograph thereof; indeed, that mighty city in the West is terribly unacademic. No mortal hails it as "Dear city of youth and dream"! Of Aberdeen I cannot speak from personal observation, and it is consecrated by the memory of the Earls Marischal and of the immortal Dugald Dalgetty. There may be, there is no reason why there should not be, a rich body of Aberdonian poetry on Aberdeen University; and Edinburgh, with Scott for an *alumnus*, overcrows us of St. Andrews,—but Sir Walter did not write lyrics about his college. At St. Andrews, on the other hand, we are, like Pembroke in Dr. Johnson's time, "a nest of singing birds," who chant "the glories of our birth and state": the sea, the towers, the college of the Scarlet Gown; and a pleasing collection might be made of such verses from *College Echoes*. Robert Fergusson is perhaps the most ancient of our singers who have been inspired by the place, and he, though now neglected, was the Master of Burns, and, when he died in early youth, he left admirable work.

"Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight,  
And broken is Apollo's golden bough."

St. Andrews, again, was the inspiration of R. F. Murray, who can never be forgotten; while the University stands, his is an enviable fame, for his songs, beautiful, sad, or joyous, will actually be sung, not merely read. This is renown of the world's old sort, the sort older than reading and writing. Murray was

## RELIGIO LOCI

in love with the place, most of us are. With myself it was a case of love at first sight, as soon as I found myself under the grey sky, and beheld the white flame of the breakers charging over the brown wet barrier of the pier. *Sancti Leonardi alumnus addictissimus*, I may call myself, in the words of a descendant of Archbishop Sharp ; though St. Leonard's College was sold long ago, for a few years it lived again as St. Leonard's Hall, a joyous place of residence : to the Hall I return.

When my friends and I came here, so long ago, Rugby football and golf and cricket were much more in our minds than the historical associations of the place. We did not think for a moment of the bones of St. Andrew, miraculous relics that were the making of the religious establishments here ; or of good Bishop Kennedy who gave us St. Salvator's College, except in so far as his daughter (mythical, let us hope) was the Saint of a yearly Carnival and masquerade. We did not think of innocent hapless Henry VI. gazing from the castle windows over the sea, watching for the sails of ships which never bore good tidings. The chapel gate did not recall Patrick Hamilton's long agony in the dank faggots of his pile ; or the castle speak to us of Wishart, worried at a stake and burned under the windows ; or of the butchery of the great Cardinal by sanctified and mercenary ruffians. The war between Prior Hepburn and one of our best poets, Gawain Douglas ; the feuds between Priory and Castle were nothing to us in these days. We did not dream of the beautiful saintly face of Archbishop Sharp (his face was not an index to his character) as he gave alms to the poor at his gate ; or of that other Archbishop whose familiar spirit, in the form of a hare, ran down South Street before him ; or of the white pony to whom his malady was transferred by a witch. Jerome Carden may have cured the last Catholic Archbishop by hanging him up by the heels ; and our lay Prior, Lord James Stewart, may have been relieved of the French poisons by

## ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

the same scientific method. But, had we known these circumstances, Lord Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne, and myself, as artists of *The St. Leonard's Magazine*, would certainly have illustrated the events in our periodical, as Lord Archibald did pourtray the monks playing at mediaeval golf and cricket.

I do not remember even to have paused and sighed in the middle of Market Street, the scene of "the last wild thought of Chastelard"; or thought of Queen Mary and the Four Maries shooting matches at the butts behind her house in South Street, and bantering the English ambassador, Randolph, the flirt, as the French say, of Mary Beaton. "Her Grace lodged in a merchant's house, her train were very few. 'I sent for you to be merry,' she said, 'and to see how like a *bourgeoise* wife I live with my little troop,' " hunting, hawking, and dancing in sight of the ruins of the fanes of her faith. So she rode to Wemyss Castle, and met Darnley and her doom, and saw thenceforth but little mirth, and St. Andrews she saw but once more, after the curse, so long prepared, had come upon her. Perhaps she planted "Queen Mary's Thorn," the grey tree heavy with age in the quad of St. Mary's; it may easily be coeval with the Helen of our Scottish history.

