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THE STORY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH





THE STORY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH







THE NEW MEDICAL SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.



THE STORY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH  
DURING  
ITS FIRST THREE HUNDRED YEARS

BY  
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ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. II.

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1884  
c

*The life*  
*of*  
*The University of Edinburgh*



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*The Engravings by George Pearson.*

## CHAPTER VI.

THE RELATIONS OF THE SENATUS ACADEMICUS TO THE TOWN COUNCIL AS THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE UNIVERSITY (1703—1858), TERMINATING WITH A THIRTY YEARS' WAR BETWEEN THE TWO BODIES.

“Your blood is fet from fathers of war-proof!  
Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,  
Have in these parts from morn till even fought  
And sheath'd their swords for lack of argument.”

THE last chapter has been devoted to the development of the University of Edinburgh on its educational side, and has recounted the remarkable increase of its Chairs, which were often filled by men of high distinction. But while the Professorial body grew strong both in numbers and ability the University became placed, more and more, in an anomalous position, owing to the peculiarities inherent in its foundation, and to the terms of what was called its Charter. We have now to relate events which were the natural results of that anomalous position. It is not pleasant to do so; in fact, it is somewhat saddening to recall contentions which might have been greatly obviated by a “sweet reasonableness” on both sides. But after all the conflict which will form the subject of this chapter is an essential part

of the history of the University of Edinburgh ; it grew out of the antecedents of that University, and in turn it produced the Royal Commission of 1826-30, the Act of 1858, and the present order of things. The tomahawk has long since been buried, and we can now regard the burning contests of the past with calmness and not without instruction.

As above mentioned (Vol. I. p. 247), the eighteenth century was, on the whole, a period of great harmony in the relations between the Town Council and the University Professors. But there were one or two exceptions to this. In 1703, when what may be called the mutiny of the Regents was suppressed, there was a point on which the College authorities were forced for the time to give way, but which they afterwards returned to, namely, the right of the College to elect a Member of the General Assembly.

It would appear<sup>1</sup> that from the first establishment of the Presbyterian Church, Universities, together with Presbyteries and Burghs, had the right of sending "Commissioners," that is to say, representatives, to the General Assembly, but when the College of Edinburgh came to reckon as a University and to exercise this privilege is not so clear. We find, however, that in 1639, 1645, and 1653 the Magistrates, Ministers, and Masters of the College jointly elected a Commissioner. Later in the century the Town Council apparently dispensed with the votes of the Ministers, and adopted the plan of summoning the Principal, Regents, and Professors

<sup>1</sup> See Act of General Assembly of 20th December 1638.



to meet with themselves and jointly elect a Member of Assembly. This mode of procedure was reluctantly acquiesced in by the College; a reservation of powers was repeatedly put in by Principals Rule and Carstares; and in 1702 a protest had been signed by the Regents which, however, they were compelled to withdraw (see Vol. I. p. 241). In 1719 the Town Council appear to have determined to go a step farther and, instead of merely insisting on a share in the election of the College representative, to take the election entirely into their own hands. The Principal and Professors got information that they were not to be summoned that year to attend the Council. On this they promptly took action; they held a meeting among themselves, elected Hamilton, the Professor of Divinity, as their representative in the General Assembly, and gave him a Commission as such. They made conciliatory overtures, however, to the Town Council, and offered to cancel what they had done, provided that a joint meeting for election were held as usual. This, however, was refused, and the Lord Provost protested in the General Assembly against the Commission of Mr. Hamilton as invalid because he had been elected without the concurrence of the Town Council. The Assembly, however, put aside the protest, and accepted Professor Hamilton as a Member. Four years later, in 1723, they passed an Act declaring the right of election to be "only in the Professors, Principal, Regents, Masters, and others bearing office in the University; that is to say, the Chancellor,

Rector, and Dean of Faculty, if any such there be, exclusive of all others." This clearly established the position of the University with regard to this matter for all time coming. It was the one victory obtained by the University in all its constitutional struggles with the Town Council.

In 1728 another collision between the two bodies occurred, and this also concerned in another way the relations of the University to the General Assembly. It arose out of a famous case of heresy-hunting, namely, the process instituted by Mr. James Webster, Minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, against John Simson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, on a charge of unorthodox—apparently Arian—modes of thought. Wishart, Principal in the University of Edinburgh, was then Moderator of the Assembly, a post which he is said to have filled with good sense<sup>1</sup> and temper during very stormy debates. The *Senatus Academicus* do not appear to have at all espoused Professor Simson's case on its merits, but they regarded with apprehension the assertion by the General Assembly of authority over the Universities of Scotland. As it appeared certain that Simson was going to be deposed by the Assembly, the *Senatus* "drew up and signed a protest, to be given in to the venerable Assembly, in the process depending before them, in order to save the rights and privileges of the college from encroachments, from any precedent that might be drawn from the venerable Assembly's deci-

<sup>1</sup> Bower, *Hist.*, ii. 264.

in the College of Edinburgh, in relation to the proceedings in the aforesaid process against the said Professor, or in any other case wherein they may presume to take upon themselves to act as a Faculty, —is most illegal and unwarrantable; and that the same ought to be disregarded and dismissed, and the promoters thereof and every person thereto accessory may be liable in such censure and punishment as such illegal and unwarrantable proceeding by law deserves." This strong denunciation of the procedure of the Senatus was, so far as the General Assembly was concerned, a mere letting off of steam; no notice was taken of it, and no practical result ensued.

In fact, matters went on thenceforth so quietly between the University and the Town Council that the latter body ere long forgot that they had ever denied the existence of "a Faculty" in the College or University. In 1772 a question came up from the High School for decision by the Town Council as to whether Adam's *Latin Grammar* was to be substituted for Ruddiman's *Rudiments*, which had been exclusively used before. Not satisfied with the report of a Committee of their own body on the question they sent down to the University a copy of the following Act:—"14th October 1772. The Council having heard read what is within represented by the Committee relative to Mr. Adam's Grammar, consider any alteration in the method of teaching to

detail which the College Bailie appears to have forgotten. He certainly was not conscious of the great importance of the fact.

be a matter of great importance, and therefore supersede giving any immediate deliverance, and remit to the *Principal and Faculty of the College* to consider what is represented by the Committee, and recommend to the Principal and Faculty to report their opinion and judgment<sup>1</sup> in that matter to the Council with their first conveniency, and the Principal to preside at and convene the said Faculty meeting.

(Signed) GILBERT LAURIE, *Provost.*"

Thus the Town Council at last officially acknowledged the "Faculty," or Senatus, of the University. But what the powers of that "Faculty" might be remained an unsettled question, the potential source of strife and litigation.

But actually from 1728 onward, for more than eighty years, there was no misunderstanding or unpleasantness. The action of the Town Council in regard to the University limited itself to the appointment of Professors and Principals. On the

<sup>1</sup> It must be observed that the Town Council, though they asked the opinion of the Principal and Professors, did not ultimately adopt it. Principal Robertson and the Professors of Greek and Humanity gave a temporising verdict, recommending that Ruddiman's Grammar should be continued in the High School, being the Grammar generally used in the schools throughout Scotland, but that the Rector, Dr. Adam, should be at liberty to supplement Ruddiman's rules with any other rules or grammatical observations which he might find in his own Grammar. The four Under-Masters of the High School refused to accept this compromise. They made a violent protest that Ruddiman's Grammar was the best, and that pupils deteriorated in their Latin by departing from it. In 1786 the Town Council made an order that the Rector and Masters of the High School should teach their pupils by means of Ruddiman's *Rudiments and Institutes*, and prohibited any other Grammar to be used in the school. Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 91-95.

occasion of each appointment the College Bailie, generally accompanied by the Lord Provost and some other Magistrates, would present the new Professor to the assembled Senatus, by whom he would be received and inducted. Beyond this the Town Council contented themselves with the regulation of finances and the promoting of New University Buildings, and of the Observatory and Botanic Garden. And they occasionally made courteous references to the Senatus, consulting them on points connected with science. The Senatus were left to make their own regulations for the studies and degrees of the University; and they built up from its foundation the whole system of Medical graduation. In 1763, on their own authority, they established a "Library Fund," available for general University purposes, by levying a matriculation fee of two shillings and sixpence a head on the Students. And in 1806 they raised this fee to five shillings. Their powers were for the first time questioned in 1809, when, on their resolving to raise the fee for each diploma in Medicine from thirteen guineas to £25,<sup>1</sup> the Students petitioned the Town

<sup>1</sup> The proceeds were to have been distributed as follows:—

Each Professor of the Faculty of Medicine ( <i>i.e.</i> Botany, Institutes of Medicine, Practice of Physic, Anatomy, Chemistry, and Materia Medica) was to get	£3 : 3	.	.	.	.	£18	18	0
The Principal	.	.	.	.	.	2	2	0
The Library	.	.	.	.	.	2	0	0
The Secretary	.	.	.	.	.	1	5	0
The Upper Janitor	.	.	.	.	.	0	7	6
The Under Janitor	.	.	.	.	.	0	7	6
						<hr/>		
						£25	0	0

Council to prevent this from being carried out. It was then agreed in the most amicable way that a joint Committee of Members of the Town Council and of the Senatus should meet, and, as a preliminary step, shall inquire fully into the respective powers of the two bodies as to the regulation of graduation fees.

In order to furnish materials for the inquiry the Town Council had copious "Excerpts" made from the City Records, tracing out the usage with regard to the government of the College from its foundation, and they sent a MS. volume containing these "Excerpts," together with a copy of the Act of 1621 (see Vol. I., pp. 204-5), for the consideration of the Senatus. On the 8th February 1810, as requested by his colleagues, Professor Hume<sup>1</sup> presented a "very ample and luminous opinion on the Act of Ratification of 1621."<sup>2</sup> This document, as being written by a Member of the Senatus, was a remarkable one. It went through the whole history of the University, examining the charters of 1582 and of 1621, the proceedings of 1703, and many significant

<sup>1</sup> David Hume, not, of course, to be confounded with the philosopher of that name, was Professor of Scots Law from 1786 till 1822. He was an exceedingly able man, and became one of the Barons of Exchequer.

<sup>2</sup> So say the Minutes of Senatus, but yet the text of Professor Hume's opinion was not engrossed in them. For a long time the writer of these pages sought in vain for a copy; but at last he found one among the documents printed for the Record in the action of the Senatus against the Town Council in 1850. It was furnished on that occasion by the Town Council, and the wonder is that it should not have been produced by them in the previous lawsuits which we shall have to narrate.

acts of the Town Council, and it was not only "ample and luminous," but absolutely crushing to all pretensions on the part of the Senatus to the right of augmenting fees or making any regulations without the concurrence of the Town Council. And Professor Hume concluded his opinion with a warning which was prophetic in its language, and every word of which was lamentably fulfilled. "I cannot give it as my opinion," he said, "that it is by any means advisable for the College to enter into a litigation on the subject,—a long and expensive litigation, of which the charges must come out of the pockets of the individual professors, which would interrupt the good understanding between the Town and the College, so necessary to the welfare of the latter, especially at present, when we hope for the completing of our buildings by their aid—a litigation to which I cannot anticipate a prosperous issue even on the particular point at issue, and (which is much worse) one that may lead to the revival of many troublesome and vexatious pretensions on the part of the Magistrates, of which we have heard little for a good many years, but against which, nevertheless, it may be doubtful at least whether we have a lawful defence. If we keep out of Court, matters will probably go on again much as they had done for a good many years."

The conclusions which Professor Hume (one of their own body) had dispassionately and with resistless logic arrived at, induced the Senatus in 1810 to drop all further attempt to increase the fees for

Medical diplomas; but the curious thing is that the Senatus, after this concession, seemed determined to shut their ears to the unpalatable truths. They treated Hume as a Cassandra, they did not engross his opinion in their Minutes, and they apparently resolved to forget all about it. Fourteen years later they acted as if no such an opinion had ever been given, and though reminded of it by the Town Council they paid no heed.

The Town Council having by the circumstances just related been drawn into the question of the internal finance of the University, proceeded at the same time (February 1810) to pass an Act regulating the matriculation fee. This was no doubt an interference with the management of the "Library Fund" as hitherto conducted by the Senatus, but it was a wise and timely interposition. The Town Council ordered—what ought to have been done long before, and would have been but for the nervous dread of the Professors to do anything which might discourage Students from joining the University—namely, that the payment of a matriculation fee should be made compulsory and not merely optional. From 1763, when Principal Robertson initiated the Library Fund, till 1810, the system had been that Students got no use of the Library till the middle of December; then, if they chose to matriculate, they had their names entered in the album on the payment, at first of two shillings and sixpence, afterwards of five shillings. They had also to pay two shillings and sixpence each to the Janitor, but this



payment was evaded by many, who thus paid no tax whatever either to the support of the Library or to University police. Under this system about half the Students declined to matriculate, while those who matriculated and also paid the Janitor contributed seven shillings and sixpence each towards University expenses.

The Town Council were quite right to interpose and put a stop to this loose and unsatisfactory arrangement. They prescribed, very sensibly, that each Student should pay a matriculation fee on joining the University, so as to have the use of the Library at once; that no one should be allowed to join any class till he could show a matriculation ticket; and that the fee should be increased so as to cover the due demanded by the Janitor. The details of this arrangement were adjusted after amicable conferences with the Senatus, and the matriculation fee was fixed at seven shillings.

Under date 21st October 1812, the Town Council passed an Act authorising the increase of Professors' fees, and allowing those Professors who had hitherto received fees of two guineas to exact three guineas from each Student, and those whose fees had been three guineas to raise it to four. This arose out of a communication which the Senatus had received from the University of Dublin, asking if it were true, as reported, that the fees for admission to Medical classes in Edinburgh were about to be raised, as they in Dublin thought of charging five guineas for

each Medical class. The Senatus, thus set to consider the subject, came to the conclusion that "as every other description of Education has kept pace in its price with the depreciation of money, it is not to be expected that University instruction alone should remain without a corresponding increase." After hesitating between various proposals on the subject, they resolved to petition the Town Council (being apparently convinced by former correspondence with regard to the increase of the diploma fee that they had not the power to regulate fees for themselves) to sanction an augmentation of their class fees on the scale above mentioned.

Their memorial was very submissive : in it they pointed out that "for a great series of years the classes of Languages and of Philosophy have continued stationary at a fee of two guineas, and the Medical classes ever since their institution, near a century ago, at three guineas." They reminded the Town Council that the fees of the Masters in the High School had been lately raised "to more than double of their former amount." And they added that they had reason to believe that the Students would not regard the proposed increase as unfair or oppressive. The memorial was cordially received by the Town Council ; and thus the class fees for the University of Edinburgh were fixed, in 1812, at the rate at which they have continued to stand ever since.

Up to this date, then, the relations between the Senatus and the Town Council remained fair and smiling.

But all of a sudden the harmony was disturbed by the Town Council, in 1815, passing an Act by which, without consulting the Senatus, they interfered with the distribution of the Matriculation Fund. They resolved that the Librarian (Dr. Duncan junior, who had long done very good service on a salary of only £30 a year) should have an augmentation out of the Matriculation Fund of £70 a year. This was probably in itself a reasonable proposition, but the manner in which it was made was, to say the least, unceremonious. The Senatus, accordingly, became recalcitrant; they represented that the Matriculation Fund ought to go for books (as if a good Librarian were not essential to the Library); and they added—as a sort of counter-attack—a pressing demand for a statement of the interest on and application of University trust funds in the hands of the Town Council.

On the 29th January 1816 the Town Council calmly replied that they adhered to their former resolution as to the Librarian's salary; and, as to accounts of the College revenues,—that the Senatus might come and inspect them, if they wished, in the Chamberlain's office. The Senatus, very angry, applied to the Law Faculty for an opinion whether they had not a right to demand an annual statement of accounts. But the lawyers reported that the Town Council's bond<sup>1</sup> for interest on mortifications was given not to the Senatus, but to the College

<sup>1</sup> Explanations of this will be given in Appendix R. HISTORY OF UNIVERSITY FINANCES.

Treasurer, who was a member of the Town Council. The Senatus then sent some of their body to inspect the accounts, who reported certain small irregularities,—Mortcloth dues in some cases applied to non-University purposes,<sup>1</sup> sales of Feu-duties not brought to capital, etc., but, on the whole, nothing to take hold of. And then Dr. Duncan, the Librarian, brought the main question of dispute to a settlement by writing to say that, as the Patrons and Senatus, while both acknowledging the inadequacy of his pay, found a difficulty in the means of increasing it, he withdrew his claim till times should be more favourable. The Senatus then, on reconsidering, resolved, without binding themselves to a fixed salary for the Librarian, to present Dr. Duncan with £100 out of the Matriculation Fund. Thus, through the *esprit de corps* of Dr. Duncan, the Senatus were enabled to belie their own arguments, and to pay at their own option money out of the Matriculation Fund, which, when ordered to pay it by the Town Council, they had said ought not to be paid. Had Dr. Duncan, like Dr. Hamilton afterwards, taken side with the Town Council against the Senatus, the quarrel might have been embittered, and the war which subsequently ensued begun in 1816.

Five years after this, in April 1821, Dr. Duncan junior, who was both Librarian and Secretary to the Senatus, wishing to be relieved in the duties of the former office, applied to the Town Council on the

<sup>1</sup> Explanations of this will be given in Appendix R. HISTORY OF UNIVERSITY FINANCES.

subject, and they at once appointed Dr. Brunton, the Professor of Hebrew, to be "Joint Librarian and Secretary" with Dr. Duncan. On this the Senatus remonstrated, maintaining that the Secretaryship was in their own gift. The Town Council, after examining the records of the University as to this point, conceded the matter, recalled their former Commission to Dr. Brunton, and issued a new one for "Joint Librarians" alone. This was an equitable and conciliatory procedure on the part of the Town Council, and it was a recognition of the *status* of the Senatus Academicus very different from the attitude taken by the Town Council in the former century, when they denied the existence of a "Faculty" in the College. Peace and concord were re-established, but perhaps the Senatus were encouraged by this concession to entertain delusive ideas as to their actual position from a legal point of view.

In 1824 an ex-Janitor, who drew a pension of £110 from the Matriculation Fund, having died, the Town Council, not unreasonably, began to consider whether the matriculation fee might not be reduced. But instead of inviting a conference with the Senatus on the subject, they requested the Senatus to furnish them with a statement of the expenditure of the Matriculation Fund, to enable them to decide whether or not the fee should be reduced. The Senatus no doubt resented the manner of this proceeding; they replied that the fee had been fixed by a joint Committee of members of their own body and of the Town Council, to which

Committee the matter might be referred, but that it would be peculiarly inexpedient to reduce the fee at that moment, as there would soon be great expense in moving the books out of the old Library into the new one.

Contemporaneously with this minor source of irritation, Dr. James Hamilton, Professor of Midwifery, who was a "Helen of Troy" to the University, and the *causa belli* for nearly ten years, came forward prominently with his claims. He petitioned the Town Council to have him recognised as a member of the Medical Faculty, by making his subject necessary for graduation. The Senatus reported unfavourably to this petition; the Town Council, however, on the 3d May 1824, intimated that they considered that a full course of lectures in Midwifery should be made necessary for the degree of M.D., but that they would take no further steps in the matter till the 22d June, by which time they hoped that the Senatus would have adopted their opinion. And there can be no doubt that the Town Council were substantially right in their resolution, and that they really were adopting an enlightened measure for the improvement of the Medical curriculum of the University.

But the Senatus could not view the matter dispassionately. They met on the 3d June 1824, under the sense of a double provocation, for the Town Council had again demanded accounts of the Matriculation Fund. So the Senatus might reflect: "Here are these people going to take out of our

hands both the management of our College Fund, and also the regulation of our degrees!" With regard to the latter point they fancied themselves on strong ground. So they passed a hasty and fatal resolution to the effect that, while they were anxious to comply as far as possible with any wishes of the Town Council, it was "*their own exclusive right* both to originate and carry into execution" all arrangements for the graduation system.

In thus resolving, the Senatus were strangely oblivious of several facts in the history of the University: they forgot that at the outset of the College a Committee of the Town Council had drawn up the regulations for degrees in Arts, and that in 1708 the Town Council had remodelled the Arts degree system; they forgot that in 1703 high legal authority had pronounced the Town Council to be absolute Masters of the College in all things; and still more strangely, they ignored the opinion of Professor Hume. On the other hand, there was much to foster in the Senatus an idea of their powers with regard to graduation. It must be remembered that long before this time the University had been repeatedly recognised in Acts of Parliament; it had grown into a great and famous school; it drew its Students, over two thousand in number, from all parts of the world, and had been attended by the scions of many noble English families; it had been provided with stately Academical buildings, and possessed a Natural History Collection—one of the finest in Europe. The Senatus Academicus

had been acknowledged by the reigning Sovereign, and frequently received at Court; their honorary degrees were valued by men of great eminence at home and abroad; they had received gifts for their Museum from India and the Colonies; they had been made the legatees of a fine collection of pictures, and of a very large estate. With all this external prestige, the Senatus had always been recognised in Edinburgh as the sole fountain of Academical honours; they had been asked from time to time by the Town Council to confer degrees; and for one hundred and sixteen years they had made all the regulations which were made for graduation in all the Faculties. They forgot that they had done so on sufferance merely, and not of legal right, and that what they had above all things to avoid was a definition of their own rights and powers.

On the 3d June 1824 they attempted, as we have seen, such a definition; and this at once brought the matter to an issue. The Town Council replied that "the whole history of the University showed that every right with regard to it rested in the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council," and that "they must intimate in the most respectful, but in the most decided terms to the Principal and Professors, that they will resist the exercise of any such exclusive right as that claimed by them." It must be observed that the Town Council, in thus accepting the challenge of the Senatus, used at first language which was in itself moderate; they merely said that



they would resist the "exclusive right" claimed by the Senatus.

On the 18th June the Senatus received a report from the Medical Faculty, that "their opinion was favourable to the introduction, under certain conditions, of the class of Midwifery into the curriculum for Medical candidates." The whole contention, then, was not about the matter of the Town Council's proposal, for this was admitted to be in the right direction; and had the Senatus pleasantly accepted what had been proposed they might probably have had such conditions as might be thought necessary introduced. But the question was one of form, and the Medical Faculty added to their report a recommendation that, if the Senatus adopted the view now common to themselves and to the Town Council, they should do so, "acknowledging no right of authoritative interference by the Patrons in such matters." And this advice would have been perfectly good had the Senatus really possessed in law the powers which they supposed themselves to possess. At this point, however, it would have been expedient to take the opinion of counsel. This the Senatus unfortunately did not do.

They at once adopted a resolution to be sent to the Town Council, asserting that they, as a Senatus, had rights "arising from the essential and indefeasible character of a University," among which rights was that of regulating the course of study to be followed by candidates for Medical degrees, and they reminded the Town Council of cases in which

the title of the Senatus to certain powers and privileges had not been successfully resisted : namely, in the matters of the election of a Representative of the University in the General Assembly (see above, p. 3), and of the nomination of their own Secretary by the Senatus Academicus (p. 16).

These instances, however, while likely to irritate the Town Council, were irrelevant ; for, in the first case, the General Assembly, by preferring to receive a representative directly elected by the Senatus, decided nothing as to the legal rights of the University in other matters ; and the second case ought certainly not to have been thrown in the teeth of the Town Council, who had graciously not pressed their claim to appoint the Secretary of the Senatus, when it is probable that they might have proved a legal right to do so.

To this the rejoinder of the Town Council was that the Senatus had no rights "arising from the essential character of a University," because "in the College of Edinburgh, as in all other Colleges, the constitution depends upon the will of the original founder, and by it the government was vested entirely in the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, as Patrons and Guardians." In thus expressing themselves, the Town Council went back to the sixteenth century, and to the erection of the "Town's College;" they took the view,—which proved to be the legally correct one, though the Senatus of those days may be pardoned for not apprehending it,—that no length of usage, or univer-

sality of external recognition, can raise a College or University to any rights beyond what its original charter contains.

The Town Council concluded with the intimation that they would now give Dr. Hamilton a new Commission, constituting him a Member of the Medical Faculty, but giving him no share in the emoluments to be derived from graduation fees, so that the Medical Professors were to be spared any pecuniary loss from the admission of Dr. Hamilton to their Faculty. The Senatus, on reception of this communication did what they should have done at an earlier stage of the proceedings, they resolved to take the opinion of counsel. Pending the arrival of an opinion they continued their defiant course. They set to work to draw up their own *Statuta Solemnia*, or regulations for Medical degrees, in which they laid it down that Midwifery was to be made a necessary subject, but that this change was not to take effect for three years. And in spite of Dr. Hamilton's protest they published these *Statuta*, as if they had full authority to do so.<sup>1</sup> This was at

<sup>1</sup> At this stage of the quarrel a ridiculous movement of petty warfare occurred. Dr. Hamilton's new Commission bore that he was "Professor of Medicine, Midwifery, and the Diseases of Women and Children." The Senatus in their new regulations entered the subject as "Midwifery and the Diseases peculiar to Women and Children," and the Town Council then wrote to request that the words "peculiar to" should be left out, as being inconsistent with the terms of their Commission. The Senatus in reply pointed out that they did not interfere with Hamilton's title; they only specified accurately one of the subjects of Examination, whereas the terms used by the Town Council would include all the diseases of the human race, with the exception of some few peculiar to the male sex.

the beginning of 1825. After the Senatus had resolved on publication, but before the regulations had been actually issued the Town Council wrote to ask for a copy of them, but the Senatus declined to furnish one till the *Statuta* should be completely printed. Then on the same day (19th February 1825) they promulgated the *Statuta* and sent a copy to the Town Council for information. That body acknowledged receipt, but told the Senatus that they "could not sanction" them till the matter under discussion was settled. To which the Senatus replied that they had sent the copy as a mark of courtesy, and not with a view to the *Statuta* being sanctioned, which they did not require to be. We may notice here that the only ostensible "matter under discussion" was whether the study of Midwifery should be made compulsory on Medical Students immediately, as the Town Council wished, or whether the operation of this very proper rule should be delayed for three years, as the Senatus, somewhat perversely, insisted. But the real question in the background was which of the two bodies had the power of making regulations for degrees. The Senatus, determined to press this to an issue, had assumed a position of undoubted authority, and this without waiting for the advice of counsel.

Dr. Hamilton, in the meantime, by fighting within the Senatus on the side of the Town Council, had drawn upon himself some severe resolutions, and he now complained of these to the Town Council, who, on 20th April 1825, sent a despatch,

probably meant to be conciliatory, in which they "regretted that angry differences should exist in the Senatus," but had thought it better not to interfere. They now "recommended" that all recent proceedings relative to Dr. Hamilton should be cancelled, and that the Senatus should issue their *Statuta* in a form making Midwifery compulsory for all graduations after the current year. On these conditions they offered to sanction the *Statuta*. But, alas! this was asking the Senatus to eat their own words. And to be patronised by the "Patrons" would be gall and wormwood to the Senatus in their then frame of mind.

On May 1825 the Senatus replied that, for reasons which they need not detail, they could not comply with the Town Council's suggestions, and that the only mode of restoring harmony between themselves and the Patrons would be that they should both "concur in a united, cordial, and earnest application to the Crown, that fountain from which the powers of both had been derived, praying that His Majesty may be pleased to issue a Royal Visitation for the express purpose of defining the rights, powers, and privileges belonging to each body."

The Town Council, setting aside the notion of an arbitration to be conducted by Royal Visitors, wrote to say that they had been advised by counsel to try the question of their right to originate and sanction all regulations as to education and degrees in the University—by bringing an Action of Declarator against the Senatus. But they thought that this might be unnecessary, as the Senatus agreed with

them as to the expediency of adding Midwifery to the Medical curriculum. If the Senatus would have this done *immediately*, at the same time making any protest they might think advisable, in order to protect their rights, the Town Council would abandon the idea of legal proceedings.

This was surely a good loophole for the Senatus, and it appears to have been suggested by the then Solicitor-General for Scotland (John Hope); they might have altered their recent rules, and at the same time stated to the public that they had done so at the urgent request of the Town Council; that they had done so partly against their own judgment, not because compelled by any authoritative right existing in the Town Council to order regulations for degrees,—for they disclaimed the existence of any such authority external to themselves,—but simply out of respect for the Patrons, as representatives of a body who had done great services to the University in times past. Such a statement would have conceded nothing, unless *ex gratia*, and it would have thrown all the responsibility for anything unpopular in the altered form of the regulations upon the Town Council. Failing this, the Senatus might have awaited the opinion of their legal adviser. But without doing so they declined the suggestion, and proposed a conference with the Town Council; which proposal was at once refused.

At last, on the 10th August 1825, the opinion of the advocate (Mr. Thomas Thomson) whom the Senatus had consulted was read to them. In their

memorial they had laid before him documents relative to the history of the University, and had asked him to advise them (1) whether "the Seminary to which they belong, is, notwithstanding its constant designation, and its celebrity as a University, wholly void of any corporate or deliberative attributes, and dependent, even to the extent of receiving from a fluctuating, though respectable body of citizens, annually elected into office, the laws regulating the Academical honours conferred in its name and on its authority." (2) Supposing this *not* to be the case, they asked if it would be equitable and proper for them to enforce new rules, making Midwifery compulsory upon Students who had already commenced their curriculum. (3) Supposing it to be the case, what steps should be taken to obtain a constitution for the University?

With regard to this memorial, it must be remarked that the first question is too leading. It states a grievance and describes a great anomaly, asking "can this be the case?" instead of dispassionately requesting counsel to discover from the documents submitted to him, and the common law of Universities, what were, in 1825, the respective powers of the Town Council and Senatus, especially as to the regulation of degrees. The second question was unnecessary, because if the Senatus had, in the opinion of counsel, full powers to regulate degrees, they would be surely themselves the best judges as to whether a particular regulation would be "inequitable" to Students, in which case it would

of course be "improper." The third question was a very suitable one, but it does not appear to have been answered by Mr. Thomson.

In his opinion he said that the matter submitted to him was difficult to judge of, owing to want of full information. The original constitution of the College was undecided. By the charter the Patrons might have made it anything they pleased. But the Act of 1621 "assured to the members of the College the right to a constitution suitable to those high public functions, which they were officially called upon and entitled to discharge." He then founded a good deal on the regulations of 1628, which ordered the Principal to consult with the Regents, and which showed that they "possessed an original deliberative authority on matters of internal regulation."<sup>1</sup> He admits, however, that he is "*doubtful of the compulsory efficacy of regulations devised by the Senatus Academicus, without the subsequent sanction of the Town Council.*" He says that the Town Council have "not been disinclined at times to the extension and masterful exercise of their powers," especially at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when, *though the Senatus were wrong*, the Town Council pressed their advantage too far. For nearly a century, however, relations had been milder.<sup>2</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> This part of the opinion was irrelevant, as the consultation referred to was to be on matters of discipline (*ad ordinem et disciplinam Academiæ conservandam*), and the Town Council had never denied the right of the Senatus to order matters of discipline.

<sup>2</sup> This was surely irrelevant. It was the business of counsel to say what were the limitations (if any) of the powers of the Town Council,



then proceeds to tell the Senatus plainly: "With regard to the only point now in debate between the University and the Patrons, it is impossible to regard it as in itself of any vital importance to the rights or interests of either party; and considering the relation that necessarily subsists between them, it would be difficult to reconcile the conduct of either to any reasonable notions of propriety or prudence to make it the occasion of a judicial and perhaps a doubtful discussion."

Why could not the opinion have ended here? The Senatus might then have seen how glaringly weak, in the eyes of a dispassionate adviser, their case was, and that their only course was to compromise matters for the time with the Town Council, and then to make all possible exertions to get a constitution for the University, in lieu of the irresponsible oligarchy under which they were placed.

But counsel perhaps rarely put a stop to litigation, and Mr. Thomson added another sentence appealing not to the reason but to the passions of the Senatus, and making it almost a point of honour with them to fight. He said: "At the same time, it is not to be disguised that in agreeing to accelerate the commencement of the regulation in question, *the proceeding of the Senatus might be regarded as ungracious and vacillating*; and under the circumstances the urgency of the Patrons has driven them

not to remind the Senatus that the Town Council had sometimes shown a "masterful exercise of these powers" which could only irritate the Senatus without instructing them.

to a painful alternative, as to which, however, it would be presumption in me to offer advice."

No more unfortunate paragraph than this was perhaps ever penned by counsel. Mr. Thomson had told the Senatus that if they went to law their conduct would be irreconcilable "with any reasonable notions of propriety or prudence." And he winds up by telling them that if they do not act in a way which will certainly bring on a law-suit, their conduct "might be regarded as ungracious and vacillating," and that he cannot presume to advise them which alternative to accept. As the Senatus was composed at that time of men of remarkably high spirit, who were also in an irritated frame of mind, it could not be doubtful which alternative they would choose. Of course they elected to throw prudence to the winds, and to fight the Town Council.

They sent a long letter to the Town Council, regretting that a conference had been denied them, and proposing to state on paper what they would have said at such a conference. Their letter begins blandly, but soon relapses into threats, intimating that they "will have no hesitation in maintaining their right to prescribe the regulations for Academical honours." The rest is a long argument to prove—*first*, that making Midwifery immediately compulsory would not be any great advantage to Dr. Hamilton; and *secondly*, that it would be a great injustice to Students who had already commenced their course. But the reasoning employed to establish the first point was destructive of the

second; for they asserted that by the immediate introduction of the rule, not more than one in twenty of the candidates for Graduation would be added to Dr. Hamilton's class. In other words, nineteen out of twenty of all the Medical Students already attended it. So that out of the one hundred and forty Medical graduates (which was the highest number in any one year reached in the University at that time) only seven would be affected by it. And yet the Senatus were ready to go to law to protect these seven Students from hardship. But, of course, they were really fighting, not for the Students, but for their own privileges as a Senatus, and they would have been quite right to do so had there been any reasonable prospect of success.

The Town Council, conscious of power, sent an incisive answer. They pointed out that, as the governing body of a University, they were trustees for the public, and that the interests of the public demanded that Students with an imperfect Medical education should not be graduated, and so licensed to practise. They said that the Senatus had brought matters to such a pass that the Town Council could not give way to them without making a substantial concession of the legal rights and powers with which they had been invested. As advised by their counsel, they ordered the Senatus to issue the notice,<sup>1</sup> which had been prescribed to them, before a certain day; failing which, the Lord Provost and

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* That henceforth no Student would be admitted to a Medical degree who had not previously qualified in Midwifery.

On the 31st October they wrote expressing their regret that the Patrons should have resolved on "the unseemly exhibition of a contest for power, with some show of violence in its exercise." They declared that the proposed Visitation threatened to destroy discipline among the Students, and to ruin the University. They ended by saying that they could no longer bear to have their time wasted and their minds distracted by such disputes, and therefore that they would petition for a Royal Commission to settle the respective rights of the Town Council and the Senatus. And accordingly a petition, drawn up by Mr. Thomson, was forthwith despatched to the Right Hon. R. Peel, Home Secretary, with a full statement of the case, and praying that Extraordinary Commissioners might be appointed to deal with it.

The Town Council now wrote announcing a "Visitation of the College" to take place on the 10th November 1825. The letter was signed "W. Trotter, Lord Provost and Rector."

On the 8th November the Senatus wrote with ironical politeness requesting to be informed what were the "formalities, which the Patrons proposed themselves to observe (in the Visitation), as well as those which they expected to be observed by the Senatus," as there was no precedent for such a ceremony in the modern annals of the University. They also adverted to the title of "Rector" assumed by the Lord Provost in writing, observing that "the office to which that title corresponds is wholly unknown in the actual administration of the Univer-

sity," and soliciting some information "as to the objects and powers assigned to this office."

To this Lord Provost Trotter sent a good-tempered reply, as he could well afford to do. He said, most truly, that the Senatus had brought on the whole dispute by the terms of their letter of 3d June 1824; and that it would have been well if they had attended to "the luminous views as to their situation, which the Professors had recently received from a very learned Judge,<sup>1</sup> perhaps the highest legal authority in Scotland, then one of their own number." With respect to the Visitation, he and the Town Council proposed to robe in the Principal's chambers and proceed to the Senate Hall, where he would read the Act of Visitation requiring the Senatus to acquiesce in the rules for Medical degrees which the Town Council ordered. If the Senatus refused, this would be the ground of legal proceedings. "The Patrons wished that no parade should attend their Visitation." It was in fact to be a matter of business. With regard to the title of Rector, the Lord Provost said that it looked as if the Senatus had been consulting a different set of records from those in the hands of the Town Council. Indeed, the Senatus had laid themselves open to the imputation of ignorance as to the history of the College in the seventeenth century. To enlighten them the Lord Provost enclosed copies of the regulations for the office of Rector enacted in

<sup>1</sup> Though the word "recently" is used, this would seem to refer to the opinion given by Professor Hume in 1810.

1640, and of the Act of Council of 10th November 1665. It was nevertheless the case that the office of Rector had really fallen into desuetude, and to rake up the title upon this occasion was rather absurd.

On the 10th November the Visitation took place. The Senatus assembled along one side of the table in the Senate Hall, and sent the Janitor with the Mace to usher in the Lord Provost and Council, who were robing in the Principal's chambers. They came in, in full costume, preceded by the University Mace and followed by officers bearing the City Mace and Sword. They occupied the other side of the table, and the Lord Provost read a requisition to the Senatus to modify their *Statuta Solemnia*. Principal Baird read a reply, asserting the exclusive right of the Senatus to regulate the conditions for degrees, and stating that they could not comply with the requisition. The Act of Visitation was then read by the Lord Provost, enacting and declaring that from that date Midwifery was a necessary subject for degrees in Medicine, and also that no degree should henceforth be conferred by the Senatus, except in accordance with the terms of the Act.

The Lord Provost ended up the meeting with remarks which were no doubt meant to be complimentary and soothing, but which the Senatus perhaps, under the circumstances, felt to be patronising and unwelcome. He said: "While I discharge this duty, allow me, Gentlemen, to assure you of the anxious and affectionate solicitude with which the

of what was to be exacted by him from the Students in the shape both of class fees and of small dues. The Senatus at once protested against the suggestion as degrading to themselves as a body, and to the Professors individually. There is a certain delicacy about the fees in all professions which is generally respected. And it can easily be understood that a Professor, holding a good position in society, would dislike to put up a notice that every Student coming to him should pay 5s. "towards coals and cleaning," though it might be understood that this was the arrangement. But the Town Council, in spite of the fine words of the Lord Provost, showed no consideration for the feelings of the Senatus.

On the 25th August 1826 the Senatus must have fancied that their deliverance was at hand, for on that day there arrived a letter from the Solicitor-General, announcing that a Royal Commission had been issued for a Visitation of the Universities and Colleges of Scotland, who were to meet "in the College at Edinburgh," on the 31st August, and requesting that proper accommodation should be provided.

The Commissioners were, the Duke of Gordon (Chancellor of King's College, Aberdeen); the Duke of Montrose (Chancellor of the University of Glasgow); the Marquis of Huntly (Chancellor of Marischall College); the Earl of Aberdeen (Rector of King's College); Robert, Viscount Melville (Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews); the

be issued, and thereafter to be observed in all time coming in such Universities and Colleges, until altered or revoked by authority of His Majesty. The Commission was signed by Peel.

One of those who took a leading part in the work of the Commission was the Solicitor-General for Scotland (John Hope); he drew up the "Requisitions for Returns and Heads of Enquiry," which the Commission issued on the 5th September to all the Universities, ordering answers to be sent in by the 27th. This was an able, searching, and exhaustive document, which prepared the way for the thorough and masterly report ultimately arrived at by the Commissioners.<sup>1</sup>

As the Commission which they had invoked was now sitting within the same walls as themselves,<sup>2</sup> the Senatus promptly endeavoured to get their dispute with the Town Council removed from the Law Courts to the arbitration of the Commission. They wrote to the Town Council suggesting that this should be done, and at the same time sent a statement of their case to the Commission. But the Town Council, on the one hand, declined to accede to the proposal, and on the other hand the Commission passed a resolution that, while an Action of Declarator was pending, they would not pronounce

<sup>1</sup> In the copy sent to the University of Edinburgh the term generally used is "the College of Edinburgh." Thus article 14 speaks of "the different Faculties established in the said College." But in reference to the conferring of degrees it speaks of "the University."

<sup>2</sup> The Commission held all its meetings in the Principal's chambers in the University of Edinburgh, though they occasionally sent out delegates to collect evidence in the other Universities.



any judgment or opinion on the matters at issue. This was, of course, a disappointment.

The Commissioners in another way began to exhibit a paternal interest in the University. In January 1827, at the suggestion of the Chairman, Lord Aberdeen, they offered a prize of one hundred guineas for an essay, to be competed for by the Students, the subject being "the national character of the Athenians, and the causes of those peculiarities by which it was distinguished." The Principal and the Faculty of Arts were to be the judges in this competition. This prize excited great interest among the Students, and was keenly competed for. In October the result was announced to the Commissioners. Mr. John Brown Patterson,<sup>1</sup> Student of Divinity, was found to be the author of the best essay. But the judges considered three of the other essays also to be of remarkable merit. The Commissioners begged that the names of the authors might be ascertained, and they turned out to be Allan Menzies,<sup>2</sup> John Murray, and George Deas. On these three gentlemen the Senatus conferred the degree of Master of Arts *extra ordinem*,—a procedure which shows how loose the practice with regard to Arts Graduation was at that time, a degree being conferred as the reward of a creditable essay. On the 17th November Mr. Patterson's essay was read in the Chemistry class-room<sup>3</sup> before a distinguished

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix N. JOHN BROWN PATTERSON.

<sup>2</sup> Allan Menzies afterwards became Professor of Conveyancing in the University. George Deas is now a venerable and highly respected Lord of Session in the First Division of the Court.

<sup>3</sup> This is the largest class-room in Robert Adam's building (finished

audience, the Members for the City, the Ministers, and Town Council, etc., being invited. The Commissioners expressed admiration for the essay, and ordered it to be printed. But after "Athenian Aberdeen" (as Byron called him) had retired from the Chairmanship they did not repeat their encouragement to literary effort.

They continued most assiduously to prosecute their task, as the huge volumes of evidence which they collected may testify. It will be more convenient to conclude in this place a brief account of their action in regard to the University of Edinburgh, and of the conclusions which they arrived at during their four years of existence as a Commission. In August 1829, that is, after they had been three years in office, they sent to the Senatus the draft of a Scheme for courses of study, without a word of intimation as to their ideas of the constitution and government of the University. This omission, and the character of the document which they sent, must have struck consternation into the minds of the Senatus. The whole quarrel with the Town Council had arisen from the proud unwillingness of the Medical Professors to accept external dictation upon a single point. And now the Senatus found the Commission which they had invoked to save them from such dictation saying not a word against their enemies, and, on the other hand, acting the part of a veritable King Stork,—dictating to every Faculty

by Playfair). It will soon lose its designation (1883) when Chemistry is transferred to the new buildings.

on every part of its curriculum. In their vexation they reported very critically upon the scheme of studies, and expressed disappointment that no constitution for the University should have been drawn up,—that being “the primary object” for which His Majesty had appointed the present Commission.

On this the Commissioners minuted that these observations were irregular and uncalled for, and that the formation of a Constitution for the University of Edinburgh was not the main or principal object for which a Visitation was appointed. However, they were stimulated to complete what they had really been long considering, and within three days they adopted the form of constitution which it seemed to them should be given to the University of Edinburgh. It was almost identical with that Constitution which became law by the Act of 1858, and under which the University now is.

The following differences may, however, be noted :—

(1.) By the plan of the Commissioners there was to be a Chancellor nominated by the Crown ; whereas, by the Act, he is elected by the General Council.

(2.) The Rector was to be chosen by the Senatus and Graduates ; whereas he is now elected by the Students.

(3.) The Rector’s tenure of office was to be for seven years ; whereas now it is for three.

(4.) He was to undertake, by acceptance of office, to be a working Rector ; whereas actually the office of Lord Rector is, most often, only ornamental.

(5.) The University Court was to be of seven members, with a quorum of four ; whereas, by the addition of the Lord Provost, the members have been increased to eight, and the quorum is five.

(6.) The Court were to inquire into and control the Revenues and Expenditure, the administration of the funds being thus left in the hands of the Town Council ; whereas subsequent legislation has transferred it to the Senatus, under control of the Court.

(7.) There was no provision for a General Council of the Graduates.

(8.) The Principal was to have the duty of inspecting the Professors and their classes ; whereas no such function now belongs to him.

(9.) There was one remarkable omission in the plan of the Commissioners : that they made no express mention of the way in which regulations for Graduation were to be enacted (this being the very point on which the expectations of the Senatus Academicus of Edinburgh were centred). Perhaps the Commissioners were unconsciously under the impression that their own code for degrees would be sufficient and final. They proposed, however, to give the Court a power of originating "improvements on the internal system of the University, after communication with the Senatus, and with the sanction of the Chancellor." And perhaps they intended changes in the rules for Graduation to come under the head of internal improvements. But the present system is better, by which rules for Graduation have been laid down by Ordinances, and

no alteration in these can take place without the sanction, not only of the Chancellor, but also of the Privy Council.

(10.) They would have left the patronage of the Professorships and of the office of Librarian in the hands of the thirty-three members of Town Council; whereas, by the Act, the appointments are made by seven Curators, four of whom are nominated by the Town Council, and three by the University Court.

With this proposed constitution the Senatus were, on the whole, well satisfied, though they wished it modified in some respects. But very different was their reception of the Commissioners' "Scheme of Studies," which naturally alarmed so Conservative a body as the Professors then were. The following are some of the more striking features of the scheme:—The Commissioners recommended (1) that Rhetoric and Logic should be again united under one Chair, *i.e.* that the Chair of Rhetoric should be abolished; (2) that a Chair of Political Economy should be instituted; (3) that the Chair of Practical Astronomy should be abolished; (4) also that of Civil History; (5) also that of Agriculture, unless a class could be obtained and regularly taught; (6) that the Chair of Public Law should be abolished, and changed into one more useful, *e.g.*, Criminal Law; (7) that Surgery should be separated from Anatomy, and erected into a separate Chair.

These bold innovations were suggested by a state of things of which hardly any trace now

remains in the University. There were then several Chairs, the incumbents of which did not teach at all. The Chairs of Public Law and Practical Astronomy were in that condition, and the teaching of Agriculture was intermittent, while the Professors of Civil History and of Rhetoric were willing enough to teach, but were attended by very slender classes, their subjects not being necessary for Graduation. It does not seem to have occurred to the Commission that they might foster the subject of any particular Chair by bringing it into the degree system. This they should certainly have done with regard to Civil History and Rhetoric, instead of proposing to abolish such important Chairs. They were right in wishing to have a Chair of Political Economy, but this should have been in addition to and not in lieu of the Chair of History. They were, of course, absolutely right in proposing that Surgery should be separated from Anatomy.

They recommended also (8) that there should be a Chair of Mental Diseases; (9) that the examinations in the Medical Faculty should be conducted in English; (10) that there should be a degree in Surgery, but only one degree in Medicine. (11) They proposed to do away with the system of joint-Professors. A Professor, when superannuated, was to be allowed by the University Court to resign, and under their sanction a portion of the emoluments of his successor was to be granted to him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As they made no provision for retiring pensions this alteration would have been only a slight improvement.

(12) They proposed that the foundation of any new Professorship must, after approval by the Court, be made with sanction of the Crown. (13) In their curriculum of Arts they proposed to give up the third year to Second Mathematics and a class of Elementary Logic and Rhetoric, which was to be held twice a day. Metaphysics, they considered, should be combined with Moral Philosophy in the fourth year. (14) They were for forbidding Greek grammar to be taught in the University. Persons were to "profess" themselves competent to commence reading the Greek classics, and then to be enrolled as public Students in the first Greek class. Else, they might join as private Students, and be examined in Greek grammar at Christmas, and so become public Students. In the same way persons joining the first Mathematical class were to "profess" that they knew four Books of Euclid, and Algebra to simple equations. These regulations for Entrants were not, however, to take effect for three years. (15) They proposed to allow Entrants, after private examination, to be enrolled for a three years' curriculum. (16) The degree in Arts was to be two-fold, the Bachelor's and the Master's degree. The standard for a pass B.A. in the Commissioners' scheme was about equal to that for a pass M.A. now. Honours were to be obtainable in connection with the B.A. degree in two grades, to be called "Honourable Distinction" and "Highest Honours." The latter might be taken either in Literature or Science; thus affording a bifurcation of subjects.

The M.A. degree was to be taken a year after the B.A. The Candidate in the meantime must have attended classes of Natural History, Chemistry, and Political Economy,<sup>1</sup> and must bring up, at his own option, some branch of Literature, Philosophy, or Science; in which very high attainments would be expected.

(17) Four examiners for B.A. and two for M.A. were to be appointed by the Senatus. They were not to examine their own pupils (*i.e.* they were not to be Professors); they were to be *ex officio* members of Senatus.

With regard to Divinity, the Commissioners proposed (18) to establish a Chair of Biblical Criticism, and to introduce a Bachelor of Divinity degree only obtainable by Masters of Arts, after examination, as now. They also proposed to open the degree of Doctor of Divinity to the Bachelors of Divinity of five years' standing, by subsequent examination.

The curriculum of Laws (19) was to consist of one year in Civil Law, two years in Scots Law, and one year in Conveyancing. The degree was to be that of Doctor of Laws, and was only to be open to those who had graduated in Arts.

Such was the scheme of the Royal Commissioners; and looking back upon it from the stand-

<sup>1</sup> This was a strange device. It was giving unnatural protection to a favourite subject. Civil History might just as well have stood here. But the list of subjects implies an aiming at varied information, and, in so far, a false idea of the aims which should direct the highest University education.



point of experience, we can see how enlightened in most of its features it was. It is pleasing to observe now how many of the ideas of the Commissioners have been either realised or improved upon. Thus, (1) the University has now acquired a Chair of Political Economy, (2) also a Chair of Surgery, (3) also a Chair of Biblical Criticism, (4) also a Lectureship on Mental Diseases. (5) The degree in Surgery has been introduced, (6) also the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, (7) also a degree in Laws, though not called LL.D. (8) The Examinations for Medical Graduation have been long conducted in English. (9) Joint-Professors have been abolished, and retiring pensions provided for superannuated Professors. (10) The examination for a three years' curriculum in Arts has been adopted. The Commissioners' proposals for the abolition of Chairs have been wisely set aside. The only point in which the present practice of the University falls short of their ideas is in the regulation of the course of studies in the Arts Faculty from entrance to Graduation. Those ideas were not perfect, but they contain a higher conception of University education than has been subsequently realised.

But if we take the point of view of the time when this scheme was published, we must see that it contains many crudities, and a considerable want of consideration for the Professors of those days. The Commissioners should have told the Government that their views could not be carried out without money, both to pay for new things and to

compensate injury to vested interests. They made no mention of this, and they proposed the appointment of Examiners, and of Assistants to Professors, without any hint of the source from which they were to be paid. Their scheme would have diminished the number of Students; and, regardless of this, they proposed in some cases to diminish Professors' emoluments, while increasing their labour in various ways not hitherto mentioned, but which will emerge in the remarks of the Senatus.

The Senatus naturally protested against the scheme in detail. Many of their criticisms were just, while others were conceived in a too narrow and conservative spirit: (1) They generally characterised the proposed improvements as "speculative;" they stated their opinion (2) *that* to increase the number of hours which each Professor must teach would produce "lassitude, exhaustion, and disgust in the Student," while it would deter eminent men from taking Professorships; (3) *that* to extend the winter course to six months and the summer course to five months would abolish private study; (4) *that* an Entrance Examination, to be conducted by a Board of Examiners, was a proposal "wholly unnecessary, pregnant with consequences the most dangerous, unjust, and cruel, and encroaching on the rights of the public."

Then followed protests of the separate Faculties:—The Faculty of Divinity said that Theological degrees must not be given for "intellectual attainment alone." They added two remarks curiously incon-

sistent with each other: *first*, they said that to associate a Committee of the Presbytery of the Bounds with Professors in examining for degrees, would be an infringement of "the chartered rights of Universities;" *secondly*, they said that "the wisest regulations which human wisdom can frame will be of no avail, except in so far as the Church acquiesces in them." Thus they were for conceding to the Church the architectonic function of legislating for degrees, while they would refuse to representatives of the Church the practical and minor function of serving as examiners.

The Laws Faculty reported their opinion that the changes proposed by the Commissioners would "very materially injure the interests of the University and the advancement of the study of Law in Scotland." They pointed out that the hours of teaching (which the Commissioners had proposed to prescribe) must be fixed in consideration both of Students who had to attend offices, and of Professors who might require to attend the sittings of the Court.

The Medical Faculty maintained that they themselves<sup>1</sup> had introduced an extension of medical studies, such as had not been initiated either in Dublin, Oxford, or Cambridge. They deprecated a high standard of Preliminary Examinations as likely to deter Students from entering the University

<sup>1</sup> This was not absolutely correct. The Faculty had resisted the introduction of several Chairs, which were ultimately forced upon them by the Town Council or the Crown.

at all. They reasonably objected to a five months' summer course as too burdensome both for Students and Teachers.

The Arts Faculty protested against the proposed Entrance Examination. They said that to raise the qualifications for entrance into the language classes without hinting at any improvement in the primary Schools was preposterous; and that the standard in Greek proposed by the Commissioners was so far beyond the level of those Schools that if it were insisted on it would extinguish the teaching of Greek in them altogether. They quoted the instance of a youth of twenty who entered the Junior Humanity class in October 1826, having previously studied Latin only eighteen months in a remote parish school. His knowledge of the language was so imperfect that it would have insured his rejection by any Board of Preliminary Examiners; yet so rapid was his progress, that in the month of March following he took the lead in almost every branch of the business, and gained the two highest prizes. In the next session, having joined the senior class, he carried off the first prize for Latin verses, "against a formidable array of competitors from English as well as Scotch schools." The Faculty cited this as "a strong, but by no means a solitary, instance of extraordinary proficiency in the class of youth, whom the proposed resolution would exclude from the benefits of a College education." They protested that the appointment of a body of extra-Professorial Examiners

would be an indignity to themselves; and that to extend the Winter session to seven months would co-operate with the Entrance Examination in excluding a numerous class of meritorious Students. The Faculty, however, expressed their concurrence with the Commissioners as to the desirability of introducing *public* examinations for Arts degrees, and of "increasing the difficulty of obtaining degrees," in order to give them greater value. And they generally acquiesced in the standard for B.A. and M.A. proposed by the Commissioners.

Several of the Professors sent in separately their remarks on the scheme. The most interesting of these communications is the brief paper submitted by Dr. Chalmers. In it he says that he "thinks well of the primary enactment of the Commissioners, which provides for a high preparatory education, and furthermore thinks that *there is nothing in the circumstances of the country which should prevent the adoption of it at the time specified in the scheme.*" But he points out that the subsequent proposals of the Commissioners are not consistent with that primary enactment; (1) *that*, after requiring the Students to be highly educated before entering the University, the Commissioners propose to treat them after entry as schoolboys, with multiplied tasks and minute supervision; (2) *that* the scheme, while annihilating the junior classes in Greek and Mathematics, makes no provision for indemnifying the Professors, and indeed *that*, instead of doing this, it proposes a reduction of class fees; (3) *that* high

work and cheap work in a University cannot be amalgamated. Hence that the proposals of the Commissioners are destructive of each other.

These brief remarks were characteristic of the insight of Chalmers and of his genius for organisation. It is of great interest to observe that, more than half a century ago, he saw nothing in the circumstances of the country to prevent the introduction of an Entrance Examination, provided that three years' warning were given to the Schools.

The Royal Commissioners held their last meeting on the 28th October 1830, when their General Report was finally revised and ordered to be signed and transmitted, with printed copies of their codes of Laws for the several Universities of Scotland, to the Secretary of State. The Senatus must now have had divided feelings, desiring on the one hand that the constitution drawn by the Commissioners should become law, on the other hand that their scheme of studies should not do so. But both their hopes and their fears were belied; for more than six years no result of the Commission appeared. At last, in 1837, Lord Melbourne brought in a Bill appointing a Board of Visitors for each of the Universities of Scotland, the Principals in each case to be members of their respective Boards. These Boards were in fact to be Executive Commissions to carry out with modifications, after receiving the views of each Senatus, the recommendations of the Royal Commission. They were to draw up statutes and regu-

lations, which, after being approved by the Privy Council, would become law. This Bill, however, met with such strenuous opposition in Scotland, not only from the Town Council of Edinburgh, but also from the General Assembly, that the Government decided to let it drop. Thus the report of the Royal Commissioners, like a strong wine, was left to mellow for twenty-eight years.

In the meantime, as might have been expected, the Law Courts had decided against the defendants, in the case of the Magistrates of Edinburgh *versus* the Senatus Academicus of the University. In November 1827 Lord Mackenzie found *that* the pursuers "have right of making regulations for the College of King James" in respect of rules for studies, as well as other matters. And *that* the Senatus have no right of making regulations "in contradiction to the Pursuers." On the other hand, *that* it does not appear that the Senatus acted absolutely illegally in making statutes, so long as these were not forbidden or rescinded by the Town Council. On the last ground he decreed costs to neither party.

The Law Faculty, however, not yet satisfied, unanimously recommended that the Senatus should immediately take steps for bringing this judgment of the Lord Ordinary under review of the Court. The case then started afresh, under an appeal to the Second Division. It ran on for more than a year, and documents on both sides were printed which filled a large quarto volume. The Lord Justice Clerk said that the case "exceeded in bulk every

case that he ever saw." In January 1829 Lords Glenlee, Pitmilley, Alloway, and the Lord Justice Clerk, unanimously confirmed the judgment of Lord Mackenzie, as being exactly what should have been given. The Judges agreed that "the Colleges" of Scotland stood each on a different footing from the others, and Lord Glenlee said that "the situation of the College of Edinburgh was that of a minor corporation subordinate to the corporation of the City and Town Council." He added the somewhat hazy remark that "the right of conferring degrees is not derived from the Town Council but belongs to the College, as a necessary effect of its erection into a University." He did not mention at what period it was so erected, and he seems to have forgotten that from its very outset degrees were conferred by the College of Edinburgh.

It must have lent additional bitterness to the defeat of the *Senatus* that Lord Pitmilley pronounced a eulogy upon the general administration of the patrons and on their particular action with regard to the teaching of Midwifery; and that two of the Judges expressed an opinion that, apart from the law of the case, it was not clearly a matter of expediency that the Professors should be emancipated. "It is notorious," said one, "that formerly the Universities of Europe assumed great and sometimes dangerous powers, and have occasionally given rise to much turbulence, under pretence of their privileges. It is not likely, perhaps, that this should again happen; but I do not see any good reason



for indulging the defenders in the fancy they have now taken to vindicate their independence."

The only crumb of comfort which the *Senatus* could gather out of these judgments lay in the concluding words of the Lord Justice Clerk (Boyle). He said: "I must add that I do not admire the time and manner in which the Magistrates have brought this question to issue. In consequence of the appointment of the Royal Commission, the whole affairs of the College are under their consideration; and I think that at this time, it might have been as well to have allowed the present question to sleep, without calling on us to decide it here." After all, however, it was a question of legal rights, and it is difficult to see how these could have been settled by the Royal Commission. The Town Council were obviously right in refusing to submit to the arbitration of such a body, when they could get the far more satisfactory decision of a Court of Law. The *Senatus*, by asserting an "exclusive right" to regulate degrees, and by refusing to obey the "Act of Visitation," had really forced the Town Council into the course which they adopted.<sup>1</sup>

The *Senatus* having been publicly defeated in the Courts of Law by the Town Council, had now to acknowledge themselves defeated in private by

<sup>1</sup> In November 1830 a bill of £610 for expenses in defending the action brought by the Town Council was sent in. Four Professors (Hope, Duncan, Graham, and Alison) then offered to lend the amount to the *Senatus*. Which offer was accepted; the *Senatus* binding themselves and their successors to repay the amount with interest, and making it a first charge upon the produce of the Reid Bequest.

Dr. Hamilton. We have seen before (p. 23) that early in 1825 they had passed sharp resolutions upon his conduct, which he demanded to have cancelled. For seven years he persisted in renewing this demand, and in March 1832 he commenced legal proceedings against them. The Senatus, having perhaps had enough of law, took a step which formed a remarkable contrast to their recent utterances and attitude—they resolved to “submit to the final decision of *the Lord Rector*, whether any and what Minutes and Reports of their Body should be cancelled.” This was the first time that the Senatus, since it had become a Senatus, recognised the authority of the Lord Provost as Lord Rector. In fact, they had a few years before (p. 32) disputed this title. But their law-suit had taught them history.

Dr. Hamilton, being informed of this resolution, wrote to say that he declined all arbitration except that of a Court of Law. And the Lord Provost then intimated that, under the circumstances, he was unable to undertake the office of mediation which the Senatus had done him the honour to propose for him.

On the 7th April 1832 the Senatus inquired which of its members were ready to stand to their guns in an action brought by Dr. Hamilton junior. It appeared that thirteen, including the Principal, would do so; six Professors were of too recent appointment to be implicated; four said that they had not been concerned, and did not wish to be

not be obtained outside the Senatus, except at a salary which there were no funds to provide.

After much fencing on both sides, the Town Council, in January 1833, created the new appointment of "General Secretary of the University," with an office in the buildings and nearly all the emoluments formerly received by the Secretary of Senatus. He was to keep the University records, conduct correspondence, matriculate Students, supervise discipline, take charge of buildings, and make annual reports to the Town Council.

As the first "General Secretary of the University," Mr. John Gordon, M.A.,<sup>1</sup> was appointed, with the duties above mentioned, and to be employed by the Senatus, if they should see fit, in a confidential capacity to record their meetings. But the Senatus, with a proper regard to their own dignity, declined to receive an extra-Academical servant of the Town Council as their confidential Secretary. And they proceeded to elect Sir William Hamilton to be "Secretary of Senatus," resolving to negotiate with the Town Council for the continuance of an adequate salary for him in that capacity.

<sup>1</sup> This much-respected gentleman, who was a friend of Carlyle's and of Professor Wilson's, was in 1825 Secretary to the Education Committee of the General Assembly, and visited schools, especially in the Western Highlands, for them. He became an authority in education, and was in 1843 appointed the first Inspector of Schools in Scotland. In 1845 he brought out the Statistical Account of Scotland, which he had drawn up in connection with Sir J. Sinclair. In 1874 he was made honorary LL.D. by the University. He was General Secretary of the University from 1833 to 1843. No more modest or accurate man could have been appointed to the post. He died in 1882.

The Town Council were now exhibiting great activity in the government of the University. (It may be observed that this was at the very time when they had just brought their own municipal affairs to bankruptcy.) It was an afterwave from the unfortunate conflict of 1826, which had been stirred up by the imprudence of the Senatus, and which had resulted in establishing the absolute power over the University of the Town Council. Their edicts at this time showed considerable administrative ability, but the manner of them was unnecessarily harsh, ungracious, and humiliating.

In April 1833, without consulting the Senatus, they intimated new arrangements for the Matriculation Fund and its distribution. The fee was to be raised from 12s. 6d. to 20s; out of which the "General Secretary" (Mr. Gordon) was to have £150 fixed salary, and £30 for a house. No mention was made of a salary for Sir W. Hamilton.

The Senatus then immediately put themselves in the wrong; they expressed "extreme surprise," criticised in a very carping spirit all the arrangements of the Town Council, and protested (erroneously, as time has shown) against the increase of the matriculation fee, as "likely to drive away Students to other Universities and extra-Academical seminaries."

On this the Town Council issued their final orders. They said they "were satisfied that the fears of the Senatus would ultimately prove groundless," "and at any rate that the general improvement

of the University is of more importance even than the loss of a small number of Students." Accordingly they fixed the matriculation fee for a whole year at 20s., and for the Summer session at 10s., and intimated a variety of purposes to which the additional funds would be applied, such as fire insurance, and increasing the working facilities of the Library. They said very ungraciously, that the Senatus might for the present draw £50 a year for the payment of their Secretary, but that the Patrons reserved their right to appoint a Secretary "to keep the past records of the Senatus Academicus," "and even to record their immediate proceedings,—a duty not conceived to be of any peculiar delicacy or difficulty."

During the year 1834 a good deal of fighting took place on the subject of the Natural History Museum. By an arrangement made in 1820, the public were admitted to inspect the splendid collections which the Museum contained, on payment of a fee of 2s. 6d., which went to meet expenses. The Town Council now took it into their heads to open the Museum widely both to the public and to the Students. They went to work unceremoniously, got a report from their own servant, the "General Secretary" (which was an improper course), disregarded the remonstrances of the Senatus, and issued a ukase that the Museum was to be open at all hours to the public on payment of a fee of one shilling. Probably the Town Council were less right in this instance than they often were in their contentions

with the Senatus. The University Museum was intended, not to be a "lion" or raree-show for the public, but to be a place and means for study. The Senatus wished to keep it to this purpose, and they would have always been glad to facilitate the access to it of persons wishing to make special researches in Natural History. The action of the Town Council was also probably illegal, as the Museum was Crown property, held for the University under a Regius Keeper.

As if to make things more pleasant, two not very wise Town Councillors moved that, as the Professors' class fees had been raised in 1812, "on account of the high rate of living, no longer existing," reasonable reductions in the fees should now be made. This proposal met with an indignant reply by the Senatus, who pointed out how inopportune it was at a time when "several of the Professors were suffering from the pecuniary embarrassment of the municipal government."<sup>1</sup> This matter went no farther, but it is mentioned to show the restless spirit of interference which animated the Town Council at that time, and which must have kept the Senatus in a state of chronic irritation, combined with a sense of insecurity.

In 1833, however, the Town Council had received a great compliment upon their exercise of the patronage of the University (as distinct from their government of it). For it appears from the Com-

<sup>1</sup> The Principal and some of the Professors were kept out of their salaries for more than three years owing to the bankruptcy of the City

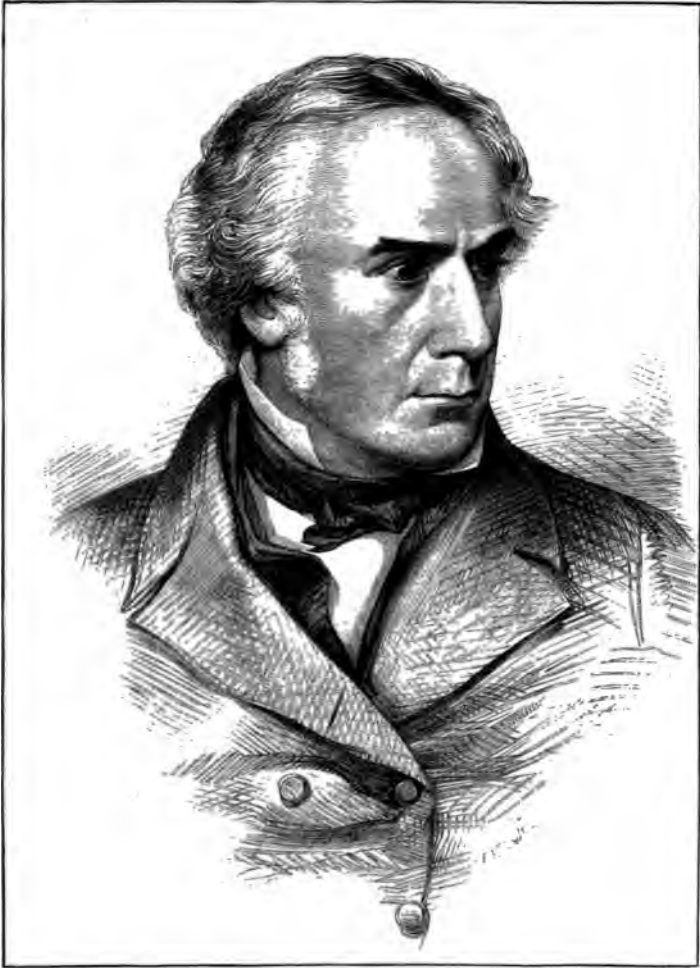
mission to Sir Charles Bell as Professor of Surgery, that, on the creation of Regius Professorships of Pathology and Surgery, the Town Council had applied to have the future patronage vested in them, whereon His Majesty, acknowledging "the liberal, impartial, and judicious use" which they had always made of their patronage, transferred to them by royal warrant the patronage of the two Chairs.

There was a comparative lull in warfare for three years, the Senatus during that time not arguing with the Town Council, but urging Government ever and anon to settle the bankrupt affairs of the City, and to legislate for giving the University a constitution. In 1837 came the disappointment of Lord Melbourne's Bill for regulating the Universities of Scotland being abandoned.

But in 1838 offensive operations were resumed. There were some anomalies in the fees of the Arts classes. It had been understood by the Town Council that at the rearrangement of fees in 1812 all the Arts classes were fixed at three guineas each, with the exception perhaps of the class of Moral Philosophy, which stood on a peculiarly favoured footing. It appears, however, that the Professors of Logic, Mathematics, and Natural Philosophy had come into the practice of charging four guineas, the same as the fee of the Professor of Moral Philosophy. Doubtless this might require explanation, though no grievance had been felt about the fees, else complaints would have







SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, BART.

FROM A PORTRAIT BY JAMES ARCHER.

been laid before the Royal Commission. But the Town Council were, as usual, unfortunate in their mode of procedure ; without consulting the Senatus, or hearing the parties concerned, they passed an Act of Council, which got into the newspapers, and which had the effect of throwing some imputation upon the four Professors above mentioned. They ordained the fees to be reduced to three guineas, except for the class of Moral Philosophy. But Professor Wilson here magnanimously came forward and expressed his desire to be placed on the same footing as the other Professors of Philosophical classes. The Senatus at the same time sent a long and indignant protest, drawn up by the incisive pen of Sir William Hamilton, against the proceeding of the Town Council, and especially against the manner of it.