It is a melancholy truth that, about the age of seventeen, we knew no more of the historical associations and picturesque memories of our haunted town, college, and castle, than other boys did before us, or, I daresay, do now. Youth lives in the present: later, some men take refuge in the past. I never reflected, when I wore the black cap with a red saltire of our football club, or the blue cap with white saltire of our cricket club, on the days when the two Beatons, uncle and nephew, dwelt in the castle, never "blessed them unawares" as I thought how to these two eminent and courageous statesmen, and unpurchasable patriots, our country owes the boon of Presbyterial

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government. It was unawares that they blessed us with the Kirk ; nothing was further from their intentions. But as both successfully opposed the unscrupulous efforts of Henry VIII. to make Scotland his washpot, and over St. Andrews to cast forth his shoe, it is clear that they saved Scotland from the Anglican Church with its King-Pope, and from the servitude of the Anglican Service Book. Suppose that Henry had got possession of King James V. (which the Cardinal prevented him from doing), or of the infant Queen Mary, they would have become Anglicans, and Presbyterianism would no more have been the State religion of Scotland than of England. Dr. Hay Fleming is not sufficiently grateful to the Beaton.

The good Cardinal had quite defeated Henry VIII. when that monarch's long conspiracy to have him murdered took effect ; and the patriot fell beneath the swords and daggers of Leslies, Learmonts, and Kirkcaldys. We now see none of the rooms of the ancient palace-castle ; it was not out of any of the existing windows that Beaton's body was suspended by his murderers ; the existing ruins represent a later edifice. There must have been a chapel in which Knox preached when he "lap into the Castle" which the murderers held so long against Scotland. I like to look towards the remotest eastern promontory, and think of the day when the prows of the French galleys were seen rounding it, and their oars beat the grey water into foam. When once they had placed their guns on platforms at the top of the towers of St. Salvator's and the Abbey, all was over with the ruffians who held the castle,

"And Norman and his company have filled the galleys fow,"

said the song. In a little book of Scottish history, my friend, Mrs. Oliphant, picturesquely described the emotions of Knox, as, a captive in a galley, he looked back on the ruins of the Cathedral. "He had not made them yet !" I ventured to



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tell her, and she merrily confessed that her imagination had run away with her.

I do *not* like to think of “the wicked day of destiny” (June 11-13, 1559), when, after orations from Knox, “the provost and baillies, as the commons for the most part within the town, did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did with expedition.” We may almost say *perierunt etiam ruinae*. Let us be thankful, with amazement, that so much is left. The late Mr. Everard, being asked to subscribe to a monument to Knox, replied that he saw the sufficient monument whenever he looked at the ruins. But there was no help for the destruction. The buildings were no longer needed, the lead of the roofs could be sold, and the structures were valuable quarries; while the gold and silver of the Delphi of Scotland was, probably, coined for the military chest of the Congregation, when they seized the Mint or cunzie house in Edinburgh. The canons of the Cathedral had no mind to be martyrs. Some of them made “notable confessions”; in one the converted priest renounces

“That odious beast and lecherous swine,  
The Pope of Rome.”

The phrase is rhythmical, and I think that we may easily recognise the style of its author, *Aut Jobannes aut Diabolus!*

There were better days than the wicked day of destiny, as when James VI. escaped from the men who took him in the Raid of Ruthven, galloped from Falkland to our castle, and was “a free king” again; and in the Town and Gown row, when Andrew Melville and the students held St. Mary’s against the angry citizens. Men must have been merry, too, when the great Montrose was here in his glorious boyhood, and, like his oft-defeated fellow collegian, Lord Lorne, won the archery medal; we still possess these and many other medals won and given by young men of noble names—Robertson of Struan,



NORTH STREET FROM THE WEST END



## RELIGIO LOCI

Morton, Wemyss, Lindsay, Rothes, Elcho, Sharp of Strath-tyrum, a descendant of the Archbishop whom the godly hacked to pieces on Magus Moor ; there are also Bethunes, Grahams, and Carnegies. The godly, before that, had a great field-day, when they held a convention in the upper hall of our library and condemned to death cavaliers, prisoners of war, taken at Philiphaugh, and women who had followed Montrose's army.

The University had not wished to sign the Covenant, but needs must when somebody drives ! You may see a paper of signatures in the Library : Rothes, later the persecutor, signs with Cargill, the martyr who excommunicated the king, and Sir George Mackenzie, "that noble wit of Scotland," says Dryden. Sir George was also a St. Andrews man ; almost every notable man of Scotland, in these days, passed through our colleges. Our Archbishop Spottiswoode, the historian, was accused by the Covenanters of "adultery, incest, sacrilege, and frequent simony, carding and dicing in time of divine service, tippling and drinking," and so forth. As for Archbishop Sharp, perhaps the more odious charges may be omitted, but the public voice accused the prelate of murdering his own child, and entertaining the devil ; while, when he was in Edinburgh, two of his servants saw his phantasm in the New Inns (*novum hospitium*) of St. Andrews. A block of ruin of the *hospitium* stands in the front of one of the houses of St. Leonard's school ; and every one knows Sharp's monument, made in Holland, in the Town Kirk.

The last great name of a visitor to St. Andrews is that of Dr. Johnson, who could not see the Library because the man who had the key was in the country, and, somehow, did not see St. Rule's, or did not know that he had seen it. He left St. Andrews "full of mournful images, and ineffectual wishes." I do not remember that, as a boy at St. Leonard's, I was even

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aware that Johnson had entertained wishes that have been fulfilled.

In short, in St. Andrews, "Every stone you tread on has its history," as says Cicero, speaking of Athens. The contemplative stroller can amuse himself, wherever he goes, by calling up recollections of antiquity. The new suburb, on the road to the University cricket ground, seems nothing less than historical, but the region of villas, looking down over Eden and the links and the sea, in its name, Rathelpie, speaks, they say, of the Rath, or fortified settlement of Alpin, whose name, if you care to credit Joseph Ritson, was Pictish, and who himself was the son of the "Pictish princess, Fergusia, the wife of the Scottish King, Achaius." The name of Achaius is given in a dozen forms, such as Eocha and Eoched, and as father of Kenneth MacAlpin (*ob.* 856) he is the source of the Scottish dynasty, while legend makes him, with Charlemagne, found the Ancient League of France and Scotland. These are very dim affairs, but if Alpin really had a *Rath* at Rathelpy, that was long after the time of the people whose village and burial-ground has left traces of circular huts, some bones, a necklace of jet, and a stone quaich or cup, in the soil where the modern villas shelter the householders, on the ridge between the brawling burn and the plain bounded by the Eden. No relics, however, of the palace of the ally of Charlemagne have been discovered. As to the prehistoric villagers, Picts or Gaels, or what you please, of them we may say, like the old woman looking on at the excavation of a lake-dwelling in Galloway, "They were puir folk that lived here, and what they had they didna leave ahint them."

The oldest name of St. Andrews, Kilrymont, appears to mean "the cell of the king's hill," the cell of a Saint who was protected by a king earlier than the gracious Alpin; whether the holy man lived in the now denudated cave in the cliff between the Castle and the ruins of St. Mary's Chapel of the



## RELIGIO LOCI

Rock, or whether he were more comfortably established elsewhere, when the relics of St. Andrew were brought from Hexham. Then, at last, the *Rath* or village on Muckcross, the promontory of the swine, became St. Andrews town. Relics of an Apostle must have attracted pilgrims, and been very good for trade ; and hence, I presume, arose a city on a spot which can never have had many advantages in the way of commerce. "The pure Culdees" established themselves here, in some kind of order which permitted them, says the shocked Southron critic, to live as married men with families, and they left the fragments of old Celtic stone-carving, which the English Augustinian canons that succeeded them used as rubble in the building of the Cathedral ; precisely as, after the Reformation, Presbyterian citizens used the carved work of the Cathedral itself. The temples of one age are the quarries of another, in the course of the changes of faith and taste. A head in stone, from the dwelling of the Knights Templars in South Street, still grins at you from the wall of a house in a lane. Can this be an effigy of the magical head which the Templars were accused of worshipping ? The opinion, though improbable, is picturesque ; at all events Templars swaggered down South Street long before the days of cap and gown, of Regents and students.