The Town Council, like the bull who feels the thrust of the picador, at once turned round upon Sir William Hamilton. They wrote to say that they had heard he had divided his subject of Logic and Metaphysics into two separate courses of lectures, charging a fee of three guineas for each, and requested to know if this was the case. To this question Sir W. Hamilton sent an elaborate reply :— Logic and Metaphysics were distinct subjects, and could not be taught together ; the Church required every Divinity Student to learn Logic, but said nothing about Metaphysics ; therefore Hamilton's immediate predecessor had dropped Metaphysics out of his teaching ; he himself had revived it in the

only possible way, as a separate class with a separate fee. Whereupon the Town Council briefly pronounced judgment: that "no more than one fee is exigible by the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics for a complete course on these subjects."

The real point in Hamilton's favour was that it had been a common practice for Professors to have double classes, and that there was abundant precedent for his procedure. This he might very well have submitted in his first letter, but he did not do so. And now the temptation was irresistible to show the Town Council that they had got out of their depth, and made themselves ridiculous, as they had no conception of what was implied by "a complete course of Logic and Metaphysics." He rose to the occasion, and sent off a tremendous letter, concluding with an insinuation that the Town Council were trying to punish him (as, indeed, perhaps they were) for taking part in "calling them to account for a signal act of contumely and injustice." But in their reply to this (January 1839) the Town Council virtually gave way to Sir William Hamilton. They said that he must give a course of Logic and Metaphysics, of five lectures a week, during the Session, but that if he wished in addition to have an optional class of an advanced kind, charging for it the ordinary fee for Philosophical classes, he might apply to be allowed to do so.

This was surely all that was necessary under the circumstances. Only Hamilton was too high-spirited to apply for leave to do that which he con-

ceived he had a right to do; and he would not accept any pacification or compromise. He wrote a letter, full of trenchant dialectic, asking the Town Council what they meant by "lectures," and showing that their deliverance involved at least seven absurd propositions! He really had one grievance at this point, namely, that reporters seem to have been allowed to publish partial accounts of the controversy, tending to the prejudice of the Professor. The Town Council prudently replied that they declined to argue with Sir William Hamilton, and that they adhered to their former resolution. But this drew forth an overwhelming rejoinder from the offended logician, asking again what their resolution meant, and showing the absurdity of their requiring him to include in his lectures on Logic and Metaphysics "all the subjects hitherto taught therein." This, to which there was no answer, concluded the correspondence. It was a loss to the University that Sir W. Hamilton's separate class in Metaphysics was put a stop to; but this was due to his own uncompromising temper, as well as to the somewhat ignorant interference of the Town Council.

The Senatus, stimulated by the recent quarrel, petitioned Lord Melbourne to sever their connection with a body who treated their proceedings "with indelicacy, not unmixed with contempt," and who "depressed Academical improvements by total want of sympathy." The Town Council, getting hold of this petition, set their "College Committee"

to answer it. And a very able report was accordingly drawn up for transmission to Lord Melbourne, and was afterwards published. It was full of interesting particulars, and made out a very good case for the government of the Town Council.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the charge made by the Senatus that the Town Council thwarted improvements in the education of the University, the Report maintained that, so far from this, the only improvement<sup>2</sup> suggested by the Senatus, and not as yet carried out by the Town Council, was the making History a necessary subject in the Arts curriculum. Whereas, on the other hand, the Senatus had constantly endeavoured to thwart improvements proposed by the Town Council, as, for instance, the making Midwifery a compulsory subject, the creation of various Professorships, the raising of the matriculation fee, and the opening of the Natural History Museum to the public.<sup>3</sup> The report said (not truly, however,) that the real grievance of the Professors was the regulation of their fees. And it gave an able, and only slightly unfair, summary of the correspondence

<sup>1</sup> The ability of the documents of the Town Council on University matters at this time, is accounted for by the composition of the College Committee, which, the Report says, consisted of eleven members, two of whom were Advocates, two Writers to the Signet, two Fellows of the College of Surgeons, and two Fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and it was added that "the majority of the Members of the present College Committee are known to the public as authors." This was a formidable conclave to encounter in epistolary war, especially when they had legal right on their side.

<sup>2</sup> The authors of the report forgot their suppression of Sir William Hamilton's class in Metaphysics.

<sup>3</sup> This, as we have seen, was a questionable improvement.

with Sir William Hamilton, characterising his letters as "conceived throughout in a quibbling contentious spirit, and with unfounded imputations against the Town Council, expressed in a style of exaggeration and defiance."

Sir William Hamilton, in reply to this report, wrote a violent letter to the Town Council, which he sent to the newspapers, and which he wound up by saying that, if they did not publicly withdraw the allegations they had made against him, "the Town Council would henceforth be a body which no gentleman would join." The Town Council then resolved that they would receive no more letters from Sir William. Such were the relations now brought about between the Secretary of the Senatus and the governing body of the University.

Towards the end of 1841 the Town Council, without apparent cause, were guilty (for so it must be called) of a harsh and imperious procedure. Mr. Skene, the Professor of Civil History, having accepted the office of Sheriff-Substitute of Lanark, wrote to them to say that he was about to resign his Chair, so soon as the Faculty of Arts should have met and appointed a successor to him as Dean. The Town Council then called upon him immediately to place his resignation in their hands. He wrote that he did not conceive that one day's delay would cause inconvenience to the Town Council, whereon they minuted that, as Mr. Skene had refused, or at all events delayed, to resign his Chair, they "removed" him from it.

After this it is no wonder that the Senatus, in January 1842, agreed on an elaborate memorial to Sir James Graham, showing that "the Senatus Academicus continue to be exposed to all the inconveniences of a position which every year is becoming more harassing and more alarming." They complained that since 1836, when Lord Melbourne's Bill was conceived, Commissions had been appointed to visit all the other Universities of Scotland, and that the University of Edinburgh had alone been passed over. They stated an amusing fact as a commentary on the boast made in the above-mentioned report of the Town Council—that their body contained many members of the learned professions—namely, that in the previous session an ex-Town Councillor had applied for the office of Janitor to the College.

A fresh cloud now arose upon the horizon, out of which there grew another great law-suit. In this case we must confess that the Senatus were entirely in the wrong, not only legally, but in a question of educational and academic policy. And the attitude which, as a body, they took, was opposed to the opinion and advice of one of the wisest of their own body.

In 1840 Professor Syme had written an important letter to the Town Council, adverting to the great and progressive diminution in the number of the Medical Students.<sup>1</sup> He greatly attributed this

<sup>1</sup> The numbers continuously dwindled during the forty years succeeding the year 1826 from about 900 to about 400. They have subsequently increased steadily, till they have become over 1700.

to the rigidly exclusive rule, according to which the University of Edinburgh recognised no Medical teaching as serving to qualify for its degree except that given within itself or in some other University. He recommended the Town Council to enquire into the matter, and to ordain a recognition of extra-Academical teaching. The fact was that since 1826—the palmy time of the University—many vigorous schools of Medicine and Surgery had sprung up in Great Britain and Ireland; and, as degrees in Medicine were not necessary as a qualification for practice, it would be surely politic in the Universities to encourage graduation by recognising the teaching of accredited Schools as equivalent to some portion of their course. Such a measure, however, would undoubtedly introduce a possible rivalry between extra-Academical teachers and each of the Medical Professors. Indeed, it was an argument for the change that one of the Professors in the University of Edinburgh was so comparatively inefficient that many Students, after paying him his fee and obtaining his certificate of attendance, went to learn his subject elsewhere, and so paid twice over for instruction in the same subject, during the same session. Of course any Professor who was conscious of weakness would resist a change that might deprive him of his class. But many Professors even, who, like Syme himself, felt secure from the consequences of rivalry, still opposed the proposal from a conservative instinct. And the Senatus accordingly reported unfavourably to it, as likely to be injurious to the



Medical Faculty, without in any way benefiting the University.

In February 1842 the Town Council, after mature consideration, sent down a draft of alterations in the Medical *Statuta*, the main point in which was a recognition of four extra-Academical classes, as qualifying towards a degree. A committee of the Senatus was for resisting this, except on the condition that the candidate who had not taken all his classes in a University was to have a year added to his curriculum for a degree. To stave off the question the Senatus requested the Town Council to delay their new regulations till Sir James Graham's Bill on Medical Education should be brought in. The Town Council saw no necessity for this, and directed their College Committee to proceed in drawing up regulations to come into force next winter.

The matter, however, was allowed to stand over till November 1845, when the Senatus took the initiative by sending up for approval a draft of alterations in their rules for Medical degrees. In these they went the length of proposing to recognise the teaching of the hospital Schools of London, and of the School of the College of Surgeons in Dublin, as equivalent to that of the University of Edinburgh. But this concession was not deemed sufficient by the Town Council, who after another year's deliberation issued their new regulations, in which they made attendance on the hospital Schools of London, or the School of the College of Surgeons in Dublin, or on the lectures "*of teachers of medicine in Edin-*

*burgh*, recognised as such by the Royal Colleges of Physicians and of Surgeons in Edinburgh," as qualifying for graduation to the extent of one-third of all the subjects required, and of one year out of the four years' Medical course. Extra-Academical lecturers, however, were not to be allowed to undersell the Professors. They were to charge in each case the same fee as that paid for the corresponding class in the University.

All this was equitable and judicious. But it touched the Medical Professors of those days on a tender point. They could bear the idea of accepting teaching that was given in London or Dublin as equivalent to their own; what they disliked, and in some cases perhaps dreaded, was the idea of having rival teachers started in Edinburgh, so that any Student, instead of coming reverentially to the Professor of a Medical subject, might elect to walk across the street and get his teaching from some rising genius who had been recognised by the Medical Corporations of the City. And this each Student might do, according to the new regulations, in four separate departments of his course, and might yet claim a degree from the University after all. It can easily be understood that many Professors, after the long enjoyment of a monopoly, would find this innovation distasteful.

The Senatus, as a body, espoused the cause of the majority in the Medical Faculty, and resolved to obtain the opinion of counsel. Being fortified by the weighty advice of the Dean of Faculty (after-

wards Lord Colonsay) and Mr. Inglis (now the Lord Justice General), they proceeded to obtain from the Court of Session an interim order of suspension and interdict against the new regulations coming into force; and then they lodged an action against the Town Council, pleading that their issue of the regulations had been illegal, as they (the Senatus) had the sole power of making laws for graduation in the University.

It will be seen that the ground taken was precisely the same as that in the previous action of 1826. The point urged was that the Senatus, and not the Patrons, had the right to regulate University degrees. The Court had already decided absolutely against the Senatus on this point, but the Senatus resolved, on the advice of counsel, to get the question tried over again. They knew, of course, that, so far as the Law Courts of Scotland went, the matter was *res judicata*, and was certain, as such, to be again decided against them. But their object and intention was to carry on the suit to the House of Lords, in hopes of finding there a fuller recognition of "the common law of Universities" as overriding the statutory powers claimed by the Town Council, and of having the Scotch decisions reversed. Their present course was, then, a roundabout and expensive mode of doing what they might have done directly in 1829, when they might have appealed to the House of Lords against the decision in their former action. This time they were encouraged by the opinion of very eminent English counsel, Sir

John Stuart (afterwards Vice-Chancellor) and Sir Richard Bethell (afterwards Lord Westbury), of whom the latter said, that "it was difficult to imagine anything more anomalous, or more at variance with the rights and duties of a University, charged with the education of the persons upon whom its degrees were to be conferred," than the powers claimed by the Town Council.

But however "anomalous" the position of the University of Edinburgh might seem, it was found to be one created by royal charter and destined to continue until it should be altered by the legislature. In 1850 Lord Dundrennan pronounced against the plea of the Senatus, as being *res judicata*. He added that he concurred in the decision of the Judges in the former suit; and he gave costs to the Town Council. In 1852 Lord Dundrennan's ruling was confirmed by the Inner House. And on the Senatus resolving to appeal to the House of Lords, Professor Pillans entered his dissent from this resolution—(1) on legal grounds, because they had no chance of success; (2) on the merits of the case, because the Town Council's proposals were reasonable, and would be advantageous. In August 1854 the case was argued before the House of Lords, and Sir Richard Bethell in a three days' speech urged all that was possible on behalf of the Senatus. But in vain. The Law Lords confirmed, instead of reversing, the Scotch decisions. All that the Senatus had gained by their legal proceedings and wasteful expenditure of Reid Fund money was that they had

now ascertained beyond further question their total want of powers, and that they had procrastinated for eight years the operation of the Town Council's regulations. These came into operation in 1855, when extra-Academical rivals to the Medical Professors were started in Edinburgh, without, however, bringing ruin on the University.

We must now go back to recall other controversies and struggles which had taken place in the meantime between the Senatus and their masters. The Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 had split up society in the country, and it did not fail to produce an unfortunate effect in the Town Council of Edinburgh; the spirit of ecclesiastical faction was introduced among them, and it was observed that henceforth their appointments to Professorships were not so absolutely disinterested and impartial as they had been before. The majority of the Town Council had joined the Free Church. And in February 1844 the Patrons took the remarkable step of resolving, without consultation of the Senatus, that the Chemistry class-room should be used as a place of worship by the seceding portions of the congregations of Greyfriars. Against this measure the Senatus protested as "a glaring appropriation of University property to purposes utterly unacademical." The protest seems to have been effectual. Probably on reflection the Town Council felt that it would not do to press the views of a majority among themselves. But that such a resolution should ever have been passed by them

serves to illustrate the impulsive and uncertain character of their government of the University at this time.

In November 1847 the Lord Provost and some Bailies appeared in the Senate Hall to present Mr. Charles M'Douall for induction as conjoint Professor of Hebrew with Dr. Brunton superannuated. Mr. M'Douall, being a Free Churchman, had, of course, not signed the Confession of Faith and acknowledged the authority of the Church of Scotland before the Presbytery of the bounds. He was therefore, in strict law, inadmissible as a Professor, though several members of the Senatus had taken their seats without going through the forms required by the Act of 1690 and the Act of Union. On this occasion the Senatus determined to put the law in force, and on the motion of Principal Lee they refused to receive Mr. M'Douall as a Professor.

It was an ecclesiastical squabble,—Established Church against Free Church,—but the Senatus had the law on their side. They applied for an interdict forbidding the induction of Mr. M'Douall, which Lord Robertson, in a few days, granted. A month later the First Division (Lord President Boyle, and Lords Mackenzie, Fullerton, and Jeffrey) finished the business by confirming Lord Robertson's decision. The Town Council tried to plead that the Senatus were not a corporation, and therefore had no *locus standi* to appear in Court, which was a curious plea after so many legal contests between the same parties, and which was at once repelled. They also

pleaded that Mr. M'Douall had been already inducted. But Lord Jeffrey said: "The Senatus are the *domini* of their own records and they say that these shall not bear the admission of one whom the law excludes." He also laid stress on the fact that the records of the Town Council never bore the admission of a Professor. This shows that the Senatus had been wise in having a Secretary appointed by themselves. Had the Secretary been a servant of the Town Council he would have been ordered by them to record the induction of Mr. M'Douall. A perpetual interdict against Mr. M'Douall was granted. And the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, "feeling the importance of the cause which had been defended," agreed to defray any "unallowed expenses" which the Senatus might have incurred in the suit.

The decision of the Judges gave rise to a new system of tactics on the part of the Town Council. They determined that it should not any more be said that they did not induct Professors as well as appoint them. Accordingly in July 1848 the Commission of Dr. John Hughes Bennett, as Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, was presented to the Senatus, accompanied by an Act of Council "admitting" him. Principal Lee at once entered a protest against this proceeding as unprecedented, and as "degrading the University of Edinburgh below the other Universities of Scotland." And the Senatus resolved to admit Dr. Bennett irrespective of the "Act." They also, under legal advice, lodged

a formal protest on the subject with the Town Council.

But that body, nothing daunted, in the November following, in reappointing Mr. Syme to the Chair of Clinical Surgery, and in appointing Mr. Liston to the Chair of Hebrew, accompanied their Commissions with "Acts" admitting the two Professors. Mr. Liston's Commission also bore that the Chair of Hebrew was vacant "by the resignation of Mr. Charles M'Douall," whereas the Court of Session had pronounced that M'Douall had never been legally admitted Professor. All which caused vehement outcry from the Senatus, and fresh recurrence to the opinion of counsel. No legal action, however, was taken, and probably this was as well for the Senatus, as it is difficult to see how, in the face of the express power of "inputting and outputting Professors" granted to the Town Council by the Charter of James VI., they could have resisted admitting any Professor whom the Town Council chose to appoint. M'Douall was disqualified by refusing to take a test required by law in those days, but with any Professor not so refusing the case would have been different.

In July 1850, on the resignation of Professor Wilson, Mr. Macdougall was presented by the College Bailie as Professor of Moral Philosophy. By preconcerted arrangement Principal Lee asked the Bailie whether in the present case the Town Council assumed to have inducted Mr. Macdougall, and being told they did, the Principal, in the name



of the Senatus, declined to go on with the proceedings. The Bailie stated that he held Mr. Macdougall to be duly inducted, and then took his leave. For more than three years Professor Macdougall never took his seat in the Senate Hall. There was a peculiarity about his case; he was a Free Churchman, and therefore the Town Council could not bring an action to force the Senatus to admit him, because he had not taken the test; on the other hand, as he was not to be a Professor in the Faculty of Divinity the Senatus would be unwilling to exact the test from him, which had been excused to so many lay Professors, members of various churches. The only thing that the Senatus required was that Macdougall should accept *their* induction as the truly valid one, ignoring that of the Town Council. This he declined to do, till the Test Act was passed in 1853, and then he presented his Commission and took his seat among the Senatus, having taught his class quietly in the meantime. No further trouble arose as to the induction of Professors till the end of the Town Council's reign. There had been indeed another litigation shortly before this time between the Senatus and the Patrons, but no mention need here be made of this, as it related to the administration of the Reid Fund, which falls under the history of the University Finances.

It is pleasing to be able to conclude the narrative of the Town Council's government of the University with the mention of matters illustrative of their enlightened zeal for Academical improve-

persons wishing to enter the junior Greek class at the beginning of the Winter Session, and afterwards to assist and drill the junior Greek Students. This was the beginning, in the Arts Faculty, of the system of Class-Assistants now adopted in all the classes. In the next year the Town Council re-issued their regulations, raising their standard, however, to the extent of requiring twelve chapters of St. Luke instead of six of St. John.

In 1855 Professor Pillans, having persuaded the Senatus that, instead of an Entrance Examination in Greek, there should be an Examination for promotion to the senior classes in Greek and Latin, Professor Blackie submitted to the Town Council a vigorous protest against this. He said that the new proposal would do away with the boundary line between School and University, and deprive the Schools of a wholesome stimulus ; *that* the expulsion of Greek grammar from University teaching was imperatively called for, and essential to the dignity of a University ; *that* four-fifths of the entrants already came up to the standard, and *that* the rest might be treated equitably ; finally, *that* the introduction of an Entrance Examination had not diminished the number of the junior class ; in fact, it had increased.

A Committee of the Senatus, consisting of Professors Robertson, Pillans, Aytoun, and Kelland, drew up a powerful counter-memorial. They represented that, so far from its being a gain, it would be a misfortune, if the Professor were to give up teach-

ing Greek grammar ; *that*, even in the highest class, he should constantly refer to the rudiments and ascertain that each Student had a foundation to bear his superstructure ; *that*, if the Entrance Examination were administered equitably, *i.e.* left to be tampered with at the discretion of the Examiners, it would become a mere name ; *that* it would be far more useful to have an Examination, to be conducted rigorously, for transition from junior to senior classes in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics ; and *that* this would prevent Students from being debarred entrance on account of previous disadvantages, and would prevent them also from gaining credit in the University without any exertion on their own part.

A good deal might be said in favour of either point of view. Probably both should have been adopted. Professor Blackie's statement must not be forgotten ; that during a three years' trial of an Entrance Examination his junior class had increased, instead of diminishing, in numbers. The final regulation adopted by the Town Council was advertised as follows in May 1855 :—“ By a recent Act of the Patrons of the University it has been ordered that no Student shall be enrolled in the Junior Greek class as a regular Student unless he has mastered the rudiments of the grammar, and is able to translate a portion of any of the first fifteen chapters of the Gospel according to Luke,—Provided always that every candidate who may not pass the Examination in the beginning of November, may be per-

mitted by the Professor to attend the class, and, in the option of the Student, to present himself again for examination on the 1st February following; when, if he shall acquit himself to the approbation of the Examiners, he shall be enrolled as a regular Student, so that the Session may count as one in his curriculum." On the working of this order Professor Blackie reported in March 1856. He did not state the number of those examined, or indicate the proficiency exhibited by them, but he implied that all those who were examined passed, while eighteen deferred their examination till the 1st February, when three were ultimately rejected. The whole junior class had been drilled by a Tutor during December and January. Professor Blackie added his opinion that the standard of Examination could not be much raised till the Schools in the south of Scotland were better. The system introduced by the Town Council had done no harm, and it was a step in the right direction. It was, however, swept away, three years later, by the Executive Commission, who instituted in its room a voluntary Examination for those wishing to spend only three years in their Arts curriculum.

The last act of the Town Council which we have to mention was a very judicious and proper one, and yet it was carped at by the Senatus. It was dated 27th January 1857, and was the result of a petition from the Graduates, a reference to the Senatus, and much deliberation. It admitted Graduates of the University to the same Library

privileges as those enjoyed by Students on payment of a 10s. fee, and under very good and prudent regulations. The Act was to be an experiment, and only to remain in force till the 30th September 1859, unless renewed. The Senatus, however, instead of at once acquiescing in this most desirable measure, which was for the first time to connect Graduates of the University, in some measure, with their *Alma Mater*, expressed doubts as to the legality of the Town Council's admitting persons *who were not members of the University* to Library privileges; and they proposed to *matriculate* the Graduates anew. The Town Council very sensibly replied that they saw no reason for altering their Act, which was shortly afterwards confirmed by the Executive Commission, and is now the law of the University. What we have just mentioned was the last sparkle of combativeness on the part of the Senatus, and was the result of the long warfare which had put them into a frame of mind incapable of receiving cordially even the wisest proposals of the Town Council. But very soon all these antagonisms were put an end to by the Act of 1858, of which we have now to give the history.

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#### APPENDIX N. JOHN BROWN PATTERSON.

IT was a fortunate circumstance that when "Athenian Aberdeen" and the other Royal Commissioners offered their prize to the Students of the University of Edinburgh John Brown Patterson should have been there to compete for it. He was well qualified

to do credit to the University, for he was probably the most accomplished classical scholar ever turned out by the University classes previous to 1858. And he was gifted by nature with great literary ability. His early promise was annihilated by premature death. It may be interesting to note here a few facts in the brief and beautiful career<sup>1</sup> of this Edinburgh Kirke White.

John Brown Patterson was "Dux" of the High School, and the favourite pupil of Pillans during the last years of his Rectorship. Pillans joined the University as Professor of Humanity in 1820, and his pet pupil accompanied him. Patterson owed the development of his scholarship to Pillans, and specimens of his Greek and Latin verses and prose writing, which have been preserved, are results highly creditable to his teacher as well as to himself.

Patterson went through the complete Arts curriculum of the University, gaining the first prize in every class. The precocity of his learning and judgment is shown by the fact that in 1823, when only nineteen years old, he was engaged during the vacation to assist the classical studies of the Count de Flahault (aide-de-camp to Napoleon in his Russian and Belgian campaigns), who had married Lady Keith, and settled with her at Meikleour House in Perthshire. In this capacity Patterson gave complete satisfaction, and his diary, written at Meikleour, records his conversations on literary and philosophic subjects with the Count.

In 1824 Patterson was engaged on another interesting extra-Academical task; this was collecting from the classics passages to illustrate the localities depicted by "Grecian" Williams in his *Scenes in Greece*, which passages he accompanied by graceful translations in verse and prose. Patterson's essay "On the National Character of the Athenians" shows that his mind was imbued with the best of the ancient literature; it also shows wide reading and a bright artistic spirit.

After the subject had been proposed in January 1827 Patterson quietly graduated in Arts (it was his seventh session in the

<sup>1</sup> See *Discourses by the late Rev. John B. Patterson, A.M., Minister of Falkirk, to which is added a Memoir of his Life*, etc. (Ed. 1837), and *An Essay on the National Character of the Athenians*, by J. B. Patterson, M.A., a New Edition, to which is prefixed a Biographical Notice (Ed. 1860).

University, and he had been a Divinity Student for three sessions), and in the ensuing summer he set to work and accomplished his essay in about six weeks. It was not so much the work of a boy competing for a prize as of a mature scholar writing on a subject which had long occupied his thoughts and on which he had full information.

Mr. Leonard Horner read this essay after it had been published in the spring of 1828, and "feeling how much it would improve the Ministers of the Church of Scotland if classical learning were more common among them," he sent a copy of the essay to Sir Robert Peel, suggesting that Mr. Patterson should be presented to one of the churches in the gift of the Crown. Peel did not reply for some months, not, in fact, till he had himself found time to read the essay, and then he was so much struck by it that he wrote offering John Brown Patterson the living of Daviot in Aberdeenshire. Professor Pillans, however, deprecated his "relegating himself into that Sarmatian banishment," and he declined the appointment. Peel, however, still bore him in mind, and in September 1829 offered him "one of the most important charges in the Church of Scotland—that of the parish of Falkirk." And at the same time, in a letter to Horner, Peel said that he had "greater personal satisfaction" in appointing Patterson than he "could have had in the appointment of any other Minister of the Church of Scotland." Such was the tribute paid to the genius and learning of an Edinburgh Student by a statesman who, amid the cares of office, had always a vigilant eye for the recognition of merit.

During an incumbency of little more than five years John Brown Patterson exhausted his frail bodily energies in a too assiduous care of his extensive and populous parish. Beloved and admired, he passed away in 1835. His *Discourses* and *Remains* show a Christian, philosophical, and poetic spirit. Some have thought his style too florid, and it is probable that he received from Professor Wilson not only a literary impulse but also an influence in style tending in the direction of poetical exuberance of language. But in Patterson's writings this tendency does not go far. In his *Discourses* he is always earnest and real, and never rhetorical. His was a beautiful soul, and he was too soon lost to Scotland.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1858, AND ITS  
RESULTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH DOWN  
TO THE PRESENT DAY (1858—1883).

*“ Il faut dans une histoire, comme dans une pièce de théâtre, exposition, nœud, et dénouement.”*

THE history of the University of Edinburgh complies with Voltaire's requisition; chapters III.-V. contained a “setting forth” of its development; in chapter VI. a formidable “knot” or complication was disclosed; the subject of the present chapter is a “clearing up of difficulties,” so pleasing in a drama, but still more so in real life.

It was said above (Vol. I. p. 258) that the religious struggles in the country, and the triumph of one side or the other, did not affect the institutions of the College of Edinburgh while it was still a College. To this, one small exception must be mentioned; for in 1690, as part of the Revolution Settlement, an Act was passed with the view of excluding Episcopalians and Jacobites from the Universities, which obliged every Professor before induction to sign a



declaration before the Presbytery of the bounds that he accepted the *Confession of Faith*, and avowed obedience to the Established Church of Scotland. This test was constantly evaded in the University of Edinburgh, and notably so from the commencement of Robertson's Principalship (1762), but it still existed as part of the law of the country.

The ecclesiastical conflicts of the present century in Scotland produced an effect on the University such as the tragic and bloody strifes of the seventeenth century had never done. There can be no doubt that to the Disruption of 1843 the University owes—(1) the emancipation of its lay Professors from the test above mentioned; (2) a free spirit in the country which greatly tended to the reform of the Universities; (3) many important features of the Universities Act of 1858. To show what a difference in people's minds as to the question of tests was produced by the Disruption, we may mention that the Universities' Commissioners in 1830 recommended that the test required by the Act of 1690 should in future be rigorously exacted from all Professors; and not only this, but that it should be imposed upon all members of those University Courts which the Commissioners proposed to create. But in 1853 Lord Aberdeen, who had been himself one of the Commissioners, said in the House of Lords, referring to the Report of 1830, "a great change has taken place in Scotland since then; one half the kingdom has now rendered itself unable conscientiously to take that test." And he there-

fore agreed to its abolition. But several successive efforts had been required before a measure with this object in view could reach the House of Lords. In 1845 the Lord Advocate (Rutherford) and Macaulay, then Member for Edinburgh, brought in and eloquently supported a Bill for the purpose, but it was defeated by Sir Robert Peel's Government. In 1852 the present Lord Moncreiff (then Member for Leith) brought in another Bill, which the Conservative Government of that day threw out. Trying again next year Mr. Moncreiff was more fortunate, and succeeded in carrying through both Houses a Bill which substituted for the old test, in the case of all members of *Senatus Academici* except Principals and Theological Professors, the following declaration :—" I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely declare that as Professor of —, and in discharge of the duties of the said office, I will never endeavour, directly or indirectly, to teach or inculcate any opinions opposed to the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures or the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, ratified by law in the year 1690, and that I will never exercise the functions of the said office to subvert or prejudice the Church of Scotland, as by law established, or the doctrines or privileges thereof."

This declaration, while allowing each Professor to be reticent about his own beliefs, served to allay the apprehensions of those who fancied that, if there were no safeguard, Professors of Chemistry, Natural History, Metaphysics, and what not, might use their

Chairs as a propaganda of infidelity. At the same time it secured the object which the framers of the Bill had more immediately in view, namely, to enable Free Churchmen legally to hold Chairs. Previously a Free Churchman was a person absolutely under a disability; an Episcopalian might accept the test, and several Episcopalians did so, but a member of the Free Church could not possibly avow his allegiance to the Church of Scotland. We have seen above (pp.77-78), how a Free Churchman held by sufferance the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, but he could at any moment have been forced into resignation if any one had raised the question in a Court of Law of his non-acceptance of the test. All this was happily cleared away by the Act of 1853, and the Universities of Scotland, except in regard to their Principalships and Theological Chairs, were made representative of the nation at large, and not only of the Established Church.

This first measure of reform was in opposition, as we have seen, to the recommendations of the Commission of 1826-30. But it prepared the way for other and wider reforms, and, in short, for reaping the fruits of the labour of that Commission. It must be remembered that Lord Melbourne's Bill of 1837 for this purpose failed, and was withdrawn on account of the opposition which it met with from the General Assembly, that is to say, from the united Church of the whole country; but now the Church was no longer united, and no such consoli-

dated opposition had to be encountered. Whatever good or harm the Disruption may otherwise have done, it certainly assisted the introduction of reform for the Universities of Scotland.

Henceforward there was a growing desire in the more enlightened minds of the Scottish nation for the improvement of their Universities, and this was stimulated by the appointment in 1852 of Parliamentary Commissions to deal with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. An "Association for the improvement and extension of Scottish Universities" was formed, and some influential public meetings were held in Edinburgh. The Association aimed at strengthening the hands of Professors, providing tutors, raising the standard of degree examinations, and giving Graduates some connection with their University. Such was the modest programme announced at one of their meetings. The Association at the same time protested that they had no intention whatever of depriving the Town Council of Edinburgh of their patronage. In April 1857 a deputation from this Association waited on the Lord Advocate (Moncreiff), who received them favourably, and promised to bring in a Bill. He proceeded accordingly to draft one, but circumstances prevented its being introduced during the session of 1857, the year of the Indian Mutiny, and at the end of the year the Liberal party went out of office.

The honour, then, of bringing in a "Bill to make provision for the better Government and Discipline

of the Universities of Scotland" fell to the lot of the Lord Advocate of the succeeding Government, Mr. Inglis, now the Lord Justice General of Scotland. He obtained the draft Bill of his predecessor, which had limited itself to the appointment of an Executive Commission, and modified it by the introduction of clauses definitely prescribing the future constitution of the Universities. On the 22d April 1858 he brought this Bill before the House of Commons. In moving it he is reported to have said, *inter alia*, that "the Scotch Universities had lost sight of their proper objects; and their educational establishments had descended below the requirements of the age. That which appeared to him to lie at the root of the existing evil was the want of value which was attached to the degrees in Arts. Any measure, therefore, which should have the effect of enhancing the value of those degrees, and of creating an intelligent body of Graduates, would prove very advantageous." "There was nothing novel in the Bill which he proposed to introduce. It was founded to a great extent upon the Report of a Commission which had been presented to Parliament so far back as 1830." "He should further state that in framing his measure he had been under great obligations to his honourable and learned friend the Member for Leith (Mr. Moncreiff), who, having had himself a measure on the subject in preparation, had furnished him with his materials and the sketch of his plan."

The first step which the Lord Advocate would propose, in order to enhance the value of a degree

in Arts, would be to confer upon the Graduates a certain share in the administration of University affairs. By this means it would be possible to improve the standard of qualifications for a degree without discouraging "occasional students," who went to the Universities for special purposes, not intending to graduate. This first principle of the Bill—the foundation of University Councils—was to be applicable to all the Universities alike.

His second proposal was borrowed from the report of 1830, namely, the introduction of a "University Board," or, as it ultimately was called, a "University Court," for each University. This was based on the impropriety of University matters being entirely decided by Professors, whose interests were very often antagonistic among themselves, or who might be, as a body, in a position of antagonism to the Students. These considerations applied only to the three Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. But the Lord Advocate added with regard to the Town Council of Edinburgh that "he would venture to say that they were a body not better qualified for the purpose of administering the whole power of a University than the governing bodies of the other Universities." He proposed, then, the institution of a Board, consisting of a Rector, the Principal, and a certain number of Assessors, to control the administration of University property and revenues, regulate and alter from time to time the course of studies, and generally supervise.

The third proposal was to increase by Parlia-

mentary grant the Professors' stipends, and to create some new Chairs, for which a vote of £10,000 per annum was to be moved. The Treasury was also to provide pensions for superannuated or infirm Professors.

Fourthly, Mr. Inglis proposed to provide "Tutors or Assessors" ("Assistants," they are now called) for the Professors.

Fifthly, he proposed the appointment of an Executive Commission to carry out the details of the Bill.

Sixthly, he inserted clauses providing for the amalgamation of the two Universities of Aberdeen.

In accordance with the report of 1830, he proposed no alteration in the patronage of the University of Edinburgh. Even, however, if the appointments of Professors and Principals had been left in the hands of the Town Council of Edinburgh, still a great deal of power would be taken from them; the Executive Commission would entirely ignore their existence in ordaining the future arrangements of the University, and when this Commission should have done its work, the administration and government of the University for all time coming would be transferred to the Senatus Academicus under control of the University Court. Accordingly, Mr. Adam Black, Member for the City of Edinburgh, opposed the second reading of the Bill. He urged, not untruly, that "however anomalous it may appear in theory, it has been found in practice not only that a corporation of tradesmen are competent to manage

a University, but that, in fact, the University of Edinburgh, of which the Town Council are patrons, has been the best managed of all the Scottish Universities." But he made some fallacious statements about the revenues of the University, maintaining that it had always been entirely supported by the municipality. He thus ignored the royal endowments, the private benefactions which the City had held in trust for the University, amounting to £13,000 or £14,000, and the sum of more than £150,000, the cost of the new University buildings, of which £30,000 had come from private liberality and £120,000 from Government. He ended by declaring: "Some are of opinion that all that is wanted to provide for the deficiencies of the Universities is money, but for myself I would say 'Perish the money, but may the honour and independence of the University flourish.'" As though the honour and independence of the University of Edinburgh required that it should be governed by the Town Council.

But such a protest as this, if not entirely reasonable, was not surprising, as the Town Council naturally clung to the anomalous powers which had been thrust upon them in the sixteenth century, and to their connection with the great University which, after all, they had created.

The debate on the Bill showed a remarkable unanimity in its favour on the part of all the Scotch representatives. There were only two points on which any opposition was made to the proposals of



the Lord Advocate. The two Members for Edinburgh wished to preserve the government of their University in the hands of the Town Council, and the Member for Aberdeen opposed the amalgamation, not of the two Aberdeen Universities, but of King's and Marischall Colleges. The point raised was that while there was to be only one University for Old and New Aberdeen, and only one Faculty in Medicine, Law, and Divinity, a double Faculty in Arts should be left existing for the convenience of residents in the two towns.

The only objections, therefore, which were brought against the Bill arose out of local interests. Into the Aberdeen question we need not enter here; but, with regard to the claims of the Edinburgh Town Council, there were two considerations which transpired during the debate: *first*, the Town Council had, down to 1830, been a close, self-electing corporation, and, however objectionable in some respects such a body might be, it was perhaps better qualified for the government of a University than the popularly-elected Council introduced by the Municipal Reform Bill, subject to pressure from the constituencies of the different wards; *second*, the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 had split up the Town Council of Edinburgh, as it had other communities throughout the country. The speech of an Edinburgh Bailie was quoted to the House of Commons, in which he said that "sectarian jealousies had crept into the management of the University to such an extent that the towns-

people had become disgusted, and would not rally round their municipal representatives in defence of their just rights."

A "corporation of tradesmen" with unbiassed minds might succeed in governing a University aright, but this could hardly be expected of a "corporation of tradesmen" severally inflamed by sectarian jealousies, and each of them responsible to a constituency actuated by similar passions. The Town Council of 1858 were not such a serene body as the Council over which George Drummond had presided a hundred years before.

Thus the Disruption influenced the debate in the House of Commons, and it was the cause of an important amendment being moved by Mr. Dunlop—then Member for Greenock, and one of the leaders of the Free Kirk—to the effect that the office of Principal in the Scotch Universities should no longer be considered an ecclesiastical office attached to the Church of Scotland, but should be opened to laymen and members of any Church. This amendment, though opposed by the Government, was carried against them by a majority of 82 to 58. And as a result of it, in the very next year, 1859, Sir David Brewster, a layman and a member of the Free Church, was appointed Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

Another essential amendment upon the Lord Advocate's Bill was carried, in accordance with what was evidently the general sense of the House of Commons. The Lord Advocate, as has been

mentioned, was disposed to acquiesce in the recommendation of the Commission of 1826-30, and leave the patronage of Professorships in Edinburgh in the hands of the Town Council. But since 1830 a great deal of discussion on this very subject had taken place. A Commission appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations of Scotland had zealously gone into the question, and had, in 1835, submitted a very strong and rather one-sided Report, unfavourable to the fitness of the Town Council for the administration of such patronage. And the occurrences of 1843 had certainly introduced new matter for consideration. Mr. Bouverie (Member for Kilmarnock) moved an amendment which would have entirely transferred the patronage from the hands of the Town Council to those of the University Court. This extreme measure was, however, deprecated, and the House ultimately adopted a compromise proposed by Sir William Dunbar (Wigtown Burghs), to the effect that there should be seven Curators for the administration of patronage in the University of Edinburgh, four of whom should be nominated by the Town Council, and three by the University Court. This arrangement, while it secured to the Town Council a preponderating influence in future University appointments, at the same time removed what had been felt to be an impropriety, that is to say, that the candidates for scientific and literary offices should be under the necessity of canvassing the thirty-three representatives of the different City Wards. The Board of Curators, as

constituted by the Amendment, corresponded, or might be made to correspond very nearly with what Sir William Hamilton, in his philosophical disquisitions on University reform, had concluded to be the best possible body for the administration of University patronage, namely, a select number of sufficiently intelligent persons holding a position external to the University.

With a few other improvements, such as entrusting the election of the Rector for the University of Edinburgh to the Students, and that of the Chancellor to the Graduates or General Council of the University, the Bill was now accepted with universal eulogiums on the Lord Advocate for the ability with which it had been framed and carried through. Before, however, the Bill left the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone, by the weight of his authority, succeeded in introducing into it a permissive clause, by which the four Universities of Scotland would be empowered severally to abrogate their individual existence as Universities, and turn themselves into "Colleges, under a central University, which would be the examining body for Scotland." The alleged object of this proposal was to stimulate teaching and study in each of the four Academical seats by means of an external examining Board similar, probably, to that of the London University. It was pointed out in the House of Lords that such an innovation would amount to "suppression of ancient corporations—the only links almost which connected Scotland of bygone times with

Scotland of the present," and that "it was not at all clear that the Scheme would tend to benefit the cause of education in Scotland." But, as the clause was merely a permissive one, and as it was felt that no one in authority in connection with either of the four Universities would have the slightest inclination to take advantage of it, it was allowed to pass without discussion, and it accordingly stands as part of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858.

In other points the Peers did not leave the Bill, when it came to them, without alteration. They resolved to strike out Mr. Dunlop's clause, and to retain the office of Principal in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen as clerical appointments for members of the Church of Scotland. They also introduced words which would associate Professors with Students in the election of the Rector. When the Bill returned to the Commons with these amendments Mr. Inglis was no longer in his former place to give his opinion with regard to them, as he had been in the meantime removed from Parliament, to the great regret of both Houses, by promotion to the Bench. But the other Scotch Members were firm in adhering to their former views as to the office of Principal, and it was pointed out that "to make Professors co-electors of the Rector with their Students, would place them in a position hurtful to their dignity and influence." The Lords' amendments were rejected by the House of Commons without a division, and the Upper House, rather than lose the Bill, agreed

to abandon them. The Universities (Scotland) Bill was then passed, and on the 2d August 1858 it received the Royal assent, and became law.

The first thirteen sections of the Act prescribed the future constitution of the Universities of Scotland, as above indicated (see p. 92). The fourteenth section nominated and appointed an Executive Commission to carry out the views of the Act into detail, and to frame Ordinances for the regulation of the revenues, studies, degree-systems, elections of officers, and all other important features in the life of the four Universities. Of course everything depended on the *personnel* of this Commission, to which such wide powers were entrusted.

The Commissioners, though their decisions were subject to the review of Parliament and appeals to the Privy Council, might evidently do much either to make or mar the Universities. As it turned out, they acted with the greatest wisdom and sagacity, and also with great energy, and they produced a system under which the Universities of Scotland, and especially the University of Edinburgh, sprang into new life and development.

The Commissioners named and appointed by the Act were—the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Aberdeen, Earl Stanhope, the Earl of Mansfield, the Lord Justice General (Duncan M'Neill), Sir William Gibson-Craig, the Lord Justice Clerk (Inglis), Lord Ardmillan, William Stirling of Keir (afterwards Sir William Stirling-Maxwell), the Dean of Faculty (afterwards Lord Moncreiff), Alexander Hastie,

M.P., and Alexander Murray Dunlop, M.P. The Commissioners held their first meeting on the 27th August 1858, and immediately proceeded to elect the Lord Justice Clerk (Inglis), the author of the Act, to be permanent Chairman of the Commission. "Athenian Aberdeen" was the only person who was Member of both the Commissions,—1826 and 1858,—and he evinced great interest in the work now to be done, corresponding with his colleagues frequently in regard to it; but he was unable, from infirm health, to attend any of their meetings, and he died before their labours were completed. Lord Stanhope, finding it inconvenient to come to Edinburgh,—where the meetings were held at 36 Moray Place,—resigned his Commissionership, and the Earl of Haddington was appointed to supply his place. The Commission continued in office more than four years, till the 20th December 1862. During that time they held one hundred and twenty-six meetings, at every one of which, without missing a single occasion, the Lord Justice Clerk presided. He was, in fact, the soul of the Commission, and the excellent Ordinances which resulted from their labours may be regarded as especially the product of his judgment, and of his untiring attention to the mass of details with which the Commission had to deal. Several of the other Members, particularly those resident in Edinburgh, were more or less assiduous in attendance. And great praise was acknowledged to be due to the lucid ability of Mr. Robert Berry, Advocate, now

Professor of Laws in the University of Glasgow, who acted as Secretary to the Commission.

With the Universities Act passed, and with such a Commission sitting to carry it out, the Senatus Academicus of Edinburgh must have felt a sense of relief from all their troubles; they must have felt that they were at last entering into the Promised Land. It is no wonder that in December 1858 they sent diplomas conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on the Lord Justice Clerk (Inglis) and the Dean of Faculty (Moncreiff), in gratitude to these gentlemen for their services in bringing about this consummation. The Act, however, could not at once come into operation; the Commission ordained that it should do so from and after the 15th October 1859. And they issued rules for the first and subsequent meetings of the University General Council, and for the election of the Rector and the Chancellor. In the meantime the Principalship became vacant by the death of Dr. Lee, and so it curiously happened that the Town Council were able to exercise their powers of patronage for the last time, on the 28th October 1859, that is to say, after the Act depriving them of those powers had come into force. For the Board of Curators, who were to supersede the Town Council, had not come into existence, and could not do so because the formation of the Board required the previous existence of a University Court, comprising a Rector, a Rector's Assessor, a Chancellor's Assessor, an Assessor appointed by the General Council, and the Principal



himself ; as yet neither Rector nor Chancellor existed,—the latter had to be elected by the General Council, at the first meeting of which a Principal ought to preside. So the Town Council issued their last Commission, and in so doing they did not belie their traditions as enlightened patrons, for they appointed Sir David Brewster, the most eminent man of science in Scotland, to the Principalship. Perhaps, however, it was fortunate that Sir David's ecclesiastical principles coincided with those of the majority in the Town Council, he being a Free Churchman. Oddly enough the usual clause was put into his Commission, binding him to obey "all regulations made or to be made" by the Town Council, though the power of making any such regulations had now passed from them.

It had been one of the chief objects of the Act to institute a "General Council" in each of the Universities, so as to give certain powers to Graduates, and to incorporate them into their own Universities. But Arts graduation had fallen out of fashion, and graduation in Laws or Divinity had not yet been introduced, so that, if the new General Councils were to consist of Graduates alone, they would, in all the Universities except that of Aberdeen, have consisted almost entirely of Doctors of Medicine. To obviate this an indulgence was granted at the outset, and the Commissioners were empowered to admit to registration in the General Councils persons who should have given regular attendance as matriculated Students for four com-

plete sessions,—at least two of these sessions having been devoted to studies in the Faculty of Arts. The Commissioners were a good deal occupied with investigating the claims of applicants for registration under this clause. Out of 1964 persons who applied to be made Members of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh the Commissioners admitted altogether 1862.

The General Council having been thus constituted, the first duty performed by Sir David Brewster after his appointment as Principal was to preside over its first meeting, which, since the University of Edinburgh possessed no Academical Hall of Assembly, was convened in a hired concert-room, called the "Music Hall," on the last Friday of October 1859.<sup>1</sup> Here a number of Graduates, who under the old system had by their graduation only been *disconnected* with the University, and a crowd of others, who, without having graduated, carried about the results and the recollections of early years spent in attending the University classes (altogether 1075 persons), met to perform the corporate and novel function of electing a Chancellor for the University of Edinburgh. There must have been in that Assembly some sense that they were living in the dawn of a new day. The Council on that occasion showed themselves alive to the great

<sup>1</sup> At the close of the meeting the Lord Provost moved that a Committee of gentlemen be appointed to take steps for providing the University with a Hall. It was easy to appoint the Committee, but at the present day, twenty-four years later, the University is still soliciting a Hall.

principle that in all elections, even for Academical offices, if a Whig is proposed a Tory should be set up against him, and *vice versa*. This principle has always been subsequently observed in the elections for Chancellor or Rector in the University of Edinburgh, but it has by no means been the case that the votes have all been given or the elections determined on grounds of party politics. In October 1859, Lord Brougham having been proposed for Chancellor, His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch was put up as an opposing candidate by the Tories. In all probability there was a majority of Whigs in the Council; but, independently of this, Brougham's reputation for a *quasi*-omniscience in scientific matters gave him a great claim to election as the head of a University, and he was elected accordingly.

On the 12th November 1859 the second act in the new order of things took place, the Students being called upon to elect a Rector, or, as he is called by courtesy, a "Lord Rector," for the University. The polling was conducted in the class-rooms, and the Students, divided alphabetically,<sup>1</sup> recorded their votes, which were taken by the Professors in an hour or two. The candidates proposed were Mr. Gladstone (then a Whig) and Lord Neaves, a Judge, a wit, and a most accomplished man of letters (Tory). Whatever may have been the distribution of political votes on this occasion, there could be no compari-

<sup>1</sup> When the Students of the University of Edinburgh were thus for the first time enfranchised, they were not divided, according to the mediæval system which still prevailed at St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, into "nations."

son between the public eminence of the two candidates, and this probably decided the election. The number of Students was low at the time ; only 1170 voted, of whom 643 were for Mr. Gladstone, and 527 for Lord Neaves. Mr. Gladstone thus became the first elected Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup>

The formation of the University Court soon followed ; this body was to consist of the Lord Rector and his Assessor, the Chancellor's Assessor, the Principal, the Lord Provost, and the Town Council's Assessor, the University Council's Assessor, and an Assessor to be elected by the *Senatus Academicus*.

The Assessors nominated were as follows :—

By Lord Brougham, Sir John Melville.<sup>2</sup>

By Mr. Gladstone, Dr. John Brown.<sup>3</sup>

By the Town Council, Bailie Grieve.

By the University Council, Mr. Edward Maitland.<sup>4</sup>

By the *Senatus Academicus*, Professor (afterwards Sir Robert) Christison.

These five persons, together with Mr. Gladstone, Sir David Brewster, and the Lord Provost (Francis Brown Douglas), constituted a Court whose func-

<sup>1</sup> We have seen above that previous to 1858 the Lord Provost was *ex officio* Rector of the College of James VI. (p. 32, and Vol. I. p. 211).

<sup>2</sup> Ex-Lord Provost of Edinburgh, after whom the "Melville Drive" round the Meadows is named ; an able man, and a leading member of the Whig party in Edinburgh.

<sup>3</sup> The kindly humourist, and by all beloved author of *Rab and his Friends*.

<sup>4</sup> Solicitor-General, afterwards Lord Barcaple.

tions were to revise, on appeal, the acts of the Senatus, to sanction the expenditure by the Senatus of University funds, and generally to take a supervision of the Professors. After the Ordinances of the Commissioners should have become law this Court would be the sole body having power, with the consent of the Chancellor and of the Privy Council, to change those Ordinances. In the meantime, while the Commissioners continued to sit, many of the functions proper to the University Court were performed by them. And as, by an omission, the Universities Act had not transferred the buildings and other property of the University to the Senatus, these continued for two years more to be administered by the Town Council, until at last in 1861 another Act effected the transference.

Before the end of 1859 the University's new constitution was completed by the appointment of a Curatorial Board for the administration of the patronage of the University, formerly in the hands of the Town Council. It had been arranged that this Board should consist of seven persons, four to be appointed by the Town Council, and three by the University Court. Accordingly Bailie Johnston, and Councillors Fyfe, Peat, and Mood were appointed to be Curators by the Town Council, and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. E. Maitland (afterwards Lord Barcaple), and Mr. David Mure, M.P. (now Lord Mure) by the University Court. The first appointment made by this body was in May 1860, when they appointed Mr. P. Guthrie Tait to be Professor of Natural Philosophy,

in room of Professor Jas. D. Forbes, who had migrated to St. Andrews.

The general framework of the machine having been prepared for future working, the Commissioners had now to legislate upon the details which had been entrusted to them, and more especially to regulate studies and graduation, and the distribution among the Universities of the Parliamentary grant. They began with the subject of Medical graduation, a subject most important for the University of Edinburgh, and which had hitherto been found to be productive of "burning questions." By the end of July 1859 the Commissioners had completed a draft of revised Medical regulations for Edinburgh, which they sent to the Senatus for their consideration. The reply consisted in a deputation of Professors, who waited on them to represent "the difficult and anomalous position in which these altered statutes will place the University." The Commissioners, however, could not be persuaded that any danger was to be apprehended from their proposed regulations for degrees in Medicine, which they embodied in an Ordinance (called Ordinance No. 5), and published in the *Edinburgh Gazette*. "Ordinance No. 5" was in effect merely a modification of the *Statuta Solennia* adopted by the Senatus in 1833 (see Vol. I. p. 333); it prescribed a preliminary examination in subjects of general education, the amount of attendance necessary on the different departments of Medical science, and the different professional examinations to be passed. Its chief feature was that it subdivided

the examinations to a greater extent than had before been done, and made them more practical. The examinations in Scientific subjects were to be "as far as possible by demonstrations of objects placed before the candidates; and those on Medicine and Surgery in part by Clinical demonstrations in the hospital." A Thesis was still to be required from each candidate. On the whole, it is difficult to see what the Senatus found objectionable in this Ordinance. It did not, however, become law immediately; time was left for the hearing of all that could be said against it, and the result of much discussion was that the Commissioners themselves changed their mind on the subject, not at all in the direction of making concessions to the views of the deputation, but as adopting an improvement upon their original plan. In March 1860 they produced "Ordinance No. 8 for Degrees in Medicine, supplementary to Ordinance No. 5." Hitherto they had spoken of "a degree in Medicine," as if the old custom were to be followed, according to which the University of Edinburgh gave only one degree, that of Doctor of Medicine. They now divided Medical degrees into three classes: Bachelor of Medicine (M.B.), Master in Surgery (C.M.), and Doctor of Medicine (M.D.). All the examinations prescribed in Ordinance 5 were now said to be applicable only to the two lower degrees, whereas the degree of M.D. was to be obtainable without further Medical examination by a Bachelor of Medicine of two years' standing, not less than twenty-four years of age, and who

had shown himself to know Greek and either Logic or Moral Philosophy, and who had passed in at least one of the following subjects, viz. :— French, German, Higher Mathematics, or Natural Philosophy. The Commissioners' idea, then, of a Doctor of Medicine was that he should be a qualified Medical practitioner of some little standing, and with more general cultivation than the majority of his class.

This new arrangement evoked opposition from the Medical Corporations of Great Britain (among which were the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of Edinburgh) who wished to prevent degrees in Surgery being granted by the Universities. Their opposition was really of a very selfish character ; it was an attempt to stamp University degrees as an insufficient qualification for general Medical practice, which they would have been under the terms of the Medical Act of 1858, if the Universities, though examining their Students in Surgery as well as Medicine, gave them nominally only a degree in Medicine. The Corporations were heard on the subject before the Privy Council, but their representations were set aside.

On the other hand, another clause in Ordinance 8 produced an expression on the part of the Senatus of their jealousy of the extra-mural teachers. To the extent of one year's attendance, or of four of the departments of Medical study, "the lectures of such Teachers of Medicine in Edinburgh, or elsewhere," as should be "recognised by the University Court," were to reckon as part of a Student's regular course.



This was the old point on which the Senatus had fought the Town Council through the Courts of Law and in the House of Lords. In April 1860 they adopted a "protest" against the regulation. The same thing had indeed been forced upon them by the Town Council, and they had lived under the system for five years. But from other causes this had been a time of depression in the University Medical School, so they attributed bad effects to a rule which in all probability had been rather beneficial to them than otherwise. Professor Syme dissented on this occasion from their protest as "opposed to the spirit of the age," and because "efficient Professors need not fear the recognition of four extra-mural classes." The protest had no effect, Ordinances 5 and 8 being confirmed by Her Majesty in February 1861. It may be mentioned here that in 1866, after the Commission had expired, an improvement was made in these Ordinances by the University Court, with the sanction of the Chancellor of the University and of the Privy Council. It was laid down that Theses should no longer be demanded from candidates for the lower degrees of M.B. and C.M., and, on the other hand, that the degree of M.D. was not to be conferred on persons not showing any evidence of Medical study after leaving the University, but that every candidate for the M.D. degree must submit a Thesis on "some branch of medical knowledge, which he may have made a subject of study" since graduating as M.B. With this and other slight modifications the

Ordinances have continued in force, and under them the number of the Medical Students in the University has increased from about 500 as in those days, to over 1700, and the number of Medical Graduates from 62 in 1859 to an average of at least 150 per annum at the present time.

The Commissioners next proceeded to legislate for graduation in Arts, and in doing so they proceeded cautiously. They adopted scarcely any of the recommendations of the Royal Commission (1826-30), and indeed they exhibited a contrast to that Commission such as will naturally emerge between a body of men whose function is to give opinions, and another body who have the responsibility of taking action. The Commissioners of 1858 paid no attention to the recommendation that there should be a compulsory Entrance Examination, for all "public students," in Greek and Elementary Mathematics; they contented themselves with instituting a Voluntary Examination in Classics and Mathematics which Students might pass at entrance, and so shorten their curriculum to three years by escaping attendance on the junior classes, while all other candidates for an Arts degree would have a four years' course. The Commissioners supplemented this provision by another very judicious one, namely, that "no Student should be permitted to pass from the junior to a higher class in any department unless the Professor should be satisfied of his fitness to enter the higher class." This was in accordance with the opinion

expressed on a former occasion by some of the most able of the Professors (see above, p. 80), that a strict examination for passing from the junior to the senior classes in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics would be more useful to the University than an examination for entrance into the junior classes. It would, however, have been better had the Commissioners ordained that a regular examination should be held for promotion into the upper classes, instead of leaving it to each Professor to pronounce that he was not "satisfied of the fitness" of such and such Students to go on to his senior class. This would be an invidious thing to do, and Professors might apprehend that Students thus pronounced to be incompetent would resent the stigma and leave the University; whereas if an annual examination for promotion had been ordained for all the Scotch Universities, there would have been no feeling of individual hardship. As it is, the provision has really been a dead letter, and every year Students find their way into the senior classes who ought still to be among the juniors, or perhaps even at school.

We have seen (p. 45) that the Commission of 1826 proposed that there should be two degrees in Arts: that of Bachelor of Arts, attainable after a full curriculum, and that of Master of Arts, attainable a year later, after studies in Science and the exhibition of high special attainments in Literature. The *Senatus Academicus*, as a quite late innovation, did introduce of their own authority, in 1842, a B.A.

degree, but it was very different from what the Royal Commission had intended. Instead of being a degree after a full curriculum, and in fact the old M.A. degree under a different name, the degree instituted by the Senatus was the old M.A. *minus* some of its subjects ; it was thus a mutilated M.A. degree, and a concession to the want of zeal in the Students of those days. From 1843 to 1858 from half-a-dozen to a dozen B.A. degrees were conferred each year by the University of Edinburgh. Some of the recipients went on to graduate afterwards as M.A., but the majority did not do so.

The Commissioners of 1858 proceeded to knock on the head both the ambitious proposals of the Royal Commission, and the inferior form of degree introduced by the Senatus. They ordained that there should be one degree only, namely, the old M.A. of the Scottish Universities. They at the same time very properly forbade the conferring of honorary M.A. degrees, which had been frequently practised in the University of Edinburgh since the middle of the eighteenth century (see above, Vol. I. p. 265). It was a bold measure on the part of the Commissioners to cut off the existing B.A. degree, but it had not been a great success, and the Commissioners probably considered that no degree ought to be conferred by a University except for a complete course of study.

The question now was, What was to be considered a complete course of study for the M.A. degree in the Universities of Scotland ? The Commissioners

were very conservative on this point ; they could not find it in their hearts to dispense with any of the seven subjects of the time-honoured Arts curriculum—Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric ; so much might be said for each of them. Nor could they see their way to adding much to this list, as the burden would then have been too great. They contented themselves with adding on English Literature to the seventh compulsory subject ; and they made it permissive to the University Courts to require Natural History or Botany also from the candidates for an Arts degree. But this in the case of Edinburgh was never done. The Commissioners divided the Arts course into three departments—(1) Classics ; (2) Mathematics, including Natural Philosophy ; (3) Mental Science and English Literature. In each department they ordained that there should be an additional examiner besides the Professors of the different subjects, so that the candidates would not be entirely examined by their own teachers.

The Commissioners appointed that, instead of one examination for the degree at the end of a Student's course, examinations in each of the departments might be passed separately. Thus a Student who had qualified himself for a three years' course might at the end of his first year pass his examination in Classics and be done with them ; at the end of his second year pass in Mathematics ; and at the end of his third year have only Logic, Moral Philo-

sophy, and English Literature to get through. The reason which the Commissioners gave for this arrangement was perhaps not very happy; they said that they thought that "the best security for a lasting acquaintance with each subject is the thorough and accurate study which the division of examinations prescribed in the Ordinance is calculated to insure." Really to study a subject for one year, for the purposes of an examination, and then to dismiss it from the mind and take up another subject in the same way, partakes of the nature of "cram," and is a system far from likely to secure permanent acquaintance with or fondness for any one subject. The object of University teaching is that the mind should be thoroughly imbued, moulded, and changed by familiarity with one or more of the branches of the higher learning. And anything like temporary acquirement of a subject for the purposes of examination should as far as possible, though this is very difficult, be eschewed.

But it must be remembered that the Commissioners had peculiar materials to deal with, owing to the imperfect character of the Schools from which the majority of Students would come to the Universities of Scotland. In England a large number of young men annually joined the Universities who were already fair classical scholars, and were possessed of a good deal of general culture—the result of desultory reading, mixing in society, and a certain amount of travel, at home if not abroad. Therefore it was natural in Oxford and Cambridge to begin

from this starting-point, and to provide specialised courses—schools and triposes in Modern History, Natural Science, and other branches, in addition to a complete bifurcation of Classics from Mathematics. But in Scotland of yore the Student frequently brought to the University no such previous general education; with “little Latin, and less Greek,” and only the experiences of his native parish, he had everything to learn. Therefore the Commissioners were perhaps right in those days in providing, under the guise of a degree-system, a general culture for Arts Students. This is, at all events, what they did; they secured that each M.A. should have been initiated and made some progress in each of the seven subjects prescribed. Had they ordained the final degree examination to include all these subjects, probably Students would have found the burden too great,—they could not have brought all the subjects up. Hence the device resorted to, which, while beneficial in one way, has, on the other hand, tended to prevent the development of high special attainments, either Classical or Mathematical, in the University of Edinburgh.

But the Commissioners had another object in view, namely, to revive the custom of graduating in Arts, which had fallen into abeyance in the latter half of the eighteenth century. About the second decade of the nineteenth century a change began to take place in the public mind, and a certain amount of desire for the M.A. degree began to manifest

itself, as we see from the increased numbers of Graduates annually recorded in the lists. But the degree had now come to be conferred without examination on the recommendation of the Faculty of Arts. The discussion of University matters, to which the events related in the last chapter partly gave rise, and the appointment of the Commission of 1826, doubtless stimulated an interest in the Arts degree, and in the year 1828 we find the comparatively large number of twenty-two graduations in Arts recorded; but we have already seen (above, p. 39) that three of these degrees were awarded to Students without examination, as a prize to them for having each composed a good English Essay, and probably the rest of the degrees were more or less loosely conferred. In 1835, however, the Faculty of Arts, chiefly at the instance of Professor J. D. Forbes, seem to have taken the matter into their own hands, and to have laid down pretty strict rules, on which they acted henceforth, that degrees were not to be conferred without an examination in each of the seven subjects of the curriculum. The result of the stricter system adopted by them, which restrained, as we may suppose, to some extent the then nascent desire for the M.A. degree, was that in the twenty years ending with 1863 (after which the Ordinances of the Commissioners were in force) 250 such degrees were conferred, or, on an average, rather more than 12 per annum.

The Act of 1858 held out a substantial inducement to graduate. The Master of Arts would be



entitled not only to affix certain letters to his name, but also to become a Member of the General University Council, to take part in its debates, and to vote in the election of the Chancellor, of an Assessor to sit in the University Court, and ultimately of a Parliamentary Representative of the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. The Commissioners had not put any formidable obstacle in the way of obtaining these privileges. Any Student of intelligence, though beginning at zero, might, by reasonable diligence during a four years' course, arrive at the degree. Still, reasonable diligence, and a certain amount of regular drill under the Professors and their Assistants, would certainly be necessary. And it has been remarked that one of the first results of Ordinance No. 14 was to diminish the proportion of idlers in the Arts classes. For instance, it is stated by the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics that, whereas formerly only about one half of his class took part in the examinations and other class-work, more than eighty per cent do so now. Of course example is contagious, and a spirit of work diffuses itself as well as a spirit of idleness. And the result of the new spirit of work in the University, under the inducements offered, has been that, in the twenty years beginning with 1863, 1400 M.A. degrees have been conferred, as against 250 in the twenty years preceding; thus the average number of Arts degrees has risen from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 70 per annum.

The number of Students has indeed been steadily

going up with the wave of prosperity which the Commission of 1858 set in motion, but not sufficiently so to account for the increase of degrees. In the twenty years before 1863 there were altogether 11,873 matriculations in the Arts Faculty, and degrees were to matriculations as about one to forty-seven; in the twenty following years there have been 15,892 similar matriculations, to which the degrees have been as about one to eleven. Matriculations, however, are not synonymous with "persons matriculating," as the same person may matriculate two, three, four, or five years consecutively. Perhaps out of the whole number of Students joining the Arts Faculty the average length of attendance of each Student at the University did not exceed two years. Thus the proportion of Arts Students graduating would be, up to the present day, about one to five or six. This proportion may seem inadequate, but several peculiar circumstances have to be borne in mind. According to the tradition of the Scottish Universities, a considerable number of Students matriculate in the Arts Faculty who are, so to speak, not Academical Students at all; they do not come with a view to graduation; they perhaps cannot afford the time, or the money, for a four or even a three years' course; it suits them to attend a few classes, and it is an advantage to them on leaving School to be under Professorial teaching for a year or it may be two; perhaps they take only English Literature and the classes in Philosophy; perhaps they take Chemistry

in conjunction with Mathematics, or some other combination outside the Arts curriculum. Such Students are not University failures, nor do they prove any failure in the degree-system ; they take what they or their friends think most useful for them in reference to professional objects. This “non-Academical” class of Students has always been relatively smallest in Aberdeen, and largest in Glasgow ; in Edinburgh it would be seen to be decreasing were it not that its number is swelled by those who, while only attending the class, say of Agriculture, or one of the recently-established classes of Geology, Engineering, Political Economy, Fine Art, Sanskrit, or the Theory of Education, are all enrolled as Students in the Faculty of Arts. Probably a degree-system offering some option in the choice of subjects, and bringing some of the Chairs just mentioned within the Arts curriculum, would have the effect of diminishing the proportion of non-graduating Students.

The Commissioners not only provided for a pass degree in Arts, but also for a degree with honours ; a candidate for the M.A. degree was allowed to offer himself to be specially examined in any one or more of the three departments—Classics, Mathematics, and Philosophy—or in Natural Science, which for the purpose of honours alone was added on to the curriculum. The result of this latter part of the Commissioners’ scheme does not seem to have been quite so successful as the former one. Out of the 1400 who have graduated under the Ordinance

during twenty years only 176 have taken honours, namely—

	Honours
In Classics—First Class . . . . .	35
"    Second Class . . . . .	22
In Mathematics and Experimental Physics—First Class . . . . .	23
"    "    "    Second Class . . . . .	19
In Philosophy—First Class . . . . .	34
"    Second Class . . . . .	34
In Natural Science (in which there is only one class) . . . . .	9
	<hr/> 176

On the whole, Ordinance 14 appears to have been more favourable to the discipline of the average Student, than to the increase of high culture or the development of genius. Probably the number of subjects which were made compulsory for the pass degree has in many cases prevented a Student with special proclivities for some one subject from distinguishing himself in it as much as he might otherwise have done. Thus the pass-degree system of the Commissioners was perhaps an obstacle to the success of their system for honours.

But there are indications that the University of Edinburgh has, during the period which commenced with 1863, been making progress not only in the drill of pass Students, but in the work of producing Students of a higher calibre, and that she has improved her position relatively to the other Universities of Scotland. One great test of this point is to be found in the award of the Ferguson<sup>1</sup> Scholarships,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ferguson, a wealthy Glasgow merchant, left a will "among the minor public legacies," in which was one of £50,000 "to, or for the benefit of, and among such charitable, educational, and benevolent institutions in Scotland," as his Trustees might select. After satisfy-

open annually, one in Classics, one in Mathematics, and one in Mental Science, to the Students of the four Universities. A report on the operation of these Scholarships during the twenty-one years since they were founded has recently been published by the Ferguson Trustees. This report says, comparing the Universities, "the greatest and most conspicuous progress has been made by Edinburgh, which, *while unrepresented in the first three years*, in the next eleven years took ten Scholarships, as against thirteen taken by Aberdeen and seven by Glasgow; and in the last seven years took twelve of the Scholarships as against four taken by Aberdeen and three by Glasgow. The principal difference, therefore, lies between Aberdeen and Edinburgh, between which the case stands thus: of thirty-eight Scholarships competed for in the period 1861-74, Aberdeen carried off forty-two per cent, and Edinburgh twenty-eight per cent; while of twenty-one

ing the claims of other institutions that came within these terms, the Trustees had about £13,000 or £14,000 unexpended, and they very wisely decided to apply this money for the benefit of the Universities, not in the way of bursaries to aid poor boys in commencing their career, but in Scholarships to reward high attainment in those who had completed their University course. Nothing was more wanted than something of this kind, as no such encouragement for the higher learning previously existed in Scotland. The Ferguson Scholarships were to be open to graduates of all the Scottish Universities. At first there were two each year, one in Classics and Mathematics, the other in Classics and Philosophy. But this was not found to work well, as the requirement of Classics in each case restricted the number of candidates. In 1864 the scheme now in use and above mentioned was adopted. The Scholarships are of only £80 a year each and are tenable for two years. But a Ferguson Scholarship is "the blue ribbon" for its own department in Scotland, and almost all the Ferguson Scholars have turned out distinguished men.

Scholarships competed for in the period 1875-81 Aberdeen took nineteen per cent and Edinburgh fifty-seven per cent." During the first three years of the competition Edinburgh did not gain a single Scholarship ; at the end of the whole period of twenty-one years the reckoning stands as follows :—

Scholarships in Mental Philosophy.	In Mathematics.	In Classics.	Total.
Edinburgh . . . 9	6	7	22
Aberdeen . . . 4	10	4	18
Glasgow . . . 4	3	3	10
St. Andrews . . 1	0	4	5

During two of the competitions (1866 and 1876) Edinburgh carried off all the three Scholarships, which none of the other Universities has ever done. The remarkable change of position between Aberdeen and Edinburgh in this great inter-University race is said by the Trustees to be attributable "to various causes, such as improvement in secondary education in the South, or improvement in the Southern University in respect to teaching and examining." No doubt both these causes were at work : we have already adverted to the improved spirit of work in Edinburgh under the Ordinances of the Commission, and the Professoriate of the Arts Faculty in Edinburgh has been stronger since 1863 than it ever was before. We shall show reason to believe that the Schools, too, have been sending better-prepared Students to this University than they used to do. But, besides all this, the Ferguson

Scholarship lists show that the University of Edinburgh has of late been fortunate in securing the attendance of several Students of exceptional ability. There is a good deal of luck in this sort of thing, for everything depends on the ability of the Student—it is he and not the Professor who has got to win the race. And it would seem a lottery as to which University the clever Student might go. But the University of Edinburgh has been in vogue of late, and the large preponderance of its Arts Students, in point of number, over those of Aberdeen or St. Andrews, gave it a better chance than they had of securing ability, just as he who has most tickets is likeliest to win the raffle. Glasgow has had more Arts Students than Edinburgh, but also far more of the “non-Academical” kind who could never think of competing for “the Ferguson.” On the whole, in this matter the University of Edinburgh has shown increased efficiency, accompanied also by good fortune.

The state of the Schools from which Students come to the University is important for the success of the Arts Faculty, but not perhaps as much affecting the chances of the Ferguson Scholarship, for a very able youth might come very unprepared, and yet at the end of four years might distance all his competitors in some one department of the Arts curriculum (see above, p. 50). But while unprepared genius may be no disadvantage to the University, unprepared mediocrity, especially in large numbers, is fatal to the Professorial system, for it turns the

Professor into a schoolmaster, and sets the race-horse to draw a cart.

The device of the Commissioners to stimulate the Schools to prepare Students for the University was to allow those entrants who should pass a moderate standard in Greek and Latin to graduate within three years, and those who should pass an examination in Elementary Mathematics to dispense with attendance on the junior Mathematical class. The result of this experiment shows that the number of those entering with some modest preparation is steadily on the increase. In the first ten years after this provision had been made only 170 passed the Classical examination for a three years' curriculum, and about 140 the Mathematical examination. In the subsequent ten years nearly 500 have passed the Classical, and about the same number the Mathematical examination. The examiners do not seem to have been very lenient to the candidates, since it appears that about twice as many were rejected as passed. This progressive improvement in the preparation of entrants to the University is quite solid, and is due to the excellent administration of the Merchant Company's Schools, to Fettes College, the High School, the Edinburgh Academy, the Ayr Academy, and a few other Schools. It remains to be seen whether the Endowments Commission, at present sitting, may not succeed in enabling every district in Scotland to send up Students at least moderately prepared to the Universities.

In arranging for degrees in Law the Commis-



sioners must have gone to work *con amore*. At all their meetings the legal element predominated, as fully half their number consisted of leading members of the College of Justice (the Lord Justice General, the Lord Justice Clerk, another Judge, the Lord Advocate, and another Advocate of eminence), while their Secretary was also an Advocate. No degrees in Law, except honorary ones, had probably been given by any of the Universities of Scotland since the Reformation, and certainly none by the University of Edinburgh, while in Edinburgh the Law School of the University was almost complete in its teaching apparatus, and was attended, at that time, by about 260 Students. So the Commissioners had a fair field for introducing graduation in Law, and they were determined to make a good thing of it. They took the advice of the Faculty of Advocates and other legal bodies in Scotland, and most carefully considered the various questions that arose. On the 12th July 1862 they produced Ordinance No. 75, in which were contained regulations based on the principle that there should be only one degree in Law attainable by examination, and that this degree was to be considered as a mark of academical, and not professional distinction, and therefore was to include a wider range of legal study, and imply higher attainments, than would be ordinarily required for professional purposes. The title of the degree was to be Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.), and it was to be open only to those who had previously graduated as M.A.

The Faculty of Advocates had advised that courses of International Law and of Constitutional Law should be made part of the necessary curriculum. And the Commissioners, acting upon this suggestion, revived the Chair of Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations, which had fallen into abeyance in 1832, and they changed the title and character of the Chair of "Universal Civil History and Antiquities" (see Vol. I. p. 287); they ordained this Chair, under the title of the Professorship of "History," to belong to the Faculty of Laws as well as to the Faculty of Arts, and they directed that the Professor should in each winter session deliver a course of forty lectures on Constitutional Law and Constitutional History.<sup>1</sup> They also formally attached the Professorship of Medical Jurisprudence to the Faculty of Laws as well as to that of Medicine. They then prescribed a curriculum of three years for the LL.B. degree in the following subjects:—(1) Civil Law; (2) Law of Scotland; (3) Conveyancing; (4) Public Law; (5) Constitutional Law and History; (6) Medical Jurisprudence. The examiners were to be the Professors of these six subjects, except in those Universities where the full complement of Chairs did not exist, and then a Professor

<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners by this procedure weakened the Faculty of Arts, while they strengthened that of Laws. For they diverted the attention of the Professor from Civil History, which is an Arts subject, to Constitutional Law and Constitutional History. However, unless Civil History could be made one of the qualifications for a degree in Arts, which the Commissioners did not see their way to, a Professorship of the subject would be sure to remain nearly useless. By their scheme the Commissioners turned the Chair to some account.

from some other University, or a Bachelor of Laws, was to be appointed examiner. In fact no University in Scotland, except that of Edinburgh, possessed all the requisite Chairs, so that every candidate for the LL.B. degree would have to come to Edinburgh for part of his course. The degree of Doctor of Laws was left, as heretofore, a purely honorary degree.

The degree of LL.B., seemingly so well devised, did not suit the circumstances of the Law Students, and was very sparingly sought by them; during the nine years after its establishment (1864-1872) only twenty-four persons, or less than three per annum, took the degree, and in 1873 no one at all. The reason of this was obvious; the great mass of the Students attending the Law classes were persons with strictly professional objects in view who had not previously graduated in Arts, and as the M.A. degree was a necessary preliminary to the degree in Law, as ordained by the Commissioners, almost all the Law Students were disqualified from taking it. And indeed there was no professional advantage offered by any department of the College of Justice to Bachelors of Laws which might induce Students to make an effort to obtain the degree. All this was taken into consideration in 1874 by the University authorities, and it was determined to institute a lower and more easily obtainable degree in Law. This was accordingly done by the University Court, with the sanction of the Chancellor (Lord Justice General Inglis) and of the Queen in Council. The

new degree was to be styled "Bachelor of Law" (B.L.), in distinction from the *Legum Baccalaureus* (LL.B.) The candidate for it was to be exempted from the requirement of graduating in Arts, provided that he attended one course of lectures in the Faculty of Arts, and passed a preliminary examination in (1) Latin; (2) either Greek, or French, or German; and (3) any two of the following subjects, namely, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Mathematics. The candidate was to attend lectures and pass an examination in Civil Law, Scots Law, and Conveyancing, and, at his own option, either Public Law, Constitutional History, or Medical Jurisprudence. Thus the B.L. degree—which under the Scottish Reform Act of 1868 would give a seat in the General Council and the University franchise—was offered after a two years' attendance at the University, instead of the six or seven years' attendance required for LL.B., and after an examination in four instead of six Law subjects. But even these concessions have proved insufficient. The number of Students attending the Law classes has gone on increasing since the days of the Commission, and in the session 1882-1883 there have been 489 Law Students enrolled, so that persons intended for the different branches of the legal profession find it worth their while to seek teaching in Law from the University, but they do not consider it profitable to graduate in Law. The minor degree of B.L. has only been taken during eight years by twenty-two persons, or less than three per annum. And the higher degree

of LL.B. remains at about the same average. The higher degree may indeed be stimulated in the future by a change in the rules of Arts graduation, making the Arts degree more accessible and attractive. The lower degree in Law can only be stimulated by professional inducements. Something in this direction was very nearly effected by the Law Agents' Act (1873), which reduced the years of apprenticeship for Writers in the case of any person who should have taken the B.L. degree; but unfortunately this inducement was neutralised by the offer of an alternative, giving the same privilege to any person who should have attended (without passing any examination) three classes in the Arts Faculty. And of course the latter, and far easier alternative is preferred.

Having now made regulations for degrees in Medicine, Arts, and Law, the Commissioners approached the subject of graduation in Divinity. Curiously enough they found themselves unable to deal with it. Thirty years earlier there would have been no difficulty about the matter, but the Disruption had intervened, and everything relating to ecclesiastical matters was a sore subject in Scotland. Proposals had been made as early as 1855 for the introduction of the degree of Bachelor of Divinity into the Universities of Scotland, and from that time till 1862 a good deal of discussion on the subject had taken place. The Test Act of 1853 had left the Divinity Faculties in all the Universities strictly denominational. Each Professor in those

Faculties must be a member of the Established Church of Scotland. It was then doubtful, to say the least, whether Free Churchmen or members of other Nonconformist Churches would accept the teaching of these Professors belonging to the Establishment. There was, in truth, no difference of doctrine between the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Church of Scotland; but there was a difference of ecclesiastical feeling which could not be got over. The Free Church and the United Presbyterians had already set up their own Divinity Halls, and the question now was whether the Universities should examine and confer degrees upon the Students of those Halls, or whether they should require candidates for degrees to accept the teaching which they (the Universities) offered. On this point there was a difference of opinion between the Universities themselves; Glasgow and Aberdeen took the more liberal view, while St. Andrews and Edinburgh held to the view that every candidate for a B.D. degree must have studied Theology for one year in the University in which he wished to graduate. There was doubtless also a difference of opinion among the Commissioners; they, like other bodies, found themselves divided into two sections on Church matters as a result of the Disruption. They concluded, therefore, that, "in a matter of acknowledged difficulty and delicacy," it would be better for them "to abstain from issuing an Ordinance which would interfere with the free action of the Universities themselves." In short,

they left the Universities to fight out the question as best they could.

The remaining arrangements which the Commissioners had to make for the University of Edinburgh were easily disposed of by them. Of the £10,000 a year to be voted by Parliament for the improvement of the four Scotch Universities, they allotted £3345 to Edinburgh, whereof £2405 was applied to augmenting the salaries of Professors, £540 for the payment of Examiners, and £400 for Class-Assistants. The Commission of 1858-62 supplied, so far as the means at their discretion would permit, that subsidy which the University of Edinburgh sorely needed, and which the Royal Commission of 1826-30 forgot even to ask for (see above, p. 47).

The Commissioners found the bursaries in Edinburgh comparatively few. Those that were petty in value they increased by the reduction of their number, and in some cases they altered the conditions which had been prescribed by the founders. They had also the agreeable duty of framing Ordinances for the regulation of several valuable new Scholarships, funds for which were presented to the University while the Commission was sitting. In fact, the new era of life which was now opening for the University of Edinburgh seemed to attract the interest and sympathy of the outside world. And a series of benefactions commenced soon after the passing of the Act of 1858 which has continued uninterruptedly to the present day. The most

important of the early benefactions was the presentation by Dr. John Muir<sup>1</sup> of £4000 (subsequently increased by him to £6965) towards the foundation of a Chair of Sanskrit in the University, for the regulation of which the Commissioners framed an Ordinance, allotting £200 a year from public funds towards the salary of the Professor.

For the administration of the valuable Library<sup>2</sup> of the University of Edinburgh, the Commissioners made a careful and judicious Ordinance. They confirmed the order of the Town Council (above, p. 83), by which Graduates were to be admitted to Library privileges; and they made various other rules which need not here be enumerated.

They had been directed to inquire and report "how far it might be practicable and expedient that a new University should be founded, to be a national University for Scotland." This was Mr. Gladstone's contribution to the Act of 1858 (above, p. 98). The four Universities of Scotland were to be asked severally whether they wished to efface themselves

<sup>1</sup> John Muir, D.C.L., LL.D. was one of the best friends the University of Edinburgh ever had. He was celebrated for his knowledge of Sanskrit, and in 1854 retired from the Indian Civil Service to devote his life to study and to the promotion of higher learning and of scientific theology. He was very generous and philanthropical. He not only founded the Sanskrit Chair, but also provided a course of lectures on the Science of Religion, which were delivered 1880-82 by the Rev. Principal Fairbairn. He was author of an important work in five volumes, entitled *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*. Also of a number of *Metrical Translations from the Sanskrit*. He died in 1882.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix O. LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.



as Universities and become Colleges under the "National University for Scotland" of the future. The Commissioners with all gravity made the enquiry, and the result was that "the University Court and Senatus Academicus of St. Andrews; the Chancellor, University Court, and Senatus Academicus of Glasgow; the Chancellor, University Court, and Senatus Academicus of Aberdeen; and the Senatus Academicus of Edinburgh, all expressed as their opinion that it was inexpedient that a new University should be founded to be called the National University for Scotland. The reply of the University Court of Edinburgh" (in which it must be remembered that Mr. Gladstone himself was sitting as Lord Rector) "alone, among the replies received, evinced the existence of any doubt on the subject, intimating that within that body there was a difference of opinion." So the Commissioners came to the conclusion that they could not recommend that the ancient Universities of Scotland should be swept away.

The Commissioners of 1858-62 left the University of Edinburgh in the possession of constitutional autonomy, with its studies and degrees regulated by Ordinances, and, should any change in those Ordinances appear desirable, with the power, under due checks, of revising them. All was prepared for the peaceful career upon which the University then entered, and which was a great contrast to the storms which its Senatus Academicus had before gone through. But while allotting to the Univer-

sity an equitable portion of the funds at their disposal, the Commissioners still left it with the bare necessities of existence, and in its normal state of poverty. The Professorships and other offices were still inadequately endowed, and there were absolutely no encouragements to Students to aim at distinction in learning, like those which are so plentiful in the English Universities. The Town Council, with all their services to the University, had never dreamt of enriching it; it did not occur to their imaginations that a great University requires large resources. Else some of the too numerous hospital foundations round Edinburgh might have come to the University. General Reid's and Sir Joseph Straton's bequests during this century had just raised the University above pauperdom. To meet this state of things the "Association for the better endowment of the University of Edinburgh" was instituted in 1864, chiefly by Dr. Muir, the founder of the Sanskrit Chair. This Association has collected funds, not of any great amount, with which it has from time to time provided certain useful scholarships and bursaries, but its chief function has been to make known by annual meetings and reports the wants of the University, and thus to aid in enlisting the sympathy of the public.

The efforts of the Association, no doubt combined with many concurrent causes, and following up the interest which surrounded the University of Edinburgh in the commencement of its new life, resulted in the most extraordinary efflorescence of

gifts, of a kind which was most wanted, namely, encouragements for the higher learning in Students. Down to the date of the foundation of the Ferguson Scholarships (1861), all benefactions for Students had been in the shape of bursaries to help them to get through their course whether well or ill. But now there came a series of rewards provided for those who at the end of their course could show distinction above their fellows. Taking first the Faculty of Arts in Edinburgh, we find the following remarkable list of successive benefactions to it, being all foundations of Scholarships open to M.A.s of not more than three years' standing :—

1861. Pitt Club<sup>1</sup> Scholarship of £60 a year for three years.

1862. Mackenzie Scholarship of £120 a year for four years, founded by James Mackenzie, Esq., W.S.

Both these Scholarships were regulated by Ordinance of the Commissioners; they were each intended by their donors to encourage the study of "Classical Literature," but in each case the Commissioners added on English Literature to the subjects of competition.

1863. Sir David Baxter of Kilmaron, Bart., one of the greatest of the University's benefactors, now came forward to encourage the other departments in the Arts curriculum, and founded a Scholarship in Mathematics, and one in Mental Philosophy, each of £60 a year for four years.

1865. Miss Drummond founded, in memory of her brother, Captain Drummond, R.E., Under Secretary for Ireland, a Scholarship in Mathematics of £100 a year for three years.

1865. Mrs. Tyndall Bruce of Falkland founded a Scholarship in

<sup>1</sup> On the dissolution of the Edinburgh Pitt Club in 1861, some of its funds were handed over for the assistance of the University.

Classics, one in Mathematics, and one in Mental Science, each of £100 a year for three years.

1866. James Guthrie, Esq., of London, founded what he called a Fellowship<sup>1</sup> in Classics of £100 a year for three years.
1866. The Subscribers of a Fund for a Memorial to Sir William Hamilton founded a Fellowship in Mental Science of £100 a year for three years.
1867. Similarly, as a Memorial to Sir James Shaw, Bart., of Ayrshire, Lord Mayor of and M.P. for London, the Shaw Fellowship, in Mental Philosophy, was founded, of £172 a year for five years, open to M.A.s of all the Scottish Universities of not more than five years' standing, and under the condition that the Shaw Fellow, during his tenure, shall deliver two or more lectures on a philosophical subject. This Fellowship, three times competed for, has on each occasion been gained by a Student of the University of Edinburgh.
1871. In memory of Charles Maclaren, Esq., the eminent geologist, the Trustees of his widow founded a Scholarship in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, of £100 a year for three years.
1875. In accordance with the Will of A. H. Rhind, Esq., of Sibster, a Scholarship in Classics and one in Mental Philosophy was founded, each of the value of about £95 a year for three years.
1876. Three Scholarships of £100 a year each for three years, one in Classics, one in Mathematics, and one in Mental Philosophy, were founded by John Edward Baxter, Esq., of Craigtay.

Now when we reflect that up to 1861 there was absolutely no pecuniary encouragement for Arts Students in the University of Edinburgh to endeavour to distinguish themselves, the above list showing what was done in the subsequent fourteen years, must

<sup>1</sup> Several donors at this time called their foundations "Fellowships," though these differed in no way from Scholarships. The idea was that, as at Oxford or Cambridge, a prize for Graduates, as distinct from a prize for Undergraduates, must be a Fellowship. But a Fellowship implies participation in the annual revenues of a College. Such a thing was an impossibility in Edinburgh.

seem remarkable. For now there was provided at least one valuable prize each year, to be competed for by distinguished Graduates in each of the three departments of the Arts Faculty.

But this was not nearly all, for the other Faculties also received encouragement. We may first mention foundations in what would be called the Faculty of Science, if the University recognised such a Faculty, but which have at present to be placed on the outskirts of the Faculty of Arts.

1865. Sir David Baxter of Kilmaron founded two Scholarships, of about £70 a year each for two years, to be awarded to the most eminent of the Bachelors of Science, in Physical Science (including Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry) and in Natural Science (including Botany, Zoology, Physiology, and Geology) respectively; with the condition that the Scholar should at the end of his first year of tenure proceed to the degree of Doctor of Science.
1869. A Memorial to Dr. Hugh Falconer, Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens at Calcutta, took the form of a Falconer Fellowship of about £107 a year for two years (which may be extended to three or four with the sanction of the Senatus and University Court), in Natural History as applied to Geology and Palæontology.
1874. Dr. Neill Arnott bequeathed £1000 that the annual interest might be given as a reward each year to the most distinguished Student in the Physical Laboratory of the University.
1882. The Misses Steven of Bellahouston, in memory of their brother, founded a Scholarship or Prize in Agriculture of about £80, to be awarded yearly.
1882. R. Mackay Smith, Esq., founded two Scholarships, one in Natural Philosophy and one in Chemistry, of the annual value of £50 each for two years, to be awarded alternately by the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow.

For Students in the other Faculties also numerous encouragements were successively provided. Thus for Divinity :—

1862. The Pitt Club Trustees, besides their Arts Scholarship, furnished funds for another, open to Students in the Divinity Hall. It was regulated by the Commissioners, who appointed a competitive examination in Evidences, Systematic Theology, Hebrew, Church History, and Biblical Criticism, for M.A.'s being Divinity Students of three years' standing. It is now worth more than £100 a year, and is tenable for three years.
1867. By the Will of the late John Maxton a scholarship of £40 a year for three years was founded. It is open to Students who have completed their Divinity course.
1875. A Memorial Fund, subscribed in honour of Dr. W. Glover, assumed the form of a Divinity Scholarship of about £30, tenable for three years.
1875. By bequest of Dr. David Aitken, formerly minister of Minto, a Scholarship of about £100 a year for two years was founded for Divinity Students of the University of Edinburgh, the object being that the successful candidate should study Church History and Biblical Criticism in one or more of the Universities of Germany.

The last four Prizes are confined to Students belonging to the Established Church of Scotland. But in 1879 and 1882 Dr. Gunning of Rio de Janeiro founded three Scholarships of £40, £30, and £20 respectively, for two years, and one Fellowship of £100 for two years, which are all open to Students of any Scottish Church holding the Westminster Confession of Faith. Dr. Gunning's object was to encourage a knowledge of Science among the Clergy. The subjects of competition for his Scholarships are Natural History, Botany, and Geology, and some department of Natural Theology or Christian Apologetics, having special reference to the connection between Religion and Science. They are open to Students beginning their course of Divinity. The Fellowship is for Students who have completed their course. The subjects are the same three branches of Natural Science, and Theology in all its departments.

The Faculty of Laws still remained without encouragement, in the way of Scholarships, for its Students to graduate with dis-

tion,<sup>1</sup> though graduation in this Faculty (as we have seen above, p. 131) needed a stimulus. In 1878 the Edinburgh University Endowment Association came to the rescue, and presented a Fellowship of £100 a year for three years, open to LL.B.s and B.L.s of not more than five years' standing; and this was to be competed for by a Thesis on some subject of legal study. This was done out of the annual funds of the Association, and was not a foundation. But the first experiment was so successful that the Association, in 1882, presented a second Fellowship on the same terms.

The Faculty of Medicine has been much enriched of late years by gifts of Prizes and Scholarships for its successful and promising Graduates. The most important of these are:—

1868. A Prize of about £40, founded by Miss Mary Ettles of Inverness, to be awarded annually to the most distinguished Medical Graduate of the year.
1872. A Prize, founded in memory of Professor Goodsir, of £60 for Graduates in Medicine of not more than three years' standing, which is awarded to the best essay containing original research in Anatomy or in Experimental Physiology.
1872. A Fellowship founded in memory of Professor Syme, of about £110 per annum for two years, for the best Thesis on a Surgical subject.
1876. The Leckie-Mactier Fellowship of £80 per annum for three years, awarded for excellence of Infirmary reports and commentaries, and in oral examination on Medical subjects. The three last-named prizes are open to M.B.s of not more than three years' standing.
1876. A Prize of about £40, founded by J. G. Beaney, Esq., of Melbourne, for the Graduate in each year who gets the highest marks in Anatomy, Surgery, and Clinical Surgery.
1880. A Prize of £40, founded by Mrs. James Buchanan, for the Graduate in each year who shows the highest proficiency in Midwifery and Gynecology.

<sup>1</sup> In 1876 an annual prize of £10 was founded by the Forensic Society, for the Graduate in Law who passes with most distinction in four subjects of the curriculum.

1883. A Prize of £40, founded by Mrs. Scott for proficiency in Midwifery.

And there have been several other valuable Prizes founded in the classes of Chemistry, Physiology, etc., but not confined to Graduates; and several Medical Scholarships (so called) which are rather of the nature of valuable bursaries, being open to Medical Students at the commencement of or in the earlier part of their course, and being tenable for three or four years each.

Such are some, though by no means all, of the gifts for encouraging the higher learning in each Faculty which have flowed into the University of Edinburgh since the Commission of 1858-62. The list is very striking when we consider that before 1862 not one of the Faculties was provided with a single substantial reward to be competed for by its Graduates.

But the greatest gift of this kind has yet to be named, one that was nearly all-embracing in its scope, and which places its founder in the highest rank of the benefactors of the University. In 1879 Dr. Vans Dunlop, a retired physician resident in Edinburgh, bequeathed the residue of his estate, which has already amounted to a sum nearly equal to that which the University derived from General Reid, to found Scholarships of £100 a year each, tenable for three years, in all the main departments of University study, except, indeed, Theology. At present eighteen of these Scholarships have been established, nine in the Faculty of Arts, eight in the Faculty of Medicine, and one in the Faculty of Laws. The Scholarships in the Arts Faculty are for the greatest merit in (1) English Literature and Poetry,



(2) Classical Literature, (3) Engineering and the Useful Arts, (4) Commercial and Political Economy, (5) Logic and Metaphysics, (6) Natural Philosophy, (7) Mathematics, (8) History, (9) Oriental Languages and Comparative Philology. The rules laid down by the Senatus generally make these Scholarships open to Students of not less than two and not more than six years' standing, without reference to whether the candidate may have graduated or not. Such prizes, so open, have given a great stimulus to all the Arts classes, and have produced higher work in some of them than was before known in the University. The successful candidates are required to produce evidence during their tenure of Vans Dunlop Scholarships that they are worthily prosecuting their studies or professional work.

The Vans Dunlop Scholarships in the Faculty of Medicine are (1) for the Student who passes the best preliminary examination in general subjects for entering the curriculum; (2) for the Student who, at the end of his first year, does best in Botany, Zoology, Chemistry, and Anatomy; (3) for him who at the end of his second year is best in Physiology and Surgery; (4) for the best Student at the end of the third year in Anatomy, Physiology, Materia Medica, and Pathology. Three Scholarships of the last kind have been provided, so that one is open every year. In addition to the above a Vans Dunlop Scholarship has been founded for proficiency in Chemistry and Chemical Pharmacy; and another in Natural History, Botany, and Geology.

In the Faculty of Laws the Vans Dunlop Scholarship is for knowledge of all the subjects in the curriculum, supplemented by a Thesis showing special research and ability.

The University should certainly honour the name of Dr. Vans Dunlop, for he has done more than any one else ever did to encourage high attainment in the several branches of its teaching.

In 1882 a new kind of encouragement for research in connection with the University was introduced by a generous, but hitherto anonymous donor, who presented a sum of money to provide what are called "Elective Fellowships" of £100 a year each. The idea is that Graduates of the Scottish Universities are to apply for these Fellowships, announcing a desire to prosecute research in either (1) Mathematics, (2) Chemistry, (3) Biology, (4) Mental Philosophy, (5) History, or the History of Literature. There is to be no competition, but the Senatus, after getting as full information as they can about the antecedents and capacities of each applicant, are to elect a Fellow to prosecute research in each of the specified departments. The whole thing is as yet an experiment, and if not thought successful may be dropped; if, on the other hand, the Elective Fellowships should be permanently founded, the University of Edinburgh will be provided to some extent with that which has been so much called for elsewhere, "the endowment of research."

The sums which have been bequeathed, presented, or subscribed during the last twenty years

for establishing Scholarships in the University of Edinburgh are quite understated as follows :—

For Scholarships in Arts . . . . .	£40,900	0	0
„ in Divinity . . . . .	12,200	0	0
„ in Medicine . . . . .	9,850	0	0
„ in Science . . . . .	9,500	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total . . . . .	£72,400	0	0

To which has to be added, not being included in the above, the amount of the Vans Dunlop bequest, which already has yielded over £70,000; and this brings up the total amount presented to the University within a very short period for the encouragement of higher learning to something considerably over £142,000.

But the kindness and generosity of private individuals and of Associations has been manifested towards the University in other ways also. Since 1862 there have been no less than forty-nine distinct foundations of new bursaries in the different Faculties. The total amount “mortified” for this purpose has been close on £90,000,—that is to say, £52,000 for Bursaries in Arts, £12,250 for Bursaries in Divinity, £17,000 for Bursaries in Medicine, and £8,725 for Bursaries in Law. A good many of the Bursaries in Arts have been founded by County Clubs or Associations existing in Edinburgh, and are for assisting youths from particular districts to join the University. As soon as an entrance examination has been established to test the fitness of such youths to profit by University teaching, these

foundations will be of unmixed advantage. But with all that has been done, the University of Edinburgh is not yet adequately provided with open bursaries to be competed for by boys coming to enter from the various schools of the country.

One of the recent bursary foundations, which was made quite open to all comers, has a peculiar interest attached to it, and many persons may like to see some of the terms in which it was made. This was the bequest to the University of Edinburgh, by one of its greatest pupils, of the small estate bearing the now historic name of Craigenputtock, being the first piece of landed property that ever came into the possession of the *Senatus Academicus*. The Will, of which the draft may be seen in the University in Carlyle's handwriting, carefully worded and with many corrections, speaks as follows:—

“I, Thomas Carlyle, residing at Chelsea, presently Rector of the University of Edinburgh, from the love, favour, and affection which I bear to that University, and from my interest in the advancement of education in my native Scotland as elsewhere; for these, and for other more particular reasons, which also I wish to put on record, do intend, and am now in the act of making, to the said University, bequest as underwritten, of the estate of Craigenputtock, which is now my property. . . . Craigenputtock was for many generations the patrimony of a family named Welsh—the eldest son generally a ‘John Welsh’—in series going back, think some, to the famous John Welsh, son-in-law of the Reformer, Knox. The last male heir of this family was John Welsh, Esquire, surgeon, Haddington (born at Craigenputtock in 1775, died at Haddington in 1819, a highly honoured, widely regretted man, and is buried in the Abbey Kirk of that town); his one child and heiress was my late dear, magnanimous, much-loving, and to me

inestimable wife ; in memory of whom, and of her constant nobleness and piety towards him and towards me, I now, she having been the last of her kindred, am about to bequeath to Edinburgh University, with whatever of piety is in me, this Craigenputtock which was theirs and hers, on the terms and for the purposes underwritten. Therefore, I do mortify and dispoise, etc., for the foundation and endowment of ten equal bursaries, to be called the 'John Welsh Bursaries,' in the said University, all and whole the twenty-shilling lands of Upper Craigenputtock, etc. . . . More especially, I appoint that five of the John Welsh Bursaries shall be given for best proficiency in Mathematics (I would rather say 'in Mathesis,' if that were a thing to be judged of from competition), but practically, above all, in pure geometry, such being perennially the symptom, not only of steady application, but of a clear, methodic intellect, and offering, in all epochs, good promise for all manner of arts and pursuits. The other five bursaries I appoint to depend (for the present and indefinitely onwards) on proficiency in classical learning—that is to say, in knowledge of Latin, Greek, and English, all of these or any two of them. This also gives good promise of a mind ; but as I do not feel certain that it gives perennially, or will perennially be thought in universities to give the best promise, I am willing that the Senatus of the University, in case of a change of its opinion on this point hereafter in the course of generations, shall bestow these latter five bursaries on what it does then consider the most excellent proficiency in matters classical, or the best proof of a classical mind, and directs its own highest effort towards teaching and diffusing, in the new generations that will come. . . . Bursaries to be always given, on solemnly strict and faithful trial, to the worthiest. . . . Under penalties graver than I or any highest mortal can pretend to impose, but which I can never doubt—as the law of eternal justice, inexorably valid, whether noticed or unnoticed, pervades all corners of space and of time—are very sure to be punctually exacted if incurred, this is to be the perpetual rule for the Senatus in deciding. . . . Bursaries to last till the usual term of admittance to trial for graduation as Master of Arts . . . and so may a little trace of help to the young heroic soul struggling for what is highest, spring from this poor arrangement and bequest ; may it run, for ever if it can, as a thread of

pure water from the Scottish rocks, tinkling into its little basin by the thirsty wayside, for those whom it veritably belongs to. Amen. Such is my bequest to Edinburgh University." Dated 20th June 1867.<sup>1</sup>

But it has not only been by gifts of Scholarships and Bursaries that "favour and affection" have been manifested to the University of Edinburgh during the remarkable period which the Act of 1858 inaugurated. Several important additions have been generously made to the teaching power of the University. The *first* of these was the Chair of Sanskrit, already mentioned (p. 134), which in 1862 was endowed by Dr. Muir with 40,000 rupees, then yielding £200 a year interest, to which an annual Parliamentary grant of £200 was added. *Secondly*, in 1868 Sir David Baxter, of Kilmaron, Bart., founded a Chair of Engineering, and endowed it with the sum of £6000, to which H.M. Treasury added a yearly grant of £200. *Thirdly*, in 1871 Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, Bart., founded a Chair of Geology with a mortification of £6000, supplemented by £200 a year from the public funds. In the case of each of these three Chairs, the first appointment of a Professor was placed in the hands

<sup>1</sup> This Will, which was made by Carlyle during his tenure of office as Lord Rector of the University, and shortly after the death of Mrs. Carlyle, came into effect at his own death in 1881. Perhaps no document of the kind was ever composed in higher literary style, or was more imbued by the philosophy of the testator. From it we learn Carlyle's theory of education—that mathematics must perpetually hold their place among the most important instruments of cultivation; but that Latin and Greek may very likely be superseded, in favour, perhaps, of the modern languages of Europe.

of the private founder, on the understanding that the subsequent patronage was to revert to the Crown. *Fourthly*, in 1871 a Chair of Commercial and Political Economy and Mercantile Law was instituted by the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, who, acting under the enlightened guidance of their then Master, Mr. Boyd, subsequently Lord Provost and now Sir Thomas Jamieson Boyd, availed themselves of the Permissive Act of 1869 for the improvement of endowed institutions, and redistributed the funds attaching to George Watson's, Daniel Stewart's, Gillespie's, and the Merchant Maidens' Hospitals, which were under their control. By a bold and able settlement, made under the Act, the Merchant Company created out of these institutions a splendid set of graded schools, of which the secondary schools for boys have been of special advantage to the University, while those for girls have been models of their kind, and have proved a great benefit to the community of Edinburgh. In addition to these educational achievements in the more general department of public instruction, the Merchant Company resolved to apply some of their surplus funds to the appropriate object of founding a Chair in the University, the teaching from which would be valuable for future merchants. They accordingly "mortified" a sum of £10,000 for this purpose, and with the view of adding a practical side to the scientific and abstract theories of Political Economy, they required their Professor to include Mercantile Law among the subjects of his Chair.

Unfortunately, as before mentioned (Vol. I. p. 301), they declined to give the Professor a life-tenure of his office, which renders the appointment precarious, and which might deter the best men from applying for it. But hitherto no inconvenience has been felt. The patronage of the Chair is given to the Board of Curators, with the addition of the Master of the Merchant Company for the time being.

*Fifthly*, in 1876, for the first time in Great Britain, a Chair of "Pædeutics," or, as it is actually styled, of "The Theory, History, and Practice of Education," was founded by the Bell Trustees. The circumstances were these: the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell of Egmore, who was celebrated as an educational theorist, had in 1831 bequeathed the residue of his estate in trust to the then Lord Leven and Melville and others, for the purpose of promoting the so-called Madras or Monitorial system throughout the elementary schools of Scotland. In 1876 the Trustees were Lord Leven and Melville, his son Lord Kirkcaldie, and John Cook, Esq., W.S., the respected Factor to the University. At that time the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 had come into full operation, and elementary schools throughout the country were amply supported by local rates. Therefore the Bell Trustees, who had previously expended the trust-fund in subsidies to such schools, found their vocation gone. They very appropriately determined to found Chairs of Education in honour of Dr. Bell; they placed one in St.



Andrews with an endowment of £4000, and one in Edinburgh with an endowment of £6000. And thus persons intending to become schoolmasters may, while pursuing general studies in the University, learn within the University walls all that has hitherto been arrived at as to the philosophy and technique of their profession.

*Sixthly*, Henry George Watson, Esq., and Miss Frances Watson, jointly assigned certain policies of assurance on the life of the former to the Senatus Academicus to found a Chair of Fine Art in the University, in memory of their brother, the late Sir John Watson Gordon, President of the Royal Academy of Scotland. In 1880 these policies emerged by the death of Mr. H. G. Watson, and the Watson-Gordon Chair was then established, with an endowment of about £12,000, and with instructions to the Professor to lecture "on the History and Theory of the Fine Arts, including Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, and other branches of Art therewith connected."

*Seventhly*, this varied list of new Professorships was completed in 1882 by the foundation of a Chair of the Celtic Languages, Literature, History, and Antiquities. This foundation removed a reproach from the Universities of Scotland, which, as representatives and repositories of the national learning, should certainly have possessed such a Chair before. It was also the fulfilment of a desire which, more or less strongly, had been long previously felt. In 1807 the Highland Society addressed a letter to the

Town Council of Edinburgh, recommending the establishment in the University of a "Professorship of Celtic Literature and Celtic and Scottish Antiquities." This letter having been referred to the Senatus for their opinion, Principal Baird wrote a sensible report upon it, to the effect that the establishment of a Regius Professorship, such as had been recommended, would be very desirable, provided that it were adequately endowed, as next to nothing could be expected from the fees of such a class. He suggested that the Chair should deal with "British" and not merely "Scottish" Antiquities. In 1808 the Town Council petitioned His Majesty's Ministers to found a Regius Professorship of Celtic Literature and Celtic and British Antiquities,—from which no result ensued.

Sixty-two years later, in April 1870, it was moved in the General Council of the University by Mr. Alexander Nicolson, a man of letters and an accomplished Gaelic scholar, now Sheriff-Substitute in Kirkcudbrightshire, "that it is desirable that there should be a Chair of Celtic Literature and Antiquities in this University, and that it be remitted to a Committee of the Council to consider and report on the subject." The motion was seconded by Professor Blackie, and carried unanimously. The Committee, of course, reported in favour of the Chair, and the report was sent up as a representation to the University Court, which body pronounced that the object was doubtless desirable, but that it depended on private liberality for its realisation. The Com-

mittee was reappointed again and again, till in April 1874 they reported that they had sent out 1500 circulars of appeal for subscriptions, but without much result. Mr. Nicolson then moved that Professor Blackie be appointed Convener of the Committee. From that moment the project sprang into life. Professor Blackie, full of enthusiasm for the cause, threw himself into it with the greatest ardour, and, not trusting to circulars, made personal appeals to all the Highland chieftains so successfully that at the end of one year he was able to report more than £4000, and at the end of two years more than £8000 subscribed; in October 1877 the subscriptions amounted to over £10,000, but Professor Blackie set down £12,000 as the endowment to be obtained before the Chair should be founded. In October 1878 close on £12,000 was reported, but the Celtic Chair Committee recommended still further delay for augmentation of the funds. At last in April 1882 Professor Blackie reported that the subscriptions with the accumulated interest amounted to £14,000, and this being the state of things, he said, "the Celtic horse has now been provided, and it only remains to find a rider." The Council were unanimous in agreeing that during his lifetime Professor Blackie should be added to the Board of Curators as one of the patrons of the new Chair. They also resolved that, in addition to scientific lectures on Celtic Philology and Antiquities, the Professor, when appointed, should provide instruction in "the uses and graces" of the Gaelic tongue. It

was a great feat that Professor Blackie had accomplished in collecting the funds for their endowment. Doubtless there was a feeling of enthusiasm for their race and its history and its poetry, among the Highland gentlemen, which might be successfully appealed to. But everything depended on how the appeal was made; no mere circulars, however well drawn, would have sufficed; and as to personal applications—*Qui rogat timide docet negare*. It required Professor Blackie's boldness and versatility and grace of manner to accomplish what was done. Probably no other man could have done it.

During the 280 years which ended with the year 1862 only two Chairs were established in the University by private foundation—those of Agriculture and of Music; in the twenty years subsequent seven Chairs have been founded through private liberality, and the total endowment of these Chairs from private sources amounts to £58,000. The University of Edinburgh cannot yet vie with that of Berlin and other great Continental Universities in the roll of its Professoriate. But, as compared with other Scottish Universities, it is now rich in this respect; it has altogether thirty-eight Professors—seventeen attached to the Faculty of Arts, twelve to that of Medicine, five to the Faculty of Laws, and four to the Faculty of Divinity.

Other gifts, which have swelled the tide of munificence flowing in to the University of late years, must not be here omitted. Chief of these was a

munificent bequest by Sir David Baxter of £20,000 (reduced by legacy duty to £18,000) for augmenting the salaries of Professors in the Arts Faculty. And during his lifetime (in 1870) the same generous benefactor had presented £4000 to provide an official residence for the Principal. Gifts or bequests of a general kind to assist the University in meeting the cost of education and research are comparatively rare, but are highly valued ; of this kind was a grant of £2000 made in 1879 by the Trustees of the Gilchrist Fund,<sup>1</sup> the interest whereon is annually to be applied to the purchase of scientific instruments. In 1872 the late Robert Cox, Esq., W.S., bequeathed £3000 to increase the General Fund of the University, and out of Dr. Vans Dunlop's splendid bequest a sum of £3000 was devised for the same object. Mr. Robert Cox also left £2000 for the purpose of completing Adam's original design for the east front of his University Buildings by placing a dome over the entrance. This object will be carried out when the money bequeathed for it has sufficiently accumulated. In an Appendix we shall relate more particularly the munificent bequests and subscriptions which have been made (1874-1883) for the new buildings of the University. Suffice it here to say that they amount to over £130,000. The total amount of the benefactions received by the University of Edinburgh from

<sup>1</sup> This was a Fund bequeathed by Dr. Gilchrist, a well-known and learned physician of Calcutta, for assisting educational institutions throughout the world.

private sources during the last twenty years is considerably understated as follows :—

For Scholarships . . . . .	£142,000	0	0
For Bursaries . . . . .	90,000	0	0
For Professorships . . . . .	58,000	0	0
For increasing Professors' salaries . . . . .	18,000	0	0
For Buildings . . . . .	130,000	0	0
For Miscellaneous Purposes . . . . .	14,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total . . . . .	£452,000	0	0
	<hr/>		

In addition to which the University has received a subsidy from Government of £80,000 for its new buildings. And, as since 1862 the number of Students attending the classes has increased from about 1500 to over 3300, we may truly say that since the Commissioners of 1858-62 left the University settled under its new constitution its prosperity has been constantly advancing “by leaps and bounds.”

We may conclude the history of the development of the University of Edinburgh down to the present day by noting some of the changes and improvements introduced of late years by the autonomous action of the University itself. The General Council, though it has no legislative or executive powers, has been found to play a very useful part. We have seen how it furnished the impulse which ultimately led to the creation of the Celtic Chair. It has originated other important movements. At its second meeting, in April 1860, when Mr. Gladstone, as Lord Rector, presided over it, it agreed to represent to the University Court “that it is desirable

that an examination for certificates of merit to be granted annually by the University to candidates from the Middle and Upper Schools of Scotland (similar to the English 'Middle Class Examinations') should be instituted." The University Court concurred in this view, and the Senatus proceeded to carry it out by establishing "University Local Examinations," "to supply a common test of attainment both for pupils of public schools and for those privately educated." It was arranged that the examinations should be conducted by means of papers sent down from the University to various local "centres." Certificates of different grades, pass and honour, were granted; prizes were awarded to candidates who did well; and even a few bursaries were established for those who should be most highly distinguished. Under the able management of Professor Calderwood, who undertook the duties of Secretary to the Local Examinations Board, these examinations became very popular, and they have now apparently taken a firm hold on the country. So much so, that the system of Local Examinations, first started by the University of Edinburgh, has now been adopted by all the other Universities of Scotland. The system has proved a welcome stimulus not only to schools, but to many private Students, especially of the female sex. In fact it is remarkable, as results show, that the Edinburgh University Local Examinations have been chiefly useful in promoting the solid education of girls. During the present year the University has sent

down its examination papers to 47 centres. The total number of candidates was 891, of whom 746 were girls.

In 1867 another movement was started, if not by the University, at all events under encouragement of the Professors, and especially of Professor Masson, who took a warm interest in the cause. This was for carrying on the education of young women after the secondary stage, that is, after the period of school and Local Examinations. An "Association for the Higher Education of Women" was started in Edinburgh, of which the idea was that certain Professors should give every winter a course of lectures, each on his own University subject, for ladies. The same sort of thing has been started in many other places and has often broken down, but in Edinburgh it has stood the test of time; and now the Association have a building of their own, with commodious lecture-rooms and library, and the classes now taught in them, by the Professors or their Assistants, are those of English Literature, Latin, Greek, Biblical Criticism, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Theory of Education, Fine Art, Mathematics, Experimental Physics, Botany, Zoology, and Physiology. The attendance at each of these different classes varies from a small number up to seventy or eighty lady-Students. The University awards a "Certificate in Arts" to any lady who, having previously passed in the Local Examinations, passes in any three of the above-named subjects. There is a further and special examination



for an "Honour Certificate" in any one of the specified subjects.

It must be mentioned that the Association now styles itself the "Association for the *University* Education of Women," and in fact it has always been the object of some leading spirits in the Association to obtain the admission of women to the classes within the University walls, and the opening of degrees to women on the same terms as those on which they are open to men. As long as the University is overflowing with male Students, and every class-room is overcrowded, it is of course impossible to think of admitting a number of ladies in addition. But, waiving this, the whole policy which aims at such a thing seems mistaken,

" For woman is not undeveloped man,  
But diverse,"

and therefore, though undoubtedly women should have facilities for obtaining a University education, it should probably be one cast on different lines from the present University system for men. What the Woman's University of the future will be, time and experience have yet to determine.

There was another step generously, but imprudently, taken by the University of Edinburgh which led to disastrous consequences. In 1869 a lady, belonging to the old Norfolk family of Jex-Blake, applied to the University authorities to allow her, "as an experiment," to attend some of the Medical classes. The Senatus, by a majority, expressed

themselves in favour of granting what she asked. The matter was referred to the University Court, who decided—(1) that for one lady alone no change could be made in the University custom; (2) that ladies could not be admitted to study Medicine in the same classes as the Students; but that, if a sufficient number of ladies could be got together, and if any Medical Professors would give them lectures at separate hours, there could be no objection to this course.

Miss Jex-Blake then collected some half-dozen other ladies with the same views as herself, and renewed her application. It was now found that a few of the Professors in the Medical Faculty were willing to give separate lectures for ladies; the number of Medical Students was then low, and some of the Professors were not so fully occupied as they are now. The majority of the Faculty, however, declined to teach the ladies. This was attributed to jealousy, trades'-unionism, fear of the rivalry of women, etc.; but many of the Professors who refused were men in large practice, or whose time was otherwise engaged, and it would not have been remunerative to them to give up their time to the laborious task of repeating all their lectures to half-a-dozen pupils.

The ladies, looking to a Medical degree, were entitled to learn four of their subjects under extra-mural teachers. And they found no difficulty in doing this. One of the extra-mural teachers to whom they went made his class a mixed one, of

male and female Students, and this gave rise to bad feeling. When the ladies had taken all the extra-mural courses which the Statutes permitted, and could get no more teaching within the University, they found themselves brought to a stop. They therefore petitioned the Senatus to take measures for procuring an alteration of Ordinance in their favour, so that they might complete their curriculum extra-murally, and then be examined for their degrees. The Senatus took the opinion of Counsel at this point, as to whether they could legally do what the ladies desired. The Solicitor-General for Scotland (now Lord Rutherford-Clark) and Mr. (now Lord) Watson gave a very decided opinion that the University had no power of conferring degrees upon women, and therefore that any steps in that direction would be incompetent. Of course it would have been competent for the Senatus, with the concurrence of the University Court, the Chancellor, and the Privy Council, to get the constitution of the University changed, and to make it come forth as the first University in Great Britain that conferred degrees upon women. But the Senatus were not in a mood to do this; they had learnt by experience that there were great practical difficulties in the way of carrying out the medical education of women within the University; had met with unreasonable obloquy on account of those difficulties; and the majority of them were only too glad to be done with the whole business, and they replied that they could take no further action. The real

mistake which the Senatus committed, and which did amount to a certain injury to Miss Jex-Blake and her friends, was that they did not from the very first ascertain what were the legal powers of the University with regard to conferring degrees upon women. Had they done so, the ladies might or might not have accepted the teaching of a few Medical Professors on the distinct understanding that they could not be graduated. And then there would have been no cause of complaint.

As it was, the ladies naturally felt that they were aggrieved, having been led on to disappointment ; and, having numerous backers in Edinburgh,—for the question became one which excited the greatest interest, and on which society was divided,—they raised an action to compel the University to graduate them. The Lord Ordinary (Gifford) before whom the case of *Jex-Blake versus the Chancellor and Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh* came in the first instance, decided in favour of the pursuer ; but, on appeal to the Court, this judgment was reversed by a majority of the whole Bench of Judges (with the exception of the Lord President, who as Chancellor of the University had been made a defendant in the case, and therefore gave no judgment) on the ground that the University had no power of admitting women to its degrees.<sup>1</sup> And so

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed that in this action Counsel on one side pleaded that the University of Edinburgh had been founded on the model of the University of Bologna, in which University some women had been made Professors ! Counsel on the other side pleaded that the College of Edinburgh down to 1858 had no degree-giving powers at all. Both pleas were, of course, historically incorrect.

terminated this unfortunate episode, which, however, had the good effect of exciting a strong sympathy for the ladies who were concerned in it; and this resulted in legislative enactments enabling Universities to admit women to degrees, and also in the creation of a separate Medical School in London for the training of women.

But to return to the management by the University of Edinburgh of matters more strictly within its own province. In 1864 the *Senatus Academicus* took up a question which the Commissioners had left unsettled (see above, p. 132), and laid down regulations for the Bachelor of Divinity degree. The point at issue with regard to this degree had been, whether Free Churchmen and other Dissenters should be obliged, in order to obtain it, to have received any portion of their theological teaching from the Professors of the University, who belonged, of course, to the Establishment. In 1864 the *Senatus* determined that they must do so; they ruled that "candidates who are not members of the Church of Scotland must have attended, during at least one session, two at least of the classes of the Theological Faculty of the University." The degree was awarded on these conditions, which virtually excluded Free Churchmen from seeking it for about five years, and then the General Council of the University intervened, and appointed a large and influential Committee of their number to consider the subject. This Committee recommended that all reference to Church membership should

be struck out of the regulations, and that the rule should simply be that "candidates who are not Masters of Arts of the University of Edinburgh must have attended two classes in one or more of the Faculties of this University." They also recommended that in conducting the examinations the Theological Professors should be assisted by two additional examiners, being B.D.s of one of the Universities of Scotland, to be appointed by the University Court. These recommendations were approved of by the Council, and subsequently were adopted by the Senatus, and, with the sanction of the Court and the Chancellor, they became law. The degree in Divinity is therefore now open to persons who have had all their theological training in extra-mural and dissenting Schools, and of late years Free Churchmen have been frequently appointed as additional examiners.

In 1864 the Senatus, having established a degree in Divinity, proceeded without further ceremony to establish degrees in Science also. They issued regulations for a double degree of Bachelor of Science and Doctor of Science in the following departments:—

- (1) The Mathematical Sciences ;
- (2) The Physical Experimental Sciences ;
- (3) The Natural Sciences ;
- (4) Engineering ;

and for a Doctor's degree in—(1) Mental Science ;  
(2) Philology. Speaking generally, the introduction of these degrees was an advantage ; and it was in accordance with the genius of the University, which

had always been prone to distinguish itself as a Scientific School. But it must be remembered that there is as yet no Faculty of Science in the University, and there was certainly something informal in the way in which these degrees were established *proprio motu* by the Senatus, without reference to the University Court, the Chancellor, or the Privy Council. Probably at some future date there will be a revision of this matter. A Faculty of Science will be created, and the regulations for degrees in Science will be more carefully adjusted in some of the departments than they have hitherto been.

In many ways the Senatus Academicus have gone on, under control of the University Court, improving from time to time the institutions of the University. Of late they have been working in the direction of increasing the teaching power of the University by the introduction of lectureships. In the Faculty of Medicine they have established a lecturer on Mental Diseases and one on Diseases of the Eye, and in the Faculty of Arts they have appointed a lecturer on Philosophy. There is one matter, however, in which the autonomy of the Universities of Scotland seems powerless to act, and which can only be regulated by an external authority, and that is the general reform of the Arts Faculties. It has long been felt that these Faculties need some reform, for two reasons: *first*, because, while the Arts Professors in all the Universities are men of the highest calibre, they are set to do a vast amount of work which is unworthy of them, owing to the number of

unprepared Students that are admitted to their classes ; *secondly*, because, while in the other Universities of the world candidates for a degree in Arts have some choice and option as to the subjects in which they shall graduate, in Scotland alone the aspirant for an Arts degree is bound down by a hard and fast rule to seven subjects, all of which he must take up without reference either to his proclivities or to his professional objects in life. Obviously the system requires changing, but it cannot be changed by the Universities themselves, owing to the diversities of view entertained, and the serious interests of Professors which are involved. The Universities must move altogether in such a matter, else one University might undersell the others, and there is not the faintest chance of getting all the Universities to agree upon a scheme embodying any substantial reform. Therefore this question remains to be externally determined. The expression of public opinion on this matter caused the Government in 1876 to appoint a Royal Commission, in general terms, to inquire into and report upon the institutions of the Universities of Scotland. That Commission was presided over by the veteran lawyer and educationist, the Right Hon. John Inglis, Lord Justice General, and it contained several eminent personages, notably Dr. Lyon Playfair, M.P., and Professor Huxley. It was thought that the two last named gentlemen gave too strong a bias to the recommendations of the Commission in the direction of encouraging Science in the Universities, to the ex-



tion, it might almost be said, of classical studies. Whatever may be the case in a more or less remote future, Scotland has for the present much to gain by an increased attention, and much to lose by a diminished attention, to classical studies. And it is to be hoped that the University of Edinburgh, when a new Executive Commission comes to deal with it, may be developed not in one direction alone, but in all, and that the new Commission may be as judicious in dealing with the questions submitted to it as was the Commission of 1858-62 in dealing with the questions of that day.

In the previous enumeration of the good fortunes of the University of Edinburgh one has been omitted, and must here be mentioned, which was not only an accession of dignity, but also a solid boon. By the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act of 1868, the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews were empowered to return jointly a Member to the House of Commons. The two Universities have been during three Parliaments, and are still, represented by the Right Hon. Dr. (now Sir) Lyon Playfair, whose election has rested not so much on political, as on Academical and scientific grounds. The University of Edinburgh has found it a great advantage to have a representative in the House of Commons cognisant of its circumstances and watchful over its many important interests.

The gradual transformation of the small "Town's College" in the Kirk-of-Field into the University of Edinburgh of the present day has been traced in

outline in the preceding pages. But to fill in that outline many details are still requisite, and especially some account of those persons who, working from age to age within the institution, gave it its strength and its fame, and made it the school which it has grown to be. To supply information on such points the following Appendixes are added.

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APPENDIX O. THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF  
EDINBURGH.

THE foundation of the University Library was anterior to that of the College of Edinburgh. In 1580 Clement Little—one of the City Commissaries above mentioned (Vol. I. p. 105)—bequeathed his books of Theology, estimated to be worth 1000 merks, “to the Town of Edinburgh, to be used by the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons thereof,” “*Item*, his Law books, and other books for scholars,” estimated at £140 : 18 : 8 (Scots). The Town Council, accepting this gift, ordered that for its reception “a house or library be made at the end of Mr. James Lawson’s study,” that is to say, as part of the Manse of St. Giles’ Church (see Vol. I. p. 106). The work was rapidly carried out, and on the 14th October 1580 the books were presented by William Little, each volume being stamped with the arms of his brother, and with the words: “I AM GEVIN TO EDINBURGH AND KIRK OF GOD BE MAISTER CLEMENT LITIL THAR TO REMAN. 1580.”

James Lawson having died in 1584, the Town Council, on the 18th September of that year, ordained “the Town’s Library, shelves and boards thereof, to be transported forth of the lodging some time occupied by Mr. James Lawson, Minister, and set up in the Town’s College, in a house convenient, at the sight of William Little, Bailie, and to be delivered to Mr. Robert Rollock, Master of the said College, and he to be obliged to the custody thereof, like as the said Mr. James was obliged of before.” Thus there was as yet no College Library, but “the Town’s Library”

was deposited in charge of the Principal of the College. Still, it became very soon the custom that Graduates should pay tribute to this Library, either in the shape of books or money, as if it belonged to their *Alma Mater*. And, on the other hand, being considered the City Library, and being the only public library in this part of Scotland, it was augmented from time to time by gifts and legacies of books from the citizens and neighbours of Edinburgh.

Among the early benefactors of the Library are mentioned : William Rig of Mortoun ; James Heriot ; Thomas Fisher ; Archibald Douglas of Whittinghem ; Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate ; David Williamson ; James Raeth of Edmonston ; and Dr. Robert Johnston. And to this list has to be added an illustrious name, that of the poet and scholar Drummond of Hawthornden, who, having been educated first in the High School and afterwards in the College of Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1605, retained a great regard for the scenes of his early training. After leaving the College Drummond seems at once to have commenced collecting books, both during three years of travel and residence abroad, and also when, on his return, he had "retired to his own house at Hawthornden, a sweet and solitary seat, and very fit and proper for the Muses." In 1626, when Drummond was forty-one years old, there appears to be some reason for conjecturing<sup>1</sup> that he contemplated breaking up his establishment at Hawthornden, being called to go abroad for some time on business connected with the registration of a patent which he was taking out for military machines. Before leaving his studious retreat for an indefinite time he presented his books to "the Library of Edinburgh."

On the 26th November 1626 Principal Adamson appeared before the Town Council and produced an inventory of "a number of books given and devoted to the Library within the College by Mr. William Drummond of Hathrindaill" (*sic*). The Council ordered that the books should be "put into the Library with the rest," and that the inventory should be printed at their expense. Adamson, who was an accomplished scholar, produced accordingly a printed Latin catalogue, which he

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Masson's *Drummond of Hawthornden. The Story of his Life and Writings* (1873), p. 171.

entitled *Auctarium Bibliothecæ Edinburgensæ, sive Catalogus Librorum quos Gulielmus Drummond ab Hawthornden, Bibliothecæ, D.D.Q., Anno 1627.*<sup>1</sup> To this catalogue Adamson prefixed a Latin Preface, which was in fact a translation of a paper which Drummond of Hawthornden had previously written *Of Libraries*. In it the importance of great Libraries is declared, and their founders eulogised. Among them is specified "the most worthy Bodley," who in 1602 had presented a collection of about 3000 volumes to the University of Oxford.

Shortly afterwards there was published a tract, which is generally attributed to Drummond, but may have been by Adamson, entitled *Bibliotheca Edinburgena Lectori*, in which the Library was supposed to have addressed people, and invited them to increase its stores. Such appeals almost always produce some fruit in the course of time, if not immediately; they sink into people's minds and bring, if not gifts, then legacies.

Drummond's *auctarium* or addition to the Library consisted of "about 500 volumes, in various languages, with some MSS., most of them with Drummond's name written on them, and some of them with his marginal markings and underlinings of passages as he had read them."<sup>2</sup> This collection was, on the whole, a literary rather than a scientific one, and it probably brought to Edinburgh some specimens of modern and elegant literature which had not previously reached this remote Metropolis. But it strikes one on reading the catalogue that the collection is desultory and slight. For instance, of Shakespeare's plays there are only *Love's Labour Lost* (1598), and *Romeo and Juliet* (1599); of Spenser's works not the *Faery Queene*, but the *Epithalamium*; of Bacon only *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, etc. Drummond afterwards presented a few other books and some papers of interest.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The date appears to refer to the time when the catalogue was printed, not to that, some months earlier, when the books were actually given.

<sup>2</sup> Masson's *Drummond*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> It so happened that thirty or forty years ago Bower, then Assistant Librarian, took away to his own house a packet containing some of the Drummond Papers in order to sort and catalogue them. While he had these in his possession, Bower died, and the papers were removed with his other effects to his daughter's house in London. In 1875 Mr. Marshall, Bower's son-in-law, thinking that these papers might belong to the Edinburgh University Library, then restored them. Mr. Small, the present Librarian, found amongst them a





**THE OLD LIBRARY (1823) FROM THE WEST.**



**THE OLD LIBRARY (1823) FROM THE SOUTH.**

Even before Drummond's contribution had been received the Town Council had felt the Library to be of sufficient importance to require extended accommodation beyond what had been originally allotted to it in the College. In 1616, as we shall see more particularly elsewhere, they built a Hall for Academical purposes, 120 feet long by 30 broad, and the room over this of the same size was appropriated to the reception of the Library. But the upper Hall appears to have been ill-built and not weather-tight. So in 1642 another edifice was erected for the College Library adjacent to the former one; but in 1753 the Upper Hall was renovated, and restored to its original function, and it continued to hold its ground as the University Library till 1825, long after the rest of the old College buildings had been demolished to make way for the new University quadrangle designed by Adam and modified and completed by Playfair. How the old College Library looked when it was left standing in its original homeliness surrounded by stately architecture we may judge from a sketch judiciously made by Playfair to commemorate the contrast between the old and the new.

At first, and indeed for fifty years, the Library was under the sole charge of the Principal, and for his guidance the Town Council in 1621 passed the following Act:—"They forbid the Principal to suffer any books in their Library or pertaining to the Good Town to be lent out of the same to any person or persons whatsoever; and that none be suffered to enter into the Library but those who shall be sworn that they shall neither steal nor take away any books forth of the said Library, rive, or blot, or misuse any of them, which Act the Council intimate to the Principal,<sup>1</sup> being present." In this Act we observe that the Town Council were particular not to call the Library "the College Library," but to speak of it as the property of the Town.

In 1626 Principal Adamson, on representing to the Town very curious document, being a statement in the handwriting of Leslie, Bishop of Ross, of the occurrences at Jedburgh in 1566, when Queen Mary was severely ill, and gave what she supposed to be her dying instructions to her nobles. Mr. Small has published this hitherto unknown episode in Mary's life, which certainly shows her under a favourable light, though it is true that her enemies may quote the old saying: "When the devil was sick, the devil a saint would be," etc.

<sup>1</sup> This was Patrick Sands, who only held office two and a half years.

Council the injury which the books were sustaining from damp, was allowed 180 merks per annum (£10 sterling) for a servant to attend to the state of the volumes, and for coals to heat the room.

In 1635 it was resolved that it would be better to appoint a Librarian who should attend at stated hours for the convenience of readers, which the Principal could not do. A Mr. Kenneth Logie, who had already given assistance to Principal Adamson, was chosen Keeper of the Library with a salary of 400 merks (£22 : 3 : 4). In 1636 a more detailed set of rules was drawn up by the Town Council to be observed by those who should use the Library. It is noticeable that in the preamble to these Rules the Town Council ignored Mr. Clement Little, and gave a somewhat fanciful account of the origin of the Library; for they said: "Whereas the Provost of this Burgh for the time having *at the foundation of the College* within this Burgh *caused a Library to be kept for gathering of books* for the use of Students and advancement of learning," etc. And they proceed to ordain that the Library shall be "made patent to all Students who shall be immatriculate and make faith in manner underwritten" (*i.e.* swear that they will neither steal nor deface the books). This Act then gave a special interest in the Library to matriculated Students, which had never been done before. The Library henceforth ceased to be "the Town's Library," and became definitely "the College Library." Still outsiders were to be allowed, after taking the oath, to have the privilege of reading in the Library; but the quaint order was made that the Keeper should "admit none to their oath who has not been educate within the said College *before first they give in some new book to the said Library.*" The oath appears to have been taken before certain of the Bailies during the session 1636-37 by forty-two persons, among whom were Hannay, the Dean of Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, formerly Rector of the College, the Principal and Regents, and of the rest perhaps the majority were Students. In the following year, amongst others, Drummond of Hawthornden took the oath, and thus was again able to consult his own books. It was ordered that the Keeper should "not suffer any students to take down any books at their own hands that shall not be chained;" which shows that a few,

<sup>1</sup> At whom Jennie Geddes was said to have flung her stool.



at all events, of the books were so secured, though Morer in 1688 praised the Library for having bookcases closed in with wire instead of a multitude of chains.<sup>1</sup> The Library was to be used solely as a reading-room ; the books were never to be lent out. In summer the Library was to be open six hours a day, except on Sundays—from 7 to 9 A.M., from 10 to 12 A.M., and from 2 to 4 P.M. ; in winter it was to be open from 10 to 12, and from 2 till 4. Minute regulations were added for preventing the damage or destruction of books.

With so many hours of attendance required for so small a salary it is not to be wondered at that neither Mr. Logie nor his immediate successors continued to hold office long. Between 1635 and 1667 there was a succession of no less than ten Librarians ; probably none of these persons had a peculiar vocation for the employment. But in 1667 the Town Council found out a born Librarian in the person of Mr. William Henderson, who showed great zeal and fidelity in his office, so that after he had held it for seven years his salary was augmented from 400 to 600 merks yearly in consideration of his great diligence. Besides fulfilling his duties towards the books, he acted also as Secretary to the College, an office which was henceforth combined with that of Librarian. Such minutes, however, as W. Henderson kept of the Meetings of "the Faculty" of the College, were contained in that "Old College Register" which was seized by the Town Council in 1703, and is now unfortunately lost (see Vol. I. p. 245 note). We possess his handwriting, however, in an accurate register of the books<sup>2</sup> and other objects presented to the Library during his term of office, preceded by a complete catalogue of former benefactors of the College ; also in the Graduation Book where for a series of years he entered the laureations ; also (and for this particular gratitude is owing to him) in a complete MS.

<sup>1</sup> Morer's *Short Account*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Among the benefactions of that day was a bequest of 2000 volumes made in 1678 by Mr. James Nairne, Minister of Wemyss. This collection was a more solid and valuable one than that of Drummond. Nairne had graduated in 1650 under Thomas Craufurd as Regent. After he had been many years in charge of the parish of Wemyss he was afflicted with the stone, and came to Edinburgh to be near the physicians of those days. He was accommodated with lodgings within the College, and dying there, bequeathed £4000 (Scots) to found some bur-saries in Theology, and also left his library to the College.

copy of Craufurd's *Memoirs* of the College from its origin down to 1646.

After holding the Librarianship for eighteen years William Henderson resigned it in favour of his son, Robert Henderson, who had graduated M.A. in 1684, and who was appointed Librarian in 1685. He was the first person to introduce *Bibliotheks-wissenschaft* into the management of the College Library. For this purpose he got leave to travel and inspect the modes of arrangement and cataloguing adopted in foreign libraries. During his absence his father was allowed to officiate for him as Librarian. On his return he arranged the books in presses according to the subjects of which they treated, and he made a catalogue of them in that order, which still exists in his handwriting with a Latin dedication to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, and to Dr. Gilbert Rule, Principal of the College. It is curious that while making this catalogue it should not have occurred to him to make it in double form. When it was finished he started afresh to make an alphabetical catalogue: but, though he continued as Librarian till 1747, altogether sixty-two years,—a longer period of office than any one else connected with the University of Edinburgh has attained,—he never succeeded in accomplishing this object.<sup>1</sup>

After Robert Henderson's long incumbency a succession of Professors held the office of Librarian. These were:—

(1) 1747-1763. George Stuart, Professor of Humanity, who appears to have been inefficient in his management of the Library.

(2) 1763-1785. James Robertson, Professor of Hebrew, who at once engaged as Assistant, at £15 a year, with board, a Mr. Duke Gordon, and he proved to be a most valuable person. Three or four Students, at 5s. a week, were also enlisted; and, with the aid of this staff, a catalogue was finished in two years, and this being written only on one side of the page was readily cut up into an alphabetical catalogue, which in two years more was all copied out again, occupying four volumes folio. Thus in

<sup>1</sup> According to Dalzel's account Robert Henderson must have been a quaint and eccentric character. Meagre and emaciated in figure, he was full of self-satisfaction; used to show off his powers of speaking Latin, and to avow his fear of approaching a certain ruinous wall in the old College, which, it had been prophesied, would fall on some very learned man.

1767 the problem was solved of giving the Library an alphabetical catalogue.<sup>1</sup>

(3) From 1785 to 1806, Andrew Dalzel, Professor of Greek ; (4) from 1806 to 1809, George Dunbar, also Professor of Greek ; (5) from 1809 to 1822, Andrew Duncan, *secundus*, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, and afterwards of *Materia Medica* ; and (6) from 1822 to 1854, Alexander Brunton, Professor of Hebrew, were successively Librarians. They had extremely small salaries in that capacity—£30 per annum ; but some of them held also the office of Secretary of Senatus, and drew certain fees for the issue of diplomas, amounting perhaps to £150 per annum. The custom of appointing Professors to the Librarianship had begun when the University was at an early stage of its development, and did well enough. But, in proportion as both the Library and the rest of the University system developed, it became more and more improper that a Professor should undertake the charge of the Library in addition to the duties of his Chair. So the Town Council acted very wisely when, in 1854, they put a stop to the system, and appointed as Librarian Mr. John Small, who had been long connected with the University as a Student, and who had in 1847 succeeded his father in the office of principal Assistant Librarian.<sup>2</sup>

Having sketched the history of the Librarianship of the University to the present day, we may now turn back to trace the growth of the Library itself. For a hundred years<sup>3</sup> it was the

<sup>1</sup> Professor Robertson's catalogue, with additions and insertions, served as the catalogue of the library until 1812, when its transcription, incorporating all the additions, was begun by the Rev. Mr. Morison, and finished after twelve years' labour. This transcription forms in the main the catalogue now in use, though several volumes have of late been re-written. It is now complete to the present date, bound in twenty-five volumes folio, with spaces left for additions. The idea of printing it was suggested twenty years ago, but rejected on account of the great expense.

<sup>2</sup> After the appointment of Mr. Duke Gordon as his Assistant, by Professor Robertson, there was always a principal Assistant Librarian, and this functionary often did the whole work, leaving the office of Librarian nearly honorary. Among the Assistant Librarians were some distinguished names, as for instance, that of the Rev. Hew Scott, author of the *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, and Mr. Alexander Bower, author of the *History of the University of Edinburgh*.