It were, indeed, a pleasant thing to have the gift of these two English ladies who, strolling, after luncheon, as they tell us, round the *petit Trianon*, wandered into yesterday and saw the landscape gardens as they were in 1789, and the gardeners and courtiers of Marie Antoinette, and the Queen herself : at least one lady saw a woman where the other saw none. This gift I do not happen to possess, it is not common ; but the historian can, at least, think of the days of St. Margaret of Scotland, think of her riding to visit these Culdees, and lecture to them on their erroneous ideas and customs ; with her English confessor by her side, and the Celtic Bishop, respectful but

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unconvinced, and worthy burly King Malcolm, admiring without understanding ; and the Culdees, drawn up in line ; without being second-sighted they could foresee calamity : “ the old order changing.” The fisher folk who looked on probably had more of the good Gaelic than of the English ; their life, at least, alters not much more than the face of the sea in which they and the sea fowl have their business.

Above the sea, outside of the Cathedral wall, you observe the remains of a small church, which was, I presume, the last retreat of “ the pure Culdee ” ; the Culdees of St. Mary of the Rock are mentioned in a document as late as 1332 in the minority of David II. One can fancy the last Culdees frowning at the canons of the Priory when they met. Sir William Wallace came to St. Andrews, if we believe an English chronicler, and the populace took the opportunity to murder three Englishmen, who fled to the stone called “ the rock or needle of St. Andrew,” whatever that may have been. After the failure of Wallace came Edward I., and stripped the lead from the Cathedral church for the benefit of his military engines at the siege of Stirling Castle. But Edward paid for what he took. In our Bishop Lamberton, who perjured himself six or seven times, Edward found a dangerous and quite unscrupulous patriot ; the main support of Robert Bruce was in Lamberton and the Scottish clergy of all degrees. Their sermons inspired all classes in resistance to England, and on July 5, 1318, Lamberton had the satisfaction of seeing the Cathedral completed, and dedicated in the presence of the Victor of Bannockburn. The oldest tombstone now in the grounds of the Cathedral is a flat stone, under which lies a canon named Robert Catheric, who died in 1380. A monument so simple and humble has been spared by the Reformers and by modern vandalism. Robert Catheric saw the accidental burning of the Cathedral in 1378 ; the restoration was not complete till 1440.

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Probably "the second temple was not like the first," on which ruin enough had been wrought in the wars against Edward Balliol and Edward III. As for the Bishops' Castle, I know not how often it was ruined and restored.

Most of St. Andrews, like all of Troy and Gnosso before Dr. Schliemann and Mr. Evans put spades into them, lies below the surface. We cannot excavate the town and expose the successive strata, the five or six buried cities. We cannot even excavate the Castle ; but certainly it was once much larger than the present ruins denote. The villa of Castlecliff is built over part of the Castle. The subterranean passage under the north side of the tower really is that very rare thing, a subterranean passage which is not a mere drain or water-conduit. There are stairs hewn in the rock, and seats cut in the stone, and at one point a ladder has to be descended by the explorer. I have only seen one other such subterranean way, cut through the sandstone cliff on which stood the Edwardian castle of Highhead ; but this passage leads merely to the burn, the Ive, whence the garrison may have drawn part of their water supply. But an ingenious citizen of St. Andrews has built a wall across our subterranean passage, which passes beneath his house, for the disinterested purpose, apparently, of baffling antiquarian research. Where anything ancient stands above ground, pull it down, where any ancient way leads underground, block it up, is a noble maxim. Presumably the passage enabled the garrison to make an unexpected sally ; conceivably it debouched within the priory, but this is not very probable.

But enough of "proto-history." My old friend and fellow *alumnus* of St. Leonard's Hall, the Rev. Professor Menzies, has suggested that I should say a few words on that delightful home of our indolent and rejoicing youth. It was in 1861, I think, that the old College of St. Leonard's, or the building on its site, was converted into a Hall for resident students. We were but

## ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

ten, at most (for a fair proportion was sent down for infringement of a rule), few of us are left alive ; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Archibald Campbell, Sir Henry Cook, Mr. Gordon, and myself, with the Warden, our friend and instructor in football as well as in the classics, Mr. H. T. Rhoades. There was a rule that we were only to go out on the evenings of Friday and Saturday, and Principal Shairp asked Rhoades if he thought men could break bounds? The Warden, who is extremely agile, stepped from a first floor window, and, in a moment, was on the top of the garden wall. But that was not the method of secret exit usually adopted. I do not remember it, but a contemporary has told me that, one night, we all went out, and innocently roamed about the country. However, in our first year, certain wild youths were caught out twice in a week, and then there was trouble, and our ranks were thinned.