<sup>3</sup> The Advocates' Library was founded in 1682 by Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate for Scotland.

sole public Library in Edinburgh, and, though we find occasional notices in the City Records of small purchases of books made by the Town Council, its chief source of increase during that period continued to be donations and bequests by private individuals. But by the Act of Queen Anne of 1710 the University of Edinburgh, in common with the other Universities of Great Britain, obtained the right to claim a copy of every book registered in Stationers' Hall, and this, of course, produced a constant influx of contemporary literature and printed matter, whereby the bulk of the Library at all events was considerably increased, and many valuable works, amid a heap of lumber, were obtained. The University had, however, frequently to assert itself in order to prevent its privilege from being evaded. Thus in 1733 we find Principal Smith waiting on the Lord Advocate, Solicitor-General, and Mr. Dundas of Arnistoun, to ask them to take care of the interest of the University with regard to published books.

In 1737 there came the first beginning of an internal fund for the support of the Library. In that year Dr. William Wishart, having been admitted as Principal, declared that, "in lieu of any entertainment usual at admission of Masters, he proposed to make a compliment of some money (£10 sterling) and a parcel of curious books to the Library."<sup>1</sup> This was done, and it became henceforth the custom that Professors, on their admission, instead of giving a dinner to the rest of the Senatus, should present £5 to the Library. The development of a Library Fund of a substantial character dates, however, from the year 1763, which was indeed the commencement of a new era for the Library in many ways. The books had been some years before replaced, as before mentioned, in the Upper Hall; Professor James Robertson, with his able Assistant Duke Gordon, was undertaking to arrange and catalogue them; and his illustrious namesake, William Robertson the historian, had just been made Principal. One of the first acts of Dr. Robertson's Principalship was to propose new rules for the Library: all Professors who had not hitherto subscribed were to pay £5 each, and all Students (except the Divinity Students, who had a separate Library of their own) were to pay half-a-crown each. This was to be collected in December of each

<sup>1</sup> The names of these books are unfortunately not recorded in the minutes of Senatus.

year, and each Student, on payment, was to "receive from the Librarian a ticket entitling him to all the privileges of a *Civis* for one year." Thus the first form of matriculation tickets was a ticket admitting to citizenship, not of the University in general, but of the Library.<sup>1</sup> At the same time it was laid down that all persons receiving honorary degrees in Law or Divinity should pay £10 each towards the Library.

Under these regulations a solid fund was provided, though not of very large amount. A statement of the receipts from 1762 to 1787 shows those of the first year to have been the largest. They are entered as follows :—

" 1762-63. Collected for the General Branch .	£	132	13	0
" " " Medical Branch .		126	5	9
		£258 18 9."		

The remainder of the years nearly averaged this, but never came up to it, though the Students, in the meantime, under Principal Robertson had nearly doubled in number. The reason is plain ; at first the thing was a novelty ; "Matriculation," as it came to be called, was quite voluntary, and the Students soon found out that they did not get very much for their money, for Matriculation did not commence till the 10th of December, and thus the first six weeks of the session were lost, and then the Library was only open for four days a week. The Town Council, as we have seen above (p. 12), afterwards took the regulation of the Matriculation Fund into their own hands, and made a better thing of it.

Principal Robertson doubtless introduced a liberal spirit into the administration of the Library, so as to extend its usefulness as much as possible. But in 1764 he was betrayed into a bad bargain, which he, as head of the University, and George Drummond, as Lord Provost, both accepted. This was an offer from the College of Surgeons to make over their own Library to the University, and to pay £5 per annum, on condition that each Fellow of the College of Surgeons should have equal privileges with a Professor, in respect of consulting and borrowing books. The Surgeons' Library was said to consist of three hundred

<sup>1</sup> It is probable, though not certain, that at this period the custom of lending books out of the Library first commenced.

volumes, mostly antiquated, on Surgery and Pharmacy, and £5 per annum was a very inadequate contribution. In course of time the Senatus felt quite aggrieved at the result of the bargain, and Professor Leslie stated to the Commission of 1826: "Thirty was the number of Surgeons when this wretched contract was made; but they now amount to ninety, of whom above sixty are in the daily habit of frequenting the Library; they roam about the different rooms, distracting the attention of the under Librarians, and they borrow more than six hundred volumes of all kinds for themselves and their apprentices." The Commissioners of 1858-62 made an equitable adjustment of the relations of the College of Surgeons to the University Library. They ordained that the annual payment of £5 should be continued, and that any Fellow of the College, resident in or near Edinburgh, might be allowed to borrow ten volumes at a time from the Library on a payment of £1 a year.

In 1794 the Senatus resolved that of the four days a week during which the Library was open two should be set apart for issuing and two for receiving back books. This arrangement shows what limited facilities were afforded to the Students in those days, for making use of the Library. Books might be taken out, indeed, but only during two hours on two days in the week. This is a great contrast to the present system, under which a Student can take out books during six days in the week, and can every day sit in the reading-room consulting the books of the Library.

In 1806 the Matriculation fee was raised to 5s., by which the Library Fund was increased from an average of £250 to about £400 per annum. Matriculation being still voluntary, about half the Students in the University declined to matriculate. This last fact was brought out in a Memorial to the Treasury from the Senatus Academicus, submitted in 1808, when the Government had actually proposed to levy a tax of 10s. a head on Students matriculating in the Universities of Great Britain. The Senatus pointed out that in Edinburgh "Matriculation implied simply the enrolment of the name of a Student in the Album of the University, and conferred no immunity, emolument, or privilege, civil or political, whatever, except the right of borrowing books for perusal from the University Library, and of obtaining at any future period a certificate of enrolment." In 1812 the

Matriculation fee was raised to 10s., and in 1826 it was reported to the Royal Commission that the income of the Library from this source, *plus* payments on diplomas for degrees and a few other small items, amounted to £1150. This income, however, was subject to deductions not only for payment of Library Assistants, but also for the wages of Janitors; for the Matriculation Fund was now treated as a fund for "Library and Police." So that out of the £1150 only about £400 nett was available for buying books.

In 1825 the present fine building for the Library was in course of erection, and a Committee of the Senatus reported that a great portion of the books in the old Upper Hall were in such a condition that they could not be removed into their new quarters without previous renovation. On minute inquiry they found that there were about 70,000 volumes altogether, and they estimated that of these 1500 must be bound, and 8500 repaired, before the Library could be moved; and altogether that at least £2000 would be required to meet the cost of removal. The Senatus at once took vigorous action on this report; they obtained a cash credit of £2500 at Messrs. Forbes and Co.'s Bank on the security of General Reid's legacy; they retained the services of Mr. David Laing, the great antiquarian and bibliophile, to superintend the arrangement and binding of the books, and they set up a binder's establishment of their own in apartments on the basement story of the north side of their new quadrangle. In November 1827 the Committee reported the completion of the arduous task. The work had been directed with loving zeal and great discretion by David Laing; 13,000 volumes had been repaired, and 3000 rebound, at a total cost of £2060; and the Clement Little and Drummond-of-Hawthornden Collections, "the one the nucleus, the other the chief ornament of the Library," had each been clothed in handsome and appropriate bindings. The books had been removed by stages to the new building, and the old College Library had been condemned to demolition. This was indeed a production of order and symmetry out of chaos. In its former inconvenient apartments the Library, undermined in officers and unprovided with sufficient funds for keeping the books in repair, had run to seed, and confusion had got the upper hand. But now, like the snake in spring, *positis novus exuviis nitidusque juvena*, whatever of worth that Library con-

tained was to come forth new-organised, trim, and available. The Senatus expressed, as they well might, their great gratitude to Mr. Laing for his skill and perseverance.

More than half a century later David Laing<sup>1</sup> laid the University

<sup>1</sup> The name of this incomparable scholar in Scottish history, literature, and antiquities, is a household word in Edinburgh. But it is a name that should always be commemorated in special connection with the University of Edinburgh. Therefore it is fitting to set down here some brief notices of him, in case that this book should come into the hands of any one who has lived beyond the reach of David Laing's fame. Son of an antiquarian bookseller in South Bridge Street, close to the University, he was bred up in a shop which became the haunt of men of letters, and thus was from an early age associated with Walter Scott, Allan Cunningham, and other celebrities. He was soon master of his trade; but he not only knew all about books and their value from a professional point of view; he became a profound student of their contents, and then applying his stores of ever-accumulating knowledge, and pursuing a career of calm and unremitting labour during a life which was prolonged, without a day's illness, for eighty-five years, he became the greatest editor of the monuments of a national literature that has ever been seen. From 1821 to 1878 (when he died) he is said to have edited, or assisted in editing, no less than two hundred and fifty volumes. His most important production was his *Works of John Knox, now first collected and edited*, in six volumes (1846-1864). He produced admirable editions of the early Scottish poets, such as Henryson, Dunbar, Sir David Lyndsay, etc. He unearthed all sorts of curious records and brought them to light, as for instance the notes made by Drummond of Ben Jonson's visit to Hawthornden, and of his conversations with him. Owing to David Laing's unsparing activity in this way, an eminent English historian recently complained, after searching the Advocates' Library, that "in Scotland nothing had been left unprinted." He threw immense light on the History of the Church of Scotland, both in præ-Reformation and post-Reformation times, and also on the development of Scottish art, on which, as Professor of Antiquities to the Royal Academy of Scotland, he delivered an admirable set of lectures. Nothing old and Scottish came amiss to him. He was for thirty-eight years Honorary Secretary to the Bannatyne Club, founded by Sir Walter Scott, and, working without stipend, edited for them about forty volumes, mostly in quarto. As fellow of the Antiquarian Society he constantly contributed papers to their Transactions, and he was for twenty-four years their Foreign Secretary. Amongst his other works he did the University of Edinburgh the service of printing its catalogue of Graduates (1858), and editing Dalzel's *History of the University* (1861). In 1837 he was made Librarian to the Society of Writers to the Signet, and their Library under him grew to be a collection of peculiar value for historical research. In 1864 the University, as in duty bound, bestowed on him the honorary degree of LL.D.; but he always requested his friends to refrain from calling him "Doctor." In 1865 he had another and closer connection with the University conferred upon him, for Thomas Carlyle, when elected to be Lord Rector, appointed him to be his Assessor in the University Court, which office he held for three years. Such are some



under additional obligation by bequeathing to its Library—towards which, perhaps, he had that affection which arises from *il grande studio ed il longo labore*—the valuable collection of MSS. and of written documents bearing on the history and biography of Scotland which during a long life he had got together.

Not long after its new start the Library, as some say, sustained a loss, but more probably made a gain, by the Act of 1837, which withdrew from the Scottish Universities the privilege of receiving copies of all works entered at Stationers' Hall, and in lieu thereof granted to each of them a compensation in money. In 1826 the Senatus stated to the Royal Commission that the average number of volumes received under the Stationers' Hall privilege was about 850 per annum, and they estimated the value of these volumes, at trade price, to have been £300. In 1837 they made a return, after more particular inquiry, to H.M. Treasury, estimating the average annual value of the books at £718; whereon the Treasury, deducting from this amount 20 per cent for cost of carriage, booksellers' discount, etc., set down the annual value to the University of the Stationers' Hall privilege at £575, and agreed to grant that sum yearly as compensation.

Down to the present day this £575 has continued to form the main part of the amount expended annually in buying books for the Library. In 1846 the sum of £400 per annum was set apart from the Reid Bequest for making additions to the Library, and this amount was treated as a fund for creating a memorial to General Reid. It was laid out on fine and costly books, under the advice of Principal Lee, who was a great bibliophile; and these, being handsomely bound and placed in a separate apartment called the "Reid Room," constitute a notable feature in the Library. After some years, owing to the disputes about the distribution of the Reid Fund (to be related hereafter), this definite allotment was withdrawn. The Commissioners laid down no injunctions as to the expenditure of University funds on the

slight indications of the career of a man who, while he has left so much of his life-work behind him, has taken away with him what can never be restored. As Professor Cosmo Innes said of him in presenting him for his degree, "No wise man will undertake a literary work in Scotland without taking counsel with Mr. Laing." And the writer of these pages feels that they were begun too late, having been deprived of the advantage they might have derived from the counsel of so great an oracle.

Library, but it has been the practice for a long time for the Senatus, under sanction of the University Court, to vote £225 a year for the purchase of books, making up, with the £575 from Government, £800 a year for this purpose. This amount is expended under the direction of a large Library Committee, on which all the Faculties are represented, which Committee has taken the place of the Library "Curators," who used to be eight Professors, four for the "Medical Branch," and four for the "General Branch," and who performed similar functions for nearly one hundred years previous to 1862.

The salaries of officers and other expenses of the Library amount now to about £1200 a year, so that the total outlay on the Library, including the Government Grant, is about £2000 a year. And this is perhaps as much as the present state of the University funds will admit. But £800 a year for buying books is inadequate to put the University Library anything like within the first rank of public Libraries, and the amount should, when possible, be increased. On the other hand, the Library contains 140,000 volumes, and every Professor on application gets added to it whatever new books relative to his own science or subject he may require. Thus as a practical, working, educational Library, it is perhaps unsurpassed, especially when we consider the great facilities for its use that are afforded, and the great number of persons who daily avail themselves of those facilities. The ideal of a library, according to some, is a collection of fine copies of books, complete in various departments, rich in unique specimens,—all beautifully arranged, without spot or blemish, and reposing undisturbed in serene dignity. But a truer conception of wealth tells us that it consists *ἐν χρήσει, οὐκ ἐν κτήσει*,—in use, rather than in possession. And to this latter conception the University Library corresponds: there is an immense wear and tear of its books, but after all it was their *raison d'être* to be worn out by reading, that the ideas contained in them might take a fresh start in the minds of men. If we regard a Library, as we surely ought to, as a means and not as an end, the Library of the University of Edinburgh certainly performs in an admirable way its proper function.

But besides sufficing for the ordinary needs of Students working in different departments, the Library has its own specialities

and matters for boasting. Chief among these is the Halliwell Collection of Shakespeareana munificently presented by Dr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps to the University some years ago, and subsequently augmented by him from time to time. This collection contains, either in original or in *facsimile*, every edition of Shakespeare's plays issued before the Restoration, and its completeness in this respect is unique. The Laing Collection of MSS. draws many scholars and bookmakers to the Library. Then there is the Baillie Collection of Persian and Arabic MSS., and the rich Collection of Works on Political Economy collected by the late Professor Hodgson, and presented by his widow. There is much to show the visitor in the way of illuminated missals; and the Library is opulent in splendidly illustrated works on Botany, Zoology, and other Natural and Medical Sciences.

The Library has also its curiosities. The most famous of these is the original parchment of the Bohemian Protest (1415) against the procedure of the Council of Constance in burning John Huss, with a hundred seals of the Bohemian nobles attached to it. According to Morer,<sup>1</sup> who saw the document in 1688, it was borrowed by a Scottish gentleman from the Library at Dantzic, and then, under some misunderstanding, carried off by him. However this may be, the City Records for 15th January 1658 tell us that it was bequeathed to the College of Edinburgh by Dr. Guild<sup>2</sup> of Aberdeen. They ordered Professor Craufurd to copy and translate it, but he does not seem to have done so, as two years later a "translation of the Bohemian Covenant from Latin into Scots" by Christopher Irving (afterwards historiographer for Scotland) came down from London and was paid for by the Town Council. When Morer visited the College Library he saw there a skull of remarkable thinness, said to have been that of George Buchanan. But this quondam receptacle of wit and Latinity, if the tradition about it be true, has subsequently been removed to the Anatomical Museum.

Some faint interest attaches to a relic of a different kind. At

<sup>1</sup> *Short Account*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Guild had been made Principal of King's College in 1640, and in 1651 had been deposed as a royalist. He left his library to the University of St. Andrews, and the above MS. to the College of Edinburgh. See an interesting paper by Mr. John Small in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. III. p. 408.

the entrance to the noble Hall of the Library—one hundred and ninety feet in length, and decorated along both its sides with the busts of former Professors—stands an octagon table, which served as the dining-table of Napoleon Buonaparte during his captivity in St. Helena. It was bought by Mr. Robert Mayne, H.E.I.C.S., who happened to touch at St. Helena on his way home from India just after Napoleon's death, and was presented by him to the University. We can tell where Napoleon used to sit, for a circular hole has been burnt into the table by the pastiles which the ex-Emperor used daily to light at the conclusion of his repast.

#### APPENDIX P. THE HISTORY OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

I. PORTIONS of the old College buildings have been seen still standing by many men now alive, and we have prints to show what the old Library, the Principal's house, and part of the south side of the College looked like. But there is no print of the buildings collectively, nor any such record of the north front with its gate-tower, which must have been the most striking feature of the whole. The *Bird's-eye View of Edinburgh*, by Gordon of Rothiemay (1646), is evidently very inaccurate, for it represents the College as consisting of complete and regularly-built courts, whereas at that time the *enceinte* of the College was still incomplete, and its buildings were straggling and irregular. Edgar's *Plan of Edinburgh* (1742)<sup>1</sup> is more instructive; it carefully marks out the different blocks of buildings, but it is on too small a scale to assist the fancy. It shows the old College occupying the same site as the present University quadrangle, and divided into three courts,—two small ones to the north, and a larger court to the south. This state of things, however, was not arrived at till near the middle of the seventeenth century.

When the Town Council opened the College in 1583 its only buildings were Hamilton House and the "Reid chambers," running off from its northern corner to the east (see above, Vol. I. p. 128). The ground, which is now level, then rose considerably to the south. Some few years afterwards the Town Council bought out one Fenton, a comptroller's clerk, who held the Provostal

<sup>1</sup> Given in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*.



From Edgar's PLAN OF EDINBURGH. 1742



Manse of the Kirk-of-Field on a feu granted him by John Gib and turned this into chambers for Students. At a later period this house became the official residence of the Principal of the College. At the end of the sixteenth century the College buildings consisted of Hamilton House and its wing, and, removed from it by some rough steep ground, probably still encumbered with the ruins of the church, the Provostal Manse, standing at what is now the south-east corner of the University. These very un-academical-looking buildings, though within the Flodden wall, were still virtually in the country. There was nothing beyond the College to the south except, perhaps, a few houses in Potterrow. To reach the City from it the ravine of the Cowgate had to be crossed, into which descended what was afterwards called the College Wynd.

Hamilton House afforded a tolerably large hall, which was used for the Magistrand class, and for meetings of the whole College, and also class-rooms for the Bachelors, the Semies, the Bajans, the Humanity class, and the Divinity Students, besides three sleeping apartments. The Reid building contained fourteen sleeping chambers, and the Manse four.<sup>1</sup> Early in the seventeenth century the number of the Students had risen to over three hundred, and it was then found that the hall in Hamilton House was "too strait for the public meeting of all the five classes and students of Divinity." This caused "the first visitation of the College" in May 1614, the visitors being sixteen of the Town Council, the five City Ministers, and three Advocates as assessors. Their "visitation" was a mere inspection of the premises, and "the result of their consultation was to resolve that a common hall for public assemblies and acts (*i.e.* graduation ceremonies), with a hall for keeping economy above it, should be built, 120 feet long and 30 feet broad."<sup>2</sup> In a subsequent Act of the Town Council, however, dated 29th December 1615, this resolution was modified, and it was resolved that the upper hall in the building to be erected should be laid out as a Library, and not as a common dining-hall for the College. The work was vigorously begun in February 1616, and a building of the dimensions before-mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Whether the Manse in those days served for any other collegiate purpose besides affording sleeping accommodation, Craufurd, from whom the above particulars are gathered, does not mention.

<sup>2</sup> Craufurd, p. 80.

was erected, running from west to east, to the south of Hamilton House, and somewhat removed from it to the east.

Class-rooms, Graduation Hall, and Library having been thus provided, the next want that was felt was for more "chambers." Craufurd says that "diverse good citizens were ready to help this defect, save that always some particular men of the Council hindered the granting of liberty to them to build on the ground of the College." It is difficult to understand the feeling which can have induced Town Councillors to oppose the granting of leave to persons who wished to become benefactors of the College and to enlarge its fabric. However, in 1625 Principal Adamson "prevailed that Sir Thomas Hope, then entered to be King's Advocate, should have liberty to build two chambers; which favour shortly thereafter was extended to William Rig of Atherney, who lately had been Bailie of the city."

In the City Records of 4th May 1625 we find a statement of the intentions of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall (the founder of the Hopetoun family). He says that as "for advancement of learning there is nothing more expedient for youth than fit occasions of study, and convenient places whereunto young students may for their better exercise retire themselves, the more easily to apply their mind to their books, and seeing that in King James' College within this burgh there is nothing more lacking than chambers, and that there are sufficient and fit bounds to build therein, he has therefore declared that for beginning and encouraging others well disposed to the like work, he is willing to build within the said College, upon his own charge, two chambers in such place as it shall please my Lord Provost and others to design unto him;" under the condition that "the children<sup>1</sup> procreate of the said Mr. Thomas' body shall occupy and possess the said chambers, one or both, as they shall need during their course in the said College rent-free if they please." And also that there shall always be a preference to his lineal descendants in claiming the chambers. On the 23d June 1626 two more chambers were provided for by William Rig, in precisely similar terms to the foregoing.

This record throws a new light upon the character of the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Hope himself graduated at the College in 1592. His second son, Thomas Hope, afterwards Lord President, graduated in 1625. Five years later there was an Alexander Hope among the graduates.



intended "chambers." They were not to be sleeping apartments, but rather "studies," to be occupied in the intervals of class-teaching by youths resident in the town. Probably Sir Thomas was thinking of his own family, who would not want to sleep in the chambers, but would only use them as "convenient places of retirement," though poorer Students might use them as lodgings.

The block of building which contained the four chambers provided for by Sir Thomas Hope and Bailie Rig (1625-26) was of sufficient extent to constitute the south side of the first or westmost "small close" and the boundary between it and the larger quadrangle, afterwards made, to the south. Owing to the rise in the ground, a great deal of underbuilding was found necessary in erecting these chambers.

In 1636-37 "the new great gate of the College, looking to the north, was built, and a wall drawn about the new lower court," that is to say, that the small close having previously got two sides in the shape of Hamilton House and the Hope and Rig Chambers, the commencement of a third side was made in the shape of a main portal for the College, about the middle of what is now Chambers Street, and opposite the College Wynd. And then the square was completed by a wall on its northern and western sides.

There was in the Town Council at this time a very zealous promoter of all the interests of the College—John Jossie, who in 1640 was made the first College Treasurer (see following Appendix), and who, besides taking charge of the College revenues and trust-funds, appears to have obtained several grants of municipal money, as well as several contributions from private individuals, for the extension of the College buildings. He first built a flight of steps leading from the lower or northern into the higher or southern court. Then he greatly improved the means of access to the different class-rooms. Then "he built at his own charge the chamber above the great gate," and several citizens,<sup>1</sup> following his example, provided funds by donation or bequest with which a series of chambers were built, completing the north front of the then College, and answering to the western half of the north front of the present University quadrangle. "There was a considerable

<sup>1</sup> The names of John Trotter, Robert Ellis, Robert Johnstone, Robert Fleming, Laurence Henderson, George Suttie, William Thomson, James Murray, Andrew Simpson, Archibald Synserf, and James Monteith, are recorded, and were given to their respective chambers. Most of them were Town Councillors.

number of honest and bountiful citizens," says Craufurd, "resolute to continue the work of building along the west wall, as far almost as the latrines, and from thence eastward to the Provost's lodging ; but at first the charges of building, becoming exorbitant, stumbled them ; afterward the great troubles that ensued did outwear the most part of them." So that at this time (1640-45) the west side of the College courts was nearly but not quite built in with a series of chambers. The south-west corner and the south side (all but the Provost's Manse) remained open.

The Upper Hall, built in 1616, seems not to have been found convenient as a Library, and in 1642 Jossie began to build a new Library in the space between Hamilton House and the College Halls. Bailie John Fleming had bequeathed 4000 merks for this purpose, and a sum of money placed by Lady Foret in the hands of Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister of Edinburgh, "for some public use," was also applied to it. Jossie gave, indeed, a very great stimulus to the extension of the College fabric, and his name deserves to be commemorated in the list of those who were most prominent in making the College what it grew to be in the second period of its development.

In 1641, during the time of Jossie's Treasurership to the College, the Town Council set themselves to carry out the wishes of Bartholomew Somerville, who had provided 6000 merks "for building a house for the Professor of Divinity ;—the said house to bear the ensign, name, and arms of the said Mr. Bartholomew, in his remembrance." They resolved, however, that 6000 merks (£333 : 6 : 8) would be "insufficient to erect a house of any competency ; and that opportunity offered to buy the house of the late Sir James Skene for 7000 merks." They accordingly ordered Somerville's bequest, with the interest which had accrued upon it, to be applied to the purchase of Sir James Skene's house, and that this should be fitted up "for two dwelling houses for the use of the College." This was probably done, though there is no record of the occupation of the house by College Professors. But fifteen years later, in 1656, the Town Council "find Sir James Skene's house, which they had purchased, altogether ruinous and defaced ; that it cannot be repaired and rebuilt without great charges ; and that a more convenient house may be built for the said College, as cheaply, within the precinct thereof."

They accordingly sold Sir James Skene's house<sup>1</sup> to the Deacon of the Surgeons for 3000 merks, with 10 merks feu-duty. And on the 3d September 1656 "Mylne the builder" contracted to build for £8333 : 6 : 8 (Scots) a sufficient dwelling-house for the Professor of Divinity, and six complete chambers for Students.

This house constituted the north-east corner of the old College buildings, being at right angles to the old College Halls and Library. Over its door there was an effigy of Somerville, cut in stone, with the following inscription:—"Magistro Bartholemæo Somervillio Urbis municipi munificentissimo Qui in pios in Urbe et Academiæ usus 40,000 m. testamento legavit Urbs Edinburgena hoc monumentum p. c." The Professor of Divinity's garden extended as far as the west wall of the Infirmary; it was afterwards taken for the site of South Bridge Street; and the house itself was the first part of the old buildings that was pulled down in 1790 to make room for Adam's new University.

Somewhat later than 1656 the building of the tower over the north gate of the College was commenced. It was not finished till 1686. In the *Caledonian Mercury* for the 26th April 1790, after this most striking feature of the old College had been sentenced to demolition, we find a graphic account of its history and appearance. "The steeple," says this old newspaper, "from the inscription which it bears, seems to have been erected at the expense of a person of the name of Thomas Burnet. It is a tall tower about twelve feet square and six stories high, or about eighty feet from the ground to the top of the wall, upon which is a pavilion roof terminated with a vane. The different small chambers of which it consisted, and which were entered from a turnpike stair, made a part of the house inhabited by the Professor of Greek. The front, to the north, is of polished ashlar work, with rustic corners. Immediately over the gate are the City arms, but wanting supporters; and higher up, betwixt two of the windows, are the arms, as is supposed, of the above-mentioned Thomas Burnet. The same arms are on the south side, towards the College, over a window; and under them the following inscription:—

" *Dum floret studiosa cohors, campanave pulsat,  
Semper honos nomenque tuum, Burnete, manebunt.*"

<sup>1</sup> It stood in the old "High School Yards," and, having been acquired by the corporation of Surgeons, became afterwards the site of their Hall.

From which it appears that a bell was intended to be hung in this tower; which intention however was not fulfilled, the College bell being in a smaller tower near the upper area. High up on the south front is a sun-dial, with T. B. inscribed on it and the year 1686."

About the same time the long, low range of buildings on the south side of the College, called "Earl Teviot's Chambers," was built. Over the doorway in the centre of them the following inscription was placed:—" *Musæ hæc quater gemina, Academiæ hujus Alumnus, Andreas Rutherfordiæ Regulus, Tevotiæ Comes, Tangiræ Præfectus, belli pacisque artibus domi forisque clarus, testamento extrui jussit.* May 30, A.D. 1664." They contained a hall, which at some time or other was used as a guard-room for the City guard. It was afterwards appropriated to meetings of the Principal and Professors; and thus when the present Senate Hall was built it was at first called the "Guard Hall," in continuance of old associations.

The old College being thus complete, we have two separate descriptions of its appearance from the pens of Englishmen. The first is in the *Short Account of Scotland* of the Rev. T. Morer, who saw it in 1688-89. He says: "South of the Cowgate, and on a rising stands the College, consisting of one small quadrangle, and some other lodgings without uniformity or order, built at several times, and by diverse benefactors, who thought probably to be better distinguished by this variety of forms and situations in those buildings."

A second and more complimentary sketch was drawn in 1709 by the eminent non-conformist Dr. Edmund Calamy, who came to Edinburgh that year to visit his friend Carstares, and to get an honorary degree from the University. Calamy says: "The College is a good building, with three courts. There is a high tower over the great gate, which looks to the city. The public schools are large and convenient. There are also accommodations in the College for a number of students to lodge, though they are seldom made use of but by those in meaner circumstances. There are also handsome dwellings for the Professors and Principal, with good gardens."<sup>1</sup>

We thus have Calamy's evidence to the fact that the "cham-

<sup>1</sup> Calamy's *Historical Account of My Own Life*, Vol. II. p. 175.

bers" so generously subscribed for by good citizens in the middle of the seventeenth century were not sought after by Students fifty years later. Evidently, from want of endowments for the support of a common table, the original idea of a College with collegiate life had broken down. And this is still more strongly brought out in the following curious return extracted from the City Records, and stating the use to which the several chambers were applied in 1733:—

A List of the Chambers within the College of Edinburgh, by whom possessed, and the Rent they pay (being a Report to the Town Council, 19th December 1733).

Names of Chambers.	Their No.	Whereof.		Nos. on Doors.	The High possessed by	Pays Yearly Rent.
		High.	Laigh.			
High & Laigh Trances	8	4	4	5	Mr. Robt. Stewart's Class	£1 6 8
				6	Mr. Adam Watt's Class	
				7	Mr. Adam Watt	
				8	Mr. Robert Freebairn, Printer	
The Earl of Teviot's	8	4	4	9	The Library	£1 6 8
				13	Mr. Colin M'Lauran	
				14	Mr. Laurance Dundass, a dwelling-house	
				15		
16	Mr. William Scott					
Drummond	1	1	—	20		
Dod's	1	1	—			
Boyd's	1	1	—	21	Mr. Robert Stewart	
Sandilands'	1	1	—			
Bonnar's	2	1	1	23	Mr. Colin Drummond	
Barns'	2	1	1	27	Mr. William Scot	
Jollie's	2	1	1	28	Mr. William Scot	
Lauder's	2	1	1	29	Mrs. Moncur	1 6 8
Wiseman's	2	1	1	32	John Paton, Bookseller	1 6 8
Sydserf's	2	1	1	33	Mr. Adam Watt	
Monteith's	3	1½	1½	35	Pat. Crokot, Janitor	
Hope's	2	1	1	37	Mr. Wauchope of Niddrie	1 6 8
Rigg's	2	1	1	38	Mr. John Stevenson	
Murray's	2	1	1	42	Pat. Crokot, Janitor	
Thomson's	2	1	1	45	The Academy for Painting	
Henderson's	1	1	—	46	Mr. Dawson	
Suttie's	1	1	—			
Johnston's	4	2	2	48	Mr. Dawson	
				49		
Ellis's	2	1	1	53	Mr. Matthew Crawford	
Trotter's	2	1	1	54	Mr. Makie	
Jossie's	1	1	—	56	Mr. Ruddiman, Printer	0 16 8
Burnet's Steeple	3	3	—	57	Mr. Lauder, a Polander, and Mr. Rule	
				58		
				59		

Numbers on the Doors.	The Laigh possessed by	Pays Yearly Rent.
1	Mr. Colin Drummond	
2	Mr. John Stevenson	
3	Sir John Dalrymple	£1 6 8
4	Gavin Hamilton, Bookseller	1 0 0
10	Mr. Munro's Class	
11	Mr. Ronald Dunbar	1 0 0
12	Mr. Crawford in Glasgow	1 0 0
17	Mr. Laurance Dundass	
18	Mrs. May Cleghorn	1 0 0
19	Mr. Robert Freebairn, Printer	1 0 0
22	Mr. J. Henderson, Merchant	1 0 0
24	Messrs. Mackenzie & Gibson, Clerks	1 0 0
25	Mr. Gavin Hamilton, Bookseller	1 0 0
26	Mr. William Ker, Teacher, French	
30	Mr. Brown, Bookseller	1 0 0
31	Mr. Thos. Mercer, Comsr. Clerk	1 0 0
34	James and Charles Ramsays	
40 }	Pat. Crokot, Janitor	
41 }		
36	James Watson, Janitor's Man	1 0 0
44	Janet or Miss Taylor	
47 }		
50 }	Mr. Dawson	
51 }		
52	M'Kenzie's Office	
60	The Half-crown Vault	
61	The Hagg House	
62	Mr. Dawson, Coal-seller	
	The Great Garret above the Common Hall, set at	5 5 0

When we analyse this list we find that there were altogether fifty-seven chambers, and that of these about half were occupied by Professors (for houses or class-rooms), by the Janitor and his man, by the authorised teacher of French, by a school for painting, and by the Library.<sup>1</sup> Of the rest, we find ten or twelve given up to merchants, clerks, and tradesmen. Ruddiman, the celebrated printer, and other printers and booksellers, had, as was not inappropriate, quarters within the University. A coal-merchant was there, perhaps for the convenience of the community. "The Half-crown Vault" and "the Hagg house" are names, the meaning of which is now lost.<sup>2</sup> Three of the chambers were inhabited

<sup>1</sup> As the chambers were not built to be either family dwelling-houses or class-rooms, they must have been very inconvenient for the Professors.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly "the Half-crown Vault" may have been a cellar of which the annual rent was only half-a-crown. The "Hagg House" may have been a chamber used for storing firewood.

by women, of whose vocation there is no record. Altogether it seems probable that "Mr. Makie," inhabiting Trotter's chamber rent-free, and "Mr. Lauder, a Polander," who, jointly with "Mr. Rule," occupied three rooms in Burnet's Steeple, also rent-free, may have been poor Students. While Mr. Wauchope of Niddrie and Sir John Dalrymple, who had each a chamber at the rent of £1 : 6 : 8, of course belonged to the wealthier classes. The latter of these gentlemen was Sir John Dalrymple of Carsland, Principal Clerk of Session from 1709 till 1743, and lineal ancestor of the present Lord Stair. Sir John rented a chamber in College in all probability for the use of his son, for among the graduates of 1734 we find Dom. Hugh Dalrymple (the "Dom." being prefixed *honoris causa*). It seems likely that Hugh Dalrymple used his chamber merely as a study, according to the ideas of Sir Thomas Hope (see above, p. 186). Perhaps Mr. Wauchope of Niddrie had also a son attending the College, though the name does not appear in the list of graduates.

Altogether there was a somewhat motley population within the College walls in 1733. But the real evil was, that almost all the buildings had been constructed for other purposes than those to which they were applied. An old dwelling-house and a number of Students' chambers constituted the class-rooms. And as the first half of the eighteenth century saw the College of Edinburgh develop, in all essentials, into a flourishing University, this anomaly could not but be felt. In 1768 a Memorial by Dr. Robertson (who had been made Principal in 1762) was printed in quarto form and gratuitously distributed, setting forth the case, and appealing to the public for subscriptions towards providing the University of Edinburgh with suitable accommodation.

Principal Robertson used very different terms from the superficial eulogy of Dr. Calamy in describing the old College buildings as they appeared in 1768. He said: "A stranger, when conducted to view the University of Edinburgh, might, on seeing such courts and buildings, naturally enough imagine them to be almshouses for the reception of the poor; but would never imagine that he was entering within the precincts of a noted and flourishing seat of learning. An area which, if entire, would have formed one spacious quadrangle, is broken into three paltry divisions, and encompassed partly with walls which threaten destruction to the

passenger, and partly with a range of low houses, several of which are now become ruinous and not habitable.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of one large upper gallery, which has lately been repaired and made the public Library (see above, p. 171), and of an anatomical theatre, there is no room or building belonging to the University that has any degree of Academical decency. The teaching rooms of the Professors are, in general, mean, straitened, and inconvenient; and some Professors, whose hours of teaching follow immediately on one another, are obliged to occupy the same rooms."

In contrast with this state of things, the Memorial pointed to the improvements "lately made, and still going forwards in Edinburgh,—large buildings arising suddenly on all hands, a magnificent bridge, and new streets and squares begun."<sup>2</sup> "The University fabric alone remains in such a neglected state as to be generally accounted a dishonour to Edinburgh and to this part of the Kingdom."

The Town Council, as Patrons of the University, are exonerated from blame in this matter. "They have listened," says the Memorial, "to every reasonable demand. They have studied, from time to time, to render the accommodation of the Professors and Students more tolerable; and have, for this purpose, annually expended such sums as their public revenues would afford on these decayed buildings. But these partial reparations can neither remove the inconveniency, nor cover the deformity and meanness of the whole. It has long been thought, and the opinion is now become very general, that it is necessary to rebuild the fabric upon a new plan."

The number of Students for whom accommodation had to be provided was stated as "between six and seven hundred,"<sup>3</sup> and the number of Professors as twenty-one. The scheme for which

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that the walls and ranges of chambers, which had been built little more than one hundred years, should have become "so ruinous." They must have been put up cheaply and hastily in the seventeenth century.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the improvements and extensions made under the *Ædileship* of George Drummond: the building of the Royal Exchange and of the North Bridge, and the commencement of the New Town of Edinburgh.

<sup>3</sup> Of these it was mentioned that there were several of high rank:—"Of late, several persons of very high rank and distinction in the Kingdom have committed the education of their sons to the University of Edinburgh." See Memorial in *Scots Magazine* for 1768, p. 114.



subscriptions were invited was, to build "a large, free, and open square" over the area of the old College buildings, which was said to contain "above three acres," and in this square were to be placed, first of all, sixteen class-rooms for Professors, and secondly, a public hall, library, museum, anatomical theatre, chemical laboratory, and public schools (or examination rooms). The class-rooms were estimated to cost £6500, and the other objects enumerated £8500 more. If sufficient funds could be raised, dwelling-houses for the Professors were to be added, so as "to complete the proposed square;" and it was held out as an inducement to the public "that the Professors could then more readily, and with much less inconveniency, receive young gentlemen under their immediate care, and lodge them in their houses."

The subscription list was opened in March 1768, but seems to have hung fire; though only £6500 was asked from the public for a start, there is no trace of any response having been made to the appeal. Five years later (August 1773), when Dr. Johnson visited Edinburgh, things were *in statu quo*. Boswell says: "We proceeded to the College, with the Principal at our head. As the College buildings are indeed very mean, the Principal (Dr. Robertson) said to Dr. Johnson, that he must give them the same epithet that a Jesuit did when showing a poor College abroad: '*Hæ miseriæ nostræ.*' Dr. Johnson was, however, much pleased with the Library." One of the ruinous walls referred to in the Memorial had in the meantime been removed, and Dr. Johnson made merry over the circumstance. "I pointed out to him," says Boswell, "where there formerly stood an old wall enclosing part of the College, which I remember bulged out in a threatening manner, and of which there was a common tradition similar to that concerning Bacon's study at Oxford, that it would fall upon some very learned man. It had some time before this been taken down, that the street might be widened, and a more convenient wall built. Dr. Johnson, glad of an opportunity to have a pleasant hit at Scottish learning, said: 'They have been afraid it never would fall.'"

In 1788 some curious letters, signed "Theophrastus," appeared in the *Scots Magazine*, commenting on the changes which had passed over Edinburgh within twenty years, and point-

ing out that in some respects there had been a wonderful advance in civilisation and prosperity, and in some respects a deterioration of manners, while in some points the City had remained stationary and behindhand. Under the last head the writer says: "In 1788 the buildings of the University are in the same ruinous condition that they were in in 1768, and the most celebrated University at present in Europe is the worst accommodated. Some of the Professors have even been obliged to have lecturing rooms without the College for their numerous students. The scheme of a new College was vigorously promoted by a late public spirited magistrate;<sup>1</sup> but this useful and most necessary undertaking has not yet advanced."

In the meantime provision (though in an illusory way) had actually been made by Parliament for the rebuilding of the College. This was in a private Act, passed in 1785, which gave powers for making the South Bridge over the Cowgate, and other purposes. In the preamble it was said: "And whereas several buildings in the University of Edinburgh are in a ruinous condition, and the apartments, from the increase of students incommo- dious, which makes it necessary to rebuild the said University, or part thereof: Therefore be it enacted that the Right Hon. James Hunter Blair, the Right Hon. Henry Dundas of Melville, the Right Hon. Islay Campbell, Lord Advocate, etc. etc., shall be appointed Trustees for designing, ordering, and causing to be erected such buildings in the said University of Edinburgh as they shall think proper, and for making the access from the High Street of the said City of Edinburgh by a Bridge over the Cowgate and by Streets from the said Bridge to the Streets, Squares, and Buildings on the South side of the said City." Unfortunately no funds were provided by the Act for the University buildings; the Trustees were only empowered to use any surplus in their hands after building the Bridge, "together with all sums contributed and subscribed for rebuilding the said University."

The first stone of the South Bridge was laid on the 1st August 1785, and in March 1788 the Bridge and South Bridge Street, with its shops, were finished. The gardens of the Professor of Divinity and of the Principal, extending as far as the old Infirmary, had been taken for the roadway, or sold as the site of valuable

<sup>1</sup> Probably Sir James Hunter Blair.

shops, and yet no compensation was made either to the University or to its Professors, and this seems a matter in which the Town Council as Patrons of the University seem to have been oblivious of their duty. The new body of Trustees created by the Act of 1785, *inter alia*, for rebuilding the College, did nothing at all in that direction, and things remained just as they were when Robertson made his appeal twenty years before,—with this exception, that the old College buildings, by losing their gardens to the east, had lost the one feature of amenity which belonged to them.<sup>1</sup> But the Town Council had been moving in the matter of new buildings. They had obtained a design from Robert Adam, and they now determined that the work must be begun, not with funds for it secured, but on the faith of obtaining them. In the Minutes of the Senatus Academicus for 19th October 1789 we find the following entry:—"The Principal stated to the Meeting that when he and several of the Professors were at breakfast at the Lord Provost's house some days ago, his Lordship (Thomas Elder) had informed them that the Town Council had come to the resolution to have the foundation stone laid of a new building for the University, designed by Mr. Robert Adam, architect,—to which they had been encouraged by the prospect of a liberal contribution from the public and of aid from Government, which the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Treasurer of the Navy, had undertaken to use his utmost influence to obtain." Thus it was the encouragement of Henry Dundas, first Lord Melville, which took the long-projected scheme out of the region of words into that of action.

After twenty-one years of expectation, on the 16th November 1789, the foundation-stone of "the New College of Edinburgh," as it was called at the time, was laid with great pomp and rejoicing by Lord Napier, as Grand Master Mason of Scotland, in presence of the Provost and Magistrates; the Principal, Professors, and Students of the University; "many of the Nobility and Gentry;" and about "thirty thousand spectators," as it was computed, though this number would have exhausted more than half the population of the City. As recorded in the pages of the *Scots*

<sup>1</sup> Morer, the English Chaplain, when visiting the College in 1688-89, seems especially to have been struck by the "spacious garden for the Professors in common to walk and divert themselves in the evening."

*Magazine*, this was a great public ceremony, though, it must be confessed, not equal to those popular rejoicings which had hailed the foundation of the University of St. Andrews 376 years previously (see above, Vol. I. p. 7).

There was a procession from the Parliament House to the east face of the future buildings, in what is now South Bridge Street, in the following order :—

“The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council in their robes, with the City Regalia carried before them.

“The Principal and Professors of the University, in their gowns, with the Mace carried before them.

“The Students, with green laurel in their hats; a band of Singers, conducted by Mr. Scherkey.

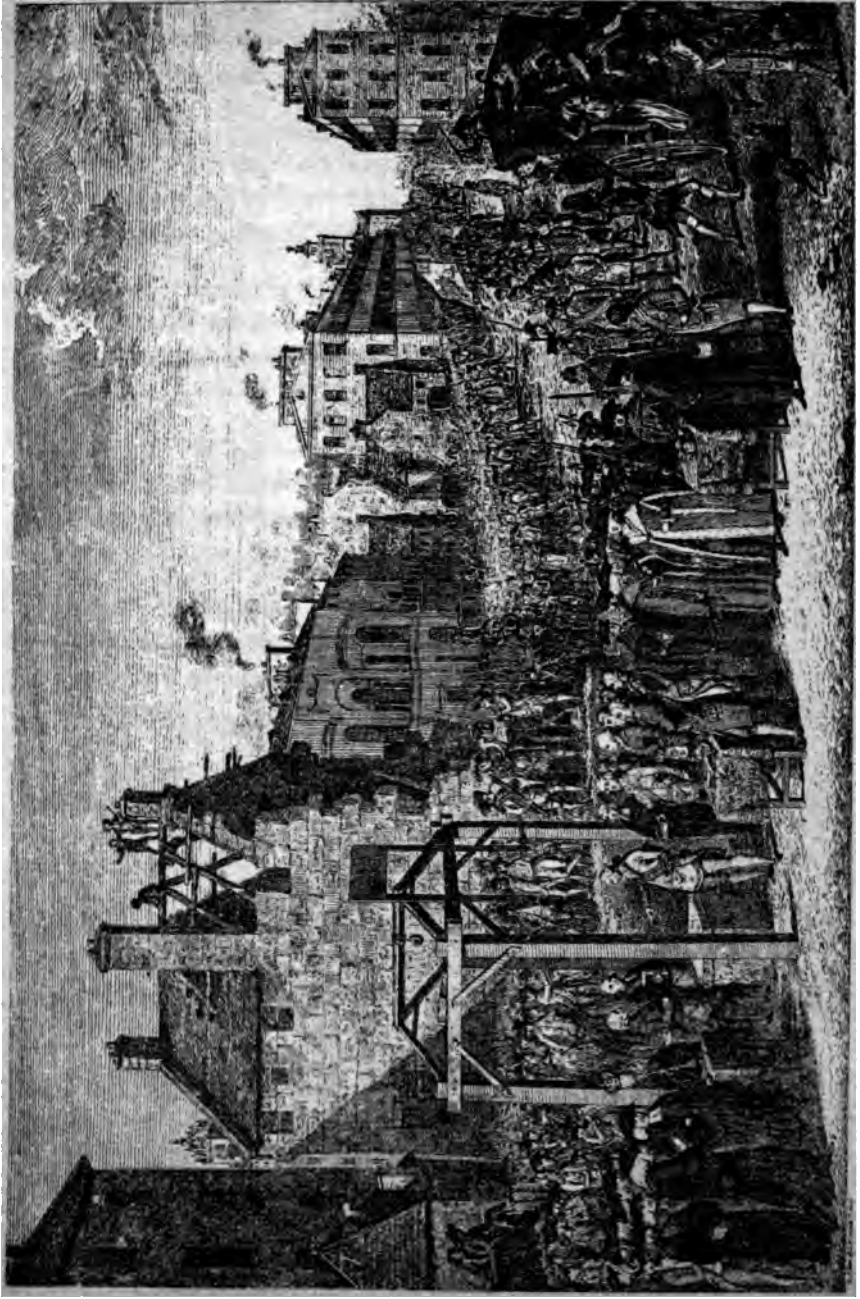
“The different Lodges of free and accepted Masons, with their proper insignia.

“A band of instrumental music.”

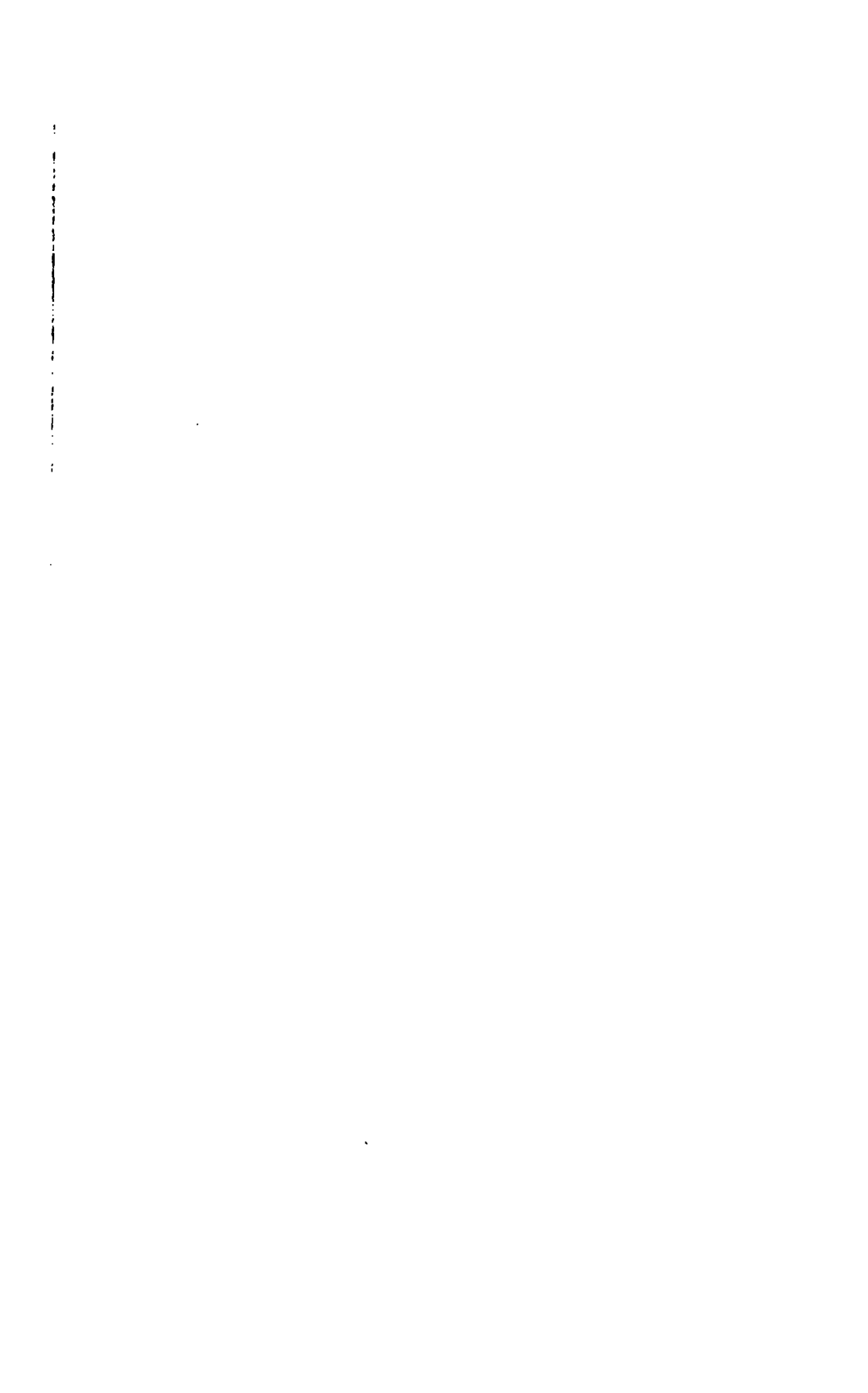
With musical accompaniments this procession moved slowly along through streets lined with soldiers of the 35th Regiment and with the City Guard, and occupied nearly an hour on its route. The north-east, or proper Masonic corner, having been found unsuitable for laying a foundation-stone, a site further to the south, one of the corners of the present entrance to the University quadrangle, was chosen, and the scene which there presented itself has been depicted in a contemporary caricature.<sup>1</sup> The usual Masonic rites having been duly performed, Lord Napier delivered an address full of congratulation and high compliment, first to the Lord Provost and Magistrates, and secondly to the Principal and Professors. Lord Provost Elder and Principal Robertson replied. The latter said: “From very humble beginnings, the University of Edinburgh has attained to such eminence as entitles it to be ranked among the most celebrated seminaries of learning. Indebted to the bounty of several of our Sovereigns;—distinguished particularly by the gracious Prince<sup>2</sup> now

<sup>1</sup> This print, which we reproduce, shows the new South Bridge Street, which had been completed the year before.

<sup>2</sup> During the reign of George III. Regius Chairs had been founded in the University of Edinburgh—of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in 1762; of Natural History in 1767; and of Practical Astronomy in 1786. Of previous Sovereigns, James VI. had given the paltry endowments elsewhere mentioned; William III. had granted £300 a year out of Bishops' Teinds, out of which a Professor-



*The Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone of the New College of Edinburgh on February 10 1790*  
*Picture taken at Edinburgh. The Great Street, September 10, 1840. The picture is a reproduction of the original.*



seated on the British throne, whom, with gratitude, we reckon among the most munificent of our Royal benefactors ;—and cherished by the continued attention and good offices of our Honourable Patrons, this University can now boast of the number and variety of its institutions for the instruction of youth in all the branches of literature and science.” After dilating upon the “one thing still wanting,” and now to be supplied,—namely, sufficient and suitable buildings, Dr. Robertson added: “I regard it as my own peculiar felicity, that by having remained in my present station much longer<sup>1</sup> than any of my predecessors, I have lived to witness an event so beneficial to this University, the prosperity of which is near to my heart, and has ever been the object of my warmest wishes.”

Under the foundation-stone were deposited the usual coins and newspapers, and together with them “seven rolls of vellum, containing a short account of the original foundation and present state of the University.” The account of the original foundation appears to have been chiefly taken from Craufurd’s *Memoirs*, and is not very accurate. It says that “in the year 1581, a grant was obtained from King James VI., for founding a College or University within the City of Edinburgh;” and “next year, a Charter of confirmation and erection was obtained also from King James VI., from which the College to be built did afterwards derive all the privileges of a University.” The person—probably Dr. Robertson—who wrote this sentence can hardly have been acquainted with King James’s Charter of 1582, which certainly does not correspond with the description here given of it. But we have before shown reasons for believing that the real Charter of erection and foundation of the College was at an early period lost, and this circumstance has put historians who were unaware of it into a false position ever since, by leading them to seek in the Charter of 1582 what is not to be found there.

ship of Church History, and afterwards one of Public Law, were provided. Queen Anne had given a bounty of £250 a year for increasing Professors’ stipends.

<sup>1</sup> Robertson had now been Principal for twenty-seven years. Of his predecessors, Charteris had held office for twenty-one years; Adamson for nineteen; Wishart, *secundus*, for eighteen; Rollock (virtually) for sixteen; Wishart for fourteen; Rule and Carstares for thirteen each; the others for less than ten years each. Robertson’s successor, Baird, was Principal for forty-seven years.

For the rest, the vellum which lies under the University gateway merely states that the College was taught by Regents "till about the year 1710, when the four Regents began to be confined each to a separate profession," and that "under the care of the Magistrates, new Professorships have been from time to time instituted, as the public seemed to demand them." It adds that "in all its diplomas or public deeds" the College bears the name of "the College of King James." It gives a list of the *Senatus Academicus*, as constituted in 1789, containing many brilliant names; and records, for the information of the New Zealander who may excavate the ruins of the University of Edinburgh, that "in processions, the Principal with the Professor of Divinity on his right hand, and the Professor of Church History on his left, walks foremost, preceded by the Mace. The rest of the Professors follow according to their seniority." It is doubtful whether this table of precedence would be accepted at the present day. At all events it ignores the possible presence of a Chancellor and a Lord Rector in University processions. The buried vellum next gives a statement of the number of Students during the winter session of 1788-89, as follows:—

Students of Divinity	. . .	130
,, Law	. . .	100
,, Physic	. . .	440
,, General Classes <sup>1</sup>	. . .	420
		1090

And it ends by saying that "the old Buildings being very mean and unfit for the reception of so many Professors and Students, the Lord Provost and Magistrates, with the concurrence of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Treasurer of the Navy, resolved to set on foot a subscription, according to an advertisement," of which a copy was subjoined.

The proceedings at the foundation-stone terminated with the

<sup>1</sup> This phrase marks the entire abeyance into which Graduation in Arts had fallen; the record does not mention "Students of Arts," but speaks of "General Classes," as if those attending the non-professional classes were all a set of amateurs, and not the Students of a Faculty. We see, by comparing the above statement with Dr. Robertson's Memorial of 1768, that the University had nearly doubled the number of its Students in the intervening period.



singing of an anthem ; then came a procession in inverse order back to the Parliament House ; and afterwards an “ elegant and sumptuous entertainment ” (people in Edinburgh dined about three o’clock in those days) “ was given by the Lord Provost and Magistrates, in the George Street Assembly Rooms ” to above 500 persons, including the Grand Master of the Masons and representatives of the different Lodges, several of the nobility, and the principal inhabitants of the City.

II. We now enter upon the second topic of this Appendix—the process of replacing the old College by new University buildings, which, though commenced with a light heart, took forty years in accomplishing, during the greater part of which time the utmost inconvenience was caused to the University.

By the terms of the published subscription-lists a large body of Trustees for administering the subscribed funds was formed, consisting of all the high officials of Edinburgh, and all subscribers of £100 or over. Immediately after the laying of the foundation-stone these Trustees were invited to meet, and, as their Minute-Book testifies, they held constant meetings. At first these meetings were assiduously attended by the third Earl of Hopetoun, as a subscriber, and also by Henry Dundas. The subscriptions of those days were not so munificent as what are often given now. Few donors of more than one hundred guineas appear on the lists. Lord Hopetoun, however, put down his name for £100 annually for five years, and the Faculty of Advocates did the same. The seventh Earl of Wemyss subscribed £100 a year for three years. After a year and a half, in May 1791, the total subscriptions amounted to £18,709 ; but the Trustees were looking to receive large subscriptions from India, which Henry Dundas had pledged himself to procure ; these shortly afterwards came in, and were found to amount to £11,000. The largest subscription of any one individual was that of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who in 1794 sent (to the astonishment of the Trustees) a second subscription of £1845, in addition to a former one of £250. From first to last the private subscriptions for the University buildings amounted to a little over £30,000.

It is needless to say that this amount was totally inadequate to carry out the work on the scale upon which it had been

planned. Adam's plan was not framed with a view to economy ; it comprised two quadrangles, separated from each other by a hall and chapel, and round these there were to be not only class-rooms and a library, but also dwelling-houses for all the Professors. The Trustees at once set to work, in faith of money forthcoming, and empowered Adam to go on with his design. He commenced at the north-east and north-west corners, pulling down the house of the Professor of Divinity and the chambers inhabited by the Professor of Hebrew ; then he pulled down the centre tower over the gateway, and worked along the north side. The Trustees had large ideas ; they proceeded to buy up properties round the old College : thus they gave £1755 for the house at the head of College Wynd where Sir Walter Scott was born, and they also bought the "Relief Kirk," to the south of the College. Nothing could have been more proper than these steps, taken with the view of securing space and amenity round the new University, if only there had been funds for such a purpose. The Trustees also paid compensation at the rate of £40 a year each to the Professors who had been deprived of their houses. And when Principal Robertson, who was now aged and infirm, complained that the progress of the building was unfavourable to his health, they granted him the rent for a house suitable to his station to be found elsewhere.

In April 1792 the architect, Robert Adam, died suddenly, and his brothers James and William were then appointed to carry on his work. By this time a good deal had been done on the north side. Prof. Monro, *secundus*, took possession of the Anatomy class-room at the beginning of the Session 1792-93. By the end of 1793 the Professors of the Theory and of the Practice of Physic and of Moral Philosophy had been accommodated, and the house at the north-east corner intended for the Principal, and those for two Professors adjoining, had been roofed in. But in the meanwhile the rapid rate of expenditure had completely exhausted the very limited funds in the hands of the Trustees. In December 1793 the work was ordered to be stopped. For a short time afterwards the contractors went on, at their own request, upon credit, and then they came to an absolute standstill.

So matters stood for about seven years, when, in April 1801, Principal Baird and Professor Dalzel drew up a Memorial to the

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, depicting the disastrous condition of the University buildings. Considerable parts of the north and east sides had been left unroofed, and the timber was being injured by the weather, so that the new buildings were likely soon to become more ruinous than the old ones had been. In the meantime the College court was encumbered with sheds, stones, and other materials, which was very inconvenient for the 1300 Students in attendance on the classes. "In short," said they, "the present state of a building of such evident utility, and so conspicuously begun, is already become a subject of lamentation to every inhabitant of Edinburgh, to every passenger, and to every stranger who visits this city." They stated further that the debt upon the building was £3000, and that the creditors were growing clamorous. This deplorable picture prevailed with Dundas to the extent of inducing him to persuade Mr. Pitt to grant a sum of £5000 for rescuing from ruin the uncovered parts of the building. With a European war on their hands the Government could not be expected to do more.

But in 1810 fresh petitions were addressed to the Treasury, not only by the Town Council, but by the Royal Burghs of Scotland, urging the completion of the University buildings as an object of national importance. And these petitions convey information as to the straits to which the Professors had been put for sixteen years previously. It was said: "In the Old Buildings which remain there are five class-rooms, and there are six rooms in the New Buildings. In these eleven class-rooms twenty-four Professors, some of whom teach two, others three, and others even four separate hours daily, have to be accommodated. The Professors of Divinity and of Hebrew have a class-room in which they are obliged to teach by candle-light at noon." The curious thing was that through all this period of material inconvenience the number of the Students, instead of falling off, had steadily increased. In 1789 there were about 1000 Students, and in 1809 over 1900.

These petitions were, in course of time, referred to the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland for report, and having been favourably reported on, the Government, immediately on the conclusion of the war in 1815, made a grant of £10,000, to be continued annually till the buildings should be completed. But the Treasury

very naturally resolved to appoint a Commission, in place of the undefined body of Trustees, to superintend the expenditure of the public money. The "College Commission," as it came to be called, consisted chiefly of *ex officio* members, the Lord Provost, the Lord President, the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lord Chief Baron, the Lord Commissioner of the Jury Court, the Principal of the College, the Secretary of the *Senatus Academicus*, and the first Bailie of the City. To these were added the Right Hon. W. Dundas, Sir John Marjoribanks, formerly Provost, and Mr. Hugh Warrender.

The Commission went to work in January 1816. They were well instructed by Sir John Marjoribanks, who had taken great interest in the subject previously, and had studied the requirements of the University. Under his advice they resolved to give up the idea of having Professors' houses; to complete Robert Adam's external design, but to omit the cross building by which it had been intended to divide the University quadrangle into two. They invited architects to send in plans; and, out of nine competitors, of whom W. Adam was one, they pronounced the plans of Burn and Playfair to be the best, and ultimately selected those of Playfair, as making the best internal arrangements with the least alteration of R. Adam's design. This was in December 1816, from which time the work went steadily forward, being conducted by a very talented and energetic architect acting under men of the highest ability for business. Two of the Commissioners were especially assiduous, and were guiding spirits to the rest, namely, the Hon. Clerk Rattray, Lord Chief Baron, and Dr. Duncan, the Secretary to *Senatus*.

The Commissioners were less lavish of the building fund than the Trustees had been. For when six Professors (Divinity, Hebrew, Greek, Humanity, Logic, and Mathematics), besides the Principal applied for compensation for the loss of houses, they decided that the case was a hard one, but that they had no powers of granting relief. However, they judiciously purchased a block of houses to the west of their buildings in order to secure light and space in that direction, and, having pulled them down, ordered the area to be levelled and planted with trees. They provided all the fittings for the class-rooms and museums; but the meagre furni-

ture which they allowed for the Senate Hall<sup>1</sup> showed that they kept an eye to economy. It was probably from a sentiment of loyalty that they sanctioned the expenditure of £80 for the illumination of the new buildings at the coronation of George IV.

In June 1818 Playfair reported that part of the east side, containing the Divinity Hall, the Hebrew and Church History class-rooms, and a room for the Speculative Society, was ready; and in January 1820 that the Chemistry, Practice of Physic, and Natural History class-rooms in the south-west corner, and the *Materia Medica*, Rhetoric, and Public and Civil Law Class-rooms in the north-east, had been completed. In 1820 the Natural History Museum, occupying the whole west side of the quadrangle, was finished and fitted up for the reception of Jameson's splendid collections. In 1821 a house in the south-east corner was handed over to the Librarian, this being the only residence, except that of the Janitor. The Principal was accommodated with official chambers over the new Senate Hall, but had to find himself a house outside.

The last part of the new buildings to be undertaken was the Library, to which the greater part of the south side had been appropriated. And accordingly the last part of the old buildings left standing was the old College Library, built in 1616 and renovated in 1753. Its appearance, in contrast with the new quadrangle which was rising round it, has been commemorated in a print which Playfair very judiciously had done. In 1823 the Commissioners petitioned the Treasury to obtain from Parliament a continuation of the annual votes of £10,000. They reported that £70,000 of the public money had been expended, and that £30,000 more would be required, whereof they estimated £27,000 as the cost of a new Library and Graduation Hall, and £3000 as the sum necessary for putting up a dome over the gateway, according to the original design of Adam. The Memorial described the old Library as in a ruinous state, threatening to fall, and propped up by beams fixed against the new buildings, while it blocked up "the great and only entrance."

<sup>1</sup> On the 12th August 1822 the Commissioners gave orders for furnishing "the Guard Hall" with three tables, twenty-four horsehair chairs, a gray floor-cloth, "and no window curtains."

Having received an assurance that the grants would be continued, the Commissioners urged Playfair to proceed with the Library; and he at once proceeded to visit Oxford, Cambridge, and London, in order to inspect the construction of great public Libraries, and to get hints. In February 1824 he reported on his plan; he found that he could make a Library Hall 190 feet long, 50 feet wide, and 40 feet high, "an opportunity rarely to be met with, and not to be neglected." "Below this great room," he added, "are to be the Graduation Hall and Chapel, and what may be called the working part of the Library." The proportions of the Library Hall, as constructed by Playfair, quite justify the enthusiasm of the architect, but it is difficult to understand how the Commissioners can have accepted as a Graduation Hall a room below it occupying only half its area. This room has long ceased to be employed for Graduation purposes, for which it was utterly inadequate, and it has become the Reading-Room for University Students, who sit there in relays of 200 at a time in the intervals between their various classes. Practically it was found that the site of the old College, when shorn of its gardens to the east, was insufficient to provide space for more than class-rooms and a Library. Not only were Academical residences for the Professors struck out of the plan, but the hall for Academical ceremonies and for common worship was also dropped out. And the University was thus left singularly incomplete in its equipment. An effort was made afterwards by the Senatus—when a Music class-room was to be built out of the Reid Fund—to get this built on such a scale as to be serviceable as a Hall for general University purposes; but the project was resisted, and fell through. And the University was left to hold its meetings and ceremonies in rooms hired or borrowed from time to time in different parts of the town.

The present Library was finished in 1827, having cost only £23,000. In July 1827, the books having been transferred, the old Library was ordered to be pulled down and its materials sold. The new buildings were now virtually finished. The Commissioners reported on the subject to the Royal Commission on Universities in 1828. They stated that all which remained to be done was to put some additional fittings into the Library; to make those balustrades and flights of steps which now run round

the quadrangle ; and to put up the dome over the entrance.<sup>1</sup> But the Commissioners had other enlightened purposes or aspirations for the improvement of the building over the construction of which they had watched so carefully. They wished to secure a building belonging to the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, and standing where is now the west end of the National Museum of Science and Art. This, with the properties before acquired by them in that direction, would have given a permanent free space to the west of the University, and would have compensated to some extent for the garden ground taken away from the University to the east. And they wished also to have an open area of 70 feet in depth, and planted with trees, along the north front of their building. This would have necessitated the construction of a new street in lieu of what is now Chambers Street, and to the north of it. But neither the Government nor the Town Council appear to have lent themselves to the idea of providing academic groves for the University of Edinburgh. So far from this, the Government and the Town Council conspired a few years afterwards to take away what little ground the University now possessed upon the west, and to build on it a vast Museum, which effectually shut out the light from the rooms on the western front of the University building, and rendered these rooms almost absolutely useless. This, however, was not resolved upon till 1854, and not begun to be carried out till 1860, by which time modern commercial views of the value of town property were too strong to allow considerations of academic grace and dignity to be entertained.

The foundation-stone of the new University building had been laid with great solemnity on the 16th November 1789. There was no corresponding ceremony to mark the conclusion of the work. Nor do the Commissioners appear to have formally handed over the building to the Town Council. The separate class-rooms and departments were finished piecemeal, and, as each was ready, it was occupied by a separate Professor, or put to use by the Senatus. There was no particular moment that seemed appropriate for celebrating the completion of the whole. And

<sup>1</sup> This last object has not even yet been accomplished, but a sum of money for the purpose has been bequeathed by a generous benefactor, the late Mr. Robert Cox of Gorgie.

indeed, as the dome was never erected, the Commissioners may have still considered the building to be incomplete. Their functions were continued till 1834, but after that date there is no record of their meeting.

The Adam-Playfair building cost altogether, from first to last, in round figures, £161,000, including all incidental expenses. Whereof above £30,000 came from private subscriptions; £5000 were granted in 1801 by a warrant from George III.; £120,000 came by annual Parliamentary votes from 1815 to 1826; and £6000 was from a supplementary vote passed in 1831. The materials of the old College were sold for £4791; but nearly the same amount was expended on the purchase of properties to the west, which were afterwards taken from the University to form the site of the Industrial Museum.

III. For more than a quarter of a century the teaching accommodation of the Adam-Playfair buildings was thought to be adequate for the wants of the University. But during that period a great development had been taking place in the modes of teaching Science throughout the great Schools of Europe. Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Leipsic, Bonn, Cambridge, and other places, had been all furnished with a system of laboratories, museums, and theatres, upon an extensive and costly scale, and the University of Glasgow had received new accommodation for its Medical classes in conformity with modern ideas. In Edinburgh the practical teaching of Medical subjects had been much stimulated by the Ordinances of the Commission of 1858, but practical teaching was carried on there under difficulties, owing to the want of proper laboratories, theatres, and scientific apparatus. The Medical School of the University still held its place in the first rank of the Medical Schools of the world. But it began to be felt that its tenure of that place would be in jeopardy unless better appliances could be given to it. A movement with this object in view was set on foot, and a meeting of citizens taking an interest in the matter was held in 1869. But it was represented by some of those present that the moment was not favourable for making an appeal for subscriptions to the community of Edinburgh, inasmuch as an exhausting crop of subscriptions (amounting to some £200,000) had just been gathered in from the same ground



for the purpose of rebuilding George Drummond's Royal Infirmary. So, though a Committee was formed, partly of citizens<sup>1</sup> and partly of members of the University, to promote the design, they found it expedient for a time to hold their hands.

The New Infirmary was to have been rebuilt on the site of the old one, but at the eleventh hour, when all was prepared for a commencement, Professor Syme became convinced, and succeeded in convincing others, that a more open and airy site should be chosen; so all the plans were changed, and the foundation of the Infirmary was laid in the ground which it now occupies, and which then belonged to the Merchant Company. The University's Medical School followed the fortunes of the Infirmary. The Senatus Academicus, encouraged by the generous Sir David Baxter, who promised to stand by them in the matter, made an offer for the site of the old George Drummond building as soon as it should be vacated. Most fortunately this offer was declined, and the Senatus, better advised, resolved that the proper course for them would be to purchase the ground immediately to the east of that chosen for the Infirmary, and which was then occupied by Park Place and Teviot Row. Park Place consisted of well-built mansions, the corner house belonging to the Campbells of Succoth, and having been built for Lord Succoth, one of the Scottish Judges. Teviot Row contained a number of small dwelling-houses. Of course when it was known that these sites were urgently required for the University, a price was put upon them by their owners at least double of what could otherwise have been expected. And no less than £33,000 had to be paid for some five fairly good houses in a very unfashionable quarter, and a dozen of citizen's "boxes," the whole covering perhaps one acre and a half of ground.

In the meantime the good Sir David Baxter died, bequeathing £20,000 (reduced by legacy duty to £18,000) towards the University's new buildings. And with this encouragement the

<sup>1</sup> The Town Council, both individually and collectively, showed as warm an interest in the improvement of the University as if it had still been under their administration. Successive Lord Provosts, especially Mr. James Cowan (late M.P.), Mr. (now Sir James) Falshaw, Sir Thomas J. Boyd, and the Right Hon. George Harrison, have shown great kindness and zeal in this matter, and by their influence and assistance have very much contributed to the extraordinary success of the movement.

subscription-list was hopefully floated in 1874. What most favoured the movement, and was the greatest cause of its ultimate success, was the princely liberality and great kindness of the Duke of Buccleuch, who not only headed the list with a subscription of £2000, but also undertook to come into Edinburgh and advocate the cause at a public meeting. Circulars announcing the meeting and inviting subscriptions were sent through town and country, and great interest in the matter was far and wide evinced. It was the fortune of the writer of these pages for many days to receive about 100 letters every morning, each letter containing a subscription of from £1 to £200, the total average being £10 per letter. So that when the meeting took place, presided over by Lord Provost Falshaw, and at which the Duke of Buccleuch, Dr. (now Sir) Lyon Playfair, and several other distinguished persons spoke, the Committee were able to announce subscriptions already promised to the amount of £60,000.

The Committee thereafter invited the six chief architects of Edinburgh to send in competitive plans and designs for the proposed Medical School. And for guidance in making the plans, specifications of their several requirements were furnished by the nine Professors who were to be provided for, namely, those of Anatomy, Institutes of Medicine, Practice of Physic, Surgery, Midwifery, Chemistry, Pathology, Materia Medica, and Medical Jurisprudence.<sup>1</sup>

In deciding between the competitors, the Committee resolved, in the first instance, to set aside all reference to the external elevations, and to look solely to the perfection, as far as possible, of internal arrangements. The course they adopted was to take the votes of the nine Professors upon the plans sent in; each Professor was to state which of the plans contained the most suitable arrangements for his own department. It then appeared that a considerable majority of the Professors preferred the disposition of space proposed by Mr. Robert Rowand Anderson, who, indeed, had for the purpose made a special study of the Scientific Schools of England and the Continent. And the

<sup>1</sup> The Professor of Botany had his own class-room in the Botanic Garden in Inverleith Row; and the Professor of Natural History was considered bound to remain in the Adam-Playfair building, with a view to using the specimens in the Government Museum of Science and Art, which, for this express purpose, had been connected by a bridge with the University quadrangle.

Committee, accepting this judgment, came also to the opinion that Mr. Anderson's general treatment of the irregular piece of ground at the disposal of the architects was the cleverest of all, and that his elevations, in the Early Italian style, were, on the whole, the most original and tasteful. He was therefore appointed architect for the University's new buildings.

In addition to accommodating nine Medical and Scientific departments, Mr. Anderson had been requested to furnish the plan and design of a University Hall, to contain 3000 persons. He did so, and, as an architectural centre to the whole, he introduced an Italian *campanile*, which would have been not only pleasing to the eye, but also practically useful as a means of making "secular experiments" in Natural Philosophy, and of procuring hydraulic pressure.

The question now was, how to obtain funds for this very desirable structure. Almost at the outset £60,000 had been subscribed, and the Committee, prosecuting their task, succeeded in raising during the next year about £20,000 more. Mr. Anderson's estimate for the erection of the entire buildings, as designed by him, with cost of site and internal fittings, amounted to no less than £230,500. The Senatus, however, nothing daunted, applied to the Government for such a subsidy as might enable the work to be carried out. At this juncture the Duke of Buccleuch showed the greatest kindness, and rendered the most important assistance; for by his influence he obtained from Lord Beaconsfield (then Mr. Disraeli and Prime Minister) an audience for a deputation to urge the claims of the University, which his Grace himself supported. And thus the Government were induced to entertain the question of giving a grant towards the University buildings. In successive negotiations with the Treasury the Committee reduced their scheme to what was necessary for teaching purposes, and cut off the hall and tower; and this reduction brought down the estimates to about £180,000. But still the Treasury thought that at least £100,000 should be provided from private liberality. That proportion being subscribed, they engaged to provide the rest. Another public meeting on the subject was held, and a fresh subscription list started. And the Duke of Buccleuch still appeared as the kind and splendid leader of the movement, for he announced that he would double his

former subscription of £2000. Numerous other persons, according to their means, generously followed this example, and the Committee were soon in a position to say to the Treasury that their conditions had been complied with. A vote of £20,000 a year for four years was then passed by the House of Commons, and the buildings were commenced.

At the time when the Medical Professors sent in their specifications of what they would require the number of the Medical Students in the University was about 900. But an annual increase in that number went on without cessation, and the Professors, who had asked for class-rooms to accommodate 200 or 300 Students, found that they might expect classes of 400 or 500. This occurred after the walls of class-rooms had actually been built, and the Committee were reduced to great difficulties, as the ground, as well as the funds, at their disposal were absolutely limited. They and the architect did all that was possible: parts of the building were taken down, and the arrangements were reconstructed; galleries were added to several of the class-rooms; and, in short, a great deal of un contemplated expense<sup>1</sup> was added to the original estimates, which in themselves, as usual, fell short of the actual cost. So it is not to be wondered at that the Committee, in carrying out the erection and complete fitting-up for scientific purposes of so extensive a group of buildings, found that they would require about £30,000 in addition to the £100,000 already subscribed and the subsidy of £80,000 from Government.<sup>2</sup>

On looking back from the year 1883 to the time when, in the spring of 1874, the Committee were starting on their enterprise to collect the large sum that was necessary, we must allow that extraordinary success has attended their efforts, and that an extraordinary amount of kindness and liberality has been shown to the University. And this will be felt especially to

<sup>1</sup> An elaborate system for the ventilation and heating of the entire buildings, not provided for in the estimates, was introduced, costing some £12,000. The sum allotted for the fitting-up of class-rooms, museums, and laboratories, was found to be too small by at least £10,000. And, as stated above, the structural alterations made after the commencement of the work were very costly.

<sup>2</sup> A new Medical School is in course of erection in Paris. Its total cost is estimated at £280,000.

be the case when we reflect that the years during which these rich gifts came in were all years of great commercial, and several of great agricultural, depression. The limitations of space prevent us from producing here the entire subscription list, but it will be right to record the names of those benefactors who headed it :—

The late Sir David Baxter, Bart. . . . .	£18,000
His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry . . . . .	4,000
The Right Hon. the Lord Justice General . . . . .	600
The late Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Bart. . . . .	1,000
The late David Anderson, Esq., of Moredun . . . . .	600
Charles Cowan, Esq., of Logan House . . . . .	1,000
P. D. Swan, Esq., Provost of Kirkcaldy . . . . .	1,000
The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh . . . . .	1,050
The Right Hon. the Earl of Stair . . . . .	1,000
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Lothian . . . . .	750
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Bute . . . . .	1,000
Messrs. John Jeffrey and Co. . . . .	500
The Right Hon. the Earl of Moray . . . . .	525
C. Morison, Esq., of Islay . . . . .	500
The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby . . . . .	1,000
Lady Campbell of Garscube . . . . .	500
Charles Jenner, Esq. . . . .	600
The Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh . . . . .	2,050
The Goldsmiths' Company of London . . . . .	500
The late Graham Menzies, Esq., of Hallyburton . . . . .	500
C. A. Aitchison, Esq. . . . .	1,050
W. M'Ewan, Esq. . . . .	500
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Hartington . . . . .	500
The late H. G. Watson, Esq. . . . .	300
Do., by bequest, free of legacy-duty . . . . .	500
	<hr/>
	£39,525
Other subscriptions, in sums of £400 and under . . . . .	56,958
From the General Fund of the University . . . . .	4,000
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	£100,483
Government Grant . . . . .	80,000
	<hr/>
Altogether . . . . .	<u>£180,483</u>

At the beginning of the present year (1883) the Committee found that, after all that had been done £30,000 more was

required to complete and fully equip the Medical School which had been so auspiciously commenced. As this is the 300th year since the University, in humble form, first came into existence, it was resolved to mark the epoch by a supreme effort to complete its fabric, and to give it what it has so long wanted—a Hall of Assembly. What was called “a Tercentenary Appeal” was put forth, and in many quarters met with a cordial response. The Earl of Rosebery, being Lord Rector of the University for the time being, headed the fresh list with a generous subscription of £2000. Lord Provost Harrison entered with great warmth into the new movement, and presided at a public meeting to promote it, at which the Earl of Wemyss, the Marquis of Lothian, Lord Moncreiff, and other eminent persons, lent their aid. The result has been that within four months from the issue of the “Appeal” the “Fund for the Completion of the University Buildings” stood as follows:—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery . . . . .	£2,000
The Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh . . . . .	1,050
The Right Hon. the Earl of Moray . . . . .	1,000
The Right Hon. the Earl of Wemyss and March . . . . .	1,000
The Right Hon. the Earl of Hopetoun . . . . .	1,000
J. R. Findlay, Esq. . . . .	1,000
J. Fulton, Esq. . . . .	1,000
Messrs. John Jeffrey and Co. . . . .	1,000
W. M'Ewan, Esq. . . . .	1,000
The Right Hon. the Earl of Stair . . . . .	500
T. R. Buchanan, Esq., M.P. . . . .	500
W. D. Menzies, Esq. . . . .	500
J. D. Menzies, Esq. . . . .	500
Messrs. Thomas Nelson and Sons . . . . .	500
James H. Renton, Esq. . . . .	500
	<hr/>
	£13,050
Other subscriptions, in sums of £300 and under . . . . .	13,851
From the General Fund of the University . . . . .	2,000
	<hr/>
Total up to 25th April 1883 . . . . .	<u>£28,901</u>

The completion, then, within a few months, of the University's Medical School is now assured. And that School will probably be found equal to anything of its kind in the world. Nothing

can exceed the beauty and comfort of its bright, well-ventilated class-rooms, or the arrangements of its laboratories, working-rooms, and museums. There all that is repulsive in the study of Medicine is mitigated and refined, and all the latest appliances of Science are placed at the disposal of the Student. And, as is fitting, this School of theory, experiment, and practice is placed within a few yards of one of the largest Infirmaries in Europe, to which the Professors and their classes have access, and where the most varied clinical instruction is afforded.

But as yet a great gulf still separates the University from the fruition of its long-cherished desire for an Academic Hall—a gulf only to be spanned by a golden bridge of £70,000. Since 1768 the University has on diverse occasions been constantly asking for a Hall, and has always asked in vain. In course of time this want will doubtless be supplied, but not in time for the dignified reception of the University's guests on the occasion of its Tercentenary celebration. All the ceremonies at that festival must be conducted in some hired apartment.

Great indeed is the contrast between the present buildings of the University of Edinburgh at the present day and those of the old College down to the end of the last century. But there is one charm of the old College which we miss, and which was taken from us for ever about a hundred years ago, and that is the amenity of the gardens and open spaces which enclosed on all sides the plain old buildings. All the surroundings of the University of Edinburgh have now become hard and business-like, and all sense of academic seclusion and repose is gone.

#### APPENDIX Q. THE HISTORY OF THE FINANCES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

THE financial administration of the College of Edinburgh by the Town Council<sup>1</sup> from 1583 to 1862 is capable of being very

<sup>1</sup> A careful analysis of the College accounts is furnished in the Report of the Royal Commission (1826-31). See also Memorials for the opinion of Counsel, prepared in 1859 and 1860 on behalf of the Town Council and Senatus Academicus respectively, for the sake of ascertaining the rights of either party to the administration of the University property and revenues after the passing of the Act of 1858.

succinctly described. It was the management of a slender income drawn from a few distinct sources.

The Charter of James VI. gave the Town Council liberty to found a College, and granted them a site and some old buildings, which were used in starting it. For its endowment there was made available the Church property which Mary's Charter had granted to the town for religious, and not for educational, purposes. At first only the ground-annuals of the Kirk-of-Field seem to have been attached to the College, and these were estimated by Craufurd<sup>1</sup> to have been in 1640 "something short of £200 (Scots) a year," or £16:13:4 sterling, which was not a magnificent endowment. But in April 1584, a few months after the opening of the College, the King, "upon consideration that the Magistrates and Council had bestowed great charges in erecting it," granted them the Archdeaconry of Lothian, containing the parish of Currie, with the manse, glebe, teinds, etc., "to the use of the College and sustentation of the Rector and Regents within the same." Craufurd gives no valuation of the Currie teinds in his statement of the College property, but in 1747 these teinds were said to amount to £117:9:3 sterling. From which had to be deducted "for the stipend of the Minister of Currie and for Communion elements, £37:10s., leaving about £80 per annum for College revenue."<sup>2</sup> There were also the teinds of Livingston in the Archdeaconry of Lothian; but these, after providing for the Minister's stipend, were only about £5 per annum.

The Town Council, however, had at their free disposal, besides the Kirk-of-Field, all the ecclesiastical properties attached to Trinity College Church. Among these were the teinds of Kirkurd, a parish in Peebles-shire. Some time before 1640, as we learn from Craufurd, the Kirkurd teinds had been settled by the Town Council upon the College of Edinburgh, and had become part of its patrimony, but curiously enough there appears to be no record in the City Register of the time and manner of this being done. The Kirkurd teinds were stated in 1747 to amount to £91:5:11, levied on no less than 318 different articles or small

<sup>1</sup> P. 139.

<sup>2</sup> This was all the State aid which the College of Edinburgh received down to the reigns of William III. and Anne, when some grants were made for Professors' salaries. Cromwell devised a grant of £200 a year, but owing to his death this was never carried out.



pieces of property. The trouble of collecting annual dues from a number of small tenants no doubt led to superiorities being alienated in detail, as opportunities occurred, and thus the Kirk-of-Field ground-annuals had fallen in 1747 from £16 : 13 : 4 to £11 : 13 : 11 sterling. Looking at it broadly, we see that early in the seventeenth, and perhaps even in the sixteenth, century, the College revenue from Church property was at least:—

From Kirk-of-Field	.	.	.	£16
„ Currie	.	.	.	80
„ Livingston	.	.	.	5
„ Kirkurd	.	.	.	91

£192 sterling.

This may seem small enough, but it was all but trebly sufficient to pay Rollock's salary of £400 (Scots)—which he received partly in the capacity of City Minister—and a stipend of £100 (Scots) each to four Regents,<sup>1</sup> altogether £800 (Scots), or £66 : 13 : 4 sterling. Possibly the Kirkurd teinds were not allotted to the College till after the scale of salaries had been raised. But even deducting these, there would seem to have been a good margin, in the early days of the College, for current expenses (considering the value of money in those days), and also for acts of generosity on the part of the Town Council, such as granting a pension to Rollock's widow, and granting to the Regents in years of dearth (1593 and 1596) "an honest subsistence beside the ordinary stipends."<sup>2</sup>

The Town Council were perhaps satisfied with the petty scale on which their College was being carried on during the first quarter of a century of its existence. But the Kirk-Session of Edinburgh took a different view, and in 1608 they came forward to the assistance of the College (see Vol. I. p. 195) and paid over a sum of £8100 (Scots), the interest of which, at 8½ per cent, amounting to 1000 merks, or £55 : 12s., was to go towards augmenting the salaries of the Regents for ever. But they coupled this gift with certain conditions, and amongst these they recommended that the Town Council should make over their "Mort-

<sup>1</sup> The fifth, or Humanity, Regent was provided for by the liberality of the College of Justice (see Vol. I. p. 189).

<sup>2</sup> Craufurd, p. 38.

cloth dues" for the support of the College. This was agreed to; and by a formal Act of the Council in 1609 the "Mortcloth dues" were settled upon the College, in the revenues of which they form a constant item down to 1861.

Some readers may require an explanation of this item:—In Edinburgh, as elsewhere in Scotland, it had been the custom, time out of mind, instead of having the "trappings of woe" provided by a private undertaker, that public "mortcloths" or palls should be kept, which on payment of a small due were lent out for funerals. This service had been originally performed by the ecclesiastical establishments, but after the Reformation it was assumed in Edinburgh by the Municipality, especially in reference to Greyfriars' Churchyard, the chief burying-place for the citizens of Edinburgh, which had been established by the Town Council in the yards and gardens of the Franciscans. The Council were very tenacious of their monopoly of mortcloths, and their records contain many instances of their proceeding against persons who endeavoured to infringe the monopoly. One or two of the trade-guilds of Edinburgh tried at different times to get private mortcloths of their own, but it was always put a stop to. The dues realised from this source were, at the instance of the Ministers, made over to the College in 1609. The amount of course fluctuated: in 1747 the mortcloth dues were calculated to average £136 : 12 : 7½ sterling; in 1776 they were stated in the College accounts as £118 : 10s.; in 1825 as £155 : 12 : 6.<sup>1</sup> Thus a substantial addition was made in this form to the College revenues.

If we take £125 as a conjectural average of the mortcloth dues in the early part of the seventeenth century, the settled income of the College from 1609 onwards must have been: from church properties, £192; from mortcloth dues, £125; from interest on the Town Council's bond to the Kirk-Session £55; altogether, £372 sterling. Therefore the Town Council

<sup>1</sup> Public mortcloths are still used in Edinburgh at the humbler class of funerals. On application, a heavy velvet pall is sent to the house whence a "walking funeral" is to start, and it is placed over the heads of the coffin-bearers, who are thus nearly suffocated during their march. But comparatively few burials now take place in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, and during the year 1881 the mortcloth dues paid to the Municipality amounted to only £25 : 10s. By the Act of 1862 the proceeds of these dues were transferred from the University to the High School of Edinburgh.

made use of a very false plea when they told Principal Charteris in 1620 that "the present state of the College patrimony" prevented their being able to raise his salary. As soon as they had got rid of Charteris they reorganised the whole College staff (see Vol. I. p. 204) on a more liberal footing, thus:—

For a Rector and Professor of Theology	. £500 (Scots)
For a Principal . . . . .	. 666 13 4
House rent for ditto . . . . .	. 100 0 0
Two Senior Regents at £333 : 6 : 8 each	. 666 13 4
Two Junior Regents at £166 : 13 : 4 each	. 333 6 8
	£2266 13 4

This in sterling money would amount to about £188 : 18s. per annum, or little more than half the actual College revenue. But at the same time they gave Charteris a gratuity of 1000 merks (£55 : 12s.), and they had a Janitor's wages to provide, besides the various expenses of coals, candles, and repairs of the College buildings. And it must be remembered that the mortcloth dues were no trust-fund held for the College, but a direct subsidy out of the "Common Good" of the Town. The sources of College revenue were at first so few and simple that it seemed hardly worth while to keep a separate account of them, and for some time the church rents and mortcloth dues continued to be mixed up with the general accounts of the Town, and the Council paid out what they deemed fitting for the maintenance of the College, keeping, as we have seen, well within the bounds of the funds at their disposal for this purpose.

But soon the College began to "gather gear" from other sources, namely, from the bequests and mortifications of private benefactors. And this necessitated a change in the system of accounting. Craufurd in his *Memoirs* commemorates the first private benefactor of the College, "Mr. James Bannatine, brother to Mr. Patrick Bannatine, Justice-Clerk depute," who in 1598 "left by testament 100 merks (£5 : 11 : 1) to the College." "This was the first<sup>1</sup> private benevolence," adds Craufurd, "bestowed in so long a time upon so good a work." And it is

<sup>1</sup> Previously to this there had been the settlement by the College of Justice and the Town Council of £3000 (Scots), which provided a Regent of Humanity and six Bursars, but Craufurd does not consider this a *private* gift.

remarkable that at first the College did not attract the liberality of those who might have assisted it. The Nobility of Scotland then (very unlike the Nobility of the present day) did nothing for it. To this general statement, however, there is one honourable exception. In 1589 the Master of Lindsay assigned to the Town Council for the use of the College the proceeds of the crops raised from the nunnery of Haddington. And in 1600 the same person, now become Lord Lindsay of the Byres, granted £80 (Scots) per annum out of the teinds of Crail for maintaining two Bursars. This sum was paid for eight years, but then Lord Binning, Lord Clerk Register, who had married his daughter into Lord Lindsay's family, procured the annulment of this mortification. And at the same time (1609) the Town Council were induced to resign the benefice of Haddington for a sum paid down of £1333:6:8 (Scots), or £111:2:3 sterling. And thus the name of Lord Lindsay of the Byres does not remain among those of the permanent contributors to the College revenues.

The tide of private benefactions was first set flowing by the Ministers of Edinburgh, who gave an example by their own donation in 1608, and then used their influence with the community to procure additional contributions. There is no doubt that the College is under great obligations to the City Ministers of the seventeenth century for their zeal in its behalf. Between 1609 and 1640 no less than twenty-five different donations or bequests came to the College, chiefly from merchants, some for general purposes, others for bursaries, but the most valuable of them—including a gift of 26,000 merks (£1444 sterling) from Mr. Bartlie Sommerville, "portioner of Sauchtonhall"—for the endowment of a Chair of Divinity (see above, Vol. I. p. 202). The greatest of the Presbyterian Ministers of those times, Alexander Henderson, had a large share in procuring these and other benefactions; and as soon as he had been made Rector of the College in 1640 the Town Council resolved (doubtless by his advice) to separate the College accounts, which now contained many distinct trust-funds, from the general accounts of the Town. John Jossie was "elected Treasurer of the College, and a Committee set a-work to take perfect information of all which belonged to the College."<sup>1</sup> Sixteen years later, in 1656, "the

<sup>1</sup> Craufurd, p. 138.

most narrow search that can be" was made, and a list of thirty-nine benefactions was drawn out, and they were shown to amount to £71,000 (Scots), or £5916 : 13 : 4 sterling. And the Town Council then bound themselves "to pay to the Treasurer of the College and his successors in office yearly, in all time coming, the ordinary annual rent of the aforesaid stock." Thus the College accounts were started in simple form, with three heads on the side of "charge": kirk-annuals; mortcloth dues; and consolidated mortifications to the amount of £5916 sterling, bearing interest at the current rate. It must not be supposed, however, that the "College Treasurer" was an officer belonging to the staff of the College itself, like the Rector of those days, or the Principal and Regents; he was invariably a Member of the Town Council, and merely acted, within their offices, as clerk in charge of a particular department of accounts.

In order to estimate the contribution made to the resources of the College by private benefactions, we must separate these into sums devised for special, and sums devised for general, purposes. We find that out of the £5916 of consolidated mortifications £2039 were for a Professor of Divinity, £1093 for Bursaries, and £2784 for the maintenance of Regents and general College purposes.<sup>1</sup> The interest on the last-named item at 8½ per cent would be about £237, which, so long as the rate remained unaltered, would be available towards carrying on the College. But one disadvantage of a perpetual City bond as a form of investment for the College trust-funds was that the rate of interest was always tending to diminish: in 1695 it had fallen to 6 per cent; in 1741 to 5 per cent; and in 1801 to 4 per cent. In the meantime the number of mortifications was continually increasing: in 1741 these were found to amount to £11,451 sterling, and in 1825 to £13,604, whereof no less than £8604 had been specially devised for Bursaries, so that adding to this the £2039 appropriated to the Chair of Divinity,

<sup>1</sup> This proportion is remarkable, since benefactors generally prefer to define and prescribe particular objects on which the interest of their money is to be expended. Hence Bursaries connected with family names or localities have always been the favourite form of benefaction. The large proportion of bequests for general College purposes in the seventeenth century must be attributed to the advice of the City Ministers of that time, who knew what was most wanted.

we see that between 1656 and 1825 hardly any addition had been made from private sources to the General Fund of the College.

As the purchasing power of money was constantly on the decrease, the Town Council could not keep the salaries of College officers *in statu quo*. In 1620 the Principal's salary and allowances amounted to about £62 sterling; in 1675 Andrew Cant received, as Principal and City Minister, £200 a year. In 1620 the total College salaries amounted to about £190; a century and a half later they were stated at £621. In a Rent Roll furnished by the Town Council for the year 1747 the following appears as, in round numbers, the income of the College (or University, as it now virtually was):—

(1) Interest on consolidated mortifications at 5 per cent	£572
(2) Teinds and Ground-Annuals . . . . .	175
(3) Mortcloth dues . . . . .	126
(4) Rent of College Chambers . . . . .	15 <sup>1</sup>
(5) From small rents . . . . .	5
	<u>£903</u>

In this statement, however, there does not seem to have been included the sum of £300 from Bishops' Teinds settled on the College by William III. and Queen Anne (above, Vol. I. p. 231), nor Queen Anne's bounty of £250, obtained by Carstares for the augmentation of Professors' stipends, nor £300 per annum settled on the Ale Duty for the support of three Professors in the Faculty of Laws (see above, Vol. I. p. 279). The income of the University, down to 1833, as payable by the Town Council, never rose above £900, though from the middle of the eighteenth century it generally approximated that amount.

*Per contra*, the following is a statement in round numbers of the University expenses, taken from the accounts of 1776:—

(1) Payments to Bursars . . . . .	£261
(2) Salaries to Principal and Professors . . . . .	621
(3) Payments to Janitor and Servants . . . . .	15
(4) Pensions . . . . .	31
(5) Tradesmen's bills for repairs, etc. . . . .	293
(6) Contingencies . . . . .	19
	<u>£1240</u>

<sup>1</sup> The rents for College Chambers in 1733 had been £23 : 15s. (see above, p. 189). They had fallen off since.

With an income of £900 this would show a deficit of £340 to be made up out of municipal funds. In 1801 the income was £836 and the expenditure £1285, being a deficit of £449. In 1825 the income was £830 and the expenditure £1612, leaving a deficit of £782. During the fifty years between 1756 and 1825 the total excess of expenditure over receipts (including therein Legacies, Compositions paid on the entries of Vassals, and Sales of Superiority) amounted to £14,132, giving an average annual deficit, defrayed from the "common good," of £282.

In 1833 a catastrophe occurred which had long been preparing, for the Municipality of Edinburgh was declared bankrupt. The main causes of this result appear to have been three in number: 1st, the deficiency of the Ale Duty to meet the burdens charged upon it; 2d, over-zeal on the part of the Town Council in building operations for the New Town of Edinburgh; 3d, a too sanguine haste in pressing on the commercial development of the harbour of Leith. The Municipality of Edinburgh had been struggling for a long time under pecuniary difficulties when in 1716 the Ale Duty was granted to the Magistrates and Council for the purpose of paying the interest of the City's debts and of liquidating the principal. But other burdens were laid on the Duty originally, and were added to from time to time whenever the Duty was renewed, which it was about every thirty years down to 1837. When in 1837 the Duty finally expired, it was found that not only the debts originally charged upon it were still unpaid, but that also more than £100,000 of additional debt had been incurred by the City, owing to the burdens laid upon the Duty by successive Acts of Parliament having exceeded the produce of the Duty by that amount. This, then, was the first cause of the financial crisis of 1833.

The second cause of difficulties was the Athenian rashness with which the Town Council indulged in a passion for public buildings when they had the task and the privilege of dealing with the romantic site of Edinburgh and of developing the New Town. It appears, for instance, that they built some thirteen churches, without any prospect of an adequate return in the shape of seat-rents. A Commission, composed chiefly of Edinburgh Advocates, who in 1835 reported on the Municipal Corporations of Scotland, were very severe on the Town Council of Edinburgh

for their extravagance in building, and especially reprehended them for having in 1819 built St. George's Church at a cost of £38,000, and for having in 1829, when they were over head and ears in debt, built the new High School for £34,000, of which £23,000 had to be provided for out of municipal funds. But the present generation can well afford to excuse these splendid extravagances, especially as the architectural designs chosen were good, and at all events did not spoil the naturally beautiful capital of Scotland.

The third and greatest cause of insolvency was the too great rapidity with which the Town Council pushed on the extension and improvement of the Leith docks, for which they borrowed no less than £265,000. In this they exhibited something of the speculative spirit of the later French Empire; but as the loan was sanctioned and even advanced by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, the Government must be held as a party to the transaction, and as responsible for it. The returns from this outlay in the shape of dock dues were not sufficiently immediate to recoup the City Managers and avert the necessity of their declaring themselves insolvent.

Matters took some years to adjust, during which time that "lesser corporation," the University, suffered considerable inconvenience, the Principal and several of the Professors being kept out of their salaries. At last, in 1838, an Act of Parliament was passed "to regulate and secure the Debt due by the City of Edinburgh to the Public." For this purpose the claims of the Treasury were postponed to a first charge upon the Leith harbour and dock dues of £7680 per annum; which sum was to be disbursed in the following way:—

£2000 a year towards the payment of the Ministers of Edinburgh in lieu of certain taxes hitherto assigned for their support by the Town Council.

£3180 a year in payment of annuities to the holders of City bonds.

£2500 a year "towards the maintenance and support of the College and Schools of the said City," with the proviso that a statement of the intended appropriation of this sum was to be submitted to the Commissioners of H.M. Treasury, and to be subject to their approbation thereof signified in writing. And in consideration of this last annual payment the sum of £13,119 known by the name of "the College Debt" was to be extinguished and discharged.



The care for the interests of the University thus evinced by the Government was due to the recommendations of the Right Hon. Henry Labouchere, who was appointed to draw up a report, which he did most elaborately, upon the affairs of the City. Ultimately, by an Act of Parliament in 1861, the sum of £2170 per annum from Leith Harbour dues was settled upon the University, £330 a year being allotted to the High School, to which also the mortcloth dues and the poor remains of the kirk-annuals were transferred. Thus a clean sweep was made of the items of University revenue formerly payable by the Town Council, and in lieu of an income approaching £900 a year from that source the University was now endowed with £2170 a year of certain revenue to be disbursed under the control of the Treasury. The financial administration of the University of Edinburgh by the Town Council was now virtually at an end. They maintained their authority over the University buildings, however, down to 1862, when an Act of Parliament transferred the control of these and of all other University property to the Senatus Academicus, subject to the revision of the University Court.

The Municipality of Edinburgh had always contributed a considerable proportion towards the expenses of the College,—first by an outlay for buildings, then by giving to it the mortcloth dues, and afterwards from time to time by meeting such expenses as were absolutely necessary for keeping it up. But all this was a good investment, as the University not only brought fame to the City, but also indirectly increased its material prosperity and wealth. The final arrangement which closed the financial connection between the Town Council and the University gave the University out of the resources of the City a fixed grant for ever of £1270 a year over and above the £900 a year which was all that the University in 1838 could have claimed as its legitimate income.

But the question arises whether that legitimate income might not have been more than £900 if the Town Council had been better stewards of the funds belonging to the University. Under the excitement of the angry feelings caused by the “thirty years’ war,” some persons were prone to denounce the financial administration of the Town Council, and to declare that, if they had

acted properly, the University of Edinburgh might have become a rich institution. This idea is based on two suppositions—1st, that much valuable Church property was alienated; and 2d, that better investments might have been made of trust-funds given or bequeathed to the College. With regard to the first point there is no evidence of malversation; the Town Council during the first years of the existence of the College were very zealous for its promotion, and on the other hand, we see by the parallel instance of Glasgow (see Vol. I. p. 73) that the Church properties granted by Mary's Charter were half alienated beforehand, and so encumbered with burdens and obligations that next to nothing could be realised from them. It is difficult to believe that anything important could have been made out of the ground-annuals of the Kirk-of-Field, which in 1640 were worth only £16 : 13 : 4.

There is more to be said for the second charge,—that the Town Council did not make good investments of trust-funds. People naturally point to the investment of George Heriot's bequest, which was originally only £23,634, and the residue of which, after the cost of building the Hospital, being invested in the Broughton lands, now gives the magnificent income of more than £25,000 a year. They say "if the £8000 or £10,000, which were mortified to the College before the end of the seventeenth century, had been similarly invested, how rich the University would now be!" But it must be remembered that of the sum mortified less than £3000 was for general College purposes, the rest was devised for special purposes; therefore, the best investments possible would not have made the University very rich,—they would have made the Chair of Divinity rich, and would have greatly increased the value of a number of Bursaries.

Still, if the College funds could have been treated as George Heriot's were, doubtless the University, by the middle of the nineteenth century, would have been richer than it actually was. But there were great difficulties in the way; the Municipality was always impoverished in those early days, and was living from hand to mouth, always in want of ready money. And the Town Council had the highest authority for treating gifts to the College as loans to themselves. When the College of Justice in 1590

presented £2000 (Scots) for a Professor of Laws, they did not say to the Town Council, "Invest this in land," but they said "Give a bond for this at 10 per cent." So too, in 1608, when the Kirk-Session handed over £8010 (Scots) to improve the salaries of the Regents, they said, "Give a bond for this at 8½ per cent." Following these precedents the Town no doubt considered that they were acting in the most natural and honourable way, when in 1656 they consolidated the mortifications to the College and turned them into City stock, on a perpetual bond bearing the current rate of interest. The result of which, of course, was that while the capital never increased, the interest on it was ever decreasing.

There is no trace of the Town Council ever deliberating for a moment as to what form of investment they should adopt for College trust-funds; it never occurred to them to do anything else besides lending these funds to the Town. The reason of this was that they never realised their own position as Trustees. Nothing was said in the vague charter under which they acted, and which gave them full powers as Patrons, of their responsibility as Trustees. In an action before the Court of Session in 1847 the Town Council pleaded that they were "proprieters of the University buildings, and as trustees and administrators for the community, have the right and have always exercised the power of assigning apartments therein, etc." And this theory of their position probably contained the idea on which they had almost invariably acted, namely, that they held College property in trust for the community, not in trust for the College or University itself as a distinct though subordinate corporation. They regarded the College as an institution created by their predecessors and upheld by themselves for the good of the Town, and no more thought of it as a separate *persona*, than a landowner would of his home-farm. Hence arose, throughout the whole period of administration, a very easy-going procedure with regard to College property. There was probably the feeling that they could do what they liked with their own, and that so long as they paid out for the College, on the whole, as much as or more than they had received for it, there was no necessity to be punctilious in accounting. They were often generous, but also often inexact. Thus, for instance, when superiorities were sold, or compositions

were paid by vassals, the sums received were treated as income and not brought to capital; in the same way unclaimed Bursaries during the fifty years ending 1825 amounted to £490, but this amount had been expended as general College income, instead of being put to the credit of the several Bursary funds; again, in 1747, the Currie and Livingston Teinds are stated as £85 : 6 : 4, with £13 : 1 : 11 deducted as "payable to the Town," and the Commissioners of 1826 were informed<sup>1</sup> that £72 : 4 : 5 out of the proceeds of teinds were immediately paid over to the College, in salaries to Professors, and that the sum of £13 : 1 : 11 went to the credit of the City Funds for a time, but was afterwards, when required, applied to the general purposes of the College.

These, though small matters, are instances of a looseness in accounting which indeed throws a certain obscurity over the financial transactions between the Town Council and the College. But we may take one broad result which unfortunately seems to show that the Town Council failed, at all events occasionally, in their duties as Trustees,—and that is the case of the Divinity Chair. Considering that this Chair was doted by the middle of the seventeenth century with the large sum (for these days) of £2039 sterling,—under the express proviso that a salary for the Professor, and a house to commemorate the name of Somerville, the chief donor, for all time coming, should be provided,—it cannot but appear a laches that in the present day the Professor of Divinity, instead of having a larger salary than other Professors, which he would have had if the trust-fund had been profitably invested, should have one of the lowest salaries of all, and should have no official house attached to his Chair. And in connection with this we may advert to another matter, already mentioned (p. 193), that when in 1785 the Town Council, by their absolute authority, took away the gardens to the east of the College, and alienated them as sites for South Bridge Street, they made no compensation out of the price of this valuable property either to the Professor of Divinity or the Principal, whose official grounds were thus taken away, or to the University, which also suffered by their loss. During the last part of their reign the Town Council manifested a somewhat cynical indifference to the

<sup>1</sup> See their *Report*, p. 105.

interests of the Professors ; thus, when the Ale Duty expired in 1837, they did not think it incumbent on themselves to provide from other sources the salaries which had been paid out of the Duty. But they were then embittered by litigation with the Senatus, and by that time the Municipality had become insolvent. Of the Town Council, as "a corporation of tradesmen" founding and governing a University, we might say that it was *omnium consensu incapax imperii, nisi imperasset*. From 1583 to 1859 the Town Council of Edinburgh did extraordinarily well in their share of making the University what it is. But they succeeded where they might have been expected to fail, and failed where they might have been expected to be particularly successful. In the intellectual development of the University their success was brilliant ; they took good advice, and did the right thing at the right moment, and in their appointments they rarely made a mistake. On the other hand, the material interests of the University did not flourish in their hands ; and this is where a body consisting of men of business should naturally have produced different results. Keen and sagacious trustees would not have let the trust-funds lie like the talent in a napkin when the New Town of Edinburgh was being developed ; and there were several occasions which they might have taken advantage of to add to the resources of the University. But there were two causes hindering :—1st, the false notion of their stewardship engendered by the Charter under which they acted ; and 2dly, the embarrassment of the City finances during so many generations, which prevented each Town Council from acting freely as unembarrassed men might have done. Looking back on the past as a whole, we may take leave of the Town Councils of former days with only a feeling of gratitude for the great work which they helped to accomplish.

We have hitherto only spoken of the income of the University proceeding from endowments in the hands of the Town Council ; but from 1762 the "Library Fund," established by Principal Robertson, grew up, and became a fund in the hands of the Professors applicable to contingencies as well as to Library purposes. It was the produce, as we have seen (pp. 175, 176), of the "Matriculation fee," and of fees paid for diplomas ; but down to 1806 the Matriculation fee was, in fact, a voluntary subscription

of 2s. 6d., paid by any Student who chose, for the use of the Library. At this stage the Library Fund averaged about £250 a year; in 1806 the Matriculation fee was raised to 5s., but still left voluntary, and it then produced an average of £500 a year. In 1810 the Town Council appear for the first time to have claimed to regulate the Library Fund. They took the very proper step of making Matriculation compulsory, and raised the fee to 7s., afterwards in 1812 to 10s., subsequently again to 12s. 6d., and finally in 1833 they raised it to £1 for the winter session or the whole year, and 10s. for the summer session, at which rate the fee now stands. The Library Fund was made to bear the expense of "College Police," *i.e.* the wages of Janitors, the cost of fire insurance, and many contingencies in addition to the salaries of Librarians, and the cost of purchasing and binding books. In 1822-23 the Fund amounted to £1364, chiefly made up of Matriculation fees £1075, diplomas £200, and induction fee paid by thirteen professors £65. Out of this less than £500 was spent in books and bindings, £450 went in salaries to Librarians and Janitor, and the rest in contingencies. Altogether, the Fund was a particularly useful one when the affairs of the Municipality became embarrassed, and it may be noticed that it was in the year of their bankruptcy, 1833, that the Town Council raised the Matriculation fee to 20s. It did not produce much more at that figure than it had done in 1823 at 12s. 6d., because the number of Students had in the meantime decreased, and Medical graduation had fallen off. The Senatus complained that the Library Fund was then saddled with £180 a year to provide salary and house for an unnecessary Secretary to the University, but all this was part of the unhappy relations of the past.

The regular income of the University being £900, and the Library Fund (at its maximum) a little over £1100, it must have been a new sensation for the Senatus, when in 1807 they learned that they had been made residuary legatees of an estate, subject to one life interest, the income of which would more than exceed the previous University income and the Library Fund put together. This was General Reid's bequest, the particulars of which have been previously stated (Vol. I. p. 343). General Reid's solicitors, in announcing his death, enclosed an estimate

of what the residuary legacy would amount to, namely, £52,114. During the twenty-seven years which elapsed before the death of Mrs. Stark Robertson, the liferenter, successive generations of the Senatus had plenty of time to consider what they should do with the trust-fund when they received it. And this was left very much to their discretion, for all that they were directed by the Will to do was to establish and endow a Professorship of Music (with a salary of not less than £300 to the Professor), and to provide an Annual Concert in honour of the Founder; for the rest, the Fund was to be applied "in making additions to the Library of the said University, or otherwise in promoting the interest and advantage of the University, in such way as the Principal and Professors thereof for the time being shall in their discretion think most right and proper." The terms of the Will were so large and unrestrictive, and the needs of the University were so manifold, that it is not to be wondered at if the Senatus thought more of the secondary than of the primary objects of the trust. They very likely imagined that a Professorship of £300 a year and the expenses of a Concert could be met by a capital sum of £10,000 or £12,000, and that they thus would have at their disposal for other purposes about £40,000. As time went on they were emboldened to borrow upon their reversion: in 1819 they expended £3000 in this way on purchasing the Dufresne Collection (see Vol. I. p. 370), and in 1825 £2800 in repairing and removing to its new quarters the University Library (above, p. 176). Among the greatest wants of the University was a Constitution, and in fighting for this (as related in chapter vi.), they spent out of the Reid Fund a sum which in 1850 they estimated at £909:16:4, though this must have been afterwards increased by their suit before the House of Lords.

In all this there was not sufficient thought of the Testator's intentions. When the legacy became payable in 1838 General Reid's Trustees invited the Senatus to an amicable suit before the Court of Chancery, and that Court simply handed over the estate, *minus* legacy-duty and expenses, amounting to about £60,000, to the Senatus as Trustees to carry out the intentions of the Testator. The Court laid on them no injunctions as to the mode in which this was to be done. Reid's Trustees

in 1839 appointed the first Professor of the Theory of Music (Thomson), and the Senatus then agreed to pay him, without mortifying or investing any separate sum for the purpose, a salary of £300 a year; they allotted to him a not very convenient or suitable class-room in their existing buildings; and at his request they placed at his disposal £200 towards the expenses of the first Reid Concert, estimating that if 5s. each were charged for tickets £200 more might be raised, which would be a fund sufficient to retain the services of every good musical performer in Edinburgh, and also to bring artists from England, so that General Reid's Concert might be celebrated with due *éclat*.

Probably, as the Court of Chancery had given them no guidance, it would have been the most prudent course for the Senatus in 1839 to have raised an action of Declarator in the Court of Session, with the view of having their duties under the Trust defined. Unfortunately they did not do this, and hence differences of opinion and heart-burnings arose. The first Professors of Music, Thomson, Bishop, and Pierson, made no objections to the course pursued. So the Senatus went to work in supplying some of the wants of the University out of the interest of the Reid Fund: they gave annually £400 to the Library, £100 to the Divinity Library, £200 to the Anatomical Museum, £100 to other Museums, £300 for Fellowships in Arts, £100 for Scholarships in Arts, and £100 for Prizes in Arts and Law, —altogether £1300, and representing a capital of more than £32,000. In 1842 Sir James Forrest, Lord Provost, wrote to Principal Lee suggesting that some portion of the Reid Fund "should be devoted to the purpose of providing retiring allowances to aged and meritorious professors." But in 1845 John Donaldson, who was by profession an Advocate, was appointed to the Chair of Music. He soon devoted his mind to the position of the Chair, and estimated its claims much higher than his predecessors had been content to do. In pressing those claims he created a dissentience in the Senatus; earnest Professors, like J. D. Forbes, considered the Music Chair as a toy, not to be compared in importance with the scientific interests of the University; Sir W. Hamilton thought the claims of the Library paramount, and so on; while Sir Robert (then Professor) Christison and



others were for a more just treatment of the Chair of Music. At last Donaldson, who was not only a lawyer, but a skilful litigant, succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of the Town Council and in getting them to bring, in 1850, an action of Exhibition and Declarator against the Principal and Professors to ordain them to apply the Reid Fund "at the sight" of the Court of Session. The litigation proceeded for five years, causing of course much discomfort within the University; nothing could be more adroit than Donaldson's conduct in the case, and in the end he was victorious all along the line. In fact, the Senatus, not sufficiently mindful of General Reid's first object, had not provided adequately for the Chair of Music. They had made no allowance for apparatus, though on Donaldson's urgency they did disburse a sum of £950 for that purpose; they had not provided an Organ, which was indispensable; they had allotted nothing for a Class-Assistant; and they had assigned to the Professor a very miserable class-room.

The Court of Session rectified all this: they ordered the following sums to be set aside for their respective purposes:—

For the salary of the Professor of Music	£12,000,	to provide	£420	a year
For Class-Assistant and expenses	. 8,500	„	300	„
For the Annual Concert	. . 8,000	„	300	„
To be expended in building a Class-Room	. . . . . 8,000			
To be expended in purchase of an Organ	. . . . . 2,000			
			<u>£38,500</u>	<u>£1,020</u>

The Senatus had apparently contemplated appropriating little more than one-fifth of the Reid Fund to purposes connected with General Reid's primary objects,—the Chair of Music and the Annual Concert,—but the Court ordained that nearly two-thirds of the Fund should be so appropriated. Had the Senatus dealt more equitably with the Trust from the commencement, they might have made terms with the Professor of Music and got the Music class-room so built as to serve for the purposes of a University Hall. They attempted this too late, when Professor Donaldson, with the Town Council on his side, was at war with

them, and he successfully resisted the proposal. As it was, a class-room was built capable of holding only about 200 persons, and therefore, though a pleasing building in a small way, not admitting of any adequate development of the class of music in future times. After the appropriations ordained by the Court of Session had been made, there remained of the Reid Fund £20,000 the interest of which is now available for general University purposes.

General Reid's example was followed in 1840 by General Sir Joseph Straton of Kirkside, who left the residue of his estate to the Principal and Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh, "the yearly interest to be applied by them towards the promotion and advancement of science." The estate was realised in 1845, and was found to amount to £14,151,—a valuable contribution to the General University Fund.

In the meanwhile another bequest had been received, not indeed contributing to the finances of the University, but conveying a valuable property, and of a character highly complimentary and gratifying to the Senatus: this was the collection of Pictures,<sup>1</sup> Bronzes, and Marbles bequeathed to the University in 1834 by Sir James Erskine of Torrié, "for the purpose of laying a foundation for a Gallery for the encouragement of the Fine Arts." On the death of Sir James Erskine's heir, who had the liferent, the Collection was handed over, and was at first exhibited in the Library Hall of the University; but as the Pictures could not be well shown there, the Collection was entrusted to the Managers of the Royal Institution (which afterwards developed into the National Gallery of Scotland) for custody and exhibition to the public. In Mr. Anderson's designs for a University Hall and subsidiary apartments there is space provided for an Art Gallery, and if these designs are ever carried out the Torrié Collection will be reclaimed and exhibited, together with other Art treasures, on University premises.

The Reid, Straton, and Erskine of Torrié bequests were harbingers to that host of benefactions, since 1858, which were recorded in Chapter VII. During the last years of the reign of the Town Council the University income, though greatly aug-

<sup>1</sup> The Pictures, forty-six in number, consist chiefly of choice specimens of the Flemish and Dutch Schools.

mented since 1833, did not amount from all sources to more than about £8000. Thus :—

From Leith Harbour dues, for Salaries and Bursaries . . .	£2000
„ “ Library Fund ” (Matriculation and Diplomas) . . . say	1200
„ Interest on Reid Fund . . . . .	2000
„ „ Straton Fund . . . . .	560
„ Deanery of the Chapel-Royal . . . . .	900
„ Government Compensation for Stationers’ Hall privilege . . . . .	575
„ Government Grant for maintenance of Buildings . . . . .	500
	<u>£7735</u>

with some other small items not exceeding £500 altogether. So great has been the increase, since those days, of Parliamentary grants, of property funded for various purposes in the University, and of Matriculation and Graduation Fees, that for the year 1881-82 the Income of the University of Edinburgh amounted to £34,173, whereof £21,756:10s. were specially destined for particular objects, such as Professors’ Salaries, Bursaries, Scholarships, etc. ; and £12,416:10s. were General Income administered by the Senatus under the control of the University Court. But while resources have thus largely increased, the functions and duties of the University have also been multiplied. And as more than £9000 of the revenue comes from a precarious source (Matriculation and Graduation fees), the Finance Committee of the Senatus are obliged to be cautious and practise economy, and to deny to the University many an expenditure which would otherwise be expedient.

#### APPENDIX R. TRAITS, PERSONAL, SCIENTIFIC, OR LITERARY, OF BYGONE WORTHIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

##### I.—CHANCELLORS.

(1) As above related (p. 104), Lord Brougham was elected Chancellor of the University in 1859. The facts of Brougham’s life and the features of his character have been so completely

<sup>1</sup> On the characters of living men no remarks will be made in these pages.

brought into the light of publicity, that it is unnecessary to repeat here what is universally known, or may be gathered from a hundred sources. Brougham formed a connecting link between new and old times in the University of Edinburgh, for he was the grand-nephew of Principal Robertson, whose sister married the Rev. James Syme, Minister of Alloa, and their daughter, in 1778, married Henry Brougham, Esq., younger of Brougham Hall. Lord Brougham was born in St. Andrew Square in April 1779, and thus was more than eighty years old when elected Chancellor. In April 1860 he delivered a brilliant Installation Address, containing general remarks on Academic Studies, and in which he gave a long list of fellow-students of his own in the University of Edinburgh who had since become remarkable.

(2) On Brougham's death in 1868 a keen contest for the Chancellorship ensued. Mr. Gladstone was proposed by a distinguished Liberal Member of the General Council, but it was evident from the first that the election was not to turn on politics, for another distinguished Liberal proposed the Lord Justice General (Inglis), who was a staunch Conservative. The claims of the latter rested upon the great services which he had rendered to the Universities of Scotland (as related in Chapter VI.) by his Act of 1858, and by his conduct as Chairman of the Commission. The results of his work, tested by some six years' experience, had inspired profound confidence in his wisdom as an Academical administrator. On the other hand, Mr. Gladstone's proposal (pp. 97, 98), that the Universities of Scotland should be reduced to the rank of Colleges, had created a feeling of alarm. Great interest was taken by the political world in this contest, because it was contemporaneous with the commencement of the General Election of November 1868, and statesmen looked to it as an indication of the state of party feeling. But in reality it was not so; on purely Academical and personal grounds the Lord Justice General was elected Chancellor, the votes being:—

For the Right Hon. the Lord Justice General	.	1780
For the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone	.	1570
		<hr/>
Majority	.	<u>210</u>

## II.—RECTORS.

- 1859. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.
- 1862. Ditto, re-elected.
- 1865. Thomas Carlyle.
- 1868. The Right Hon. Lord Moncreiff.
- 1871. Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Bart.
- 1874. The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby.
- 1877. The Most Hon. the Marquis of Hartington.
- 1880. The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery.

Carlyle has commemorated his election (see above, p. 144) by bequeathing in characteristic terms his estate of Craigenputtock to found Bursaries in the University. His reception by the Students on occasion of his delivering his address to them was very striking. By reason of old age he was unable to make his voice heard throughout the large assembly, but the Students sat manifesting the utmost patience and the deepest respect, though hundreds of them were unable to catch his words.

The case was different with Sir William Stirling Maxwell, the most distinguished man of letters in Scotland at that time. It so happened that when he came to Edinburgh in 1872 to address the Students, the Student-world was in a state of considerable excitement about the question of admitting women to Medical degrees. A number of those who had voted for Sir William determined to ascertain the sentiments on this point of their new Lord Rector; so they met him at the railway station and expressed to him their hope that he would not, as President of the University Court, favour the pretensions of the Medical ladies. Sir William was in truth not at all disposed to do so, but he very naturally declined to give the Students any pledge as to the course which he might take. This reply was very improperly interpreted to mean an espousal of the women's cause, and was resented accordingly. A section of the Students (and a very small minority is sufficient for such a purpose) went to Sir William Stirling Maxwell's address, not to listen, but to interrupt, and thus a graceful and charming oration was rendered inaudible by barbarous noises, and was finally broken off amid confusion, as has happened too often on other occasions—where even the

poor motive of this disturbance was wanting—in the Universities of Scotland.

### III.—PRINCIPALS.

#### (I.) ROBERT ROLLOCK, 1586-1599.

Rollock had been appointed in 1583 to be the sole Regent of the "Town's College;" he was to be the one source of its illumination; the measure of his attainments was to be its high-water mark of learning, and the standard of its curriculum. While far inferior to Melville and other scholars from the Continent, Rollock was quite able to take his class through a course of Aristotle tempered by Ramism. He also by his personal character got a great influence over all the Students of the College, and tamed the wild High-School boys who had "barred out" their masters and shot a Bailie when the Town Council made some demur about their autumn holidays.<sup>1</sup> And he moulded the College into the similitude of a hard-working family, much pervaded by the exercises of religion.

But when he had completed his four years' course of Philosophy with his class—when, in addition to the title of "Principal," he was made Professor of Theology, and was relieved from further teaching of secular subjects,—Rollock must have felt that he was entering upon his true vocation. Entering upon it only—for the scientific teaching of Theology was not his ideal of the work which he had to do in life. He felt born to be a preacher, and in comparison with this high calling he made light of humanism and science in all its forms. On his death-bed he said: "Believe me, it is not a thing of small importance to preach the Word; it is not the same thing as to expound the text of Plato and Aristotle, or to set forth a harangue bedaubed with the colours and allurements of rhetoric. The preaching of the Word depends on holiness, humility, and the efficacious demonstration of the Spirit. God knows how highly I have ever prized it."

Rollock's first opportunity for preaching came to him about 1587, when he chanced to go into the New Church (*i.e.* the east end of St. Giles') early of a Sunday morning, and there found "great crowds" of people assembled, and so, in order that they might not be left idle, he took up the practice of preaching to

<sup>1</sup> See Steven's *History of the High School of Edinburgh*, 1849.

them every Sunday at 7 A.M. The Presbytery approved of what he had begun, and he was regularly appointed to continue it. One would have thought that this duty, in addition to his Professorship of Theology and his administration of the College, would have been sufficient for a man always frail in health. But after a few years of his acceptable preaching he was, against his own wish, drawn out completely from the seclusion of academical life, and compelled by entreaties from all sides to take "the full burden of one of the eight Ministers of the City."

And now, when his strength began to fail, he had to launch out on the troubled sea of Church politics, and to act amongst men, some of whom were fanatical and others crafty. After the "tumult" of the 17th December 1596, when most of the Ministers of Edinburgh had been banished, "none other willing or daring to appear in the breach, grave and wise Henry Nisbet, Provost, and godly Mr. Rollock, so prevailed with the King that at length he was reconciled to the Town of Edinburgh, and suffered the Ministers to return."<sup>1</sup> Rollock's goodness and sweetness and tact enabled him to shine out, as his biographer says, "like a star of salvation" over what appeared to be a dark crisis in the relations between the Crown and the Church. His offices as peace-maker were recognised by his being chosen Moderator of the ensuing General Assembly, held at Dundee on the 10th May 1597. The King, who was present in person at that Assembly, demanded that a Commission should be appointed "to watch on behalf of the Church that she should sustain no injury," and of this Commission Rollock was one,— "the honest, good, and holy man, with some few like him, knowing nothing of the grand design, the reviving of the hierarchical power."<sup>2</sup> It is agreed that Rollock was simple and trusting, and less fit for State affairs "than for the pulpit and the schools." It was even said that he was made a tool of, and that "his old master, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, being now won over to the King's side, turned and tutored him as he saw fitting."

The labours of the Commission, on the top of his other cares, broke down Rollock's strength, and aggravated his malady,— "a fatal confirmed stone," to which he succumbed on the 8th January

<sup>1</sup> Craufurd, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Mackenzie's *Lives*, iii. p. 443.

1598-99.<sup>1</sup> "The time of expectation of his departure he spent in most heavenly meditations when he was private, and most pithy exhortations to godliness unto all that visited him."<sup>2</sup> There is no record of any of the Students coming to him, but the Ministers, the Magistrates, and several of the Judges approached his bedside. To the Magistrates he gave advice as to the choice of his successor. "Why need you traverse other countries, and assume to this charge a foreigner, who at the same time would be unacquainted with the system of teaching and discipline of this College? You have at home one endowed with rich gifts and furnished for this office, Henry Charteris, who under my instruction has drunk deep of learning, and has for more than ten years discharged the office of Professor of Philosophy with distinction. Place him at the helm of the College and you will see God blessing his labours." Rollock's biographer says:—"I should hardly be believed if I were to tell the lamentations and profound grief which the report of his death occasioned through the whole of this city and the surrounding country." "The whole population of Edinburgh flocked in crowds to do honour to his funeral."

In 1587, as soon as he was freed from teaching philosophy and had got his stipend raised to 400 merks, Rollock married one Helen Baron, by whom he had a posthumous daughter. It is not to be wondered at that he left them unprovided for. On his death-bed he bequeathed them to the care of the Town Council, saying: "I declare frankly that from all that I have received for my labours, I have not accumulated a single penny." The Town Council granted his widow a pension of 100 merks, and in 1611 voted the same allowance for his daughter till her marriage, with 1000 merks as her portion.

Soon after Rollock's death eleven of his sermons were published from notes taken by his hearers, two of his disciples—Henry Charteris and William Arthur—being the collectors and editors. One thousand copies of these sermons, at 6s. (Scots) each, were sold off by 1616, in which year the editors republished them, with seven sermons more added, in the English dialect and

<sup>1</sup> The year in Scotland used to commence on the 25th March. During the year after Rollock's death, an alteration was made by public enactment, and on the 1st January next the year 1600 began.

<sup>2</sup> Craufurd, p. 49.



orthography, the original edition having been given forth in homely and racy Scotch. Without any flights of eloquence, without being, what was said of the preaching of his contemporary, Bruce of Kennaird, "an earthquake to his hearers,"—Rollock's sermons were intensely earnest, and they have been characterised as "manly, sound, practical, and stirring."

During his own lifetime Rollock brought out several works, and he has the credit of having been the first person in Scotland to publish a Commentary on any part of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> In the Catholic Universities the Scriptures had seldom been lectured on; the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard stood in their place, and John Mair, whom one of his admirers called "the prince of the theologians and philosophers of Paris," had commented upon part of the *Sentences*. In 1590 Rollock brought out his *Commentary*, in Latin, on *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, which contained the lectures which he had given to his Theological class in the College. In 1591 he published, in like manner, a *Commentary on Daniel*; in 1594 a *Logical Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans*; in 1596 his *Questions and Answers on the Covenant of God (de Fœdere Dei)*; in 1597 his treatise *On Efficient Calling*; in 1598 a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Thessalonians*. And he left several other *Commentaries*, which were published after his death by Charteris. The works brought out by himself were dedicated severally to James VI.; to King James and Queen Anne; "to his dearest pupils, John, Earl of Gowrie, and Colin Campbell, Lord of Glenorchie;" to William Little, Lord Provost; and to his old tutor, Thomas Buchanan. In his title-pages Rollock never gave himself the title of "Principal," or in any way referred to his connection with the College; he always styled himself "Minister of Jesus Christ in the Church of Edinburgh." This is the more remarkable, seeing that these works were all composed for the class-room, and were, in short, the prelections which he had delivered to his Divinity Students revised for publication. They betray their origin, being put into scholastic form, such as would suit young men who had just gone

<sup>1</sup> Not even a sermon had been published in Scotland previously. In 1591 Bruce of Kennaird brought out a few sermons; and in 1593 Napier of Merchiston followed with his *Plain Discovery*, expounding the *Revelation* of St. John to apply to the Church of Rome and the Pope.

through a course of Aristotle far better than the general reader. In this respect Rollock's Commentaries were a contrast to his sermons, which were put into the homeliest form and addressed directly to the heart. These Commentaries, reflecting as they did the views of the Geneva school, were praised by Beza; but they exhibited no critical learning. His little catechism *On the Covenant of God*, and *On Effectual Calling*, give a specimen of Rollock's systematic theology. He appears to have been the first "federal theologian" in Great Britain, and as such to have propounded views which were afterwards admitted into the Westminster *Confession of Faith*.

From Rollock's death-bed conversations we learn that he was satisfied with the College as he had made it and as he was leaving it. He was satisfied with the Regenting system and the prescribed curriculum, and was only afraid that innovations might be introduced into the discipline, and perhaps into the religious teaching of the place. His aspirations were for the spiritual advancement of all members of the College; he felt no desire to see a generation of the scholars of the Renaissance, such as Reuchlin, Erasmus, Scaliger, and Casaubon, reared up in Edinburgh; he did not desire to see a University system developed and Professors of Law and Medicine introduced. Therefore he begged the Town Council to appoint as his successor his faithful disciple, Henry Charteris, who might be trusted to keep things as they were. His wishes were carried out, and things were kept as they were for more than a century after Rollock's death. There were two circumstances that prevented the College of Edinburgh from rising during that period: *first*, the Regenting system was fatal to all chance of development; and *secondly*, Scotland, during the seventeenth century, entered upon a dark age of its own.<sup>1</sup>

## (2.) HENRY CHARTERIS, 1599-1620.

Craufurd's character of Charteris is highly graphic:—"He was certainly one of the most learned men of his time, both in the tongues and in philosophy and divinity; but he had too low

<sup>1</sup> Many of the above particulars are taken from the excellent Preface and Annotations of W. M. Gunn, Esq., to his edition of the *Select Works of Robert Rollock*, published by the Wodrow Society, 1849.

thoughts of himself, a fault (if a fault) known in few beside. He was also of an holy and unblamed life. He was not given to the cares of this world, yet not unfrugal; for although he had very small incomings by his charge (all his time), yet by the blessing of the Lord upon his patrimony, and the portion which he got by his wives, he left his children in good condition." He married three times, and had altogether twenty-three children, but only nine of them survived him.

Charteris was the son of an eminent printer in Edinburgh, was one of Rollock's pupils from the opening of the College, and was laureated in 1587. In 1589 he was made Regent, and in 1599 Principal and Professor of Theology. We have seen above (Vol. I. p. 173) that he was too shy to preside at the Stirling Disputation in 1617 before King James, and (Vol. I. p. 197) that he was driven out of his academical appointments by the Town Council, and became Minister of North Leith. In 1627, on the resignation of Andrew Ramsay, he was brought back to be Professor of Divinity in the College. He died two years after.

The chief mark which he has left on the world consists in his *Narratio Vitæ et Obitus sanctissimi doctissimique viri D. Roberti Rolloci, Scoti, Ministri Evangelii et Rectoris Academiæ Edinburgensis*, a beautiful tribute to the virtues of his master.

### (3.) PATRICK SANDS, 1620-1622.

Sands graduated with Charteris in 1587, was made Regent with him in 1589, and supplanted him in the Principalship in 1620. Previously to that he had left the College and gone abroad as tutor to Lord Newbattle, and when he came back (having probably taken the opportunity to study some Law in the foreign schools) he became an Advocate. Through family interest with the Town Council he got himself thrust into the Principalship of the College (see Vol. I. p. 197). And strange as it may appear, though a lawyer by profession, he was, as Principal, "appointed to supply in the afternoon" in Greyfriars' Church. Naturally enough he did not give satisfaction in the combined offices now held by him, and in 1622 he retired with "a gratification of 1000 merks." The only productions of Principal Sands which the author of these pages has seen are a set of Latin verses

in *The Muses' Welcome*, and a Latin epigram in praise of Anderson's "Angelic Pills" (see Vol. I. p. 217, note).

(4.) ROBERT BOYD, Dec. 1622 to Jan. 1623.

In succession to Sands the Town Council made a really good appointment to the Principalship in the person of Robert Boyd of Trochrig. But we have related above (Vol. I. p. 177) how James VI. annulled this appointment and deprived the College of a head whose connection with it even for a month is an honour to its *Fasti*.

(5.) JOHN ADAMSON, 1623-1651.

In selecting John Adamson to fill up the vacancy caused by Boyd's expulsion the Town Council might feel sure that they would not again be offending the King, for Adamson was a courtier as well as a scholar. He not only acted as leader of the College Regents who disputed before James VI. at Stirling in 1617, but he also next year collected all the orations and Latin and Greek verses with which the King had been greeted at Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, St. Andrews, Dundee, and other places, during his visit to Scotland, and he published a volume of these productions, dedicated to the King, under the title of *The Muses' Welcome to the High and Mighty Prince*, etc., in order, as he said, that the world might know "*tuam Scotiam sub Rege eruditissimo non ineruditam, erga Regem optimum optime affectam.*" This book was doubtless much more to James's taste than the *De Jure Regni* of George Buchanan, who in his preface assumed that the King would have a natural repugnance to the titles of "Your Majesty," "Your Highness," "*et si qua alia magis sunt putida.*" To use Buchanan's strong term, *The Muses' Welcome* is made up of the most "rotten" compliments, and except in some Theses defended before the King, and in a pretty English poem by Drummond of Hawthornden, it hardly contains a word of sense or truth. As a specimen take the following sentence from the English address delivered to the King in the name of the Town of Perth:—"By your Majesty's presence and most benign aspect this day, We, who these many years bypast in absence of your Majesty (the sunshine of our beauty), did sit like so many girasoles languishing in the shades of darkness, may now again

like as many lizards delight ourselves in the sight of your gracious countenance." Let any one conceive hundreds of variations of this sort of thing tricked out with classical conceits in Latin and Greek verse, and he will have a fair idea of *The Muses' Welcome*. The book, no doubt, showed that Scotland was "not unlearned;" indeed, merchants, doctors, and various other people contributed to it, and it showed a very loyal humour in the people, though expressed in an unreal form. Doubtless Adamson, as the editor of all this classical adulation, was very acceptable to the King.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it appears that James VI. had already presented<sup>2</sup> him to the parish of Liberton in 1609. But this was probably done at the instance of Sir John Home, who had presented Adamson to North Berwick, and afterwards losing his temper in some discussion, had struck his Minister on the Sabbath-day. To prevent an inquiry before the Synod Sir J. Home got Adamson removed to another parish.

Adamson was, no doubt, an elegant scholar; we have seen (p. 169) that he wrote the Latin Catalogue for the Drummond collection of books, and (Vol. I. p. 141) that he got the post of Janitor given to an extra-Academical person instead of to a Divinity Student. In 1627 he published a small Latin Catechism for the use of Students, entitled *Στοιχείωσις Eloquentiarum Dei, sive Methodus Religionis Christianæ Catechetica. In usum Academiae Jacobi Regis et Scholarum Edinensium conscripta*. Beyond this his Principalship did not leave much trace, except that he bequeathed George Buchanan's skull to the College. The earliest record of this circumstance is in Morer's *Short Account*, p. 78, who says that he saw in the College Library "George Buchanan's skull, very entire, and so thin that we may see the light through it. And that it is really his, appears from hence, because one Mr. Adamson, Principal of the College, being a young man of twenty-four years of age when Buchanan was buried, either out of curiosity or respect to the Dead, bribed the Sexton some time after to procure him the skull, which being brought, he fastened these verses to it, and at his death left it and

<sup>1</sup> Adamson had also the honour of superintending the pageants which were got up to welcome Charles I. on his visit to Scotland in 1633, and of editing another volume similar to the former one, entitled ΕΙΣΟΔΙΑ, *Musarum Edinensium in Caroli Regis, Musarum Tutani, ingressu in Scotiam*.

<sup>2</sup> Scott's *Fasti Ecclesie Scotticane*, i. p. 114.

them to the College." The ten Latin verses which Morer quotes are insipid, as may be seen from the concluding couplet—

*" Per Te olim tellus est nobilitata Britanna,  
Et decus es tumulo jam, Buchanane, tuo."*

But the skull, supposing it to have been the real one, is an interesting relic. There was something wrong, however, in Morer's story, for Adamson appears to have been born in 1576 ;



he was therefore six, and not twenty-four years old, when George Buchanan was buried. But that Adamson bequeathed the skull to the College, however, and at whatever age he may have obtained it, there seems no reason for doubting. The skull still exhibits the remarkable thinness which Morer adverted to ; it shows a fine breadth of forehead and forcible contours. The present Professor of Anatomy pronounces that it bears the marks of an age corresponding to that at which Buchanan died ; but he also pronounces that it is not the skull of a Lowland Scot, being altogether of a shorter and broader type ; and he asks, Can George Buchanan have been a Celt ? Undoubtedly the Buchanans were a clan of Western Highlanders, and the Celtic type may have come out prominently in the head of the mighty George.

(6.) ROBERT LEIGHTON, 1653-1662.