I was here but for two winters and one summer ; the happiest time of my life, for ever dear and sacred in memory. One read what one liked ; I read a good deal of magic, and a great deal of poetry. We had a manuscript magazine, copiously illustrated ; I was the Editor,—and the author to a considerable extent, but the Duke and Lord Archibald were the leading artists. We made one pound sterling by publishing a single number, and bought therewith two bats, without cane handles, as cricket prizes. The Duke got one, for batting, and I got the other for bowling, I think, or *vice versa*. We played the University at football in the second year, but as we had no field of selection, being only thirteen and having to borrow Louis Mylne (later Bishop of Bombay) and Donald Mackenzie, we had no look in. We did not shine in learning, though I gained prizes in the Greek department, my uncle, W. G. Sellar, being Professor. But he exhibited no nepotism : he was the very last man to yield to the favourite frailty of the Popes.

## RELIGIO LOCI

The Hall endured, and even greatly increased in numbers till early in the seventies, when something happened. Mr. James Cunningham may know what that something was, which, soon after he went down, broke our fair companionship. It was nothing worse than you may see after a bump-supper, I believe, but the authorities were not, it is said, very wise in their dealings with the young.

The place was a delightful place for men who could spare a year or two between school and Oxford or Cambridge ; or who preferred to take their degree at St. Andrews ; or to—study shall we say ? for a while without aiming at academic honours. With a little more wisdom in high places, and perhaps, on the other side, a little less rowdiness, St. Leonard's Hall might now be a happy addition to the University. From our little company of the first two years came Judges of the land, Sheriffs too, and Professors, and Members of Parliament. If we were indolent at seventeen, it appears that we overcame the malady.

ANDREW LANG.





## ALMAE MATRES



## Almae Matres

ST. ANDREWS 1862, OXFORD 1865.



T. ANDREWS *by the Northern Sea,*  
*A haunted town it is to me !*

A little city, worn and grey,  
The grey North Ocean girds it round,  
And o'er the rocks and up the bay,  
The long sea-rollers surge and sound.

And still the thin and biting spray  
Drives down the melancholy street,  
And still endure, and still decay,  
Towers that the salt winds vainly beat.  
Ghost-like and shadowy they stand  
Dim mirrored in the wet sea-sand.

St. Leonard's chapel, long ago  
We loitered idly where the tall  
Fresh budded mountain ashes blow  
Within thy desecrated wall :  
The tough roots rent the tomb below,  
The April birds sang clamorous,  
We did not dream, we could not know,  
How hardly Fate would deal with us !

O, broken minster looking forth  
Beyond the bay, above the town,

## ALMAE MATRES

O, winter of the kindly North,  
O, college of the scarlet gown,  
And shining sands beside the sea,  
And stretch of links beyond the sand,  
Once more I watch you, and to me  
It is as if I touched his hand !

And therefore art thou yet more dear,  
O, little city, grey and sere,  
Though shrunken from thine ancient pride  
And lonely by thy lonely sea,  
Than these fair halls on Isis' side,  
Where youth an hour came back to me !

A land of waters green and clear,  
Of willows and of poplars tall,  
And, in the spring time of the year,  
The white may breaking over all,  
And pleasure quick to come at call,  
And summer rides by marsh and wold,  
And Autumn with her crimson pall  
About the towers of Magdalen rolled ;  
And strange enchantments from the past,  
And memories of the friends of old,  
And strong Tradition, binding fast  
The "flying terms" with bands of gold,—

All these hath Oxford : all are dear,  
But dearer far the little town,  
The drifting surf, the wintry year,  
The college of the scarlet gown,  
*St. Andrews by the Northern Sea*  
*That is a haunted town to me !*

ANDREW LANG.



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