Adamson appears to have died during the year 1651, and there followed a short interregnum in the Principalship. There

were no meetings of the Town Council for fifteen months after the battle of Dunbar. At last, in the spring of 1652, under the sanction of the "Judges" or "Commissioners" appointed by Cromwell's Parliament to settle the affairs of Scotland, a new Town Council was elected, and met, and proceeded among other things to choose Mr. William Colvill to be Principal of the College. But one of the Judges, Edward Mosely, objected to the appointment of Colvill, who had been deposed from clerical functions by the General Assembly three years before on suspicion of favouring the cause of Charles I. The Town Council had nothing for it but to bow to the absolute authority of the Judges and cancel the appointment. So the Principalship remained vacant for nearly a year more. In the meantime Mr. Robert Leighton, the Minister of Newbattle, received a commission from the General Assembly to proceed to London and endeavour to obtain the liberation of certain Presbyterian Ministers imprisoned there. Leighton appears to have remained in London from May till about the end of November 1652. And it seems in the highest degree probable that he took the opportunity of applying to Cromwell's Government to be appointed to the Edinburgh Principalship. On the 16th and again on the 30th December the Presbytery of Dalkeith received letters from him resigning the office of Minister, both which they declined to accept. On the 27th January 1683 Leighton returned and appeared before the Presbytery, accompanied by Andrew Brysone, the City Treasurer, who stated that the Town Council had given Mr. Leighton a call to be Principal of the College. This was probably the result of an order sent down from the Government, and we learn that the Edinburgh Ministers, when invited by the Town Council to join in Leighton's election, refused to vote "because they were not satisfied with the manner of the call." The curious thing is that "Mr. Leighton being posed (asked), if he would embrace the aforesaid charge, answered that *he was not yet fully resolved*,"<sup>1</sup> which seems to have been a *façon de parler*, as he immediately took up the appointment.

The reason which Leighton assigned for wishing to resign the

<sup>1</sup> See *Extracts from the Presbytery Records of Dalkeith, 1641-1653. Communicated by the Rev. Thomas Gordon, Minister of Newbattle. With remarks by David Laing, Esq.*,—in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. iv.

Ministry of Newbattle was that the parish was too large for his strength (there were 900 communicants), and "the extreme weakness of his voice" prevented his reaching the half of them when they were convened. But he had also shown symptoms of a growing distaste for the Presbyterianism of those days, with its strifes and violences. He disliked the "Covenant," and in 1648, when the Assembly ordered a "Declaration" to be read in all churches against "the unlawful engagement" with Charles I., he made his precentor read it, excusing himself on the ground of 'ane great defluction' (*i.e.* a bad cold). He had very likely a secret kindness for Charles I.; and though what he desired was to realise the divine life in a region quite above all disputes about Church government or forms of worship, he still perhaps leant, so far as he had a leaning, towards what there was of the beautiful in Episcopalianism. It was under the circumstances above stated that he accepted, and probably applied for, the Principalship of the College of Edinburgh, and retired from the jar of Church factions into a haven of Theosophy.

Whatever his own proclivities in Church politics may have been, he was a man who, from his sweetness and humility, and perhaps from some faculty of "being all things to all men," was acceptable to all the Churches. No Presbyterian had a word against him, the Independents took him up, and as soon as the Stuarts were restored to the throne he was made a Bishop.

Leighton was not one to cherish a family feud; else, as the son of a father who had, by the orders of the Star Chamber, been whipped in the pillory, had his ears cut off, his nose slit, and his cheeks branded with S.S. (sower of sedition), been fined £10,000, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for the crime of writing a pamphlet called *Zion's Plea against Prelacy*—he would not have accepted the Bishopric of Dunblane and the Archbishopric of Glasgow. But he was above, or at all events devoid of, the ordinary human passions.

While we seem to know something of Leighton's mind in its mature beauty, the early facts of his life and education are very ill-ascertained. It has never been observed that whereas a century later Robertson and Hume took the greatest pains to write English correctly, and did not always succeed, because it



was not the dialect in which they were accustomed to speak and think, Leighton in the middle of the seventeenth century wrote in a lucid style of "English undefiled." The explanation must be that as a boy he lived in England, and the southern dialect was to him his mother-tongue, the use of which he of course improved by scholarship. He was born in 1611, and in 1627 was sent down from London to complete his education in the College of Edinburgh. He was conducted to graduation by his Regent, Robert Ranken, in 1631. His father's horrible sentence had taken place in 1630, and on leaving College Leighton went to live with relations at Douay, where he remained many years, and conceived, it is said, a certain sympathy for the French Catholics. Returning to Scotland about 1640 he was licensed as a preacher by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and next year was appointed by Lord Lothian to the parish of Newbattle.

Leighton having entered on his duties as Primar, or Principal, in February 1653, held the post till March 1662, and, as Bishop Burnet says, "was a great blessing to it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had great effect on many of them." He is said to have "revived"<sup>1</sup> the practice introduced by Rollock (see Vol. I. p. 142) of Wednesday lectures to the Students on the knowledge of God and their duties. Four-and-twenty of these lectures have been preserved; they are written in Latin, and, as being addressed to an educated audience, they are full of learning; but they are also of extreme beauty, and, if space only permitted, these pages should be adorned with many quotations from them. They treat of Human Happiness, which Leighton maintains to consist in holiness alone; of the Immortality of the Soul; the Scheme of Salvation, etc. Leighton, though nominally Professor of Theology, was not expected to teach Theology, that being the province of the Professor of Divinity; his discourses were purely practical. Beside these lectures there were eight *Paræneses*, or exhortations, addressed to Students on the occasion of their laureation. They all strike the same note, that of the whisper of the slave to the Roman General during his triumph—"Remember that thou art mortal." They all tell the successful graduates that academical pomps are a vain show, that learning and all earthly successes are but as a vapour of smoke,

<sup>1</sup> From this it would appear that Adamson had abandoned the practice.

and that the one career for them worth following is that, in the words of Tertullian, they should be "candidates for eternity." Leighton in his College discourses always showed himself as one who was overshadowed with the sense of eternity. In addition to his Wednesday lectures in Latin, it was proposed to the Town Council by Leighton that he should also preach to the Students in the College Hall of a Sunday afternoon once or twice a month, and that on the other Sunday afternoons sermons should be delivered in turn by the Professors.<sup>1</sup> And this suggestion was adopted.

In 1657 Leighton received a commission from the Town Council to proceed to London and endeavour to obtain from the Protector some increase of the College revenues. He was successful in his application, for Cromwell granted in general terms £200 a year "out of Church lands" to the College of Edinburgh. In July 1658 Leighton moved the Town Council to endeavour to obtain a "locality" for this amount (*i.e.* to get it fixed as a charge on the teinds of some parish), but in the following September Cromwell died, and his intended bounty came to nothing.

At that same meeting with the Patrons Leighton brought forward two other matters: 1st, that there was a common report of some suspected houses near the College, especially of an irregular house in the College Wynd, in reference to which the Bailies undertook to remove all scandalous persons from the neighbourhood; 2dly, that the Students did not make such good progress as might be wished, and this Leighton attributed to a deficiency of grammar schools, and he suggested that steps should be taken for the establishing of a grammar school in every Presbytery, and that the Protector should be petitioned to provide salaries for the masters out of Church rents. Also that a Latin grammar, written in English, "for the more easy apprehension of little children," should be provided. The Town Council then recommended Professor Thomas Craufurd to finish some *Rudiments* which he was understood to have in hand. Craufurd, however, was probably too old for this work, and nothing was done towards realising Leighton's aspirations for the improvement of classical teaching.

In December 1661 Leighton accepted the Bishopric of Dun-

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* probably of Divinity and Hebrew.

blane, but seems to have held the Principalship for three months afterwards; and, as if he had conceived an affection for the College of Edinburgh, where he had spent nine peaceful years, and where probably he finished his *Commentary on the 1st Epistle of St. Peter*,<sup>1</sup> he afterwards retained his College chambers. We find him living there in 1672, after he had become Archbishop of Glasgow. In *Chorleyana*, which is the diary of an English Nonconformist Student at the University of Glasgow, and which Cosmo Innes<sup>2</sup> brought to light, we get the following characteristic picture:—Chorley, who was about to graduate, was deputed to wait upon Archbishop Leighton and present him with a pair of gloves, and invite him to the laureation at Glasgow. “I found him,” says Chorley, “at his chamber in the College, whereof he had been formerly Master. After presenting the service of our College and Tutor, and invitation to our Laureation, I craved his acceptance of the Theses, which he thankfully accepted; but presenting then the fine fringed gloves, he started back, and with all demonstrations of humility excused himself as unworthy of such a present. I humbly urged his acceptance; he still retired backward and I pursued him till he came to the end of the chamber, and at last prevailed. But it was amazing to see with what humble gratitude, bowing to the very ground, this great man accepted them. This was agreeable to his whole deportment at Glasgow, where the history of his deep humility might fill a volume.” This extreme and ironical deprecation of a small compliment—this scene between the Archbishop and a young Student—gives us a good idea of Leighton’s manner, which evidently might have been classed with the “irony” of Socrates, and, like it, was a source of strength based on the assumption of weakness.

Chorley records that the public worship in the churches of Glasgow, “*even when the Archbishop preached,*” was “in all respects after the same manner managed as in the Presbyterian congregations in England, so that I much wondered why there should be any Dissenters there till I came to be informed of the renunciation of the Covenant enjoined, and the imposition of the hierarchy.” We need not follow Leighton into his ecclesiastical

<sup>1</sup> Not published till after his death. From its Platonic beauty of thought and diction this work attracted the enthusiasm of S. T. Coleridge, and has become a classic.

<sup>2</sup> *Sketches*, p. 235.

career after he had left the College. His "Accommodation Scheme"—according to which there was to be a Presbyterian Church, with Bishops for the chairmen of Synods—was, like the *Book of Discipline*, "a devout imagination." Leighton, while living in the world, was never of the world, and therefore in political matters he had no power of moving the world.

(7.) WILLIAM COLVILL, 1662-1675.

Colvill graduated in the University of St. Andrews in 1617. He was Minister of Cramond, and was transferred to Edinburgh, where he became the first Minister of the new Tron Church when that building was finished in 1641. In 1648 he was suspended, together with Andrew Ramsay, on the charge of "silence" in the matter of "the unlawful Engagement" of certain nobles to arm Scotland in support of Charles I., without having made the condition that the King should sign the Covenant. And in 1649 he was deposed, for this crime, from all ministerial functions. He went to Holland, where he remained till 1652.

In April of that year the Town Council, as we have seen, were proceeding to the election of a Principal. They made a leet of the following names:—Alexander Colvill, Professor at St. Andrews; James Fairlie, Minister of Lasswade; Thomas Craufurd, Professor of Mathematics; Mr. William Colvill; Mr. William Strachan, Minister of Old Aberdeen; and Mr. William Rait, Minister of Brechin. The Edinburgh Ministers who were present protested against William Colvill, but the Town Council determined to appoint him. He was accordingly invited to return from Holland, and he arrived just a month after Leighton's induction.

Colvill received from the Town Council 2000 merks as compensation for his disappointment, and in 1654 the Synod of Lothian (there being no General Assembly during the Protectorate) "opened his mouth," *i.e.* removed the sentence of disability to preach, and he then became Minister of Perth. On Leighton's resignation he received a second appointment to be Principal of the College, and in his inaugural address he gave some account of the circumstances, using strong language about Cromwell's deputies. "*Harpyæ*," says he, "*in omnia tam sacra quam profana involarunt.*" Of Leighton's appointment he says:—" *Et (quod mihi non ingratum*

fruit) *D. Leightonum, virum pium, modestum, et absque omni eruditionis typho* (free from all pride of learning) *egregie ductum in cathedram surrogarunt.*" He speaks of his own appointment as Principal as having been made "by the suffrages of the Town Council and the unanimous invitation of the Professors and Regents."

Dr. Munro, one of Colvill's successors in the College, described him (in an Appendix to Spottiswood's *Church History*) as "a man of very moderate temper; he was deposed by the Covenanters, and yet he would never accept preferment, though divers Bishoprics were proffered to him." Zealous Presbyterians, however, watched Colvill with suspicion: thus Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness recorded the baptisms of some of his children in a family Bible, which came into possession of his son Robert Stewart, Professor of Mathematics, in the following terms:—"Margaret Stewart was born the 4th of March 1666, baptized by Mr. William Colvill, who continued to be a Presbyterian and refused to be a Bishop." "Thomas Stewart, born 8th Sept. 1671, baptized by Mr. W. Colvill, Principal, yet honest to his death."<sup>1</sup>

In 1668 Colvill drew up a new set of Regulations for improving the discipline of the College, which was approved by the Professors and Regents under the name of "the Faculty," and sanctioned by the Town Council (see Vol. I. p. 236). In 1672 he was one of a body of inter-University delegates, who framed certain Articles, the first of which was a resolution—likely to be prejudicial to learning in Scotland—"to petition the Privy Council to grant an Act prohibiting all but the Professors of Universities to teach the youth in this Kingdom the languages and philosophy taught in the Universities."

Colvill was the author of a work entitled *Ethica Christiana*, which had considerable repute in those days. "His sermons on the Righteous Branch show a great vein of piety, and that his religious opinions corresponded with those of the *Westminster Confession.*"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The above particulars are taken from a rare pamphlet, formerly in the library of Principal Lee, now in the possession of the Lord Justice General, entitled *Submission to the Censures of Suspension and Deposition exemplified in the case of the very Rev. Mr. Will. Colvill, sometime one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and afterwards Principal of the College there. From authentic and unquestionable vouchers.* Ed. 1734.

<sup>2</sup> Bower, vol. i. p. 276.

## (8.) ANDREW CANT, 1675-1685.

There were several Andrew Cants among the Scottish Ministers of the seventeenth century, of whom the most famous was Minister of Pitsligo in Aberdeen, and afterwards of Newbattle; he was a strenuous Covenanter, and much associated with Alexander Henderson. It is thought that the person we have now to do with was his son; if so, he departed from his father's views, as he was an Episcopalian. He was Minister of Trinity College Church, and on Colvill's death was made Principal of the College, with a salary of 2000 merks, and Minister of the East Kirk of St. Giles, with a stipend of 1600 merks (altogether £200 sterling a year), "with the house and yards of former Principals," so that for those days he was not badly off. Scott says of him,<sup>1</sup> "his Librarie was estimate at £5000 (Scots)." He was "ane eminent and solide preacher." His published works were *Theses Philosophicæ* (4to). *De Libero Arbitrio. Oratio de Concordia Theologorum et Discordia.*

The loss of the old Minute Book of the College of Edinburgh prevents us from knowing the particulars of Andrew Cant's administration. Addison in the *Freeholder* vainly endeavours to connect the term "cant" with the name of the Scottish Ministers above mentioned. What is certain is that Immanuel Kant was descended from a Scottish family.

## (9.) ALEXANDER MONRO, 1685-1690.

On the 9th December 1685 the Town Council appointed as the next Principal Dr. Alexander Monro, Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, and "universally allowed to be a good scholar, a judicious man, and a person of considerable talent."<sup>2</sup> He had a short reign of less than five years, but he described this period as a peculiarly happy one for himself and his colleagues. "When," says he, "the Government of the City of Edinburgh was in the hands of the first and best order of citizens and gentlemen, the Masters of the College had all the encouragement they could wish; they lived in all tranquillity and freedom during the administration of Sir Magnus Prince and his predecessor, Sir Thomas Kennedy. These gentlemen knew what an ornament

<sup>1</sup> Scott's *Fasts*, vol. i. p. 27.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i. p. 27.

their University was to the City and the whole Kingdom, and how necessary freedom, contentment, and retirement are to the attainment of learning, and therefore they were so far from vexing or disturbing the Masters, that they heaped upon them all marks of honour and regard."<sup>1</sup>

Monro was quite in sympathy, as to religion and politics, with the two Lord Provosts whom he names. He was a staunch Episcopalian, and was even suspected of a leaning towards Romanism. In 1687 he altered the *Sponsio* which was administered to Graduates, making them promise perseverance "in the *Christian Religion*," the word "*Reformed*" being omitted.

He was also accused of removing the pictures of the Reformers from the College Library; but he explains this by stating that Sir Thomas Kennedy, expecting that a Commission which had been appointed by James II. (1686) would sit in the Library, "feared that some of them who were in the retinue of persons of quality might take occasion, from the sight of the pictures of the first Reformers, to begin some discourse neither so pleasing to the Protestants, nor yet so fit to be heard in that House." Sir Thomas therefore "ordered and advised that the pictures should be removed for some few days, and so soon as this occasion was over, they might be hung up again." This was done, and it was afterwards made one of the grounds for the dismissal of Principal Monro.

A newly-appointed Regent (Burnet) was suspected of Popery, and it was understood that several parents intended to prevent their sons joining his class (the Semies), which would have put the rotation of the classes out of order. But Monro got an "Act of Faculty" passed that second-year Students should be received into no class but Burnet's, and with the help of the Town Council he carried this through.

But when the Presbyterians came into power with the Revolution Settlement, when the Act of 1690 was passed obliging every Principal and Professor to swear allegiance to William and Mary, and sign the Westminster Confession of Faith, and when a Commission was appointed to see this Act carried out in the Universi-

<sup>1</sup> *Presbyterian Inquisition, as it was lately practised against the Professors of the Colledge of Edinburgh, August and September, 1690* (London, 1691). This little book, though anonymous, was known to be by Monro.

ties of Scotland, it was plain that Monro was doomed. It was to clear the Universities of him and others holding his sentiments that the Act had been framed and the Commission appointed; it was another "purging" of the Universities, like that of 1569. Monro and others would not take the required tests, therefore he was expelled from office, and with him Dr. Strachan, Professor of Divinity; Douglas, Professor of Hebrew; Burnet, Regent of Philosophy; and John Drummond, Regent of Humanity.

But in addition to the main point,—refusal to take the tests,—the Commission added several other minor charges against Monro, including the matters above mentioned. The replies to these charges in *Presbyterian Inquisition* throw much light on the internal condition of the College in those days. Monro says of the Students that he had "no Utopian Commonwealth to govern." "And yet I think that they are as obedient and regular as so many youths in any part of the world." Monro was accused of having "had no public Dictates, one whole year, but only catechising." This refers to the Wednesday lectures. Monro says that he found the Students very averse to the labour of taking down dissertations, and that he substituted catechetical lectures on the Apostles' Creed, which had given great satisfaction. He adds that "the most learned and pious Dr. Leighton did never oblige them to write one word from his mouth."

In 1688 Monro was living in expectation of a new Royal Charter which was to raise the College into a University and make him Vice-Chancellor (see Vol. I. p. 235), and towards the end of the same year, by the influence of Dundee, he was nominated Bishop of Argyle, but was never consecrated. The change of Dynasty and of Religion marred his fortunes. After his dismissal from the Principalship he published the following works before his death in 1698:—*Presbyterian Inquisition*, 1691. *Sermons*, 1693; *An Apology for the Church of Scotland*, 1693; *Spirit of Calumny*, etc., 1693; *An Answer to Dr. Rule*, 1696; *Letter to Sir Robert Howard, occasioned by his twofold vindication of Archbishop Tillotson*, 1696.

(10.) GILBERT RULE, 1690-1701.

As Monro was persecuted by the Presbyterians, so was his successor by the Episcopalians. But Rule went through his



troubles before being appointed Principal, and had a peaceful time afterwards. He had been a distinguished Regent in the University of Glasgow, and in 1651 was sub-Principal in King's College, Aberdeen. Thence he went to Alnwick to be Minister to a dissenting Congregation. After the Restoration he was much molested by local authorities, who tried to force upon him the use of the English Prayer Book. In 1662 he was ejected from his charge under the "Bartholomew Act." He then came into Scotland, and after a time, under the Indulgence granted to dissenters by Charles II., and with the encouragement of Lord Haddington, he preached in a meeting-house provided for him at Prestonkirk. But visiting a niece in Edinburgh, he was asked to baptise her child. Turner, the Episcopal Minister of St. Giles', lent him the church for this purpose, and Rule held there a Presbyterian service, preaching and baptising several children. For this offence he was arrested and sentenced by the Privy Council to be imprisoned on the Bass Rock. The sea air made Rule seriously ill, and after three months he was discharged, under bond to quit the Kingdom.

He then went to France and Holland, where he studied medicine, and returning as M.D. began to practise in Berwick, but also in private performed ministerial functions. He only escaped the consequences of this by keeping on the English bank of the Tweed, as people were waiting to arrest him should he cross to the Scotch side. Receiving a call from a congregation in Dublin he went thither, and was brought back thence, immediately after the Revolution, to be Minister of Greyfriars', in which appointment he was confirmed by the Town Council in July 1689. Rule was nominated as one of the Commissioners for the purging of the College of Edinburgh (1690). And when the Commission had expelled Monro, the Town Council appointed Rule to succeed him.

The Episcopalians of those days spoke contemptuously of the scholarship of Dr. Gilbert Rule. Perhaps in the twenty-eight years of unsettled life which he spent in preaching and in studying and practising medicine his academical attainments, which had been highly thought of at Glasgow and Aberdeen, had grown rusty. That he was a studious man may be seen from the following anecdote, related by Calamy:—"The University of

Edinburgh was at that time happy in two bright ornaments at once, in the Doctor and worthy Mr. Campbell, Professor of Divinity. Their lodging-houses<sup>1</sup> stood so that the windows were opposite to each other, though at some distance. Dr. Rule used to sit up late at his studies, and it was Professor Campbell's way to rise very early in the morning, so that many times the Doctor's candle would not be put out by the time Mr. Campbell's was lighted. The one they commonly called "the Evening Star," and the other "the Morning Star." They lived together in great love, and there was a most intimate friendship between them. The Doctor died a little before Professor Campbell. When the news came to Mr. Campbell that the Doctor was departed it made no small impression upon him. He presently said "that the Evening Star was now gone down, and the Morning Star would soon disappear." This pleasing story fixes the date of Rule's death, as Professor Campbell's successor was appointed in 1701. Rule therefore must have died in 1701, though Carstares did not succeed him till 1703. Hill Burton, in his *Book Hunter*, quotes from Wodrow's *Analecta* a ghost story which, if true, would prove Rule to have been a most powerful preacher. He is said to have been lodged by chance in a deserted house among the Grampians, where a ghost, forcing him to leave his bed, showed him a spot where next day the skeleton of a murdered man was found. On the following Sunday Rule, occupying the parish pulpit, preached to the people in such moving language on the crime which had been committed among them many years before that an old man, overcome by remorse, gave himself up as the murderer, and was executed.

Rule's chief works were:—*A Modest Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet's Irenicum*, 1680 (8vo); *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, 1691 (4to); *The Cyprianick Bishop Examined and Found not to be a Diocesan*, 1696 (4to); *The Good Old Way Defended*, 1697 (4to), etc.<sup>2</sup>

#### (11.) WILLIAM CARSTARES, 1703-1715.

And now comes a Principal who was largely instrumental in putting a stop to those miserable persecutions under which his

<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, the houses of the Principal and the Professors of Divinity stood at the south-east and north-east corners of the College.

<sup>2</sup> Authorities for the above are Calamy's *Abridgement of Baxter's Life*, iii. 514, 599.; Wodrow's *History*, iii. 194; and Scott's *Fasti*, p. 41.

predecessors had suffered, and in giving peace and security to Scotland. Carstares first persuaded William III., who was wavering, to trust the Presbyterians of Scotland rather than the Episcopalians; and this produced the Revolution Settlement. And secondly, he succeeded in persuading the General Assembly to accept the Act of Union with England, which otherwise could not have been passed. These were great services to his country; and there was another minor one which Carstares performed in the early days of the Settlement (1694), when Parliament had legislated for the imposition upon all Ministers of an "Oath of Assurance," by which they were to swear that they acknowledged William III. as King *de jure* as well as *de facto*; without subscribing the Assurance no Minister was to take his seat in the Assembly. This was felt to be an unwarrantable forcing of the conscience; great excitement was created, and a "flying packet" was sent to Kensington petitioning the King that the law might not be pressed. In the absence of Carstares the King hastily signed a despatch refusing to listen to the petitioners, and making the Assurance Oath peremptory. After nightfall Carstares returning learnt what had been done. He stopped the messenger, who was on the point of departure, took the despatch from him, and penetrated to King William's chamber. The King was already asleep, and Carstares, waking him, fell on his knees and said that "he had come to ask his life," which he had forfeited by intercepting a royal despatch. The King frowned severely, but when he had listened to all the judicious and loyal counsel which Carstares poured forth he entirely relented, ordered the despatch to be burned, and told Carstares to write what he pleased instead. Carstares lost no time in writing to say that it was His Majesty's pleasure to dispense with putting the Assurance Oath to the Ministers. This decision was received with great joy in Edinburgh, and it was said that "next to the establishment of Presbytery in Scotland, no act of King William's administration endeared him to the Presbyterians so much as this."<sup>1</sup>

The incident is very characteristic of Carstares; it shows his political sagacity, his knowledge of Scotland, his boldness and promptitude in an emergency, and his power of influencing the

<sup>1</sup> *William Carstares, a Character and Career of the Revolutionary Epoch (1649-1715)*, by Robert Herbert Story, D.D. (1874), p. 243.

minds of others. Carstares was in many respects the very antithesis of Leighton, for he was essentially a man of action. He was, though quite disinterested, what Napoleon called himself—*"tout à fait un être politique."* Carstares had "the touch of men;" he could discern what ought to be done, and he could get it done. He became a kind of Baron Stockmar to King William, who was shy and distrustful towards others; he was considered the viceroy of Scotland, and was nicknamed "Cardinal Carstares." After William's death he exercised his quiet influence in the most unmistakable way over the General Assembly and the Town Council of Edinburgh.

Like Leighton, Carstares was the son of a persecuted parent; his father (Minister of Cathcart) having been summoned by Archbishop Sharp before the High Commission for non-conformity with Episcopalianism, and having fled into hiding in Cautyre, Ireland, and elsewhere, where for many years he lurked under a feigned name, separated from his wife and children. Carstares did not desert his father's cause, but worked and suffered for it till he saw it triumphant. After graduating in the College of Edinburgh (1667) he went to study Theology in Utrecht, which led to his being introduced to the Prince of Orange and gradually obtaining his confidence. He was repeatedly sent as an emissary to those who were plotting in England to place William on the throne. He went by the name of "Mr. Red" in the secret letters of the conspirators. He was perfectly cognisant of the "Rye-house Plot" (1684) for the assassination of the King and the Duke of York, and, though he said "That's work for our wild people in Scotland; my conscience does not serve me for such things," he did nothing to betray or arrest the plot. But what he himself worked for was a great Whig conspiracy under Lords Shaftesbury, Russell, and Argyll, which aimed at a general rising in England and Scotland. Papers in his handwriting having been seized in the house of one of the Rye-house conspirators, he was arrested and sent down to Edinburgh to be tortured, in order to wring from him secrets which the Government were sure that he possessed. On the evening of the 5th September 1684, in the Privy Council Chamber of the Parliament House of Edinburgh, the "thumbkins" were applied to Carstares. For more than an hour he endured extreme agony; and "when the

executioner was ordered to remove the thumbkins, he found it beyond his strength to undo what he had done, and the King's smith had to fetch his tools to revert the screw, before the broken and mangled thumbs<sup>1</sup> could be released." Next day the Privy Council pledged themselves that, if Carstares would state what he knew, his deposition should never be used in a court of justice against any man; and on this pledge (which was afterwards broken) being given, he made a deposition, but carefully confined himself to the Rye-house Plot and to matters with which the Government were already acquainted. Carstares had, as Macaulay says, "a singular power of keeping secrets." Having made his deposition he received the King's pardon and got back to Holland, where he became private chaplain to the Prince of Orange, and accompanied him on his invasion of England. After the landing at Torbay, Carstares proposed that a solemn service of thanksgiving should be held. On the Prince assenting, the troops were drawn up on the beach, and Carstares performed divine service, getting the men to join in singing the 118th psalm. "This religious rite produced a profound impression upon the army."<sup>2</sup>

Thenceforward, till William's death in 1702, he had apartments in Kensington Palace, but frequently passed over with the King to Holland, where, as we have seen above (Vol. I. p. 230), he took thought for the Universities of Scotland, and at this period he obtained for them a royal grant of £1200 a year from Bishops' Teinds. After Anne's accession Carstares was no longer employed at Court, but he was held in high favour by the Queen, especially in connection with the Act of Union. In 1707 she presented him with a silver medal to commemorate the passing of the Act, and in 1708 Carstares succeeded in obtaining from Queen Anne a bounty of £250<sup>3</sup> for augmentation of Professors' salaries in the College of Edinburgh. As 1708 was the year when the Regents of the College were first turned into Professors (Vol. I. p. 263) Queen Anne's bounty was an appropriate

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Carstares*, p. 94. It is remarkable that in the portrait of Carstares the painter gave so much prominence to the right thumb. It is as if Carstares were purposely exhibiting a member which had suffered so much, and were saying: "You see, it is none the worse."

<sup>2</sup> Story's *Carstares*, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> At first charged on the Post Office and afterwards on the Civil List.

supplement to that change. Carstares divided the whole amount equally between seven Professors—of Humanity, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, and Hebrew—and kept nothing for himself.

We have seen above (Vol. I. p. 243) that Carstares was made Principal at a time when the imprudence of the Regents had stirred up a feeling of irritation between the Town Council and the College, but he lost no time in placing himself on a most cordial footing with the Lord Provost and Magistrates. Episcopalian Town Councils seem, however, to have been rather more liberal than Presbyterian ones, as Carstares only received 2200 merks (£122 : 3 : 4) as his salary as Principal, with the charge, first of Greyfriars' Church, and afterwards of the High Church of St. Giles, whereas both Andrew Cant and Monro had received 3600 merks (£200) a year for the same offices. None of the sermons or other compositions of Carstares, except one political pamphlet on Church matters (1712), remain. We must regret the loss of the Latin addresses which he delivered to the Students at the commencement of each session. The famous Dr. Pitcairne, who always went to hear these addresses, said that they made him fancy himself in the Forum of ancient Rome. Carstares had received a singularly good classical education, before he came to the College of Edinburgh, from Mr. Sinclair, Minister of Ormiston, and a noted scholar, who allowed nothing but Latin to be spoken in his family.

There was one scheme which Carstares worked at during his Principalship unsuccessfully. This was for bringing down English Nonconformists to Edinburgh for their University education. With this view he invited Calamy to receive an honorary degree in 1708, and negotiated with him and others to found a Hall in Edinburgh for English Students, to be affiliated to the College. But the jealousy of the Glasgow University folk was roused; they refused to acknowledge the degree conferred in Edinburgh upon Calamy, and they spread the opinion that the College of Edinburgh had no power of conferring degrees. This misrepresentation of law and history had the desired effect, for the English Nonconformists wavered, and ultimately abandoned the proposals of Carstares.

But in many and great things, as has been above mentioned,

he influenced and transformed the College. It was owing to him that its Regents were turned into Professors, and that all its Faculties were remodelled after the Dutch type. From that point, in the prosperous times that followed the Union with England, and with the assistance of George Drummond, the College rapidly developed into a great University.

When Calamy was in Edinburgh he was invited "by the Masters of the College" to a fish dinner at Leith, with which, according to annual custom, they were to entertain their Principal. Amongst other viands served was "a sea-cat," which Calamy found to be "an admirable fish, rather beyond a turbot." "I was extremely pleased," says he, "with this day's entertainment and conversation. One thing that gave a peculiar relish was the entire freedom and harmony between the Principal and the Masters of the College, they expressing a veneration for him as a common father, and he a tenderness for them as if they had all been his children."<sup>1</sup>

(12.) WILLIAM WISHART, 1716-1729.

It seems not improbable that Carstares recommended his successor to the Town Council; for we learn<sup>2</sup> that William Wishart having graduated at Edinburgh in 1676, proceeded to Utrecht to study Theology. This may have led to an early acquaintance between him and Carstares, at all events, it would put them into sympathy, as also would the circumstance that Wishart, after his return from Holland, was imprisoned (1684) in "the iron-house" by the Privy Council on a charge of denying the King's authority. He was released next year under "bond with caution" of 5000 merks to appear when called. He then became Minister of South Leith, and afterwards of the Tron Church. He was five times Moderator of the General Assembly. Scott describes him<sup>3</sup> as "a good, kind, grave, honest, and pious man; a sweet, serious, and affectionate preacher, whose life and conversation being of a piece with his preaching, made almost all who knew him personal friends." Two volumes of his sermons remain.

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Account of my own Life*, vol. ii. p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Scott's Fasti*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

## (13.) WILLIAM HAMILTON, 1730-1732.

From being Minister of Cramond, Hamilton was appointed Professor of Divinity in the University (1709). On Wishart's death he was chosen Principal, but died after about two years of office. He was said<sup>1</sup> to be "distinguished for piety, learning, and moderation." Some sermons of his were posthumously published.

## (14.) JAMES SMITH, 1733-1736.

This was another Minister of Cramond who was transferred to the "New North Church," *i.e.* the N.W. portion of St. Giles', and thence was made Professor of Divinity (1732), which office he only held for a few months, as on the 12th October 1733 he was appointed to the Principalship, which had been vacant for nearly a year. The Minute Books of the Senatus Academicus (the older records having been lost) commence with "a University Meeting" of 14th February 1733, when "Mr. Smith was chosen preses," there being no Principal at the time. Smith "died at Coldstream in returning from Bristol hot wells, 14th August 1736, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was distinguished for easiness of speaking and distinctness of thought, so that he was highly popular, and had great influence in the Presbytery and other Courts of the Church."<sup>2</sup> He left two sermons.

(15.) WILLIAM WISHART, *secundus*, 1737-1754.

On the 10th November 1736 the Town Council proceeded to elect to the Principalship William Wishart, *secundus*, son of the twelfth Principal of the College, but they did not induct him till the 9th November 1737. The reason of this may have been that a charge of heresy was in the meantime raised against him. He had been officiating as Minister of a dissenting Congregation at "Founders' Hall" in London, and on his election as Principal had received a call from New Greyfriars', but the Presbytery interposed, objecting to the doctrine of some sermons published by him, in which he had maintained "that true religion is influ-

<sup>1</sup> Scott's *Fasti*, p. 67.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.



enced by higher motives than self-love."<sup>1</sup> But after a keen debate the General Assembly absolved Wishart from heresy, and he entered upon his charges. He was more of a scholar and man of letters than his father: he edited Ernesti's *Preface to Cicero*, 1743, and Volusenus (Florence Wilson) *De Amini Tranquillitate*, 1751, besides publishing several *Discourses*. He was of an original turn of mind, and he is said to have adopted a different style of preaching from that formerly in vogue, less stiff and formal, dealing more with moral considerations, and using more simple, and at the same time more literary language. He was an active member of the Rankenian Club (so called after the host of the tavern at which they assembled), for essays, criticism, and literary conversation.<sup>2</sup> We have seen above (p. 173) that his first act as Principal was to make the beginning of a Library Fund for the University, and (Vol. I. p. 271) that he made an attempt to improve the system of Graduation in Arts by demanding literary Theses from the Graduates. He took a great interest in the more promising among the Students, constantly visited the junior Classes of the Arts Faculty, listened to the exercises, and used all means in his power to improve Scholarship in the University.

(16.) JOHN GOWDIE, 1754-1762.

When John Smith was made Principal, Gowdie, who had been Minister of the New North Church, succeeded him as Professor of Divinity, and having held the Chair of Divinity for twenty-one years was made Principal. It was of his teaching that "Jupiter" Carlyle made the uncomplimentary remarks before quoted (Vol. I. p. 330). Bower says of Gowdie that "he was generally esteemed a man of moderate abilities, but very attentive to the discharge of his academical duties." Nothing, however, marked his Principalship, which is not to be wondered at, as he was more than seventy-one years old when appointed. He had, however, the distinction of having caused the first Secession from the Church by giving his casting vote, as Moderator, in favour of suspending Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine and two other Ministers from their functions on account of their protest against lay presentations to livings,

<sup>1</sup> Erskine's *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 279, quoted by Bower, ii. 307.

<sup>2</sup> The above particulars are from Bower, ii. 305-316, and Scott's *Fasti*, p. 60.

and subsequent refusal to bow to authority. Half of the General Assembly were in favour of milder proceedings, but this casting vote drove the four Ministers, and with them a numerous following, to leave the Church of Scotland, and form the Associate or Seceding Presbytery. John Gowdie left behind him a few sermons.

(17.) WILLIAM ROBERTSON, 1762-1793.

There had been already two great names among the Principals of the College of James VI.—Leighton the divine, and Carstares the statesman—and now came a third, that of Robertson the man of letters. Robertson was in the van of those who revived intellect in Scotland. His *History of Scotland*, published in 1759, took London by storm, and was cordially praised by Horace Walpole, Warburton, and others. Its purity of classical English was the result of long study, as it was not the language of the society in which its author lived; and Robertson himself, even while using the most careful diction in his speeches, never departed from a broad Scottish accent. But he had great qualifications for being a writer, and especially a writer of history: his industry all through life was unflagging; he acquired a style which was always clear and often vivid; and, as Walpole said of him, he could “write on ticklish subjects with the utmost discretion.” As might be expected from his face, a subtle tact was one of his chief characteristics as a man.

But he had great and sterling virtues. In his twenty-second year (1742), just after he had been appointed Minister of Gladsmuir, he lost both his father (Minister of Old Greyfriars’) and his mother within a few hours, and he then undertook the support and education of his sisters and younger brother, all on a stipend of £100 a year, and deferred for eight years his own marriage with a cousin to whom he had been previously engaged. When, in 1745, the Pretender’s army was approaching Edinburgh, this stout young clergyman forgot personal considerations, and leaving his manse joined the volunteers, and when the City had been surrendered to Charles Edward, he went with some others to Haddington and offered his services to Sir John Cope.

Except this interruption his life was one of unremitting study. While continuing to live and write at Gladsmuir he paid frequent visits to Edinburgh, where men’s minds were recovering rapidly



WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

FROM A PORTRAIT BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.



from the nightmare of the Covenanting struggles, and were beginning to enjoy with a fresh savour the pleasures of intellect and wit. Robertson was no recluse, and he soon became one of a somewhat brilliant coterie, of whose social life we get glimpses in the *Autobiography* of Dr. Alexander Carlyle. People in those days were more "clubable" in intellectual matters than they are now. Various "societies" arose, and especially the "Select Society" for debating, established by Allan Ramsay, the painter, and some of his friends, and which included all the most distinguished names connected with Edinburgh. Robertson was among the most frequent and the best of the speakers. In 1755 he preached a sermon before the S.P.C.K. which was much admired and went through five editions. In 1757 he used the influence which he had already acquired with the General Assembly to mitigate the wrath of that body against the Rev. John Home for writing the tragedy of *Douglas*, and against some of his brother Ministers for going to see it acted. Robertson, while taking a tolerant view of such things so far as others were concerned, stated that owing to a promise which he had made to his father, he himself had never entered a play-house.

While his *History of Scotland*<sup>1</sup> was in the press he was presented to Lady Yester's Church; in 1759 he was appointed Chaplain of Stirling Castle; in 1761 he was made King's Chaplain for Scotland; in 1762 Principal in the University; in 1764 Historiographer-Royal. These appointments secured to him a revenue "far exceeding," says Dugald Stewart, "what had ever been enjoyed before by any Presbyterian clergyman." His friends, however, were not satisfied; Sir Gilbert Elliot, Dr. John Blair, Prebendary of Westminster, and others, suggested that he might aspire to a bishopric in the Church of England. But he at once absolutely declined to entertain the idea.

In the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland he got so great an ascendancy that the period from 1762 to 1780, when he retired from public business, came to be called "Dr. Robertson's administration," though all that time there was an "opposition" of great zeal and ability. Robertson's adherents were of

<sup>1</sup> According to Scott (*Fasts*, p. 42), the foundation of Robertson's *History* had been laid by his father, who up to the time of his death had been occupied in collecting materials for an account of the reign of Mary Queen of Scots.

course the "Moderates." He laid "the foundation," says Scott, "of that system of polity—the independence of the Church, in opposition to dependence on the fluctuating policy and measures of the Civil Government according to the ministry of the day; submission and obedience by the inferior judicatories; and enforcement of the law of patronage, unless on cause shown of erroneous doctrine, or immoral conduct;—which preserved the unity and peace of the Church, until a different principle was adopted by the Assembly of 1834."<sup>1</sup>

In some respects Robertson stands in contrast with Rollock, for whereas Rollock was before all things *Minister Verbi*, and considered literature and science of secondary importance in comparison with preaching, Robertson was, in the first place, a man of letters, and secondarily, and by profession, a clergyman. In 1761, when Lord Bute's Government made proposals to him for his undertaking the *History of England*, he wrote:—"Though I am not weary of my profession, nor wish ever to throw off my ecclesiastical character, yet I have often wished to be free of the labour of daily preaching, and to have it in my power to apply myself wholly to my studies." After he became Principal he had no longer the duty of daily preaching, but to the end of his life he preached every Sunday in one of the City churches, and he was always acceptable.

Robertson's second great work, the *History of Charles V.*, was brought out in 1769. It was at once translated into French, and Voltaire wrote of it:—"Il me fait oublier tous mes maux;" while the Empress Catherine of Russia said: "*C'est le compagnon constant de tous mes voyages.*" This work naturally led to the *History of America*, which Robertson brought out in 1777. Its vivid descriptions and philosophical disquisitions on aboriginal society captivated the literary world, while the outbreak of the American war lent to it an especial interest. This circumstance, however, prevented Robertson from going on to complete a history of the North American colonies. He said: "I must wait for times of greater tranquillity." In his sixty-eighth year the perusal of Major Rennell's *Memoir on the Map of Hindustan* set him again to work, and within a year he brought out his *Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, which he concluded by expressing

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti*, p. 43.

a hope that his account of "the early and high civilisation of India, and of the wonderful progress of its inhabitants in elegant arts and useful science, may have some influence upon the behaviour of Europeans towards that people." Histories are doomed to be superseded, especially as to matters where discoveries in philology and ethnology have opened quite a new point of view; but Robertson's inquiries into the progress of society caused Gibbon to say:—"On this interesting subject a strong ray of philosophic light has broken from Scotland in our own times."

The appointment of Dr. Robertson to be Principal was one of George Drummond's last and greatest services to the University. We have seen (p. 173) how Robertson inaugurated his term of office by establishing the Library Fund, and (pp. 190-192) how he promoted the scheme for giving new buildings to the University. During the first four years of his Principalship he annually delivered an address to the Students in elegant Latin, his topics being "Classical Learning," "the Duties of Youth," and "the Comparative Advantages of Public and Private Education." Finding, however, that the results of such discourses hardly compensated for the time and labour spent in their production, he discontinued the practice of delivering them. Robertson's name and fame were sources of great strength to the University. In his long Principalship of thirty-one years both the Arts Faculty and the Faculty of Medicine were stronger in their *personnel* than they had ever previously been. And the University of Edinburgh shone out in contrast to the depressed condition of Oxford and Cambridge, and attracted many English Students of high rank. Robertson's relations to his own colleagues were perfectly harmonious; he was the prince of chairmen, and having swayed the General Assembly he could easily guide the *Senatus Academicus*. Dugald Stewart declares that during more than thirty years, while Robertson presided over the meetings of that body, "there did not occur a single question which was not terminated by a unanimous decision."

He lived to see, with pleasure, the new University Buildings commenced, but he did not see all the disappointment and delay that followed. In 1792 he was removed out of the Principal's lodgings to Grange House, where with great calmness he enjoyed observing the changes of vegetation in the gardens,

and watched the formation of the buds, while he knew that he could not survive to see them matured into fruits.<sup>1</sup>

(18.) GEORGE HUSBAND BAIRD, 1793-1840.

It is a curious circumstance that the *prænom* of the next Principal expressed, according to all accounts, his chief claim to office, for it was "husband" of the Lord Provost's daughter that Baird received his appointment. Sir Robert Christison writes of him :—"Raised to this elevation at an unusually early age in the case of such an office, successor to a man of high literary fame, but presenting in himself no prominence in public estimation as a man of learning, science, or professional distinction, Baird owed his appointment to the overwhelming influence of Lord Provost Elder. Elder had in those days good right to exert influence and show favour in Edinburgh. It was rather a strong exercise of that claim, however, to exert his paramount influence over the electors, his own Town Council, and to induce them to appoint his youthful, untried son-in-law Principal of the University of Edinburgh in succession to Principal Robertson. Nevertheless the appointment turned out not a bad one."

Baird had gone through his courses in the University without graduating, and had become Minister of Dunkeld; in 1787 the Senatus conferred an honorary M.A. degree on him, as one who "had been many years an alumnus;" and in 1792 they conferred on him an honorary degree of D.D. This was followed by his being presented in the same year by the Town Council to New Greyfriars', one month after he had married Isabella Elder, the Lord Provost's daughter. And three months afterwards he was appointed joint Professor of Hebrew with Dr. James Robertson. In 1793 he received his commission as Principal. And thus his fortunate marriage procured him an honorary degree and three successive appointments within a year. He held the Principalship for forty-seven years, and saw the Students increase from 1000 to over 2000, the new University Buildings erected, the Professoriate augmented, and, in short, great development in many points. He also lived through and was party to long strifes and litigations, and died leaving the Senatus still at war.

<sup>1</sup> Authorities for the above are chiefly Dugald Stewart's *Life of Robertson*, and Lord Brougham's *Men of Letters and Science in the time of George III.*



He was not a leading spirit, but in going with the majority of the Senatus he wrote able papers in support of their views. And he had the dignity of his position. Sir R. Christison says :—" He was indeed much esteemed in general society in Edinburgh, and highly respected by the members of Senatus. These advantages he owed to kindness, benignant features, cheerful deportment, deferential manners, conversational power, and a rich fund of anecdote." In 1830, having gone with a deputation to present loyal addresses to William IV. and his Queen on their accession, he was very well received at Court, and was entertained at a banquet in the Freemason's Tavern by forty-four Medical graduates of Edinburgh, all eminent practitioners in London, who expressed respect and gratitude towards their *Alma Mater*. In 1801 he became Minister of the High Church, and Scott says<sup>1</sup> of him that "his sermons were filled with deep feeling." This on one occasion gave rise to a witticism, for in preaching about the mental condition of the King he shed so many tears that it was said his sermon might have been described as "From George Husband Baird to George III.—*greeting*." David Laing used to tell that, when he was arranging the University Library, Principal Baird was urgent with him to make a separate department for the productions of Principals and Professors. Baird's own contribution to that department would not have been voluminous, for his publications are thus enumerated by Scott :—"A sermon on the *Universal Propagation and Influence of the Christian Religion* was in the act of going through the press, but stopt after 48 pp. had been thrown off, in 1795 (8vo.) He also edited *Poems by Michael Bruce*, Ed. 1799 (12mo)."

(19.) JOHN LEE, 1840-1859.

Many still living affectionately cherish the memory of Principal Lee. He was a "character" belonging to the old days before railways and other influences had made people generally uninteresting. Hill Burton, in the *Book Hunter*, caricatures him as "Archdeacon Meadows," the bibliomaniac who would buy a book of which he had several copies already, and then, owing to the vastness and disorder of his accumulations, not being able to lay

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti*, p. 30.

his hand on any of the copies, would have to borrow the same book from a friend for reference ; and who, after sending his library to be sold by auction, could not bear the thought, and secretly himself bought in all the books at large prices. But, while all this was only slightly exaggerated, Principal Lee differed from other bibliophilists in that he read all that he bought, and acquired an extraordinary fund of information on all subjects, which he was ever ready to pour out. He had strong academic feeling, and presented a thoroughly academic figure, whether he delivered, in full court-dress, as ex-Moderator, his annual addresses to the Students, or sat in the Senate Hall ready for a "crack" on any given topic with any Professor who might chance to come in.

He was born at Torwoodlee Mains, in the parish of Stow, in 1779, being the son of parents of slender means (belonging to the Secessionist Church), for whom he had the greatest reverence. His mother especially, who was noted for her knowledge of Milton, as well as of the Bible, seems to have been an heroic personage. He came to the University at the age of fifteen, and strongly exemplified the life of struggle and noble self-denial which so many Scottish Students have gone through. He supported himself by teaching in by-hours, and remained ten years at the University, during which he went through full courses in Arts, Medicine, and Divinity. He did not graduate in Arts, that not being the fashion ; and there were no degrees then in Divinity ; but he took the M.D. degree, his Thesis, *De viribus animi in corpus agentibus*, having been written in very elegant Latin. Indeed he was said to have written the Latin Theses of a great many of his contemporaries. This twofold course of professional study shows Lee to have been more actuated by the pure love of knowledge than by any "eye to the main chance." He wavered for a time as to which of the two "black Graces," Medicine or Divinity, he should give his hand. But his choice was probably decided by his being taken in 1804 to live with "Jupiter" Carlyle at Inveresk, in the capacity of amanuensis. Carlyle died in 1805, appointing Lee one of his trustees, and especially entrusting to his care the MS. of his autobiography ; this, however, was not published till after the death of Principal Lee, when Hill Burton brought it out. In 1807 Lee was ordained Minister of the Church of Scotland, and had the care of the parish of

Peebles till 1812, when he was appointed Professor of Church History at St. Andrews. In 1820 he became Professor of Moral Philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen; but he lectured there chiefly by deputy, sending down his lectures through the post. And next year he resigned both his Professorships, and became Minister of the Canongate. In 1827 he was made Clerk to the General Assembly, and in 1837 was appointed Principal of the United College of St. Andrews, which appointment he resigned within a few months.

In 1826 he had been nominated as one of the Royal Commissioners to visit the Universities of Scotland. His name was thus high in public repute, and, on the death of Principal Baird in 1840 the Town Council appointed Dr. Lee as his successor.<sup>1</sup> When the Disruption occurred in 1843 Lee undertook to conduct the Divinity class, and he was shortly afterwards made Professor of Divinity, being thus the first Principal who had, in addition to his own office, held a Professorship since the days of Henry Charteris (1599-1620). During the last sixteen years of his life Dr. Lee was a considerable pluralist, holding, besides his academical appointments, a Chaplaincy to the Queen and a Deanery of the Chapel-Royal. But in Scotland all ecclesiastical and literary offices were in those days poor, and his total emoluments were but about £1300. This income, however, permitted him to leave a library of 20,000 volumes, some of them of the most rare and curious description.

Principal Lee did not much influence the fortunes of the University. All through his time the unhappy strife with the Town Council was going on; he just lived to see the Act of 1858 passed and the Commissioners commencing their work of renovation. Some of his *Inaugural Addresses* to the Students have been published by his son, the Rev. Dr. W. Lee, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow. They are interesting from the stores of historical knowledge and personal reminiscence which they contain. It is a matter of general regret that Principal Lee was so much "a dungeon of learning," and that, comparatively speaking, he gave to the world so little of what he knew. He was accom-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lee's Commission appointed him "Principal of the College or University." On which, notice was taken by Sir W. Hamilton of the novel and very inaccurate expression, "Principal of the University."

plished in almost every branch of knowledge, and in Scottish literary and ecclesiastical history was overflowing with minute and curious information. It was hoped that he might produce a history of Scottish literature or of the Scottish Universities; but he only accumulated the knowledge, without putting it into form. It has been said that his early and too severe exertions had impaired his physical strength. But it is more probably the case that he was one of those in whom, by nature, the receptive overpowers the creative faculties. During his lifetime he brought out *Six Sermons*, 1829; *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland*, 1829; and two pamphlets. He also contributed several articles to Brewster's *Ed. Encyclopædia*, etc. Since his death his son, Professor W. Lee, has published his *Lectures on Church History*, delivered in St. Andrews, which are full of learning and interest.<sup>1</sup>

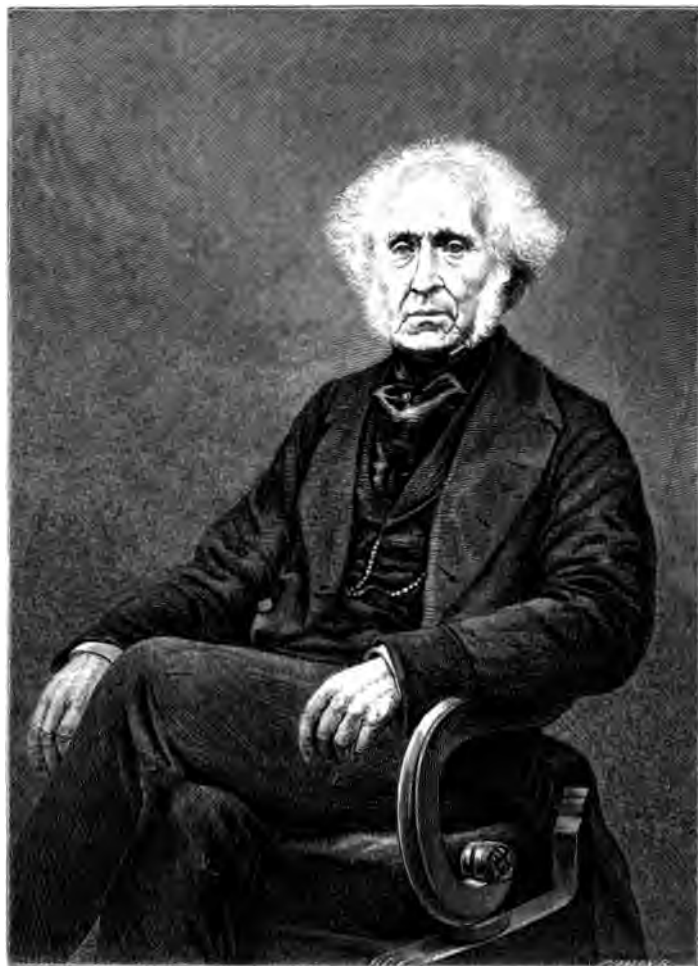
(20.) DAVID BREWSTER, 1859-1868.

The name of Sir David Brewster, the illustrious man of science, is the fourth great name in the list of the Edinburgh Principals. In December 1881 the centenary of Brewster's birth was celebrated by a banquet in Edinburgh, and he himself had lived to within less than fourteen years of that date. In longevity and assiduous labour Brewster stood on a level with Alexander von Humboldt,<sup>2</sup> while he surpassed Humboldt in productiveness. "Few men living can have written so much as Brewster, far fewer so much that was thoroughly original. To the very last day of his long life he worked steadily at original investigations,"<sup>3</sup> and within a few weeks of his death he forwarded several papers to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, whose *Transactions* he had enriched for sixty years, and of which at the last he was President.

<sup>1</sup> Many of the above particulars are taken from the obituary notice of Principal Lee by Lord Neaves, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> Humboldt, who lived to be more than eighty, was said to require only two or three hours' sleep each night. Brewster's vigour was so great that at the age of seventy-seven (when this writer knew him) he was in the habit of working at research or composition every day from ten to two, "at both ends," in addition to official duties.

<sup>3</sup> The passages in inverted commas above are from a notice of Brewster's scientific work and place contributed by Professor Tait to the *Scotsman* in 1868. The rest has chiefly been derived from or suggested by the interesting *Home Life of Sir David Brewster*, by his daughter, Mrs. Gordon, 1869.



SIR DAVID BREWSTER.  
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY RODGER.



To Brewster are due "almost all the most important of the experimental results" arrived at in the field of Optics during the present century. "With an amount of patient labour of which few can form a conception, and with a singular experimental skill which rose superior to defects of apparatus, he examined minutely every curious fragment of transparent crystallised mineral which the collections of his scientific friends would afford." He made laborious "tables of refractive indices and dispersive powers;" "of the polarising angles of various reflecting surfaces; and of innumerable other tedious investigations, apparently gone into at first with the sole object of discovering facts and not laws." Sometimes he brilliantly reduced his facts to laws, e.g. in "his discovery that *the index of refraction of a substance is the tangent of its polarising angle.*" But "his turn of mind was not mathematical," and "often the mere mathematician stepped in, took the toilsomely elaborated facts, and from them in a few minutes deduced (sometimes taking the whole credit of it) the law he himself would have been utterly unable to seek experimentally." Hence Brewster was defrauded by his contemporaries of much of the credit which was his due. But yet enough remained to him to cause his name to go out into all lands, and his works to the ends of the world. Being a high-spirited man "he was driven into frequent disputes about priority;" and though he was generally successful, he could not but suffer a good deal of irritation from the treatment which he received.

One discovery, the glory of which was grudgingly, if at all, conceded to Brewster, was that of the superiority of Dioptric, or converging, lights to Catoptric lights, or mirrors, in the illumination of lighthouses. In 1812 he described the Dioptric Apparatus which he had invented, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and in 1820 he pressed the adoption of a Dioptric system upon the Engineer of the Scottish Board of Lighthouses, but without effect. In 1822 M. Fresnel applied Brewster's system to a French lighthouse, and it was then universally adopted by the French Government. From that time Brewster laboured strenuously, by personal representations and by writings, to obtain its adoption in Great Britain. At last, on the motion of Mr. Hume, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the subject, and in 1836 the Dioptric system was applied

to a Scottish lighthouse, and has since been universally extended. Doubtless by this invention, as Lord Brougham said, "an incalculable number of lives have been saved in the prevention of shipwrecks." And thus every lighthouse that burns round the shores of the British Empire is a shining witness to the usefulness of Brewster's life.

David Brewster was son of the Rector of Jedburgh Grammar School, and was born in 1781. His genius received its bent from his early friendship with a remarkable person, James Veitch, ten years his senior, who made ploughs for his livelihood and telescopes for his pleasure, and who awakened in Brewster the love of Optics. At twelve years old Brewster came to the University of Edinburgh, studied Arts and Divinity, and in 1800 applied for the M.A. degree, which was conferred on him, not after examination, but on the report of the Arts Faculty that he had distinguished himself in the classes which he had attended. He had some tutorial appointments, was licensed to preach, and in 1804 actually preached his first sermon in St. Cuthbert's. His sermon was no failure, but from a certain constitutional nervousness it was painful to him to speak in public. In 1808 he commenced bringing out his *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, which occupied him most laboriously till 1830. He continued all the time his experiments and researches, and in 1813 brought out a *Treatise on Scientific Instruments*. In 1814, going to Paris, he was received with much honour by the philosophers there, La Place, Biot, Berthollet, Arago, A. Humboldt, etc. In 1815 he was invited by the Town Council to teach Playfair's class of Natural Philosophy for a Session, but he declined on the ground of his previous engagements. In 1816 he invented the Kaleidoscope, which at once met with extraordinary popularity all over the Continent of Europe. Brewster was told that, if he had properly secured his patent, he might have made £100,000. But he had not; the invention was immediately pirated, and he made nothing by it. At a later period he invented, not the stereoscope, but the improved principle upon which stereoscopes were subsequently made. These two last-named inventions are those by which Brewster is generally known to the public, in combination with his *Letters on Natural Magic*, his *Martyrs of Science*, his *Life of Sir Isaac Newton*, and his *More Worlds than*



*One*, being an answer to Whewell's argument that all the other planets, except the earth, must be uninhabitable.

In 1831 Brewster performed the great service of procuring the establishment of the British Association. And in the same year he was knighted. This was a first instalment of that greater respect shown to men of science which resulted from Brewster's vehement appeals against the neglect of science previously manifested by the British Government. In 1833 he was candidate for the Chair of Natural Philosophy in the University, but the Town Council rejected him in favour of James D. Forbes, who was much his junior. The election probably turned on the question of Tory *versus* Whig; but Forbes proved an illustrious Professor. In 1838 Brewster was made Principal of the United College at St. Andrews. Twenty-one years later he was transferred to the Principalship in Edinburgh.

Brewster had urbane manners and great conversational powers; he was thus a most agreeable companion in private life. His organisation was too excitable, however, to allow of his being a good chairman under difficult circumstances, and in the Senatus Academicus of St. Andrews he is said to have manifested a chronic irritation. All this was changed when he came into the larger atmosphere of the University of Edinburgh. His relation to his colleagues there was one of unimpaired cordiality. Coming among them at the age of seventy-eight, he brought with him a great prestige, and was received with reverence. It was observed, however, that he never spoke so much as a sentence of five lines in the Edinburgh Senatus without having previously written it down; he had never been a ready speaker, though a copious and impassioned writer. The few addresses which he delivered to the Students were full of enthusiasm both for science and for religion, clothed in the richest language. He was never troubled with those doubts which physical science is supposed to engender. Sir Lyon Playfair said of him, speaking to the Royal Society of Edinburgh: "In Brewster and Faraday the nation has suffered a heavy loss. Both were great philosophers and ardent Christians. We point to them as conclusive proofs that science and infidelity are not akin." Sir David Brewster's Principalship was coeval with the labours of the Commission and the first five years of the Uni-

versity after the Commissioners had given it its new start. But he did not live to see the full tide of prosperity which was then beginning to flow, for in the fifteen years since his death the University has more than doubled both its wealth and the number of its Students.

When we look at the statue of Brewster standing, prism in hand, in the quadrangle of the University, we may recall the words used about him by his younger fellow-labourer and friend, James D. Forbes :—" Few persons have made with their own eyes so vast a number of independent observations ; few have ever observed better, or recorded their observations more faithfully. His scientific glory is different from that of Young and Fresnel, but the discoverer of the law of polarisation, of biaxial crystals, of optical mineralogy, and of double refraction by compression, will always occupy a foremost rank in the intellectual history of the age."

#### IV.—REGENTS OF PHILOSOPHY, 1583-1708.

During 125 years there were 46 Regents or Tutors of Philosophy in the College, and as there were always four in office together this gives each Regent an average term of service of between ten and eleven years. But eight of the number had previously held the subordinate post of Regent of Humanity. For a long period all the persons appointed to be Regents were Graduates of the College, and had either been Rollock's pupils or the pupils of Rollock's pupils. The first Regent appointed under Rollock was NAIRN, a pupil of Andrew Melville's (see Vol. I. p. 137), but he died after acting for one year as Latin tutor and for a few months as Regent. His place was filled by LUMSDEN, who had been educated at St. Andrews under Rollock. In 1586 COLT and SCRIMGER were appointed Regents ; they were probably St. Andrews Students, but they each held office only about three years. In 1587 Rollock graduated his class, and after that event we find the following list of persons appointed to be Regents :—

1587. HISLOP	} All Rollock's pupils, who had graduated in 1587.
1588. FERME	
1589. CHARTERIS	
1589. SANDS	

1594. ROBERTSON—Lumisden's pupil, graduated in 1588.  
 1599. CRAIG—Ferne's pupil, graduated in 1593.  
 1598. ADAMSON—Ferne's pupil, graduated in 1597.

The same tradition extends, with few exceptions, throughout the seventeenth century, the pupils of former Regents being appointed to carry on the teaching of the College. This system naturally tended to produce a dead level of routine, and it seems to have been unrelieved by any exceptional genius springing up out of the list of the Regents.

Three of them (Charteris, Sands, and Adamson) became Principals of the College. Charles Ferme (or Fairholm) was removed to be Principal of a College which was created by Sir Alexander Fraser of Phillorth in 1600 at Fraserburgh, and his appointment ended disastrously.<sup>1</sup> JOHN RAY, the first Professor of Humanity, was an accomplished scholar, and won the admiration and regard of Drummond of Hawthornden, who wrote an *Epitaph to the memory of his much loving and beloved master, John Ray*, in which occur the lines:—

“Bright Ray of learning, which so clear didst stream,  
 Farewell, soul which so many souls did frame !”

Ray, however, does not appear to have ever become Regent of Philosophy.<sup>2</sup> THOMAS CRAUFURD, a Graduate of St. Andrews,—who was made Regent of Humanity in 1626, became Principal of the High School in 1630, and in 1640 came back to the College as Regent of Philosophy and “Professor of Mathematics,”—was, of all the Regents, the personage most deserving of honour from the University of Edinburgh. For he was not only a good scholar, but extremely devoted to the College, for which he performed the inestimable service of writing *Memoirs* of its early history. We have previously seen (p. 250) that the Town Council invited him to write a Latin Grammar, and that on Leighton's resignation they placed him on a list of persons eligible for the Principalship. He served as Regent of Philo-

<sup>1</sup> Ferme's labours were violently interrupted by the Earl of Huntly, who imprisoned him first in the Castle of Down, and afterwards in the island of Bute. The College then fell into decay, and disappeared amid the distractions caused by the alteration of Church government.

<sup>2</sup> David Laing, in his *Catalogue of the Graduates*, gives a list of “Regents or Professors,” in which he mixes up the Regents of Humanity with those of Philosophy; this is misleading.

sophy for twenty-two years. Perhaps the most distinguished name among the Regents was that of ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM (Humanity 1679, Philosophy 1689), of whom some account has been given in Vol. I. Appendix I.

#### V.—PROFESSORS OF DIVINITY.

Rollock and Charteris, the two first Principals, were “Professors of Theology,” and taught the Divinity Students. In 1620 (see Vol. I. p. 200) a separate Professorship of “Divinity” was created, and then the title of “Professor of Theology” became merely honorary, attached to the Principalship. The following were the Professors of Divinity :—

(1) ANDREW RAMSAY, 1620-1626, a distinguished Minister, of whom some account has been given (Vol. I. pp. 200, 209).

(2) HENRY CHARTERIS, 1627-1629 (see above, p. 243).

(3) JAMES FAIRLY, 1629-1630. After the death of Charteris there seems to have been a contest of Church parties in Edinburgh about the Chair. The Laudian divines wished to put in Robert Monteith, a former student of the College, who had been Regent for four years at Saumur, and whose proclivities may be judged from the fact that he ultimately joined the Romish Church and took up his abode in Paris.<sup>1</sup> Monteith's election being resisted by the Calvinistic Ministers, the Town Council appointed James Fairly, one of the former Regents of the College, then Minister at South Leith. But this was merely as a stop-gap, for next year they removed Fairly to the Greyfriars' Church, and conferred the Chair of Divinity upon (4) Dr. JOHN SHARP, who had been Professor of the same subject at the Calvinistic College of Die in Dauphiny, and who had been expelled from France by Cardinal Richelieu. Sharp held the Chair till his death in 1648. He was a staunch Presbyterian, and in 1637 aided in promoting the renewal of the National Covenant.

An interregnum of two years then occurred, during which

<sup>1</sup> For some reason or other he took the name of Monteith de Salmonet, under which title he published a *History of the Civil Wars in Britain*. From this the story arose that, being asked by Richelieu to what family of Monteiths he belonged, he, as he was the son of a fisherman on the Forth, replied : “The Monteiths of Salmon net !” See Hill Burton's *Scot Abroad*, vol. i. p. 99.

the Town Council offered the Professorship first to Alexander Colvill, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, but the General Assembly, who controlled the Universities in matters of religion, refused to allow him to be transferred, and afterwards to the celebrated Mr. Samuel Rutherford, but he declined to accept.

At last, in 1650, the Town Council and Ministers obtained leave from the General Assembly to translate (5) Mr. DAVID DICKSON, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, to the same office in Edinburgh. He held the Chair, together with charge of the High Church, till 1662 (on a salary of 2000 merks, or £111 : 5s. sterling). He was "the most powerful and popular preacher of his day," and had been "instrumental in promoting the notable conversion at Stewarton about 1625, termed 'the Stewarton Sickness.'" He took a prominent part in the Assembly at Glasgow in 1638 for the overthrow of Episcopacy. "From the frequency of depositions and even of decapitations, a few years after, among those offered to the Covenanters, he observed 'the wark gaes bonnilie on,' which became a common proverb." He was a leader among the "Resolutioners," as opposed to the "Protesters." But he was not only a preacher and a church politician, he was also a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works may be mentioned *Expositio Analytica Omnium Apostolicarum Epistolarum*, 1645, 4to. *Explanation of the Psalms*, 3 vols. 1653. *Therapeutica sacra*, 1656, 4to. *A Commentary on the Epistles*, 1659, fol. *Praelectiones in Confessionem Fidei*, fol. Besides several minor works, pamphlets, and poems (such as *The Christian Sacrifice* and *O Mother, dear, Jerusalem*), "The *Directory for Public Worship* was drawn up by him, with the assistance of Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. David Calderwood."<sup>1</sup>

The Chair was next offered to Mr. Patrick Scougall, Episcopalian Minister of Saltoun, but he declined to accept it, and was soon afterwards made Bishop of Aberdeen. After a vacancy of a year (6) Mr. WILLIAM KEITH, Episcopalian Minister of Udney, was appointed to the Professorship, which he held, together with the Ministry of St. Cuthbert's, till 1675. "He was wholly mortified and denied to the world, and led a most severe and ascetical kind of life."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The above particulars are all taken from Scott's *Fasti*, pp. 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 125.

(7) LAURENCE CHARTERIS, 1675-1681. This was the fourth son of Principal Charteris, and he seems to have resembled his father in some points, for he is described as being "of composed, serene gravity, but unpopular utterance, and most conversant with history." He conformed to Episcopacy in 1662, while Minister of Bathaus, but he was a half-hearted Episcopalian, for he refused a Bishopric in 1671, and in 1681 resigned his Chair of Divinity rather than subscribe the Test. Three small works of his—*On True and False Christianity*; *On the Corruption of the Age*; and *Spiritual Discourses*—were brought out after his death (in 1703 and 1704), and in 1833 *A Catalogue of Scottish Writers* which he had drawn up, was published.<sup>1</sup>

Another interval occurred, for John Menzies, Minister of Caerlaverock, to whom the Chair was offered, declined it. In 1683 (8) JOHN STRACHAN, the last of the three Episcopalian Professors of Divinity, who had been Minister of Tarves, was appointed to the Chair in conjunction with the second charge of the Tron Church. In 1689 he was deprived of his appointment, when the College of Edinburgh was purged after the Revolution Settlement (see above p. 256).

(9) GEORGE CAMPBELL, Minister of Dumfries, who had been a Member of the Commission for visiting the University, was immediately after Strachan's dismissal appointed to the Chair, which he held, with the Old Church of St. Giles, till his death in 1701. "Joined to great and universal learning, piety, and prudence, he had prodigious application and diligence, and was withal very modest, humble, and bashful." He seems to have been admired and beloved. In one of their Acts the Town Council speak of him as "the worthy and famous Mr. George Campbell." As we have seen (p. 258), he got the title of "the Morning Star." No publications of his are mentioned, but his name was commemorated in the College of Edinburgh as the founder of the Theological Library, by the following inscription:—

*Bibliotheca Hæc Virum Pietate Prudentia et Literis insignem  
Geo. Campbell SS.T. apud nos summa cum Laude Professorem  
grato Animo Autorem agnoscit, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> Scott's *Fasti*, pp. 337, 263.

(10) GEORGE MELDRUM, 1701-1709, was Minister of the Tron Church, and was unwilling to accept the Professorship of Divinity till the Presbytery "unanimously relieved him from visitation of families and preaching on week days."<sup>1</sup> He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1703, when the Lord High Commissioner (James, Earl of Seafield) abruptly dissolved the Assembly. Meldrum, however, concluded as usual with prayer, and "the collision at this time led to an understanding between the Church and the Government regarding the manner of dissolving the Assemblies in future." Meldrum was said to have a "sweet, plain, pathetic way of preaching," and "a large compass of solid knowledge." His published writings were confined to Sermons and polemical works on *Patronages*, *Toleration*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

(11) WILLIAM HAMILTON, 1709-1732.

(12) JAMES SMITH, 1732-1733.

(13) JOHN GOWDIE, 1733-1754.

} These three Professors of Divinity all became Principals of the College of James VI., and as such they have been already characterised.

(14) ROBERT HAMILTON, 1754-1779, was born within the walls of the College, being the son of Principal William Hamilton. He was successively Minister of Cramond, Lady Yester's, and the Old Greyfriars' Church. When the Town Council appointed him to the Chair of Divinity they required him to resign his clerical charge. He was twice Moderator, and was made Dean of the Thistle. When seventy-two years old he applied for assistance in the work of his Chair, and (15) Dr. ANDREW HUNTER was appointed conjoint Professor of Divinity in 1779. On Robert Hamilton's death, in 1787, Hunter became sole Professor, and held the Divinity Chair till 1809. During the same period he was in charge of the Tron Church. It was said of him that "perhaps no man in a public station ever passed through life more respected, or with a more unblemished reputation." He published *Five Single Sermons*, 1775, 4to.<sup>3</sup>

(16) WILLIAM RITCHIE, 1809-1828, was transferred from St.

<sup>1</sup> This shows that there was a practice of daily preaching in the eighteenth century. We have seen (p. 268) that Robertson wished to be relieved from this duty.

<sup>2</sup> Scott's *Fasti*, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

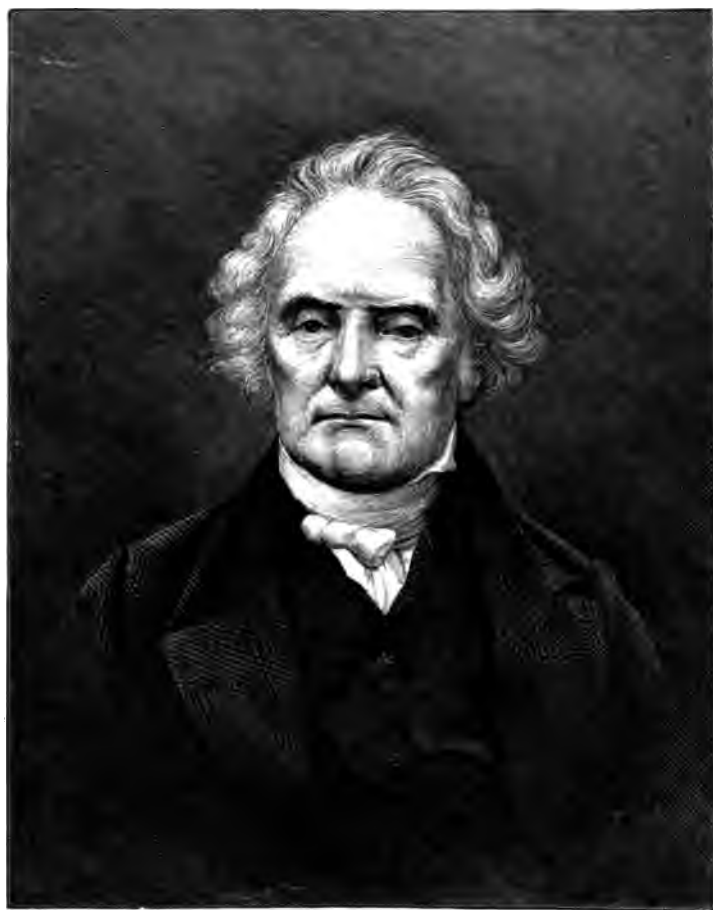
Andrew's Church, Glasgow, to the High Church of Edinburgh and the Chair of Divinity, both which appointments he held till his eighty-first year, when Dr. Chalmers came to Edinburgh to take the work of the Chair in the capacity of conjoint Professor. Ritchie died in 1830. Sir R. Christison's recollection of him was that, "in his old age he had in the pulpit the piercing gaze of an old eagle; but he was of mild disposition and gentle in manners. His sermons were well composed, and delivered with great earnestness, a persuasive voice, and the remains of an Ayrshire intonation." His publications were *Five Single Sermons*, 1803; and a *Statement relative to the use of an Organ in St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow*.

The next Professor of Divinity (17) THOMAS CHALMERS, 1828-1843, towers immeasurably over all his predecessors in the Chair. No one connected with the University of Edinburgh ever bore more decisively the stamp of greatness than Dr. Chalmers. But his life, like that of John Knox, is a part of the history of Scotland, and to attempt to epitomise it here would be out of place. All that can be done is to endeavour to indicate a few salient qualities, chiefly in connection with his Professorial character.

In early life the bent of Chalmers' mind was towards science. After he had passed seven years at the University of St. Andrews, and had been "licensed" as a preacher in his nineteenth year (contrary to the usual rule of the Church, on account of his remarkable ability), he, instead of devoting himself at once to the ministry, came to the University of Edinburgh, where for two years he studied Mathematics under Playfair, Chemistry under Hope, and Natural Philosophy under Robison. He afterwards spoke of Robison's lectures as having been most stimulating to his mind. He was appointed Assistant to the Professor of Mathematics in St. Andrews, and when, after one session, he was deprived of that appointment he started extra-academical lectures in Mathematics, in successful rivalry to the Professor, while all the while he was Minister of Kilmany.

On Robison's death, in 1805, he was candidate for the Chair of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh, and wrote a pamphlet to prove that a Minister might very well combine a Scientific Professorship with the satisfactory discharge of his parochial





THE REV. THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D.

FROM A PLATE PUBLISHED BY ANDREW ELLIOT



duties. His views on this subject were greatly changed afterwards. His mind seems first to have been seriously turned to Theology by his undertaking to write the article on "Christianity" for Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, which engaged him for four years (1809-1813). It was as Minister of the Tron Church in Glasgow that Chalmers first sprang into fame as a preacher and as an administrator. His *Astronomical Discourses* produced the most astonishing effect on the crowds who listened to them, and when they were published, in 1817, no less than 6000 copies were sold in a month, and 20,000 within the year. These *Discourses* seem to show what Science was to Chalmers—it was food for his imagination rather than a field to be worked out. His Bridgewater Treatise "On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man" (published in 1828) indicates the same thing. In Glasgow the sad realities of life which surrounded him in his parish aroused his noble spirit to the idea of coping with pauperism, and he organised his celebrated system of relieving the poor by means of individual effort and supervision, without poor rates or compulsory charity. This drew him into the province of Political Economy, in which he became ardently interested, and also into the question of National Education.

Everything that Chalmers did was original, springing out of his own nature. He opposed the Reform Bill, not believing that its promises would be fulfilled. On the other hand, he was a supporter of Catholic Emancipation. After achieving great results in Glasgow, but before his work was consolidated, he accepted the Chair of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews, and set himself to the systematising of what to him was a fresh science. In so doing he left aside Metaphysics (as taught from another Chair), and prelected largely on the connection of Morals with Religion and Natural Theology. The subject of Political Economy was also attached to his Professorship, and in teaching this he constantly insisted on the moral and religious relationships of economic science, and expatiated on its applications to the wants of a Christian community.

On Professor Ritchie's becoming superannuated, in 1827, the Town Council, as an interim arrangement, appointed Dr. John Lee to conduct the Divinity Class for one Session, and on the

6th November 1828 they appointed Chalmers joint Professor with Ritchie. The following description of his Inaugural Address has been placed on record:<sup>1</sup>—

“He had an air of extreme abstraction and at the same time of full presence of mind. Ascending the steps in his familiar resolute manner, he almost immediately engaged in his opening prayer, that was most startling and yet deeply solemnising. In closest union with a simple, forcible antithesis of intellectual conception, clothed in still more antithetical expressions, there was the deep, vital consciousness of the glory of the Divine presence. The power of the dialectician, restrained and elevated by the prayerful reverence as of some prophet in ancient Israel, imparted a peculiarity of aspect to his first devotional utterances in the class. As to his discourse, all felt far more deeply than they could worthily declare that it was a most glorious prelude, and that at once and for ever his right to reign as a king in the broad realms of theological science, and to rule over their own individual minds as a teacher, was as unequivocal as his mastery over a popular assembly.”

Chalmers came to Edinburgh in his forty-eighth year, at the zenith of his reputation, universally recognised in Scotland as a great intellectual and moral force, a simple, grand, and noble nature, for the most eloquent preacher in the land, one whose success as a pastor had never been surpassed, and almost the type of a Christian patriot. Of him it might be said “*famam ingenii expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratione superabat.*” His lecture room was thronged not only by Divinity Students, but by distinguished members of the various professions, and by many of the most intelligent citizens of Edinburgh. At the close of his first session the Rev. Robert Morehead (Episcopal clergyman), as representing these extra-academical listeners, wrote Chalmers a letter expressing their gratitude for his teaching, and enclosing a *honorarium* which they had subscribed. Chalmers’ emoluments from his Chair were then only £200 per annum. His more strictly Theological lectures were on—(1) Natural Theology, (2) Christian Evidences, (3) Systematic Theology, (4) Butler’s *Analogy*, Paley’s *Evidences*, and Hill’s *Lectures on Divinity*. The lectures were all elaborated

<sup>1</sup> Hanna’s *Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, vol. iii. p. 225.

into books: his *Natural Theology*; his *Institutes of Theology*; his *Prelections on Butler, Paley, and Hill*, etc. But in addition to this theoretic side of his teaching there was another, and in Chalmers' view still more important, branch of his lectures, namely those on practical and pastoral Theology, which were developed into his *Christian Polity of a Nation*; his *Church and Colledge Establishments*; his *Church Extension*; his *Sufficiency of a Parochial System*; and his *Political Economy*. One of his pupils<sup>1</sup> has recorded that Chalmers' course in Theology was "really a course of Chalmers himself, and of Chalmers in all his characters." The listeners were carried "through the whole round of Chalmers' favourite ideas." "But through all and over all was the influence of a nature morally so great that by no array and exposition of its ideas, repeated never so often, could it be exhausted, and by no inventory of them represented. Merely to look at him day after day was a liberal education." Chalmers, with all his richness of mind, was not a learned divine,—indeed it was hardly possible that he should have been,—therefore he made no theologians out of his class, but he contributed enormously to the making of an active, earnest generation of pastors. It was an evil day for the University when, on the 5th June 1843, after the Disruption, Chalmers, in company with Dr. Welsh, demitted his Chair. The Senatus then recorded "their deep regret at the circumstances which had caused these resignations." Chalmers made important recommendations for the improvement of Theological Education to the Commission of 1826. He proposed that there should be five Professors in the Faculty of Divinity, and this, though not entirely carried out, led to the creation of the Chair of Biblical Criticism. He also advocated, in concurrence with Professor Blackie, the establishment of a strict entrance examination for Students in Arts, combined with the provision of *Gymnasia* in connection with each of the Universities, in which those who failed to pass the entrance examination might be brought up to the proper level for commencing University studies.

(18) JOHN LEE, 1844-1859. After the Disruption had thinned the ranks of theologians in the Church of Scotland, Principal Lee was invited to bring his great learning to the

<sup>1</sup> Professor Masson, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xi. p. 127.

service of the Chair of Divinity, which, in conjunction with the Principalship, he held till his death in 1859.

(19) THOMAS JACKSON CRAWFORD, 1859-1875, was the last person appointed by the Town Council to any Chair within the University. He was son of a Professor of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews, where he graduated and was licensed preacher, having as a boy attended the High School of Edinburgh. He was made Minister of Cults, of which parish he wrote a *Statistical Account*, containing anecdotes of Sir David Wilkie; thence he went to Glamis, and was finally transferred to St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh. He was elected Convener of the General Assembly's Committee on Psalmody, for which office he was qualified by his knowledge of and fondness for music. In 1853 he produced two pamphlets advocating the claims of Presbyterianism as against those of Prelacy. In 1859, in his forty-seventh year, he was appointed to the Chair of Divinity. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1863. He produced three theological works of some importance: *The Fatherhood of God*, a volume on the *Atonement*, and *Mysteries of Christianity*, being the substance of the Baird Lectures, delivered in 1874. Without any great originality of mind he was a cultivated, accomplished man, with much grace and urbanity of manner, and was much respected and beloved. He succumbed to inflammation of the lungs at Genoa in 1875. In 1876 the Curators appointed as his successor (20) ROBERT FLINT, the present Professor of Divinity.

#### VI.—PROFESSORS OF HEBREW AND ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

The Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages was the second Professorship (as distinct from a Regentship) founded in the College of Edinburgh (see Vol. I. p. 212). We have already mentioned how ill the Chair was endowed, and how perfunctorily its duties were performed to the end of the seventeenth century (Vol. I. p. 215). The following is a list of the Professors during that period, about whom there appears to be nothing special to record:—(1) JULIUS CONRADUS OTTO, 1642; (2) ALEXANDER DICKSON, 1656; (3) ALEXANDER AMEDEUS, 1679; (4) ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, 1681; (5) PATRICK SINCLAIR, 1692; (6) ALEXANDER RULE, 1694.

Speaking of the Chair during the first half of the eighteenth century Bower says : "this Chair had been by far more unfortunate than any other in the College in regard to Professors. The truth is that from the time of the Revolution hardly an efficient Professor had held that office excepting Mr. Goodall. Dr. Craufurd united it with the Class of Chemistry, and only considered it in a secondary point of view ; and Mr. Dawson, it appears, had not taught for a long time. The chief causes of this negligence arose from the Students being under no necessity of attending it, and no fees being demanded by the Professor from such as did. The Church had not defined with precision the classes which candidates for license must have attended before their application can be received ; neither did the Professor of Divinity require a certificate from the Student of his having studied Hebrew under a Professor established by law. The consequences naturally were, that both Professors and Students neglected the study of Oriental literature ; and it is only of late years that any considerable degree of attention began to be paid to it in this country."<sup>1</sup> The following were the Professors whom Bower thus characterised : —(7) JOHN GOODALL, 1702 ; (8) JAMES CRAUFURD, 1719 ; (9) WILLIAM DAWSON, 1732.

The first really qualified Professor who held the Chair was (10) JAMES ROBERTSON, 1751-1792. He had studied at Leyden for some years under Schultens, the greatest Oriental scholar in Europe of those days, and he brought from Schultens "a very great character as deserving the public encouragement for his good qualities and abilities to teach in the Hebrew and Arabic." On his way home Robertson had stopped at Oxford, which was becoming a good school of Hebrew, and he brought with him a testimony to his attainments from Hunt, then Regius Professor of Hebrew. These recommendations "excited great interest among the clergy of the City and the Town Council." The latter body then forced Dawson, who was in weak health, to accept James Robertson as conjoint Professor. During his forty-one years' service in the Chair of Hebrew, Robertson was a most valuable member of the University. For twenty-two years he was an admirable Librarian, and made the first alphabetical catalogue of the books. His name appears frequently in the

<sup>1</sup> Bower, *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. ii. pp. 360, 361.

Senatus Minutes, as for many years delegated to be Manager of the City Poor-House. The Divinity Students had petitioned for his appointment in 1751, but we have seen above (Vol. I. p. 335) that, owing to the supineness of the General Assembly in encouraging the study of Hebrew, his lectures were thinly attended. He compiled a Hebrew Grammar of his own, with the vowel points, according to the Masoretic punctuation adopted by Buxtorff and Schultens, and was mortified in his old age by the St. Andrews Professor of Hebrew, Dr. Charles Wilson, bringing out a Grammar without the vowel points.<sup>1</sup> He also published a *Key to the Pentateuch*. Dr. Johnson, when he visited Edinburgh in 1773, "was much pleased with the University Library, and with the conversation of Dr. James Robertson, Professor of Oriental Languages and Librarian."<sup>2</sup> Dalzel tells us that the other Professors used to call him "the Rabbi."

(11) In 1792 the Town Council, as above mentioned (p. 268), appointed Dr. GEORGE HUSBAND BAIRD to be conjoint Professor of Hebrew, but he was a few months afterwards made Principal. So in 1793 (12) WILLIAM MOODIE, Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, was appointed to the Chair and held both charges till his death in 1812. He edited Wilson's *Hebrew Grammar*, and published a few sermons and pamphlets.

(12) ALEXANDER MURRAY, 1812-1813, shone as a star of the greatest brilliancy in the Professorial firmament for half a session, and then disappeared. There is a great but sad interest attaching to his astonishing career. He was the son of a very poor Galloway shepherd, who taught him the alphabet by marking the letters on an old wool-card with a burnt stick. With this beginning he at once learned to read, and discovering an old loose Bible, carried it off piecemeal, and learned most of it by heart. From the Hebrew letters prefixed to the divisions of the 119th Psalm he learned the Hebrew alphabet. All this time he was engaged in shepherding. When fifteen years old he managed to get an old copy of Ainsworth's *Latin Dictionary*, and read it all through with minute attention. Within a year after commencing Latin he was able to read Ovid, Cæsar, and Livy, and getting some desultory schooling, soon found his way through Homer. Baillie's *English Dictionary* led him into Anglo-Saxon, whence his

<sup>1</sup> Bower, vol. ii. p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, chap. xxxiii.



extraordinary progress went on to German, Visi-Gothic, Welsh, Abyssinian, Hebrew, Arabic, etc. In 1794 Murray's fame had begun to spread, and he was invited to Edinburgh to give an exhibition of his acquirements. Principal Baird and Professors Moodie and Finlayson examined him, and being much struck by his performances kindly exerted themselves to obtain a gratuitous education for him from the other Professors, and at the same time Baird generously assisted him till he got a bursary. Besides going through the classes, and supporting himself partly by private teaching, he employed the rest of his time so assiduously as to master all the European languages, and to commence researches in the more recondite dialects of the East. About 1800 he became Editor of the *Scots Magazine*, and also wrote for the *Edinburgh Review*. For three years he resided at Kinnaird, editing Bruce's *Travels*, which he brought out in seven volumes full of Abyssinian learning. In 1806 he settled down as Minister of Urr, in Kirkcudbrightshire, in which remote locality he was sought out as the only person in the kingdom likely to be able to translate a letter written in Geez from the Governor of Tigre to His Britannic Majesty. This task Murray satisfactorily performed. In 1812 the Town Council, by a majority of two votes, appointed him Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages. Before he opened his class he published his *Outlines of Oriental Philology*, but he broke down at once under the labour of lecturing, and without having concluded his first course he succumbed to pulmonary consumption in April 1813, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He left behind him a work of varied learning, entitled *A History of European Languages ; or Researches into the Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations*. Alexander Murray was of an amiable, retiring character ; his great learning would have conferred honour on the University, had his life been prolonged, but it seems doubtful whether he had the qualities for a successful lecturer.

(13) ALEXANDER BRUNTON, 1813-1847, was a great contrast to the recluse scholar and genius whom he succeeded in the Chair of Hebrew. Brunton had been and continued to be Minister of the Tron Church. Sir Robert Christison speaks of him as "a strong well-built man," "courtly in address," "eminently sociable, and esteemed in general society," and "something of

a clerical beau." He was very active, and zealously discharged, for thirteen years, the duties of Convenor of the India Mission Committee of the General Assembly, and he also took great charge of Heriot's Hospital. He did something for the literature of his Chair by publishing *Extracts from the Old Testament, with Sketches of Hebrew and Chaldee Grammar*, 1814, 8vo, and *Outlines of Persian Grammar*, 1822, 8vo. He also published some sermons, and *Forms for Public Worship in the Church of Scotland*, 1848, 8vo. "Besides being a City Minister and College Professor, he was also Upper Librarian of the University. In that capacity he claimed and got the only private house included in the scheme of the then new University buildings. But he did not live always there. During six or seven months of every year he occupied a pleasant villa, which he had built in the country, about six miles from College, on the north bank of a little tributary of the Esk near Loanhead."<sup>1</sup> This seems to show that his plurality of duties did not press very heavily upon the worthy Dr. Brunton. When in his seventy-fifth year his strength failed him, the Town Council, as we saw (p. 75),<sup>2</sup> tried in 1847 to put a Free-Churchman into the Chair of Hebrew, but this measure having been successfully resisted in the Law Courts by the *Senatus Academicus* (14) Mr. DAVID LISTON, who had been a Missionary in India, was appointed and held the chair for thirty-two years. He was a modest and diffident man, and, having no other appointment, was depressed by the extremely low salary attached to the Professorship. On his retirement, in 1880, the present Incumbent, (15) The Rev. DAVID LAIRD ADAMS, was appointed.

#### VII.—PROFESSORS OF MATHEMATICS.

The century in which the College of Edinburgh was founded was a most remarkable one in the history of Mathematics. It was the great age of the development of Algebra. In 1530 Tartaglia of Brescia had discovered the rule for solving cubic equations, and this had been followed up by the solution of equations of the fourth degree, discovered by Ludovico Ferrari, a pupil of Cardan's. North of the Alps Algebraic symbols were introduced instead of words: the signs + and — by German

<sup>1</sup> Sir R. Christison's MS. *Recollections*. See Scott's *Fasts*, p. 57.

Mathematicians, the sign = by Recorde, an English algebraist, and letters to denote quantities by Vieta, a French Mathematician. At the end of the century Scotland made a great contribution to mathematical science in the invention of Logarithms by Napier, Baron of Merchiston. "Whether we consider the great originality of the idea, the difficulty of carrying it into effect in the state in which Algebraical analysis then was, or the immense practical and theoretical value of the invention, we shall have little difficulty in claiming for Napier the honour of a discovery unsurpassed in brilliancy in the whole history of Mathematics."<sup>1</sup>

There were great Physicists and Astronomers in that age, such as Gilbert, Sturinus, Galileo, and Kepler. The birth-time of the College of Edinburgh was therefore coeval with "the high spring-tide of Mathematical and Physical Science." But unfortunately the College was precluded from the benefits of this movement: 1st, because Rollock was not a Mathematician; and 2d, because the teaching was done on the Regenting system. There was no Geometry in the curriculum as at first arranged, and it is a significant fact that Napier of Merchiston, though a near neighbour, did not send his son to be educated at the College, but preferred to send him to the University of Glasgow. After thirty-seven years the Town Council took steps to have separate lectures, in addition to the curriculum, given in Mathematics. In 1620 they appointed ANDREW YOUNG to be "Public Professor of Mathematics" in addition to his duties as Regent of Philosophy (see Vol. I. p. 203). It is possible that Napier had made a suggestion on this subject; at all events he took an interest in it, for on the 17th August 1621 the Town Council paid for the carriage from London of a quadrant which Napier (the year before his death) presented to the College "for the Professor of Mathematics."

Young, having graduated in Edinburgh, had gone to serve as Regent in Marischall College, which was always a good school of Mathematics, and he may have picked up something there. He must certainly have had a reputation for mathematical

<sup>1</sup> From Professor Chrystal's (unpublished) Inaugural Address. Most of the above facts and estimates relative to the Professors of Mathematics are taken from that Address. Unless otherwise specified, the passages quoted are all from Professor Chrystal.

knowledge. He came back to Edinburgh as Regent in 1601. When appointed "Professor of Mathematics" he had to give two public lectures a week, but what they consisted in we know not. He died in 1623, after three years' performance of these new duties.

No successor to Young was appointed till 1640, when the title and office of "Professor of Mathematics" was revived by the Town Council<sup>1</sup> and offered in connection with a Regentship to Thomas Craufurd, then Principal of the High School, as an inducement to come back to the College. The salary was only 600 merks (£33 : 6 : 8) a year. But Craufurd was an academically-minded person, and he accepted the post, and held it for twenty-two years, till his death in 1662. He was proud of his title, and always signed himself "M.P." at the end of his Theses. He introduced the term *Theses Mathematicæ* into the College, the Theses previously having been styled *Ethicæ, Logicæ, Physicæ, Sphæricæ*, or *Metaphysicæ*. It was merely an alteration of name (says Professor Chrystal), as the matter in Craufurd's papers was much the same as that contained in the *Theses Sphæricæ* or *Astronomicæ* of the other Regents. In one of the College Records<sup>2</sup> Craufurd is characterised as "a Grammarian and Philosopher, likewise profoundly skilled in Theology, and a man of the greatest piety and integrity." He had evidently no special attainments in Mathematics.

For twelve years after Craufurd's death no one else was appointed "Professor of Mathematics." The Town Council seem to have held the office in abeyance only, for in 1668, when Articles were drawn up by Principal Colvill for regulation of the College, the Town Council added an Article of their own defining the duties of the Professor of Mathematics, though at that time no such officer existed. He was to teach publicly Arithmetic, Geometry, Cosmography, Astronomy, and Optics, upon Tuesdays and Fridays, all the Regents with their Scholars being present. From time to time the Town Council appear to have appointed a Tutor of Mathematics. There is a record of their paying £10 sterling in 1672 as salary for one year, to George Sinclair, one of the Regents, for acting in this capacity.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps by the advice of Henderson, then Rector of the College.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabula petentium et adeptium Professiones publicas in Academia Jacobi Regis Edinburgena.*

At last, in 1674, the Town Council took the enlightened step of inducing James Gregory, who had been for four years Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, to transfer himself to the same office in the College of Edinburgh. In so doing they conferred distinction upon the College, for they secured the services of a great mathematical genius, perhaps in that age second to Newton alone. James Gregory had been educated at Marischall College, but soon passed beyond the teaching of that place, for at the age of twenty-four he invented the reflecting telescope, and brought out his *Optica Promota*, in which he was the first to suggest that the transits of Venus and Mercury might be used in determining the solar parallax. Afterwards he started to visit the seats of mathematical learning in Italy, and took up his abode at Padua, where, in 1667, he brought out a work which at once became famous, *On the Quadrature of the Circle and Hyperbola by means of infinitely converging series*. Returning to England he was immediately elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and was warmly welcomed by Newton, Wallis, Lord Brouncker, and other mathematicians. In 1668 he published his *Exercitationes Geometricæ*, and in 1670 was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews. In the following spring he wrote to his friend Collins a letter, an extract from which is preserved in the *Biographia Britannica*: "I am now much taken up and have been all this winter past with my public lectures, which I have twice a week, and in resolving doubts which some gentlemen and scholars propose to me. This I must comply with, nevertheless that I am often troubled with great impertinences, all persons here being ignorant of those things to admiration; so that I have but little time to spare in those studies my genius leads me to." From which we learn that two lectures a week was the amount of teaching expected from a Professor in those days, and also that a Professor was regarded as a sort of oracle *pro bono publico*.

(1) When JAMES GREGORY was brought to Edinburgh he became the first substantive Professor of Mathematics there, the first non-Theological Professor in the College who was not hampered with the drudgery of Regenting. In November 1674 he delivered an inaugural oration before a distinguished audience. But the hopes that might have been formed on that occasion

were soon blighted. On an October evening in 1675, while James Gregory was showing his Students the satellites of Jupiter through a telescope, he was struck with sudden blindness, and he died of a fever a few days afterwards, closing his brief and brilliant career at the age of thirty-six.

As an interim arrangement a "Mr. John Young, student," was appointed to teach Mathematics in the room of the deceased Professor, with a salary of 300 merks a year. He seems to have gone on as Mathematical Tutor in the College for eight years, when the Town Council found a second member of the family of Gregory worthy to be elected to the Professorship.

(2) This was DAVID GREGORY, nephew to the illustrious James, who had been partly educated at Marischall College, but came to complete his studies in the College of Edinburgh. He was appointed Professor of Mathematics here with a salary of £1000 (Scots) in October 1683, after he had passed his examinations for the M.A. degree, but previous to his laureation. He was then twenty-two years of age. In December he delivered an inaugural address (unfortunately not preserved), *De Analyseos Geometricæ progressu et incrementis*. In 1684 he brought out a work entitled *Exercitatio Geometrica de Dimensione Figurarum*, which contained some posthumous papers of his uncle's, with additions of his own.

A MS. volume of notes of David Gregory's course of lectures, taken by Francis Pringle, afterwards Professor of Greek at St. Andrews, is preserved in the Edinburgh University Library. The range of subjects indicated by these notes "will bear comparison," says Professor Chrystal, "with our curriculum as it is now. There are lectures on Trigonometry, Logarithms, Practical Geometry, Geodesy, Optics, Dynamics, and Mechanics." But the great point of interest attaching to David Gregory is, that he has "the honour of having been the first to give public lectures on the Newtonian philosophy. This he did in Edinburgh five and thirty years before these doctrines were accepted as part of the public instruction in the University of their inventor." David Gregory not only introduced the *Principia* to Edinburgh Students, but he also brought them to the notice of Englishmen. Whiston says "that he was greatly excited to the study of Sir Isaac Newton's wonderful discoveries in his *Principia* by a paper of

Dr. Gregory's, when he was Professor in Scotland, wherein he gave the most prodigious commendations to that work, as not only right in all things but in a manner the effect of a plainly divine genius; and he had already caused several of his scholars to 'keep acts' as we call them, upon several branches of the Newtonian philosophy;—while we at Cambridge, poor wretches, were ignominiously studying the fictitious hypotheses of the Cartesians." Newton's own opinion of David Gregory is recorded in a letter to Flamsteed; referring to their common scientific work he says: "If you and I live not long enough, Mr. Gregory and Mr. Halley are both young men."

Gregory's fame in England led to his removal from the College of Edinburgh, where, during nine years, he had "brought the mathematical teaching into the vanguard of scientific progress." In 1692 he was made Fellow of the Royal Society; and the Savilian Professorship of Astronomy at Oxford shortly afterwards falling vacant, he was chosen to fill it, in preference to Halley, who was a candidate for the Chair. He died at the early age of forty-nine, in 1710, and Oxford preserves his memory by an inscription upon a monument in St. Mary's Church. His chief works, beside the one mentioned, were his *Catoptrica et Dioptrica Elementa* (1695), containing valuable hints for the achromatising of telescopes, and his *Astronomiæ Physicæ et Geometriæ Elementa*, being a sort of digest of Newton's *Principia*, with a commentary thereon. He also left in manuscript a Latin treatise on Practical Geometry, which was used by his successor, as it had been by himself, in teaching the mathematical class. An English translation of this work was published by Colin M'Laurin in 1745, and it was considered in the last century a regular University text-book for exercising Students after they had gone through Euclid's *Elements* and Plane Trigonometry.

(3) On the departure of David Gregory to Oxford, in 1692, the Town Council appointed Mr. JAMES GREGORY, his "brother-german," as the Commission bore, to be Professor of Mathematics. The peculiarity of this Commission was that it did not speak of the Professorship as vacant, but premised that there never had been a regular Professorship. "Albeit," it grandiloquently said, "the famous College of this City, founded by that mighty and illustrious Prince, King James the Sixth, of ever glorious memory,

be furnished with Professors, Principals, Masters, and Regents, both in Divinity, Philosophy, and Humanity, yet never with a constant profession of the Mathematics," etc. "Therefore the said Lord Provost, Bailies, Council, and Deacons of Craftsmen, for themselves and their successors—have erected, and hereby do erect, a profession of Mathematics, within the said City, now and in all time coming, and appoint the said James Gregory Professor thereof." Henceforth, then, there were to be no more *interregna* in the Mathematical Chair, but a regular succession of teachers of the subject, which, at the same time, was left standing outside the curriculum of Philosophy (or Arts), and was to be "for the accomplishment and education of youth, and particularly in the art of Navigation (the great ornament of any Kingdom or commonwealth)." See *City Records*, 23d September 1692.

James Gregory *secundus* had to accept the Chair thus founded *de novo* on a diminished salary of 900 merks, or £50 sterling, as the College revenues were stated to be low at the time. He held the Chair for nearly thirty-three years, till 1725. "He seems to have been an able teacher, but did not otherwise add to the reputation of the Gregory family." In 1725 he was superannuated, and anxious for retirement and rest. The question was, who should be associated or made joint Professor with him, to do his work on condition of succeeding him. Sir Isaac Newton took a great interest in this matter on scientific, as well as friendly grounds, and wrote to the then Lord Provost recommending Mr. Colin M'Laurin, and, to show his sincerity, offering "to contribute £20 per annum towards a provision for him, till Mr. Gregory's place become void, if I live so long." Such a recommendation could hardly fail, especially when George Drummond's influence was in the ascendant. M'Laurin was made joint Professor,<sup>1</sup> and thus "the ablest in every respect of all the occupants of the Mathematical Chair," if we except the first Gregory (whose career in Edinburgh was too brief for him to be brought into comparison), commenced his course in the University of Edinburgh.

(4) COLIN M'LAURIN was born, in 1698, of an old Highland family. At eleven years of age he was sent to the University of

<sup>1</sup> James Gregory *secundus*, however, managed to live on for seventeen years, during which time M'Laurin got no salary.



Glasgow, and at the age of twelve he showed his mathematical precocity by mastering in a few days the first six books of Euclid, a copy of which he came across in a friend's chamber. Having graduated at the age of fifteen, he studied Divinity for a year, but not finding his bent lie in that direction, he lived in a country-house for three years, pursuing Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, "and sometimes reading the best classic authors, for which 'tis said he had an exceeding good taste."<sup>1</sup> When nineteen years old he became candidate for the Professorship of Mathematics in Marischall College, to which he was elected after a ten days' competition. At the age of twenty-one he was made Fellow of the Royal Society, brought out papers in their *Transactions*, published his *Geometrica Organica*, made the acquaintance and became the favourite of Sir Isaac Newton. He left his Aberdeen Professorship to travel abroad with the son of Lord Polwarth, and during his stay in France he wrote a tract "On the Percussion of Bodies," which gained the Prize of the French Academy of Sciences in 1724. On his return he was chosen to be joint Professor with James Gregory.

"He soon became the life and soul of the University of Edinburgh. In his time the teaching of Mathematics reached a point which it cannot be said to have yet surpassed." We have elsewhere (Vol. I. p. 271) given in full M'Laurin's programme of classes for 1741. We have also referred (Vol. I. p. 378) to his strenuous exertions for obtaining the erection of an Observatory, which would certainly have been successful but for his untimely death. M'Laurin was a man of remarkable social qualities, and was a prominent figure in all the scientific circles of Edinburgh in those days. He was the friend of the great physicians, and accepted the post of Secretary to the "Society for improving Medical Science." After editing their *Transactions* for some time he got them to enlarge their scope so as to take in all the parts of Physics, and the antiquities of the country, and to change their title to that of the "Philosophical Society," which in a later generation was transformed into the "Royal Society of Edinburgh." He was ever zealous in the application of his scientific knowledge to practical uses. To him is greatly due the establishment by Law of the Ministers' and Professors'

<sup>1</sup> *Biographia Britannica*, sub voce M'Laurin.

Widows' Fund for Scotland. M'Laurin with great labour made the actuarial computations necessary for the scheme, and the authority of his name went far to satisfy members of the Legislature that the principles on which the Assurance Fund was to be started were essentially sound. In 1739, at the request of Lord Morton, he drew up directions for a survey of Orkney and Shetland, to be carried out by his own pupils. In 1744 he memorialised Government in defence of a north-east passage to the Pacific. And in 1745 he roused up his fellow-citizens to the defence of the Capital against the advance of the Pretender; and was employed to act as military engineer and to fortify the City. The whole burden, not only of contriving but also of overseeing the execution of these hasty fortifications, fell to Mr. M'Laurin; he was employed night and day in making plans, and running from place to place; and the anxiety, fatigue, and cold to which he was thus exposed affecting a naturally weak constitution, laid the foundation of the distemper which proved fatal to him."<sup>1</sup> On the entry of the rebels into Edinburgh M'Laurin fled to York, where he was welcomed and entertained by Archbishop Herring. After the retreat of the Jacobite army he returned to Edinburgh, but his over-exertion on the city walls and the fatigue and exposure of his journeys had been too much for him. He was seized with dropsy, and his brilliant career was hurried to a close in 1746. His elogy was pronounced in the University by Alexander Monro *primus*, who maintained that "acute parts and extensive learning were in Mr. M'Laurin but secondary qualities; and that he was still more nobly distinguished from the bulk of mankind by the qualities of his heart, his sincere love to God and men, his universal benevolence and unaffected piety,—together with a warmth and constancy in his friendships that was in a manner peculiar to himself." M'Laurin left a wife and five children, for whose benefit his executors published by subscription his posthumous works, namely, his *Algebra*, and his *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy*. His chief work, published during his lifetime, was a *Treatise on Fluxions* (1742), in two volumes quarto, which had grown out of an answer to an attack made by Bishop Berkeley, upon the foundations of the calculus. In 1740 he had written an "Essay on the

<sup>1</sup> *Biographia Britannica*.

Tides," which shared with Daniel Bernoulli and Euler the prize of the French Academy. His last work was a tract *De Linearum Geometricarum proprietatibus generalibus*. "M'Laurin's discoveries in the department of pure Mathematics are of the most exquisite beauty; and at the same time he shows in his application of Mathematics to Physical problems that power of seizing the vitally important amidst a mass of irrelevant details, which is the highest qualification of the true Natural Philosopher."

After the death of M'Laurin the Patrons desired to appoint to the Chair of Mathematics James Stirling, well known for his contributions to the theory of series and interpolations, and for his *Commentary on Newton's Enumeration of Lines of the Third Order*. His Jacobite principles, however, led him to reject the offered appointment.

(5) MATTHEW STEWART was then elected to the vacant Chair. Though a genius of a much lower order than M'Laurin, he was nevertheless in his own field an able and original Mathematician. He had been trained by Dr. Simson at Glasgow, and had imbibed the severe taste of that celebrated expert in the Ancient Geometry. In the cultivation of the Geometrical Analysis of the Ancients Stewart was most successful, and his *General Theorems* remain much-admired monuments of his skill. Like his master Simson, he was jealous of the encroachments that Algebra was making on Geometry, and it was his constant aim to reduce to the level of ordinary Geometry problems that were supposed to require the higher calculus. With this view he wrote his *Tracts Physical and Mathematical*, in which he essayed the application of his pure Geometry to Physical questions. He undoubtedly achieved many important successes in this way; his solution of Kepler's Problem being one of the most remarkable. On the whole, however, it was unfortunate for the progress of science in Scotland that a man of Stewart's limited range should have succeeded the versatile M'Laurin.

In 1772 Matthew Stewart retired from the active duties of his office, and the teaching of his class was undertaken by his son (6) DUGALD STEWART, who, however, was not formally appointed joint Professor till 1775. Of Dugald Stewart's mathematical work little need be said; he appears to have been a good teacher, but his name and reputation in the University

belong rather to the department of Mental and Moral Science. In 1785 he took the place of Adam Ferguson in the Chair of Moral Philosophy.

Nominally the next Professor of Mathematics was Adam Ferguson, who exchanged Chairs with Dugald Stewart in order that he might get a sinecure; but a joint Professor who was appointed with him to the work was really the seventh Professor. This was (7) JOHN PLAYFAIR, 1785-1805, born in Forfarshire in 1748, and educated in the University of St. Andrews, where, while yet a Student, he was selected to deliver lectures for the Professor of Natural Philosophy. Having in early youth been an unsuccessful candidate for the Chairs of Mathematics in Marischall College and of Natural Philosophy at St. Andrews, he settled down as a parish clergyman in his father's living at Liff and Bennie. He was brought back into the scientific world by the accident of Maskelyne, the Astronomer, coming to Scotland to make his celebrated Schehallion experiment. Playfair made the acquaintance of Maskelyne, became intimate with him, visited him on his return, and was by him introduced into the scientific circles of London. While in England Playfair was struck with the backwardness of the English Mathematicians in adopting the results of the Continental analysts. While they boasted of Newton they were unable to follow him, and the mantle of Newton had indeed passed over to France, where it rested ultimately on the shoulders of Laplace.

Playfair accordingly set himself to diffuse among his countrymen a knowledge of the progress which science had been making abroad. This he did in a variety of ways: by his articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by his papers in the *Transactions* of learned Societies, by his articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, and by his class teaching. As David Gregory introduced the Newtonian philosophy, so Playfair introduced the Continental methods, into the studies of the University of Edinburgh.

Playfair's chief merit was not as a discoverer in pure Mathematics, in which department, however, he produced an *Essay on the Arithmetic of Impossible Quantities*, a paper on the *Causes which affect the accuracy of Barometric Measurements*, and an edition of Euclid's *Elements*. He had an immense scientific erudition, a calm intellect, and a clear style; and he was the



JOHN PLAYFAIR.  
FROM A BUST BY CHANTREY.



first of a succession of Edinburgh Professors who may be called "the Encyclopædists." He, and Leslie after him, did much to revive an almost forgotten branch of learning, namely, the History of Science; to this field Playfair's *Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science*, and his *Lives* of Matthew Stewart, Hutton, and Robison, were valuable contributions. In 1805 Playfair was transferred to the Chair of Natural Philosophy.

(8) JOHN LESLIE, the next Professor of Mathematics, was a native of Fife, and began by studying some time in the University of St. Andrews, and then he and a College friend, James Ivory (afterwards noted for Mathematical discoveries), came over together to finish their course in Edinburgh. Leslie served as mathematical tutor in the famous Wedgewood family, and became a writer in scientific journals. In 1800 he wrote a description of a differential thermometer which he had invented, and in 1804 published an *Essay on the Nature and Propagation of Heat*.

Leslie's candidature, in the following year, for the Chair of Mathematics, gave rise to a fierce contest which agitated Edinburgh society and the General Assembly of the Church. A City Minister, by name MacKnight, started as an opposition candidate, and was supported by the Presbytery, who professed to have discovered heterodox tendencies in certain passages of Leslie's book on *Heat*, though he himself disclaimed the inferences. The "Moderate" party in the Church, contrary to what might have been expected of them, were MacKnight's partisans. The scientific members of the University, headed by Playfair (who had himself been a clergyman), strongly protested against the appointment of a clergyman to a scientific Chair. A whole literature of pamphlets for and against Leslie was produced. The Town Council elected Leslie; and the Presbytery then put forward a claim, based on the Charter of James VI., to have a voice in the election, and applied to the Court of Session for an interdict to stop the induction of Leslie. In this they failed, and thereafter the dispute degenerated into a personal controversy within the General Assembly, where it was waged with the utmost bitterness for two days.

Leslie held the Mathematical Chair for fourteen years, and in 1819 became Professor of Natural Philosophy. He was a Mathematician of the school of Simson and Matthew Stewart;

that is to say, he was a Geometer, "in our modern insular sense," pure and simple. His *Geometry* was long a popular text-book, the most interesting part of it being an Appendix on Geometrical Analysis. In mathematical erudition he was scarcely inferior to Playfair. His *Philosophy of Arithmetic* and his *Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science* are enduring monuments of his greatness in this respect. His works, however, are all tinged with rhetoric and a consequent tendency to exaggeration. They also exhibit an occasional perversity which belonged to his markedly eccentric character.

(9) WILLIAM WALLACE was a self-educated and self-made man. He began life as a bookbinder's apprentice, and was successively journeyman bookbinder, warehouseman in a printing office, shopman to a bookseller, mathematical tutor, master in Perth Academy, Professor of Mathematics at Sandhurst, with Ivory as a colleague, and finally became Leslie's successor, 1819-1838, in the Edinburgh Chair of Mathematics, being elected in preference to Babbage, who was a candidate. Throughout his professorship he was recognised as an able and popular teacher. He is best known, perhaps, by his invention of the eidograph; but he was a fruitful writer on mathematical subjects generally. Many articles of his appear in the fourth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and he contributed many theorems of great elegance to pure Mathematics. It is a curious circumstance—showing how recently narrow views about University teaching were entertained—that in 1828 Professor Wallace moved the Senatus to represent to the Town Council that the establishment in the High School of "a class for teaching Arithmetic and Mathematics," which he understood to be in contemplation, was "likely to injure the Mathematical Chair" in the University.

(10) PHILIP KELLAND, 1838-1879, was the son of an English clergyman, and himself in Episcopal orders. He was Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman at Cambridge, and for three years Tutor of Queen's College. He was the first Englishman, with an entirely English education, who was ever appointed to a Chair in the University of Edinburgh. The experiment was justified by its success, for Kelland was not only a successful teacher, beloved by his Students, but he identified himself with the Scottish University system, recognised its merits, and depre-



cated reforms which might interfere with its essential character. He was never tired of working for education in Scotland, and it was a labour of love to him to act for many years as Examiner of Schools under the Dick Bequest. He was also for a long time Secretary to the Senatus Academicus. He was a most lovable personage, full of bright pleasantry, and at the same time the type and model of an Academic figure. He was in some respects a kindred spirit with Principal Lee, for whom he had a great regard. The thoroughness of his teaching was shown by the striking success of Edinburgh Students in competition for the Ferguson Mathematical Scholarship (see above, p. 124). But he was not only a teacher, he was a *savant* of high calibre, who promoted science in some of its remotest altitudes. This is shown by the list of papers which, during forty-one years, he read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He contributed to Physical Science investigations of the motion of waves in canals, and of various questions of physical optics; and he edited and reprinted the valuable *Lectures* of Thomas Young. But his *forte* lay in pure Mathematics; one of his most important papers was his "Memoir on the limits of our Knowledge respecting the Theory of Parallels," in which he dealt "with the subject now better known as absolute or non-Euclidean geometry;"<sup>1</sup> and "it would be scarcely possible to convey to those who have not busied themselves with pan-geometry (or the geometry of pure reason, as opposed to the geometry of experience—which is Euclid's) a full idea of the importance of this work of Kelland's, and of the evidence that it affords of his grasp of purely Mathematical speculation." Kelland published a text-book on *Algebra*, giving a rational account of its first principles; and, in conjunction with Professor Tait, he brought out an excellent elementary treatise on *Quaternions*. He died in harness, like a general in the hour of victory. Six months before his death he had been made President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. A fortnight before his death he had delivered the Promoter's Address to the Arts Graduates in the University; and no address of the kind was ever received with more warm and affectionate cheering.

<sup>1</sup> Obituary notice of Professor Kelland for the Royal Society of Edinburgh. by Professors Tait and Chrystal.

(11) In 1879 the present Professor of Mathematics, GEORGE CHRYSTAL, was elected by the Curators.

#### VIII.—REGIUS PROFESSORS OF DIVINITY AND CHURCH HISTORY.

We have seen before (Vol. I. p. 231) how a Regius Professorship (the first in Scotland) was created in the College of Edinburgh. The Sign-Manual of William III. (1694) having ordained that there should be "a second Professor of Divinity," nothing further was heard of the matter till the 10th November 1702, when, among the Regents and Masters of the College who came to qualify before the Magistrates by declaring allegiance to Queen Anne, appeared Mr. John Cumming, "Professor of Church History." The Lord Provost, at a meeting of Council on the 5th February 1703, observed that "Mr. Cumming was come into the College as a master of some profession, and that it was fit to see his gift and know his profession, that the Council may give rules and directions thereanent." Cumming's Commission, when presented, was received under protest that it was not to prejudice the rights of the Town Council as patrons of the College. A question arises whether Cumming received his Commission from Queen Anne, or had received it some time before from King William. The former supposition seems most probable, because the whole sum of £300 per annum granted by the King for the maintenance of twenty bursars and a second Professor, and payable from Whitsunday 1694, was to be paid into the hands of the College Treasurer and his successors. Therefore Cumming could not have drawn any salary as Professor, except through the Town Council, in which case they would have been cognisant of his existence as Professor, and could not have used the language which they did in 1703. And it is unreasonable to suppose that Cumming held the appointment for several years without applying for the salary. William III., for some reason, probably left the Chair which he had created unfilled. Perhaps Carstares was working to get a Dutch theologian put in; in short, we know not what happened.

At all events (1) JOHN CUMMING, 1702-1714, qualified for the first time as Professor in 1702, and appeared among the

Masters of the College at the Visitation of 15th February 1703. He was son of the minister of Auldearn, and grandson of the laird of Relugas (county Moray); his uncle, William Cumming, had been Regent of Humanity, and afterwards of Philosophy; a relative of his had been surgeon in William's army at the battle of the Boyne.<sup>1</sup> It is just possible that this last circumstance had something to do with his appointment. We may conjecture that on Anne's accession Carstares, relieved from weightier cares, got this matter pushed through. Cumming is said to have given lectures on Church History till his death, but of his teaching we know nothing, and he left no publications.

(2) WILLIAM DUNLOP, 1715-1720, was for a brief space a distinguished occupant of the Chair. He was younger son of Principal Dunlop of Glasgow, and nephew of Carstares. He graduated M.A. at Glasgow, and then prosecuted Theology under his uncle's roof in Edinburgh, after which he went to Utrecht to study Civil Law. He was only twenty-three years old, and a probationer of half a year's standing, when, probably by the influence of Carstares, he had the vacant Professorship of Church History conferred upon him. He proved himself well worthy of it; a controversy having arisen as to the necessity for Confessions of Faith, Dunlop, in 1719, brought out *A Collection of Confessions of Faith* with an elaborate preface, which was published separately, as *A full account of the several ends and uses of Confessions of Faith*, and went through several editions. To show the fairness of mind with which this work was composed, it may be mentioned that his adversaries admitted that he had "written as well as the bad cause he had undertaken would bear," while some of those who were on his own side, in supporting the symbolical books of the Church, complained that he had betrayed their cause and advocated universal toleration. There is ample testimony that he was a highly-gifted and attractive teacher. Two posthumous volumes of his *Discourses* having been published in 1722, a publisher's intimation held out the prospect that his *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History* would be given to the world, as "fully more excellent of their kind" than his sermons. But unfortunately this was not done. His bright career was closed at the early age of twenty-eight.

<sup>1</sup> Shaw's *History of Moray*, p. 94.

(3) MATTHEW CRAUFURD, 1721-1736, was son of a minister of Eastwood, who had compiled a History of the Church of Scotland, which, never having been published, remains in two folio MS. volumes in the Library of the General Assembly. Whether this assisted the son's claim to the Chair of Church History we know not; but Matthew Craufurd must have been bookish, as he was "Library Keeper" to the University of Glasgow. Wodrow, who was his co-presbyter in the country, seems not to have held him in high esteem. Writing in March 1731, Wodrow said: "He has £100, and really does nothing for it. He will give no private colleges but for money, and nobody comes to him. His public prelections are not frequented; he will not have six or seven hearers." Attendance on the Church History class being left optional to Divinity Students, it required an attractive lecturer to muster them in any number.

The next Professor (4) PATRICK CUMMING, 1737-1762, was another member of the Relugas family, who afterwards succeeded his father in the family estate. He received a Royal Commission, which styled him "Second Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History." Bower<sup>1</sup> complains of this, saying that, as the Principal is *ex officio Primarius*, the Professor of Church History can only be *third* Professor of Divinity. He forgets, however, that the Principal in those days was honorary Professor of Theology, and not of Divinity. It is indicated in the records which lie under the foundation-stone of the University that the Professor of Divinity and Church History took rank in the *Senatus* next after the Principal and the Professor of Divinity (see above, p. 200). Patrick Cumming was a power in the Church of Scotland; "distinguished by erudition, liberality of sentiment, and extensive benevolence, not less than by his talents as a public speaker, he acquired such influence in the Church as to have the chief management in her affairs from almost the time of his settlement in the city" (as Minister of St. Giles', 1732) "till 1751, through the support of the noble family of Argyll, then holding in their hands the Government of Scotland."<sup>2</sup> He was three times Moderator of the General Assembly. In his Chair he gave lectures to the extent of one a week for four months in the year,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. ii. p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Scott's *Fasti*, p. 15.

taking as his text-book *Jo. Alphonsi Turretini Compendium Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, but very few Students attended him.

He resigned the Chair on the 18th June 1862, in favour of his son (5) ROBERT CUMMING, "who never, as far as I know," says Bower,<sup>1</sup> "delivered any lectures." This Robert Cumming, then, holding the Chair as he did for six-and-twenty years, reduced it to an absolute sinecure, while all the while claiming precedence in the first rank of University Professors.

His successor (6) THOMAS HARDY, 1788-1798, Minister of the New North Church, took a very different view of his duties. He had acquired great fame as a preacher, and "as soon as it was known that he was to deliver a course of lectures on Ecclesiastical History, great expectations were formed concerning them, and the public were not disappointed. He excited a spirit among the students which had never been known before, and his class became one of the best attended in the University. His lectures might rather be called the Philosophy of Ecclesiastical History."<sup>2</sup> He appears to have used no text-book, but to have drawn for himself a vivid picture of the Christian Church in different ages, employing "a refined satire" against the early sceptics and against the corruptions of the clergy in later times. Curiously enough, he would allow no notes to be taken of his lectures. He probably intended to publish them, but this was never done. In 1793 he was asked to write something which might counteract in this country the anarchical sentiments which had been encouraged by the French Revolution, and he then produced an effective pamphlet entitled *The Patriot*. He died prematurely in his fifty-first year.

(7) The next Professor, Dr. HUGH MEIKLEJOHN, 1799-1831, was a less gifted personage. Sir R. Christison describes him as "a powerfully-made man of six feet four, with a smooth round face, that never bore any expression but that of good humour and contentment." He was chiefly famous, as to his lectures, for "an extraordinary monotony of delivery," of which a Student gave Sir Robert the following illustration:—"In the next century of the Christian era Mr. Ritchie I am astonished at you an event occurred that deserves our attentive consideration;" this passage having been spoken without either pause or modulation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. ii. p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 274.

voice. Dr. Meiklejohn, in conjunction with his Chair, held the living of Abercorn, about eight miles from Edinburgh. He was thus able, when he entertained his Students at breakfast, to press upon them the produce of his glebe: "Take an egg, Mr. Smith," he would say, "they are *my own eggs*; for the Edinburgh eggs are not to be depended upon." Besides three single sermons, Dr. Meiklejohn published an account of the Parish of Abercorn.

(8) DAVID WELSH, 1831-1843, who was next appointed to the Chair of Church History, was a most eminent and admirable divine, who, as colleague to Dr. Chalmers, added great strength to the Theological Faculty of the University of Edinburgh, and who, by his just views of his duties as a Professor, combined with great ability, gave a new start to the study of Church History in Scotland, and rescued it from an almost contempt into which it had fallen. Dr. Welsh, the son of an extensive sheep-farmer, was born in 1793 at Braefoot in the Parish of Moffat. He went in his thirteenth year to the High School of Edinburgh, and in his fifteenth to the University, where he studied under Professors A. Christison, Dunbar, David Ritchie (Logic), and Dr. Thomas Brown, whose lectures were to Welsh "the garden spot in his College career"; his mind was captivated and stimulated by them, and becoming the intimate friend, as well as the pupil, of Dr. Thomas Brown, he in 1825 brought out a *Memoir* of that interesting and prematurely deceased philosopher. Welsh received "license" in 1816, but continued to study and teach classics and Mathematics till 1820, when he was presented to the living of Crossmichael, and he there gained renown as a preacher and as a Parish Minister; in 1827 the Town Council of Glasgow called him to the Church of St. David's within their city, which charge he held till 1831, when he received his appointment to be Professor from the Town Council of Edinburgh.

Welsh's published sermons are effective appeals, couched in the clearest language; acceptable as they were, their delivery cost too much to a man of so delicate an organisation. Welsh said that the effort of preaching once rendered him unfit for mental exertion for two or three days afterwards. A University Chair was exactly suited for him, and he gladly devoted himself to the duties of that of Church History. Unlike previous Theological

Professors, he declined all ministerial work, and confined himself to the study of his subject; with this view in 1834 he went for several months to Germany. Every session he altered and added to his lectures so much as almost to write them anew. His full course was one of three years, the first year's lectures embracing the history of the Church down to Constantine; the second year's, that of the rise of the Papal power down to the thirteenth century; the third, that of the subsequent fortunes of the Papacy and of the Reformation in most of the countries of Europe. He embodied the best results of German investigations, and he diligently examined his class both orally and in writing. His Students were interested and stimulated, and a proof of this exists in the *Edinburgh Academic Annual for 1840*, to which Mr. James Dodds (now Free Church Minister of Dunbar) contributed a solid and well-written paper "On the Study of Church History," reflecting the teaching of Dr. Welsh, whose class Mr. Dodds had recently attended.

Welsh, though free from parish duty, became a constant and prominent member in the General Assembly, and obtained from Government the appointment of the Bible Board for Scotland, of which he was the first Secretary. Being Moderator in 1842, it fell to him in April 1843 to open the Assembly, to read the "Protest" of the Free Church party, and to head the exodus of Ministers who, on that historical occasion, marched out of St. Andrew's Church to the hall where they constituted themselves the General Assembly of a new-born Church. Welsh, though in weak and shattered health, went through the trying and momentous scene with dignity and spirit. Thereafter he resigned his Chair in the University, to the great regret of the Senatus. He was greatly instrumental in founding "New College," in which he became, of course, Professor of Church History. In 1844 he published his *Elements of Church History*, being a first instalment of a never completed work. He also projected, and became first editor of, the *North British Review*; but he died in 1845.<sup>1</sup>

(9) JAMES ROBERTSON, 1844-1860, succeeded Dr. Welsh, when the Disruption had carried him off, in the Chair of Church

<sup>1</sup> The above particulars are chiefly from a Memoir of Dr. Welsh by A. Dunlop, Esq., Advocate, prefixed to a posthumous volume of his sermons (1846).

History and in the Secretaryship to the Bible Board. Robertson was educated at Marischall College, became Head-Master of Gordon's Hospital, Aberdeen, and afterwards obtained the living of Ellon. He was long known in the General Assembly, where he was a powerful debater, as "Robertson of Ellon." He was described as "an admirable specimen of the acute, clear-headed, business-like Scottish character." His name is chiefly associated with the Extension Scheme of the Church of Scotland, for which he worked with so much energy as to raise half a million of money for the object in view. He was always greatly interested in the currency question; he began his career by a pamphlet on the subject, and shortly before his death read an elaborate paper on it before the Social Science Meeting at Glasgow. When made Professor of Church History in his forty-first year, he turned from practical matters to the zealous study of his subject. He used to dictate his lectures to an amanuensis till after midnight, and then rose at four o'clock to go on with his investigations, with a view to which he learned German for the first time. He began his course (which extended over four years) with Abraham, and carried it down to Luther. He had a loving spirit, and treated even the heretics with indulgence, as having something good about them. The idea pervading his course appears to have been that of a continuous development in the education of the human race, though he did not push this idea so far as Lessing. Dr. Robertson had long over-taxed his powers; he died at the age of fifty-seven.<sup>1</sup>

(10) WILLIAM STEVENSON, 1861-1872, was a bibliophile, and a "book-minded," scholarly, and learned man, though his learning was rather of the antiquarian kind which delights in *minutiae*. He was brought from the Ministry of North Leith, in his fifty-sixth year, to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History. As Professor, "he chose the method of taking in each Session a limited period in the Church's history and illustrating this in the most minute manner. Every heresy or controversy that had cropped up in the period selected received due attention, and was illustrated by rare works which Stevenson had collected for the purpose.

<sup>1</sup> The above imperfect account is taken from an Obituary Notice in the *Proceedings of R.S.E.*, 1861, and from Professor Charteris' *Life of the Rev. James Robertson, D.D.*, etc. (1863).



In his first session the period embraced in his lectures was only from A.D. 30 to 100.<sup>1</sup> A good deal might be said both for and against this mode of lecturing to Students on Church History. It had the effect of obliging the Professor to write new lectures for each year; he sometimes wrote seventy new lectures in one session, in which a great deal of curious information was embodied. Having ample means, he amassed a considerable library. His only printed work was one on *The Legends and Commemorative Celebrations of St. Kentigern, his Friends and Disciples* (1872). He associated himself keenly in some of the archæological investigations of Sir James Simpson. He was an active member of the Library Committee of the University, and was always distinguished by the urbanity of his manner. On his resignation from failing health (11) ROBERT WALLACE, Minister of Greyfriars, was appointed; but in 1876 he went off into other pursuits, and was succeeded by (12) MALCOLM C. TAYLOR, the present Professor of Divinity and Church History.

#### IX.—REGIUS PROFESSORS OF PUBLIC LAW AND THE LAW OF NATURE AND NATIONS.

In 1707 (see Vol. I. p. 232) a second Regius Professorship was added to the College of Edinburgh by Queen Anne. The endowment for this Chair was provided by the suppression of fifteen out of twenty Divinity Bursaries which had been created by William III. from Bishops' teinds. "It now becomes of more use and benefit to our ancient Kingdom," said Queen Anne, "to establish and settle a foundation for a Professor of the Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations." Accordingly (1) CHARLES ARESKINE, son of Sir Charles Areskine of Alva, was appointed Professor. He had previously been made Regent of Philosophy (1701), when twenty years old. Great obscurity hangs over the circumstances of this creation and appointment. On the one hand we find a certain amount of interest shown by Students in the College in lectures upon the Law of Nature and Nations, and this may have led Carstares to recommend, or

<sup>1</sup> From the Obituary Notice of Professor Stevenson by Mr. Small in the *Proceedings* of R.S.E., viii. p. 314.

approve, the establishment of a Chair of those subjects with Public Law added. On the other hand, the whole thing may have been, as Dalzel suggests, a job, carried through by Areskine's influence with Archibald, Earl of Islay (afterwards Duke of Argyll), then High Treasurer of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> It must be said that the latter view is favoured by the way in which the Chair was used by Areskine as soon as he had obtained it. A brief inaugural address by him remains, written in Latin, upon God as the fountain of Law, but there is no other evidence of his having taught. He apparently used the salary of his Professorship as a means of studying Law at Utrecht, and so qualifying himself for the Scottish Bar. He was admitted Advocate in 1711, and though he immediately obtained considerable success in his profession, he still appears to have spent much of his time on the Continent. By being abroad in 1715 he avoided being drawn into the Jacobite rising, which several of his relatives took part in. He travelled about a great deal with his brother, Robert Areskine, physician to Peter the Great, and he wrote in joke to his wife that "she must be thinking he has taken service with the Czar of Muscovy."<sup>2</sup> At home he rose successively to be Solicitor-General, Lord Advocate, Judge (under the title of Lord Tinwald), and in 1748 Lord Justice Clerk. He died highly respected in 1762.

The Chair of Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations was more richly endowed than any other in the University; certain specific Bishops' rents having been allocated to it, the salary of the Chair often rose to be more than £300 a year. But the example of the first Professor, who held it for twenty-seven years without doing anything in it, was frequently followed afterwards. The Chair came to be looked upon as a sinecure, and was bought and sold, the Lord Advocate for the time being lending himself to these arrangements, and conferring the appointment upon the person who was willing to buy out an existing Professor.

(2) In 1734, on Areskine's resignation, WILLIAM KIRKPATRICK succeeded him, but he only held the Chair for one year,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bower, vol. ii. p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> These particulars were kindly communicated by A. Erskine Murray, Esq., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanark, a descendant of Lord Tinwald's.

and from MS. letters in possession of the R.S.E. from Hume to Adam Smith and to Dr. Jardine, we learn that he sold it for £1000 to the next Professor, Abercromby.

(3) From 1735 to 1759 GEORGE ABERCROMBY of Tullibody was Professor of Public Law, and in 1741, as we have seen (Vol. I. p. 289), was lecturing on Grotius' *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. He was father of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and ancestor of the present Lord Abercromby. Hume, in 1858, wanted Adam Smith to purchase the Chair for £1000, but this was not done, and in 1759, Abercromby made it over to his son-in-law (4) ROBERT BRUCE, who was Professor for five years, and afterwards became a Judge under the title of Lord Kennet. He was great-great-grandfather to the present Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

In 1764 Dr. Hugh Blair, the Professor of Rhetoric, wrote to David Hume (then in Paris): "In our College we are making a great improvement. In consequence of a bargain made with James Russell, Bruce, the Professor of the Law of Nature and Nations, goes out, Balfour of Pilrig moves into his place, Ferguson into the Chair of Moral Philosophy, and Russell into that of Natural. Is not this clever?"<sup>1</sup>

The transaction thus described by Blair evidently required the connivance, not only of the Lord Advocate, but also of the Town Council. The Chair of Public Law, etc., was evidently regarded as a convenient shelf for an inefficient Professor of Moral Philosophy. It would not matter if an incompetent man were put into a Chair which was a sinecure, while it would be a great advantage to put Adam Ferguson into the Chair of Moral Philosophy. Probably both Russell and Balfour contributed to buy out Bruce, and Russell got the Professorship of Natural Philosophy.

(5) JAMES BALFOUR held the Chair of Public Law, etc., for fifteen years. For this appointment he had the qualification of being an Advocate, and of having studied to some extent Ethical Philosophy. But whether or not he lectured is not known. In 1779 he sold the Professorship to (6) ALLAN MACONOCHE, afterwards Judge under the title of Lord Meadowbank, among whose papers the following document has been found:—"Edin<sup>r</sup>: March 3, 1780. I hereby acknowledge to have rec<sup>d</sup>. from Mr. Allan

<sup>1</sup> MS. letter in possession of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Maconochie two bills payable to me in April next for a sum amounting in whole to a hundred and ten pounds sterling, as also another bill for four hundred and twelve pounds eighteen shillings and two pence sterling payable first of December next, which bills, together with a thousand pounds sterling already paid by him, are in full of the price to be paid by him for my Professorship, according to our agreement, and the same is accordingly discharged by me.

JAS. BALFOUR."

Thus Maconochie paid to Balfour for the Chair of Public Law £1522 : 18 : 2, being about five years' purchase of the salary if it then amounted to £300. Maconochie held the Chair for seventeen years, and he certainly lectured with no want of ability, but without succeeding in attracting a class. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Jeffrey told the Commissioners of 1826, in reference to the class of the Law of Nature and Nations: "It was taught by a succession of able persons in this University, among others by the late Lord Meadowbank, than whom no man was more full of discursive knowledge and originality; yet in his hands, as well as those of his successors, it proved in practice a complete failure, so that they could hardly get through the course with a larger attendance than is now round the table of the Commissioners." Bower<sup>1</sup> tells us that Maconochie only lectured for two sessions, owing to the extensive increase of his practice at the Bar.

In fact, the Class of Public Law, etc., seems to have held a position in the University similar to that of Civil History. It was regarded as a *dilettante* class, capable of being made interesting, but neither necessary for any form of graduation nor likely to be serviceable for the ends of professional life. It could only have been made attractive to the Students by a man of genius, who devoted himself to expounding the philosophy of Law. Whereas the Chair was held by a succession of Advocates who were engaged in successfully pushing their way to the Scottish Bench, and who naturally treated their Academical position and duties as of minor importance. It is no wonder, then, that the Class was a failure.

When Jeffrey spoke of "the successors" of Lord Meadowbank he spoke inaccurately, for Lord Meadowbank, down to 1826 had only one successor. This was (7) ROBERT HAMILTON,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 215.

a Principal Clerk of Session, who held the Chair from 1796 to 1831, treating it as a complete sinecure, and never lecturing. Yet as the teinds belonging to the Professorship had now run low, he succeeded in persuading the Government to give him compensation in the shape of a consolidated annuity of £200.<sup>1</sup> On Hamilton's death the Crown made no new appointment to the Chair, which accordingly dropped out of existence until it was revived by the Commissioners of 1858-1862, who ordained that "the Professor of Public Law shall deliver a course of not less than forty lectures on International Law during the Winter Session of the University yearly, and to the Professorship shall be attached a salary of £250 to be annually voted by Parliament." On the 15th May 1862 a Commission of Queen Victoria appointed (8) JAMES LORIMER; and his class, being necessary for the LL.B. degree, has been well attended ever since. In 1881 the Senatus Academicus successfully pleaded before the Court of Session that £150 per annum of Bishops' rents should be restored to the salary of the Chair in addition to the Parliamentary vote.

#### X.—PROFESSORS OF HUMANITY.

In 1708 (Vol. I. p. 262) the great reorganisation of the Arts Faculty took place, by which the Regent of Humanity was turned into a Professor, and the four Regents of Philosophy were respectively made Professors of Greek, Logic, Natural Philosophy, and Moral Philosophy. At the time when this change was made LAURENCE DUNDAS was Regent of Humanity, a post which he had held since 1690. He now became the first Professor of Humanity (*i.e.* Latin), and held the new Chair for twenty years. In his first class (1709-10) he matriculated 69 Students, and continued afterwards to have a class numbering between 50 and 60. He

<sup>1</sup> The Barons of Exchequer, in recommending that this personal grant should be made by the Treasury, said: "We think it our duty, however, to inform your Lordships that (in consequence of circumstances in no manner connected with Mr. Hamilton's qualifications for the proper discharge of the duties of Professor of Public Law, but arising from the neglect of the study of that branch of law in this country) no lectures have been read by that gentleman or by his predecessors in that Chair for a considerable number of years." Hamilton was not examined before the Commission of 1826. He must have been an old man then.

taught in the University altogether twenty-seven years "with great reputation." In 1727 he proposed to resign in favour of Adam Watt, son of his old friend, the City Clerk of Edinburgh. Delegates from the Town Council and the College of Justice (see Vol. I. p. 192) agreed to this proposal, "provided that Mr. Watt be found qualified," which he was. Laurence Dundas died in 1734, leaving "a considerable fortune." Among other legacies he bequeathed 9000 merks (£500) as a perpetual fund for educating three bursars, with a preference to persons with the surname of Dundas. The Professor was of good family. His great-nephew, Sir Thomas, became Lord Dundas.<sup>1</sup>

(2) ADAM WATT, having been elected as above-mentioned, held the Chair till his death in 1734. During Watt's last illness "the notorious Lauder," who by forged Latin poems had tried to fix a charge of plagiarism upon Milton, was employed to teach the Humanity class, and he became a candidate for the Chair when it was vacant; but the Delegates preferred (3) JOHN KER, 1734-1741, who was in many respects an interesting person. About 1710 he had been made a Master in the High School of Edinburgh, and in 1717 he was chosen to be the first Professor of Greek in King's College, Aberdeen. He was an intimate friend of Dr. Pitcairne, and wrote Latin poems on the subject of the Doctor's death.<sup>2</sup> In 1725 he published *Donaides*, celebrating some of those who had been educated in King's College. Bower says that no copy of this poem can be found. In 1727 he produced a Latin version of the *Song of Solomon*. In 1734 he came back to Edinburgh, advanced in age, to take the Chair of Humanity, which he held for only seven years. His programme of classes for 1741 was given above (Vol. I. p. 266). He died in the latter part of that same year. Dr. A. Carlyle, as we saw (Vol. I. p. 275), spoke highly of his efficiency as a teacher. He was one of those who promoted a revival of Latin in Scotland at the beginning of last century. In 1658 Leighton had complained of its decadence.

(4) The Chair of Humanity was next held by GEORGE STUART, 1741-1775. The City Register contains an amusing story of his election. There were two candidates for the Chair,

<sup>1</sup> Dalzel, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> These particulars are from Bower, vol. ii. pp. 296-304.

a Mr. Foulis and Stuart, and these two were waiting in an ante-chamber of the Advocates' Library to be summoned to a competitive trial before the Delegates, when they "agreed to transmit a message to the electors, stating that each believed the other to be qualified, and that they were rather inclined to refer it to their own choice, without putting them to additional trouble." The candidates thus escaped the ordeal of examination (which must always be irksome to a man in mature life), and Stuart was elected. Of him George Chalmers says<sup>1</sup> that "after thirty years' labour he had finished a Latin Dictionary, which is more copious than Ainsworth's and more elaborate than Littleton's." Bower, however,<sup>2</sup> tells us that "a new edition of Ainsworth which had just been published prevented him from going to press" with it. His long labour was probably not thrown away; it must have borne fruit in his class, where Bower says that "he strained every nerve to kindle in the minds of the youth the same passionate admiration of the writings of the classics which he himself possessed in so eminent a degree." He seems to have been a powerful lecturer; Dalzel (*Scots Magazine*, 1802) says "he might have been characterised in the words which Scaliger applied to Juvenal, *Ardet, instat, jugulat*." He was father to the celebrated Dr. Gilbert Stuart.

In 1775 Professor Stuart, under sanction of the Town Council, made a bargain with (5) Dr. JOHN HILL, by which the former was to receive the whole salary and part of the fees of the Chair of Humanity, and the latter was to do all the work as joint Professor, and to succeed to the Chair on Stuart's death. Stuart, however, contrived to live eighteen years afterwards. Hill had previously been Professor of Humanity at St. Andrews; he held the Chair in Edinburgh till 1805. In his senior class he used, besides reading Latin authors, to give two lectures a week on Roman antiquities. And he published a large work on *Latin Synonymes*. In teaching he took great pains to discriminate nice shades of difference in Latin words. He wrote a *Life of Dr. Hugh Blair*, which appeared posthumously in 1807. He was said to have had a great flow of spirits, and to have been "an excellent punster."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> The above particulars are from Bower, vol. iii. pp. 188, 189.

(6) ALEXANDER CHRISTISON, 1806-1820. This worthy father of a distinguished son was one of the instances, so numerous in the history of Scotland, of native intellect, combined with force of character, and aided by the parochial school and University system of the country, forcing its way out of disadvantageous circumstances into the higher walks of life. Alexander Christison, having got the rudiments of Latin at a parish school in Berwickshire, was, for the rest, chiefly self-educated, till about his twentieth year, when he was deemed fit himself to be made parish school-master, first of AuldCambus, and then of Edrom. In his twenty-second year he came to the University of Edinburgh as a Student about the time of Hill's beginning to teach (1775). He did not graduate,<sup>1</sup> that not being the fashion, but was highly distinguished as a Scholar, which led to his being appointed one of the Masters in George Watson's Hospital, afterwards Master of the Dalkeith Grammar School, and in 1785 Master in the High School of Edinburgh. Here he left his mark; for by a pamphlet which he published on the subject, he procured the teaching of Greek in the school for boys in their fourth year. This very proper arrangement had always been, and was still, resisted by the University as an infringement of their monopoly. But it was now at last carried through. Christison had such reputation as a teacher in the High School that on Hill's death he was unanimously chosen Professor of Humanity by the Delegates. There had been no other candidate, but Dr. Adam, Rector of the High School, told Bower<sup>2</sup> that he was disappointed that the Chair had not been offered to him. Christison was a most conscientious Professor, and he was said to have illustrated his lectures very widely from the general stores of literature and science which he had accumulated. Sir Robert Christison says of him: "At a late period of life my father betook himself ardently to mathematical study, which became ever afterwards his main relaxation from his classical and professorial labours. In the course of a few years he made himself known as one of the most profound amateur mathematicians in Scotland." This not only serves to show the great activity of Alexander Christison's intellect, but it also seems to indicate that the bent of his mind was rather

<sup>1</sup> In 1806, on his appointment as Professor, he was made Honorary M.A.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. iii. p. 300.



in the direction of science than scholarship, though circumstances made him Professor of Humanity. Sir Robert mentions that when he and his twin brother were attending the University his father "was rather shy in drawing out his two sons" in the Latin class; and he publicly intimated that they were not to compete for the annual prizes. Sir Robert calculates that his father had sacrificed at least £1000 during fifteen years, "through an amiable weakness," by giving free class-tickets to any one who chose to ask. Sir Robert was proud of his father's original descent from some Norwegian pirate or Viking (the name Christison not being Scotch but Scandinavian), and said that his father was "a genuine Scandinavian in frame," and had been reputed "the strongest man in his parish."

(7) JAMES PILLANS, 1820-1863, was a character widely known and respected in Scotland. He was a born teacher and educationist; he used to say that he was never perfectly happy except when teaching; he loved his pupils, and their name was legion; and as he remained for forty-three years Professor of Humanity he was able towards the end of that time to count up with pride the number of his colleagues in the Senatus who had been his pupils. Born in 1779 he was second in the High School of Edinburgh to Francis Horner. After going through the University course he had various private engagements as tutor, and in this capacity was settled for some time at Eton, where he had an opportunity of studying the English public school system. The result of this experience, which he brought back with him to Scotland, was an appreciation of the educational value of Greek and Latin verse-making. Both as Rector of the High School and as Professor in the University, he cultivated this accomplishment in his pupils. We have already mentioned (p. 84) the scholarship of John Brown Patterson as a product of the method of Pillans. On the other hand, Pillans discerned a narrowness and barrenness in the Eton mode of teaching the classics. His own prelections in the University comprised Literature, Ancient Art, History, and Geography, with Grammar, often treated as Universal Grammar. Thus there was a richness and manliness about his teaching quite above what is supposed to be the method of a schoolmaster. And yet it was perhaps as a schoolmaster and an educationist that Pillans won his greatest fame.

On the death of Dr. Adam in 1809 he was made Rector of the High School, by the advice of Francis Horner and President Blair. And for ten years he was so successful in his teaching and management of the school that foreigners came to Edinburgh expressly to visit his classes. On the death of Professor Christison he succeeded him in the Chair of Humanity, and no Professor ever made greater exertions for his class than Pillans did. He drew largely on his moderate resources for the purchase of maps and engravings for the illustration of ancient Geography and Art, and for providing Medals to be competed for by his Students. And he spent £200 or £300 on establishing a Class Library. He did not aim at making exact critical Scholars, for becoming which the previous preparation of most of his class did not qualify them. But his old pupils look back to Pillans' class-room as their first and best school of literary culture, a school of *litera humaniores* in the best sense.

Outside the University he did much good by promoting educational reform in Scotland. He was one of the first to advocate Governmental inspection of schools and the institution of Normal Seminaries. He had entirely superseded the use of corporal punishment in his own class in the High School, and he did much towards promoting in Scotland humane views of school discipline. His most important papers on these subjects have been collected in a volume entitled *Contributions to the Cause of Education*.<sup>1</sup> On his retirement from his Chair, in 1863, at the age of eighty-four, (8) WILLIAM YOUNG SELLAR, the present Professor of Humanity, was appointed.

#### XI.—PROFESSORS OF GREEK.

(1) WILLIAM SCOTT, 1708-1729. We have seen above (Vol. I. pp. 233, 260) that this person, who had been Regent in the College from 1695, lectured on the Law of Nature and Nations in 1706, and failing to obtain the Chair of that subject in 1707, received a Royal patent to be sole teacher of Greek, which patent gave rise to the abolition of the Regenting system,

<sup>1</sup> The substance of the above account of Pillans has been kindly furnished by Professor Laurie.

and the establishment of Professors of separate subjects in the Faculty of Arts. William Scott then was made the first Professor of Greek, and he held the Chair for twenty-one years. The average number of students attending his class, as also that of each of the other Professors, appears to have been about fifty. Of his teaching nothing is recorded. In 1729, on the death of Law, the Professor of Ethics, Scott claimed to succeed to the vacant Chair, which by the Act of 1708 he was entitled to do.

(2) His son, WILLIAM SCOTT *secundus*, after trial before Hamilton, the Professor of Divinity; Charles Areskine, Professor of Public Law, and then Solicitor-General; and Colin Drummond, the Professor of Logic, was then appointed Professor of Greek, but he died within a year.

(3) COLIN DRUMMOND, 1730-1738, was of the family of Megginch, and related to George Drummond. He had been made Regent in 1707, and next year got the new Chair of Logic. On the death of William Scott *secundus*, he decided to make a change, and so claimed the Greek Chair. In 1734 he petitioned the Town Council to enforce the rule laid down by the Universities' Commission of 1699, and make attendance on the Greek class compulsory. But they declined to do so as long as the rule was not enforced in Glasgow. Drummond also made a complaint that the other Professors infringed his monopoly by giving "colleges" in Greek. Dr. A. Carlyle described Drummond as having been in 1735 an infirm old man who "used substitutes." In 1738 Robert Law was appointed joint Professor of Greek to do the work of the class, and Drummond then confined himself to the light labour of "teaching the students of Chirurgery, Anatomy, or Medicine such Greek books as relate to their business only" (see above Vol. I. p. 266). Law, who had never become Professor, died of consumption in 1741. And then (4) ROBERT HUNTER was appointed joint Professor in his place. Hunter ultimately succeeded to the Chair, and held it till 1772. Hunter, it was said, had "given proof of his qualifications by teaching Greek privately within this city with great applause." He had to give up all the salary of the Chair to Drummond, and in 1745, on his representing that the fees of his class were not equal to what he had made by private teaching, the Town Coun-

cil allowed him 400 merks a year till Drummond's death. They also allotted him seven chambers in the College buildings, on condition that he should spend £50 on repairing them. He was said to have taken "particular care that the Students should be well grounded in the elements, the generality of young men who entered the first Greek class possessing no previous knowledge of the language."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Somerville,<sup>2</sup> however, put this in a less complimentary way, saying of Hunter that "his method of teaching did not differ materially from that of most country schoolmasters." We learn from Dalzel (*Scots Magazine*, 1802) that Hunter, curiously enough, used to spend the first six weeks of the session in reading *Latin* with his class (generally Livy and Lucan), as if the session were too long to be spent in Greek! But Latin was his *forte*; Dalzel thought him a "much more accurate and profound" Latin scholar than Stuart, the Professor of Humanity. In 1772 Hunter sold his Chair to (5) ANDREW DALZEL for £300 and a liferent of the salary. The Town Council, sanctioning this arrangement, gave Dalzel a commission as joint Professor on the 21st December 1772. It may be observed that on the 14th November previously Principal Robertson had protested against Dr. Adam, Rector of the High School, being allowed to open a class for teaching the elements of the Greek language. He and the Senatus claimed that the High School should continue to be only a Latin school. This protest appears to have been prompted by Hunter, and to have been his farewell contribution to the Chair of Greek. The Town Council, however, declined to interfere with Adam's teaching Greek grammar to his own class, and Alexander Christison, as we have seen (p. 317), got this extended to all High School boys in their fourth year.

The circumstances of Dalzel's appointment form a strange contrast to the election of a Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh at the present day. The patrons then did not look for a specialist; they allowed one who bore a good character as having been a hard-working and able Student in the University, and who, as tutor in the family of Lord Lauderdale, had probably been influentially recommended, to make a bargain and step into the Chair. They only required that he should show himself to

<sup>1</sup> Bower, vol. ii. p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Times*, p. 11.

be decently qualified to succeed a Professor like Hunter. Accordingly a week before the date of his commission Dalzel (aged twenty-nine) was examined "in Latin as well as Greek" by Professors Hamilton (Divinity), Stuart (Humanity), and Ferguson (Moral Philosophy), and pronounced competent. Dalzel held the Chair for thirty-four years (1772-1806), and during that time he was not only a very successful and highly esteemed Professor, but he conferred great honour on the University by doing something to raise the study of Greek in Scotland. He devoted himself to his subject, and during many years was engaged in producing his *Collectanea Græca*, consisting of annotated selections from the Greek authors, which, being the first work of the kind, was greatly welcomed by scholars and educationists, especially in England. The prose volume of this collection was published in 1785. In the preface Dalzel said: "*Labor quidem humilis, laus vero non item, si modo hoc opusculum vel tantulum conferre valuerit ad studium promovendum Græcarum literarum, quibus apud nos deficientibus, cito deficiet omnis doctrina politior; iisdem vigentibus, omnes etiam artes quæ ad humanitatem pertinent una vigebunt.*" Polite letters and taste in Scotland had certainly suffered from the neglect of Hellenic culture. And wise men, even if not themselves scholars, hailed an attempt to resuscitate these studies. Thus the aged Dr. Alexander Monro *primus*, was heard to observe that "Mr. Dalzel had more to brag of than any man in the College, for Greek was going fast down-hill till he revived it." Dalzel's *Collectanea* obtained so much attention that they brought him into correspondence with many great English and foreign scholars. The interesting memoir of him by Cosmo Innes gives several of the letters which he received from Böttiger, Heyre, Porson, Parr, Cyril Jackson, etc. The Edinburgh Greek scholar was in fact recognised as belonging to the European confraternity.

Besides his own speedily-acquired reputation, Dalzel had the advantage of holding his Chair during the up-spring of the University under Robertson. In 1784 he wrote: "I have at present about 180 students attending me, which is the greatest Greek class ever was heard of since the foundation of our College." He was then full Professor, but his emoluments were only about £400 and a house,—or rather quarters in the Gate-tower, which

was pulled down to make way for the new buildings in 1790. Lord Cockburn, who had attended Dalzel's class, said that "At the mere teaching of a language to boys, he was ineffective.— Nevertheless, though not a good schoolmaster, it is a duty, and delightful, to record Dalzel's value as a general exciter of boys' minds. He could never make us actively laborious. But when we sat passive and listened to him, he inspired us with a vague but sincere ambition of literature, and with delicious dreams of virtue and poetry."

In 1785 Dalzel was made Librarian of the University, and Secretary to the Senatus Academicus. In both offices he rendered valuable services for many years. In 1788 he was elected Clerk to the General Assembly, after a severe contest for the post between himself and Dr. A. Carlyle of Inveresk. "When the vote of the Assembly was first taken, Dr. Carlyle counted 145, while Dalzel had only 142; and the Doctor, ever confident and ready, took his place as Clerk, and delivered an address of triumph. But on a scrutiny his small majority melted away, and the disputed office was declared to be Dalzel's."<sup>1</sup> Cockburn said that Dalzel, as Clerk to the General Assembly, "was long one of the curiosities of that strange place. He was too innocent for it." He was said to have partly owed his success in the election to the fact of his being the son-in-law of the popular Dr. Drysdale. In all relations of life Dalzel was charming, and his letters to his old College friend, afterwards Sir Robert Liston and Ambassador at many of the Courts of Europe, give a pleasing picture of Edinburgh University life at the close of the last century. With Dugald Stewart Dalzel lived in the most intimate relations of friendship. In 1799 Dalzel set himself to write the history of the University, for which he had special advantages as Librarian and Keeper of the archives. He corresponded with various people about the sources of general and constitutional history of Universities, and he "plainly intended," says Cosmo Innes, "to make his work a systematic history, something very different from the collection of 'Annals,' which alone he has left us." The curious thing is that in what he wrote there was no attempt to trace or explain the remarkable constitutional forms of the University of Edinburgh. But the work was a mere fragment,

<sup>1</sup> Cosmo Innes' *Memoir*, p. 76.

and was probably only intended to serve as notes for a continuous history. Dalzel died in 1806, and his MS., with a few annotations added, was brought out by David Laing in 1862. It serves now as a book of reference, being a repertory of extracts from the City Register and the University Records given in chronological order.

(6) GEORGE DUNBAR, 1806-1852. As Zeno of Citium was "cast upon the shores of philosophy," when, having been shipwrecked on the coast of Attica, he was changed from being a merchant into the founder of the Stoic school,—so Dunbar may be said to have fallen out of a tree into the Greek Chair. For it was by some such accident, which disabled him from continuing his original profession as a gardener, that he was led to come to the University in his twentieth year (1795). Having been an industrious and successful Student there, and having become a Licentiate of the Church, he was made tutor to the son of Sir William Fettes, Lord Provost, by whose patronage and favour it was that he was chosen as assistant and successor to Dalzel in 1805. Dunbar held the Chair of Greek for forty-six years, and was a laborious Professor. Those who had only the Greek lexicon of Schrevelius to assist them must have appreciated the service done for them by Dunbar in producing his *Lexicon* of the Greek language. Unfortunately, however, for him, his work, when in its second edition, was eclipsed by the splendid work of Liddell and Scott. Dunbar's English-Greek Lexicon remains perhaps still unsurpassed; in preparing this he was assisted by the learned Dr. Veitch. Dunbar's Students complained that he brought out too many volumes of *Extracts*, which they had to buy. Gillies, the "Literary Veteran," described Dunbar's class at eight o'clock on a winter's morning, when "the good Professor sat with pale composed visage betwixt his two dingy tallow candles," while "snores and yawns, with practical jokes of diverse kinds, wore through the long hour." Dunbar was a conscientious worker. He died at the end of 1851, and was succeeded by (7) JOHN STUART BLACKIE, 1852-1882, on whose retirement (8) SAMUEL HENRY BUTCHER, the present Professor of Greek, was appointed.

## XII.—PROFESSORS OF LOGIC AND METAPHYSICS.

(1) COLIN DRUMMOND, 1708-1730, of whom we have given some particulars above (p. 323), was the first to hold this Chair. He had been Regent of Philosophy for a year previously, and he brought to the Chair the qualifications of a Regent, namely a knowledge of the subjects of the old curriculum, without any special aptitude for the province assigned to him. It is probable that Colin Drummond taught Logic and Metaphysics according to the old tradition of the College of Edinburgh, tempering Scholasticism with Ramism. How far any of the modern spirit, which was beginning to move in Edinburgh, was caught by Drummond, we know not. But he belonged to the Rankenian Club, founded in 1717, among the members of which that spirit was fostered. It is probable that David Hume (aged fourteen) was Drummond's Student in 1725. And Hume says that the principles of the sceptical philosophy were in his mind soon after that date; possibly they arose from a reaction against his teacher. As if tired of Metaphysics, after twenty-two years of them, Drummond, in 1730, as we have seen, got himself transferred to the Chair of Greek.

With (2) JOHN STEVENSON, LL.D., 1730-1775, new blood was brought into the Arts Faculty, he not having served as a Regent; and, indeed, his name does not appear among the Edinburgh M.A.'s. His antecedents are not known, except that when elected Professor he was tutor in the family of Mr. Hamilton of Bargenie. Wherever he may have acquired it, he showed himself to be possessed by the modern spirit; and though he had no original or speculative genius, he was receptive and appreciative of what was new. He introduced Locke's Philosophy into Edinburgh (see the programme of his lectures for 1741, quoted above, Vol. I. p. 273), taking as one of his text-books Bishop Wynne's Abridgment of the *Essay on Human Nature*. And when he was more than seventy years old he delivered to his Students an analysis of Reid's *Enquiry into the Human Mind*, published in 1764. Principal Lee stated before the Commission of 1826 that "the Logic of Aristotle has scarcely been a subject<sup>1</sup> of lecture in Edinburgh since the year 1730."

<sup>1</sup> This was, of course, previous to Sir W. Hamilton's appointment to the Chair.



This was due at the outset to Stevenson, who substituted Heineccius and Locke for the *Organon* or Ramus, and in Metaphysics took as his text-book the *Ontologia* of De Vries. He introduced into the University a valuable novelty in the shape of lectures on the history of Philosophy, which he drew from Heineccius' *Historia Philosophica*, illustrated by Stanley and afterwards by Brucker. In all this there was much trace of the Dutch schools, and we are led to imagine that Stevenson must have had a foreign education.

But the most important and fruitful part of Stevenson's work was that which he did as teacher of Rhetoric, which subject, though not named in his title, was considered to belong to his Chair. At eight o'clock every morning he read with his class Aristotle's *Poetic* and Longinus *On the Sublime*. But those works served only as a basis for treating of the principles of criticism. He added to them copious extracts "from the prose discourses and prefaces of Dryden, Addison's papers in the *Spectator*, Bossu, Dacier, and Pope's notes on Homer, so as greatly to delight and instruct his hearers."<sup>1</sup> These lectures had really an extraordinary effect; they were delivered just at a period when a certain aspiration after literature was beginning to be felt in Edinburgh, when an intellectual revival, after the Covenanted dark age, was in the air. And Stevenson's lectures on criticism gave an impetus to that revival. Bower says<sup>2</sup> that no Professor in Edinburgh ever "had the honour of training up so many young men to a love of letters, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in the literary world, as Stevenson." We have already seen the testimony of Dr. Carlyle, who was not lavish of praise, as to the value of Stevenson's teaching (Vol. I. p. 275). Still more striking was the testimony of Principal Robertson, who thought that "he owed more" to the illustrations of Longinus and of Aristotle's *Poetic* "than to any other circumstance in his Academical studies." There is a pleasing story that in the first year of Robertson's Principalship (1762) he visited the Logic class, and having listened to the exercises, addressed the Students in Latin, telling them how much advantage he in his youth had derived from the teaching of Stevenson, and urging them to profit by the instruction of so valuable a master. "Immediately after the dismissal

<sup>1</sup> Dalzel in the *Scots Magazine*, 1802.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 280.

of the class, the aged Professor, unable any longer to suppress his emotion, dissolved in tears of grateful affection, and fell on the neck of his favourite pupil, now his Principal."<sup>1</sup> Among Stevenson's Students had been Hugh Blair, who in 1762 was appointed to a new and separate Chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. Not unnaturally, the veteran, who had succeeded in this province so well, complained that it should be taken from him.

It is a curious circumstance that the Commissioners of 1826-1830, from what they had heard of the success of Stevenson's Rhetoric class, recommended that Rhetoric should again be joined with Logic, and the Chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres abolished. But this was, of course, not carried out. We know that Stevenson's lectures on Logic were delivered in Latin, for Dr. Somerville tells us that he found it hard to follow them on account of their non-classical terminology. The lectures on criticism, on the other hand, must have been delivered in English. Stevenson continued the practice of Latin disputations in his class. He was a very laborious as well as enlightened Professor. He died at the age of eighty, never having married. And he bequeathed his library to the University.

(3) JOHN BRUCE, 1775-1792, having been a distinguished pupil at the High School, came to the University, and as a Student there was one of the six (Allan Maconochie being another) who, in 1764, founded the Speculative Society. Bruce was then twenty years old. What he did for the next ten years is not apparent, but in 1774 he was made joint Professor of Logic, etc., with the aged Stevenson, and next year obtained the Chair.

In 1777 he published a Syllabus of his Course, calling it *First Principles of Philosophy for the use of Students, by John Bruce, Professor of Philosophy*<sup>2</sup> in the University of Edinburgh. And in 1786 he brought out *Elements of the Science of Ethics on the principles of Natural Philosophy*.<sup>3</sup> Bruce, in his first session,

<sup>1</sup> Dalzel in the *Scots Magazine*, 1802.

<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that the Professors of Logic in those days made free with the title of their Chair. We have seen (Vol. I. p. 273) that Stevenson called himself "Professor of Instrumental and Rational Philosophy."

<sup>3</sup> In this book Bruce draws an analogy between the Moral Law and the Law of Gravitation; the former he makes to consist in the uniformity of the effect "that the observation of rights is the source of enjoyment."

in addition to his own class, had taught the Moral Philosophy class for Adam Ferguson, who was away on leave of absence, travelling with his pupil the Earl of Chesterfield. Bruce's two publications were the only works which emanated from the Logic Chair at Edinburgh previous to the appointment of Sir William Hamilton; though not profound, they were full of the modern inductive spirit. John Bruce must have been a very able man. In fact, he had abilities which opened to him a more lucrative career than that of an Edinburgh Professor. Robert Dundas, afterwards second Lord Melville, had been his private pupil while attending the University, and thus he became well known to the Dundas family. The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, offered Bruce an appointment in that office. This was accepted, and Bruce resigned his Chair in 1792.<sup>1</sup> He became Keeper of the State Paper Office, and Historiographer to the East India Company. He wrote several valuable Reports on Indian affairs, which were printed but not published. He was for a short time Secretary to the Board of Control, and sat in Parliament for six years. He died at his estate of Falkland in Fifeshire in 1826.

(4) JAMES FINLAYSON, 1792-1808. For several years before his ultimate resignation Bruce's attendance upon his class had been very irregular, owing to his travelling abroad with his pupil, Robert Dundas. The Town Council, looking out for some one to take his place, at last chose Finlayson, who had been educated in the University of Glasgow, had been tutor in the family of Sir W. Murray of Ochertyre, and was seeking Church preferment. In 1787 he was presented to the living of Borthwick, twelve miles from Edinburgh, and at the same time was made joint Professor of Logic. He subsequently was transferred to Lady Yester's Church, and then to the Greyfriars', and finally to St. Giles'. In 1802 he was Moderator of the General Assembly. Bower<sup>2</sup> says that he was no orator, but acted "as chamber

<sup>1</sup> In his letter of resignation to Principal Robertson, Bruce said: "May I hope, sir, that you, under whose notice my efforts to discharge my duty to the public more immediately fell, will upon this occasion recollect and express to the Patrons of the University the approbation with which you have annually honoured me?" This shows that Robertson annually visited the classes of Professors and criticised their work.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii. p. 272.

counsel" to the Assembly, being learned in the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland. His only publications were a pamphlet *On Chapels of Ease*, and some sermons. He was greatly respected for his piety and virtue, and when he died (prematurely), in 1808, the Students of his class presented to the Senatus a portrait of him which they had procured "as a testimony of their profound respect for his memory."

(5) DAVID RITCHIE, 1808-1836, who next held the Chair for a period of twenty-eight years, was also a divine, being Minister of St. Andrew's Church. Besides some sermons, he published *Lectures Explanatory and Practical on the Epistle to the Romans* (1831), 2 vols. 8vo. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1814. In teaching his class he entirely omitted Metaphysics, and he gave the Commissioners of 1826 the following synopsis of his lectures on Logic, divided into four parts:—

1st. A description of the faculties by which we acquire the elements of our knowledge.

2d. The theory of Evidence—Sense, Memory, Testimony, Experience, Analogy, Mixed Mathematics, and the Calculation of Chances.

3d. Reasoning—Syllogistic and Inductive, with a view of Fallacies and Prejudices.

4th. Method—Analytic, Synthetical, and Socratic; and the principles of interpreting written documents.

The Course concluding with the Theory of Language, or Universal Grammar.

All which, if well taught, would be very useful as instruction for youths, aged about sixteen or seventeen, though it was not high philosophy. But perhaps it was not very well taught, as Sir R. Christison records that the lectures did not interest him, and that Dr. Ritchie, "a tall, big-boned, strong man, with a powerful, rough voice, and great energy, though little polish, in his delivery," was "more illustrious on the curling pond than in the Professorial Chair."

(6) SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., 1836-1856, was not only very different from the Edinburgh Minister who had preceded him, but was one who exercised a paramount influence in philosophy throughout Scotland while he held the Chair, and whose

writings at the same time gained him followers and stirred up eminent opponents in England. Hamilton was son of a Professor of Anatomy in Glasgow (who died young in 1790), and having gained the Snell Exhibition in 1807, he proceeded to Balliol College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself by his acquirements in the classics, and chiefly in Aristotle, and obtained brilliant first-class honours. He then settled in Edinburgh, and in 1813 became an Advocate, but was too much called aside by his passion for study to succeed in the profession of the Law. In 1816 his historical investigations enabled him to make good his claim to represent the ancient family of Hamilton of Preston, and he took up the baronetcy, which had been dormant since the death (in 1701) of Sir Robert Hamilton, a Covenanted leader. In 1820 he was defeated on political grounds by Wilson in his candidature for the Chair of Moral Philosophy, but was soon afterwards brought into the University to fill the then unimportant Chair of Civil History. Thomas Carlyle, in the Comely Bank period of his existence, made the acquaintance of Hamilton, and he speaks of him with an appreciation which he accorded to very few; he mentions "the bright, affable manners of Sir William, radiant with frank kindness, honest humanity, and intelligence ready to help;" his "fine, firm figure of middle height; one of the finest cheerfully serious human faces, of square, solid, yet rather aquiline type;" of "his simple, independent, meditative habits, ruggedly-athletic modes of exercise, fondness for his big dog," etc.; of his "strong, carelessly-melodious tenor voice, the sound of it betokening seriousness and cheerfulness; occasionally something of slightly remonstrative in the undertones, indicating well in the background possibilities of virtuous wrath and fire; seldom anything of laughter, of levity never anything; thoroughly a serious, cheerful, sincere, and kindly voice, with looks corresponding." In 1829 Hamilton's career of authorship began with the appearance of the well-known essay "On the Philosophy of the Conditioned," the first of a series of articles contributed by him to the *Edinburgh Review*, which attracted great attention, and made Hamilton known on the Continent as the man of highest philosophical genius and greatest philosophical learning in Britain. When Hamilton returned from Oxford he was perhaps the only man in Scotland who knew anything about Aristotle; to his

Oxford knowledge he proceeded to add the results of a voracious reading of scholiasts and commentators upon Aristotle and mediæval schoolmen, so that he acquired an almost unparalleled erudition in the history of Aristotelian philosophy. In the meanwhile he was thinking out his own system, which he based upon Reid, with whom he felt an intellectual affinity; and the great work of his life was an elaborate edition of *Reid's Works*, with notes and dissertations, which was begun about 1836, brought out in 1846 in incomplete form, owing to his having been affected by paralysis, and though subsequently added to, never finished. Of the great learning and acuteness of this work it is needless to speak.

On Dr. Ritchie's resignation of the Logic Chair, in 1836, there were four candidates for the Chair—Isaac Taylor, author of *The Natural History of Enthusiasm*; Sir W. Hamilton; George Combe, the phrenologist; and Patrick Campbell Macdougall, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy. The contest resolved itself into one between the two first-named candidates, and HAMILTON was elected by a majority of four votes over Taylor. The testimonial given in his favour by M. Cousin greatly contributed to this result; it was the testimonial of a philosophical antagonist, but was so fair and just that the estimate of Hamilton's philosophy which it contained may be taken as sufficient for this sketch. After stating that he himself differed from Hamilton in thinking that the human reason was not bound down by the restrictions announced in "The Philosophy of the Conditioned," and after paying a high compliment to Scottish philosophy, M. Cousin proceeds: "What characterises Sir William Hamilton is precisely the Scottish intellect; and he is only attached to the philosophy of Reid and Stewart because their philosophy is the Scottish intellect itself applied to Metaphysics. Sir W. Hamilton never deviates from the highway of common sense, and at the same time he possesses great ingenuity (*esprit*) and sagacity, and I know from experience that his dialectic is by no means comfortable to his adversary. Inferior to Reid in invention and originality, and to Stewart in grace and delicacy, he is perhaps superior to both, and certainly to the latter by the vigour of his dialectic; I add, and by the extent of his erudition. Sir W. Hamilton knows all systems, ancient and modern, and he examines them by the criticism of the Scottish intellect. His independence is equal to his know-

ledge. He is, above all, eminent in logic. I speak here as a philosopher by profession."

Hamilton's appointment as Professor was received with great joy in the University. His lectures on Psychology and Logic produced a profound impression on the Students; the mode of their delivery formed a contrast to that of Stewart, Brown, or Wilson. An exact and severe method was substituted for fluent eloquence; separate paragraphs were slowly dictated in the German fashion, each containing some important principle, to which illustrations were afterwards added. We have seen above (p. 63) that the Town Council ignorantly interfered with his giving a second course in Metaphysics. Of Hamilton's letters on this subject Professor Macdougall wittily said: "He answered the Edinburgh Town Council as if he had been refuting Porphyry." Of his other controversies with that body more than enough has been said already. Hamilton had certainly the *præservidum ingenium*, and on this account was not well qualified for the post of Secretary of Senatus, which he held from 1833 to 1846. But in all his contests he showed himself a high-minded, honourable gentleman, who was contending for a cause and not for any selfish object. He died in 1856, having founded a school of eminent pupils, many of whom now fill Philosophical Chairs in Scotland. It may be mentioned that Hamilton received the unique honour (for a layman) of the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which, on his expressing a wish for it, the University of Leyden conferred upon him. And surely by his learning he deserved it.<sup>1</sup> On Hamilton's death (7) ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, the present Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, was appointed.

### XIII.—PROFESSORS OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

(1) WILLIAM LAW, 1708-1729. This person, who is called Mr. Law of Elvingston in the City Records, had been appointed Regent of Philosophy in 1690, after a competitive examination, to supply the place of Thomas Burnet, who was deprived of his office at the purging of the College. In 1708 Law was the senior Regent, and he naturally had assigned to him the Chair of Moral

<sup>1</sup> The above very imperfect notice of a rich life is taken chiefly from Professor Veitch's admirable *Memoir of Sir William Hamilton*.

Philosophy, which was considered to be above all the others. Attendance on the Moral Philosophy lectures was optional, and no fees were to be paid by Students who chose to attend them. Law, therefore, had £50 allowed him, probably as equivalent to the average class in fees, addition to the ordinary salary of a Regent or Professor in these days. There are no particulars as to Law's teaching. He died in 1729, and then (2) WILLIAM SCOTT, 1729-1734, who had been Professor of Greek for twenty-one years, claimed the vacancy. He was not allowed simply to step into the Chair, but although he must have been more than sixty years old, he was examined by the Principal and several of the Professors as to his qualifications. Being favourably reported on, he was appointed by the Town Council *ad vitam aut culpam*. Bailie Fenton, however, who had had a passage of arms with the Senatus the year before (above p. 5), protested (in vain) against the proceeding; he objected to a "private trial," said that Professors should only be appointed during the Council's pleasure, and that the Professor of Moral Philosophy should not have a larger salary than the rest; but he was not listened to. In 1734, Scott's health having failed, he petitioned that Dr. John Pringle might be appointed as joint Professor with him. The Senatus were favourable to this arrangement, but wished Dr. Pringle to give a specimen lecture. They also drew up, at the desire of the Lord Provost, regulations for the teaching of Pneumatics and Moral Philosophy. This was probably because the two first Professors, being old Regents, had been somewhat perfunctory in delivering their unpaid lectures. The new rules laid it down that the Professor was to lecture between the hours of ten and eleven for five days a week, from the 1st November to the 1st May, to all who shall think fit to hear him. He was to teach "the Pneumatics: that is the being and perfections of the one true God, the nature of Angels and the soul of man, and the duties of natural religion;" also "Moral Philosophy;" also he was to prelect every Monday on the truth of the Christian religion. He was to put himself into personal relations with his Students by examining them at least once a month. All this was a consolidation for the first time of the Moral Philosophy class. It was added that Dr. Pringle must not let his practice as a physician interfere with his duties as Professor. He was then appointed.



(3) JOHN PRINGLE, 1734-1745, was youngest son of a baronet of that name, of Stitchell; he had studied for a year in the new Medical School of Edinburgh (1727), and had then gone to Leyden for two years, where he graduated M.D. in 1730, and then returned to practise in Edinburgh. He evidently sought the Chair as a merely interim appointment, while he was making way in his profession. He was doubtless a cultivated and superior man, but he had no special taste for philosophy. We have quoted (Vol. I. p. 274) his programme of lectures for 1741. Bower complains<sup>1</sup> that these lectures were "altogether practical," but this feature would after all be only in accordance with the tenor of the rules laid down for his guidance. Dr. A. Carlyle says of him: "Dr. Pringle, afterwards Sir John, was an agreeable lecturer, though no great master of the science he taught. His lectures were chiefly a compilation from Lord Bacon's works, and had it not been for Puffendorff's small book, which he made his text, we should not have been instructed in the rudiments of the science. Once a week, however, he gave us a lecture in Latin, in which language he excelled, and was even held equal to Dr. John Sinclair, Professor of the Theory of Medicine, the most eminent Latin scholar at that time, except the great grammarian Ruddiman."

Pringle rapidly pushed his fortunes outside the University. Lord Stair, then in command of the British army, took him as his physician, and in 1742 made him physician to the military hospital in Flanders; in 1744 the Duke of Cumberland appointed him Physician-General to His Majesty's forces in the Low Countries, and in 1745 he resigned his Professorship. Sir John Pringle was author of a great work on *The Diseases of the Army*.<sup>2</sup>

(4) WILLIAM CLEGHORN, 1745-1754. For three years, during Pringle's absence abroad, this person had been employed to conduct his classes. He was the son of a "merchant burghess" of Edinburgh. On Pringle's resignation the Town Council tried to raise the Chair of Moral Philosophy by offering it to Dr. Francis Hutcheson, Professor of the same subject in Glasgow, and the founder of the Scottish school of philosophy. But Hutcheson declined, and on this David Hume offered himself for the vacancy. It is generally supposed that Hume's philosophical

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. ii. p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.

opinions were a bar to his appointment on this occasion, but another view is given by Chalmers in his *Life of Ruddiman*. "Enquiring once of the Rev. Robert Walker, who was his amanuensis, what classes he had been attending in the College of Edinburgh, and being told that he had that morning heard a lecture on *Liberty and Necessity*, Ruddiman said, 'Well, does your Professor make us free agents or not?' To which Mr. Walker answered, 'He gives us arguments on both sides, and leaves us to judge.' 'Very well,' rejoined Ruddiman; 'the fool has said in his heart there is no God,' and the Professor will not tell you whether the fool be right or wrong."

"The Professor who acted thus was Cleghorn, a supposed deist, who had been chosen in opposition to Hume, the philosopher, who was deemed a Jacobite. The electors preferred Cleghorn to Hume, sagely considering that, as Scotland furnished no other choice, a deist might probably become a Christian, but a Jacobite could not possibly become a Whig." There are no other particulars of Cleghorn's teaching. Bower, who takes a sunny view of almost all the old Professors, says<sup>1</sup> that "his colleagues and contemporaries considered him as a young man of the most promising talents." However, he lectured on Moral Philosophy for twelve years without publishing anything on the subject. He died somewhat suddenly in 1754.

(5) JAMES BALFOUR, 1754-1764. The *European Magazine* for January 1783 says that David Hume was a candidate for the Chair of Moral Philosophy when Balfour was elected, and that on Balfour's being preferred to Hume "the University felt a disgrace which it will never recover." The article in which this occurs is a disparaging review of "Philosophical Dissertations" by James Balfour, Esq., of Pilrig. It says that Balfour, who was an Advocate, by political influence got made Sheriff-Substitute "of the first county in Scotland." "In that capacity he was very patient, laborious, and dull." In the Moral Philosophy Chair, which he held for ten years, he was "if possible, less meritorious. He could not reflect himself, and the transcriptions from printed books which composed his lectures were ill-chosen, and without either usefulness or propriety." This is very bitter; but there seems little doubt that Balfour was the reverse of a brilliant

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. ii. p. 343.

Professor. By an arrangement already mentioned (p. 315) he was allowed to purchase the Chair of Public Law, so that a better man might take his place in the Chair of Moral Philosophy.

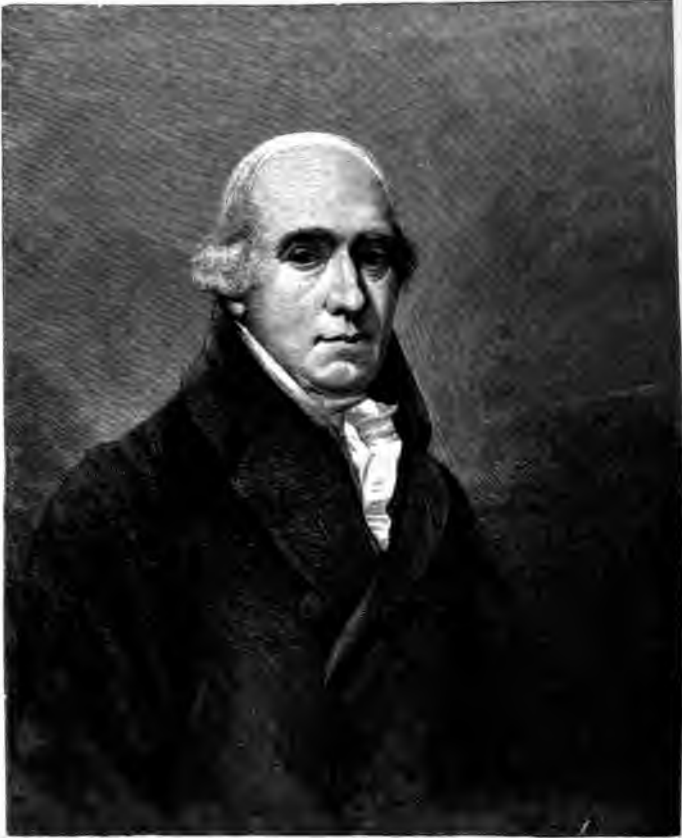
(6) ADAM FERGUSON, 1764-1785, had been marked out for this Chair ten years before by Cleghorn, who said "he has my dying voice"; but there was not influence at the time to make that voice effective. When at last appointed, in his forty-first year, Ferguson entered with zeal upon a province for which he was peculiarly suited, and his lectures were attended not only by University Students, but by some of the most distinguished men of the country. A year after his appointment he published his *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, which at once established his fame. It was to some extent a following up of those inductive investigations which Reid had started two years previously in his *Enquiry into the Human Mind*. Ferguson introduced the method of studying mankind in groups, and of considering the progress of entire societies, in short, the science which is now called "Sociology." In 1766 he published a syllabus of his lectures, entitled *Analysis of Pneumatics and Moral Philosophy*. On this outline he used to prelect extemporaneously, till in 1792 he gave to the world his completed views under the title of *Principles of Moral and Political Science, being chiefly a Retrospect of Lectures delivered in the College of Edinburgh*. In this work we have Ferguson's moral system; accepting, with Hobbes and Hume, the power of self-interest, he makes it enter into Morals as *the law of self-preservation*; he combines Hutcheson's theory of benevolence, and Smith's principle of sympathy under *the law of society*; but he subordinates these laws to a superior one,—*the idea of perfection*. M. Cousin says of Ferguson: "We find in his method the wisdom and circumspection of the Scottish school, with something more masculine and decisive in its results. The principle of *perfection* is a new one, at once more rational and comprehensive than benevolence and sympathy, and which, in our view, places Ferguson as a Moralist above all his predecessors."

The University of Edinburgh in the last century used to attract the sons of English noblemen, whereas now the sons of the Scottish nobility go to Oxford or Cambridge. In 1763 Ferguson had two of the Grevilles, sons of the Earl of Warwick.

boarding in his house ; and to assist in their tuition, he employed a favourite Student, John M'Pherson, who afterwards became Governor-General of India, and always retained a warm attachment to his old Professor. In 1774 Ferguson was invited, on tempting terms, to travel abroad with the young Earl of Chesterfield (nephew to the author of the *Letters*). He asked the Town Council to give him leave of absence, which they refused to do ; so he set off without leave. The Town Council deprived him of his office ; but times were different in 1774 from what they became in 1826,—Ferguson's friends exerted themselves in his favour ; a memorial was drawn up showing that Professors frequently had absented themselves for a year or two ; and an order of the Court of Session was procured, compelling the Town Council to reinstate him. His absence only lasted about a year, during which John Bruce, Professor of Logic, conducted his Chair. In 1778 Ferguson had another expedition : having pleased the Government by a pamphlet on the American question, he was appointed Secretary to a Commission sent out to negotiate with the States Congress. Dugald Stewart then took his class for a session. After his return he had, in 1780, an attack of paralysis, but being treated by his relative Professor Black, he made a wonderful recovery, and for thirty-six years afterwards he lived on a Pythagorean diet, swathed in furs, and was able to join the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and to write his *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*. In 1785, however, he found it expedient to resign the Chair of Moral Philosophy. And then, by an arrangement with the Town Council, he was made nominal Professor of Mathematics, with the salary of that Chair, and with a joint Professor, Playfair, to do the work. He died in 1816, in the ninety-third year of his age, at St. Andrews, where his epitaph by Sir Walter Scott may be seen in the Cathedral burying-ground.<sup>1</sup>

(7) DUGALD STEWART, 1785-1810, who next adorned the Chair, and in it acquired a brilliant reputation for literature, eloquence, and philosophy, was the son of Matthew Stewart, the Geometrician, and was born in his father's house in the old College buildings, 1753. When eight years old he went to the

<sup>1</sup> The above account of Adam Ferguson is taken from Mr. Small's *Biographical Sketch*.



PROFESSOR DUGALD STEWART.

FROM A PORTRAIT BY RAEURN.



High School; at thirteen he came to the University, where he was trained under John Stuart (a very good Professor of Latin), his father, John Stevenson (in Logic and Rhetoric), and Adam Ferguson (in Moral Philosophy). At eighteen years of age he went to the University of Glasgow to get the advantage of Reid's teaching. This course of education nearly accounts for the mould which Dugald Stewart's mind afterwards exhibited: he was classical, literary, clear like a mathematician, a follower and pusher out of Reid's system, and yet, like Ferguson, rather inclined to the topics lying between mental science on the one hand, and jurisprudence on the other, than to the profounder questions of metaphysics. When nineteen years old he was employed to teach the Mathematical class for his father, and though so young, was able to maintain order and teach well. After five years of this work he was called on, at short notice, to take the Moral Philosophy class in addition, while Ferguson was absent in America, and we read of his preparing his lectures every day while walking up and down in the College garden, now swept away.

In 1785 he became sole Professor of Mathematics, owing to the death of his father, but in that year (as we have already seen) Adam Ferguson exchanged Chairs with Stewart; the one by this arrangement retiring into a sinecure, the other stepping forward ardently into a position which it had always been his ambition to fill.

All are agreed as to the extraordinary eloquence and grace of speech which Dugald Stewart exhibited in his Chair, and on all occasions when he had to speak in public. Lord Cockburn said of him: "To me his lectures were like the opening of the heavens. I felt that I had a soul. His noble views, unfolded in glorious sentences, elevated me into a higher world." His career as an author was begun rather late, but when he began he poured forth a series of well-written productions worthy of the literary revival in Edinburgh. In 1792 he brought out the first volume of his *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*; in 1793 his *Life of Adam Smith*; in 1796 his *Life of Dr. Robertson*; in 1802 his *Life of Dr. Reid*; in 1810, after his resignation of his Chair, he published his *Philosophical Essays*, of which the first part contains criticisms of Locke, Berkeley, some French systems, Hartley, Priestly, and Darwin, and the

second part essays in *Æsthetics*. In 1813 he brought out the second volume of his *Elements*, and his Dissertation on the "Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosophy" for the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; in 1827 the third volume of his *Elements*; and in 1828 his work on the *Active and Moral Powers of Man*.

These works, written with classical taste, made the "common-sense philosophy" popular, and "helped to introduce Reid into polite society." It was one of the avowed aims of Stewart "to stem the inundation of sceptical, or rather atheistical, publications from the Continent." No doubt he did something in this way, but he also "by his lectures, and indirectly by his pupils, contributed as much as any man of his age to diffuse through Scotland a taste for elegant literature, and enlarged and liberal opinions in politics."<sup>1</sup> He taught Political Economy as well as Moral Philosophy, and his classes were attended by Lord Brougham, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Francis Horner, Lord Lansdowne, Francis Jeffrey, Walter Scott, Sydney Smith, Thomas Brown, Thomas Chalmers, James Mill, Archibald Alison, and many others who rose to eminence in politics, literature, or philosophy. Dugald Stewart was thus a powerful magnet for attracting young men of promise, and his class-room was the cradle of the *Edinburgh Review*. In 1806 the Whig party, being in power, created for him a sinecure office under the name of "Writership of the Edinburgh Gazette," with a salary of £300, a year. In 1810, his health having declined, he got his pupil, Dr. Thomas Brown, appointed as joint Professor with him, and retired from the labour of teaching. He died in 1828, and is commemorated by a monument on the Calton Hill. The philosophy of Dugald Stewart, in conjunction with that of Reid, has been recognised and appreciated by the French, to whom it was introduced by Roger, Collard, Cousin, and Jouffroy.

(8) THOMAS BROWN, 1810-1820, though the pupil of Stewart, was by no means his implicit follower. Indeed, he at once revolted against the authority of the "Common-sense Philosophy," attacking it as to its psychological system in a free way, which annoyed Stewart, and caused him to utter a rebuke in the third

<sup>1</sup> The above quotations are from *The Scottish Philosophy, from Hutcheson to Hamilton*, by President M'Cosh (1875), pp. 300-302.



volume of his *Elements*. Brown was an interesting personage, and enjoyed an ephemeral glory of great brilliancy. Born in 1778, he lost his father, a Scottish minister, in his infancy; he was sent by his relatives to school in England, and at the age of fourteen he was brought back to study in the University of Edinburgh. He had a very bright, independent, precocious mind, and when he was fifteen years old, reading with avidity the first volume of Dugald Stewart's *Elements*, he detected some flaw in the reasoning, and did not hesitate to call upon the Professor and point this out. Stewart's only reply was to read to him a letter from M. Prevost of Geneva, in which the same objection was stated. Brown apparently did not attend all the Arts classes, but he was more than ten years a Student in the University, for he graduated M.D. in 1803, being then twenty-five years old. His thesis was *De Somno*, a subject suited to his philosophic turn, and it is said to have contained much curious psychological speculation.

In the meantime he had studied Law as well as Medicine; and (in 1798) he had brought out a review of Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia*, which excited much attention. He had been a member of the Student's Society, called the "Academy of Sciences," which resulted in the production of the *Edinburgh Review*; in the second number of this Brown had an article on Kant, which, while showing acuteness, was said to fail in appreciation of the German philosopher, and of the depth of the questions at issue. In 1801 an attempt was made, on the resignation of Greenfield, to get the Chair of Rhetoric for Thomas Brown, for which he would have been perfectly fitted. But Chairs in the University were then greatly monopolised by Edinburgh Ministers, and one of them was appointed. In 1805 Brown entered the lists in the controversy as to the heterodoxy of Leslie, whom the "Moderate" Clergy wished to exclude from the Chair of Mathematics for having enunciated something like the Humian doctrine of cause and effect. Brown published a pamphlet, which in its third edition (1818) swelled into a bulky treatise—*Enquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect*—defending Hume's theory that this relation is merely one of constant antecedence and sequence, though he maintained that the mind has an intuitive belief in the permanency of the connection. Dr. James Gregory, struck by the merits and elegant Latinity of Brown's thesis, had taken him as

an associate, to answer consulting letters from a distance. Such were his antecedents when he was appointed to be Dugald Stewart's successor.

Brown's manner in his Chair was at once felt to be something new; the eloquence of his predecessor had been classical and manly,—Brown was the Carlo Dolce of lecturers, indulging in a soft flow of poetic utterances, and at the same time showing great fecundity of thought and subtlety of analysis. "His amiable look, his fine elocution, his acuteness and ingenuity, his skill in reducing a complex subject into a few elements, his show of originality and independence, the seeming comprehensiveness of his system, and above all his fertility of illustration, and the glow, like that of stained glass, in which he set forth his refined speculations, did more than delight his youthful audience,—it entranced them; and in their ecstasies they declared that he was superior to all the philosophers who had gone before him, and, in particular, that he had completely superseded Reid, and they gave him great credit, in that he generously refrained from attacking and overwhelming Stewart."<sup>1</sup> After Brown's death in 1820 his *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind* were published in four volumes, and they were as popular in print as they had been when delivered orally. No metaphysical book ever had such a run. By 1851 eighteen editions had been sold in England, and more still in America. But then came a collapse. Brown's system declined before the influence of the German schools of thought: "Judgments on the merits of his book are now as severe as they were formerly favourable, and the name of Brown may be said to be a dead letter in the annals of philosophy."<sup>2</sup> The fact is that no mere psychology, however acute and refined, can live permanently as a philosophical system. Brown's career was prematurely cut short, in the tenth year of his Professorship and the forty-second of his age. He had always exhibited the characteristics of a consumptive tendency; he was a sentimentalist and a lover of nature, and he produced several volumes of poetry, which have been described as "faint echoes of Akenside and Beattie." Brown's most successful effort in verse was called *The Paradise of Coquettes*.

<sup>1</sup> M'Cosh, *The Scottish Philosophy*, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Adamson in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.





(9) JOHN WILSON, 1820-1853, was in many respects a great contrast to his predecessor. Sir R. Christison says of him: "John Wilson, best known as Christopher North of *Blackwood's Magazine*, was the grandest specimen I have ever seen of the human form,—tall, perfectly symmetrical, massive and majestic, yet agile. When his bust was exhibited about the year 1842 in London, at the Royal Academy's Exhibition, I overheard a noble connoisseur exclaim to a companion: 'Look here! This must be Jupiter under some new transformation.'" It is as Hercules with the head of Jove that Wilson's statue is posed in the centre of Edinburgh. It is the effigy not merely of a University celebrity, but of a local, and to some extent a national hero.<sup>1</sup>

If, from his stately presence, his bodily puissance, his richness of ideas, his luxuriant eloquence, his copious literary productivity, his wit, his generosity, his originality of character, and the largeness of his nature, Wilson was a hero to his countrymen, still more was he so to his Students, full of the hero-worshipping tendencies of youth. They could forgive in him a thousand irregularities: they forgave him for not teaching them Moral Philosophy at all; they drank in his discursive utterances and adored him as a man. In all this there was something more than the mere glamour of rhetoric and of bodily presence. It seems impossible to find one of Wilson's Students who, on looking back to his lectures from the calm elevation of after life, does not acknowledge that they were beneficial to his mind. And this is the case even with men of a critical and philosophical disposition; they say they got a stimulus from Wilson which was valuable to them. The Chair of Moral Philosophy in a Scottish University seems to be elastic in its adaptability: Brown made it a Chair of Psychology; Ferrier, at St. Andrews, a Chair of Metaphysics; Wilson made it a Chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. It is true that he treated of the passions, virtues, duties, and so on, but he dealt with them in the concrete, with illustrations from literature. He was not without the power of metaphysical speculation, as was evinced by two papers of his in *Blackwood*—

<sup>1</sup> We have preferred to reproduce in this book the likeness which was taken of Wilson by Sir J. Watson Gordon, just after his appointment to be Professor, before he had taken to wearing the ambrosial locks of the Zeus of Pheidias.

one on "Causation," and one on "Berkeley's Philosophy." But the tendency of his nature was towards the concrete and poetical, rather than the abstract and philosophical point of view. He was really an eminent critic of literature, as his papers on Homer and many other subjects sufficiently show. Strictly speaking, he was out of place in a Chair of Philosophy, but he did a great deal of good in it, and the only harm he did was perhaps to encourage in the future preachers and writers of Scotland a too exuberant style of language. Nothing was more remarkable in his Professoriate than his conscientious diligence in reading and commenting on all the essays produced by his numerous class. His wayward and erratic nature bent itself to this drudgery, and his kind-hearted words of approval or correction were valuable to many a youth. Wilson was, before all things, the Students' friend; his house was constantly open to them in unreserved hospitality. And this, to youths with so few social advantages as many of the Edinburgh Students had, was in itself a boon.

How Wilson came to be Professor of Moral Philosophy may seem a puzzle; it was on this wise:—He was at first one of Fortune's favourites, being the son and heir of a wealthy manufacturer of Paisley; at twelve years old he went to the University of Glasgow, as a rich English boy would go to Eton or Harrow. He studied there for six years, learnt a good deal of Latin and Greek, and was one of the first persons in Scotland to appreciate Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*; he then proceeded as "gentleman commoner" to Magdalen College, Oxford;<sup>1</sup> he there distinguished himself by athletic feats, by being the first to win Sir Roger Newdigate's prize for English verse with a poem on "Sculpture, Architecture, and Painting," and by passing a brilliant examination for his degree. He then bought Elleray, a residence overlooking the lake of Windermere, and betook himself to a life of country and aquatic pursuits, the cultivation of poetry, and the society of the "Lakists." He married the most beautiful woman in the country, and published his *Isle of Palms*, when he found that by the malversation of a trustee his entire fortune was lost. He accepted the stroke, came to Edinburgh to work for his bread, and became one of the leading spirits of *Blackwood's Magazine*.

<sup>1</sup> How he looked at that period may be seen from Raeburn's portrait of him in the National Gallery of Scotland.

In the famous *Chaldee Manuscript*, which was concocted in his house, he figures as "the beautiful Leopard from the valley of the Palm trees." Out of more than 300 articles that Wilson contributed to *Blackwood* a very small proportion were political, yet still he was reckoned among the gladiators of the Tory party. On Thomas Brown's death in 1820 the Chair of Moral Philosophy was unanimously offered by the Town Council to Sir James Mackintosh: on his declining to accept it the election resolved itself into a contest between Wilson and Sir William Hamilton, both distinguished Oxonians, both Edinburgh Advocates: the one a Tory poet and essayist; the other a Whig and an *Edinburgh Reviewer*. The struggle became a political one; a Tory Government, then in office, exerted their influence for Wilson, and Sir Walter Scott actively supported him. On the other hand, the Whigs assailed him with calumnies, and Wilson, a most chivalrous and devoted husband, had to get a certificate from Mrs. Grant of Laggan that he was a decent family man. When the Town Council went to the poll 21 votes were given for Wilson and only 9 for Hamilton. When Dugald Stewart, who was still alive and nominally joint Professor of Moral Philosophy, learnt that a Tory had carried the day, he marked his disappointment by resigning all connection with the Chair. Irrespective of politics, Wilson's testimonials from Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Scott, and many other eminent men, quite justified his appointment, and he was an acquisition to the University, and a remarkable Professor *sui generis*.

In 1850, after Wilson had held his Chair for thirty years, he was struck with paralysis. On the recommendation of Lord John Russell the Queen granted him a pension of £300 a year; he then resigned, and lived in retirement till 1854, when he died. His last public act was in 1851, when feeble and paralysed, to come into Edinburgh from the country, in order to record his vote for Macaulay, whom he had formerly regarded as a political opponent.

(10) PATRICK CAMPBELL MACDOUGALL, 1850-1867, who next succeeded to the Chair, was the son of the Minister of Killin, and was born in 1806. Having been Dux of the High School, and having passed through the Arts curriculum of the University, he became Classical Master in the Edinburgh Academy, then making

its start under Archdeacon Williams. Macdougall held this post for eighteen years, but while teaching the classics he cultivated Philosophy in his leisure hours, and in 1836 was a candidate for the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics when Sir William Hamilton was appointed. After the Disruption, the Free Church in their "New College" for Theology established, in 1844, Chairs of Logic and of Moral Philosophy, and Macdougall was appointed to the latter. Afterwards they resolved to dispense with those Chairs, and on Professor Wilson's resignation they made great exertions to get Macdougall appointed in the University. In this, owing to the ecclesiastical principles of the majority in the Town Council, they were successful; but, as we have seen above (p. 78), a difficulty ensued, and Macdougall, as Professor of Moral Philosophy, was not able to take his seat in the Senatus till after the passing of the Test Act in 1853. Professor Macdougall was of a retiring disposition, and suffered from weak health. In teaching his class he adhered generally to the doctrines of the Scotch school of Psychology and Morals, but his classical habits of mind led him to give prominence to the great ethical works of the ancients. In 1852 he brought out a volume of *Papers on Literary and Philosophical Subjects*. He died of paralysis in December 1867. In 1868 (11) HENRY CALDERWOOD, the present Professor of Moral Philosophy, was appointed.

#### XIV.—PROFESSORS OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

(1) ROBERT STEWART, 1708-1742. When Professorships were created and divided among the existing Regents in 1708, Robert Stewart got that of Natural Philosophy, with the care of the Magstrand class (see Vol. I. p. 264). This was not owing to seniority, for three of the Regents were senior to him, but was a matter of proclivity, each Regent choosing the subject which suited him best. Robert Stewart had been made Regent in 1703; he was the son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness, and before he resigned his Chair he succeeded to the title and estate. He was also nephew to the celebrated Sir James Stewart, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, and this gave him influence with the Town Council. On being relieved of the drudgery of Regenting in 1708, he worked in an enlightened way at Natural Philosophy.



He was said to have been at first a Cartesian, but he was finally converted to the school of Newton. We have quoted his programme of lectures for 1741 (Vol. I. p. 272). By this time, however, Sir Robert Stewart was worn out with age, and in 1742 he applied to have his son, Dr. John Stewart, who was a Fellow of the College of Physicians and in medical practice, associated with him as joint Professor. The Town Council, having had John Stewart examined by a committee, and having taken the *avisamentum* of the Ministers, made the appointment as requested.

(2) JOHN STEWART, 1742-1749, has, however, left behind him no trace of his acquirements or his teaching.

The next Professor (3) ADAM FERGUSON, 1759-1764, was not chosen as by any means being a tried specialist, but as a man of versatile talent, capable of learning almost anything, and therefore capable of learning Natural Philosophy so as to be able to teach it. He was son of the Minister of Logierait, and having gone through the Arts course at St. Andrews came to Edinburgh in 1742 to be trained for the Church under Professors Gowdie and Cumming. He thus became one of the brilliant coterie consisting of Robertson, Blair, Home, Wedderburn, Carlyle, etc., who were then Students in the University, and formed a debating society together; afterwards they were friends for life. In 1745 he was offered a chaplaincy to the 42d Regiment or Black Watch, and though only twenty-two years old, and having only completed two sessions, out of six, of the Divinity course, he got special grace for ordination from the General Assembly on account of his high testimonials. He accompanied the Black Watch to the battle of Fontenoy, and was with difficulty dissuaded from going into action with a broadsword. He remained with his regiment till 1754, and obtained a remarkable influence over the Highland soldiers; he took a great interest in military matters, and acquired a knowledge of them which was afterwards of service to him as a historian. He now determined to relinquish the idea of becoming a Minister, for which he did not feel a vocation. He had not the qualities necessary for a popular preacher. Such sermons as he had composed were elaborate disquisitions, full of quotations from Plato and Aristotle.

Returning to Edinburgh, Ferguson renewed the friendships of his youth, and in 1757 was appointed to succeed David Hume

as Keeper of the Advocates' Library. But after a year's tenure of this office he abruptly resigned it, having been engaged as tutor to the sons of Lord Bute. In 1858 a negotiation was set on foot by Hume and Johnstone (afterwards Sir W. Pulteney) to get Adam Smith to purchase the Chair of Public Law in Edinburgh, so as to leave the Chair of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow vacant for Ferguson; but either Adam Smith would not consent, or for some other reason the thing broke down. In July 1859, on the death of Dr. John Stewart, Ferguson was provided for, being presented to the Chair of Natural Philosophy by the Town Council. By October of the same year Ferguson was ready to meet his class, so that "David Hume said Ferguson had more genius than any of them, as he had made himself so much master of a difficult science, viz. Natural Philosophy, which he had never studied but when at College, in three months, as to be able to teach it." He held the Chair for five years, and is said to have given universal satisfaction by rendering his subject popular and attractive; he also published a short analysis of his course for the use of his class. But it was subsequently in the Chair of Moral Philosophy that Ferguson won his spurs.<sup>1</sup>

(4) JAMES RUSSELL, 1764-1773. We have mentioned above (p. 315) how, with a view to a better adjustment of Chairs, Bruce, the Professor of Public Law, was bought out in 1764, and how Balfour, having replaced Bruce, and Adam Ferguson Balfour, the Chair of Natural Philosophy was left vacant, which Russell now stepped into, having provided a portion at all events of the purchase money of Bruce's Chair. This arrangement was of course made with the sanction of the Town Council. James Russell had previously practised Surgery in Edinburgh. Bower<sup>2</sup> was unable to collect anything further about his history, except the following quotation about him from Dugald Stewart's *Life of Reid*: "I recollect, too," says Stewart, "when I attended about the year 1771 the lectures of the late Mr. Russell, to have heard high encomiums on the philosophy of Reid, in the course of those comprehensive discussions concerning the objects and the rules of experimental science, with which he so agreeably diversified the particular doctrines of physics."

<sup>1</sup> The above account is taken from Mr. John Small's admirable *Biographical Sketch of Adam Ferguson* (1864).

<sup>2</sup> Bower, vol. iii. p. 103.

(5) JOHN ROBISON, 1774-1805. A physician and a surgeon had already held the Chair of Natural Philosophy; on Russell's death two physicians appeared as candidates for it. One of these was Dr. Buchan, the author of *Domestic Medicine*, and it was thought that he would have got the appointment had it not been for some passages in his book which gave offence;<sup>1</sup> the other was Dr. Lind, who graduated M.D. in 1768. But Dr. Cullen, Dr. Black, and Principal Robertson had fixed their eyes upon Mr. John Robison, who was then in the service of the Russian Government, as Professor of Mathematics to the Imperial Sea Cadet Corps of nobles at Cronstadt. The Town Council yielded to the advice of these authorities, and having kept the Chair vacant for a year, elected Mr. Robison to it without knowing whether or not he would accept it.

Robison had previously, during a chequered career, shown great powers of mind and very versatile talents. He had been educated from his twelfth to his nineteenth year in the University of Glasgow, which was then full of brilliant Professors. Moore (Greek), Simson (Mathematics), Adam Smith (Moral Philosophy), Dick (Natural Philosophy), and Black (Chemistry) had all stimulated his intellect. In his nineteenth year he had been made assistant to Dick, and would have succeeded the old man in his Chair had not his youth been thought an insuperable objection. A series of events led to his being taken to sea next year by Admiral Knowles, as instructor in mathematics to his son. They went out with the force sent to take Quebec, and Robison is said to have been in the boat with General Wolfe when he made his famous remark about Gray's *Elegy*.<sup>2</sup> He then, through Knowles' patronage, had various employments at sea, and was sent by the Admiralty on a four months' voyage in charge of Harrison's chronometer. Getting no permanent appointment, he returned to Glasgow and was appointed lecturer on Chemistry in the University, in succession to Black, who was transferred to Edinburgh in 1766.

In 1770 he went out as private secretary to Admiral Knowles, who had been engaged by the Empress of Russia to reorganise her fleet. And this led to Robison's appointment, in 1772, as Professor of Mathematics at Cronstadt. He had an extraordinary

<sup>1</sup> Bower, iii. p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. p. 158.

facility in acquiring languages, and is said in nine months to have become fluent in speaking and writing Russian. When the Chair of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh was offered to him the Russian Government tried, by flattering prospects, to induce him to remain with them, but he accepted the invitation of the Edinburgh Town Council.

In 1774-1775 he gave his first course of lectures, which embraced "the sciences of Mechanics, Hydrodynamics, Astronomy and Optics, together with Electricity and Magnetism," and which were "given with great fluency and precision of language, and with the introduction of a good deal of mathematical demonstration. His remarks on the history of science were said to have been peculiarly interesting and instructive.<sup>1</sup> His lectures, however, were followed with difficulty, owing to his too great rapidity of utterance, and as he at the same time introduced very few experiments, the popularity of his discourses was not commensurate with their intrinsic merit. He was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in 1786 read a paper on the "Determination of the Orbit and the Motion of the Georgiun Sidus," deduced from his own observations, which he had carried on without the aid of an Observatory. Next he contributed a paper "On the Motion of Light as affected by Refracting and Reflecting Substances which are themselves in Motion." He was, in fact, engaged in the same line of inquiry as that with which Blair, the Professor of Practical Astronomy, was then occupied.

From 1793 to 1801 Robison contributed a great number of articles to the third edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, for instance on "Seamanship," "Telescope," "Roof," "Water-works," "Resistance of Fluids," "Running of Rivers," etc., all full of practical information. In 1797 he brought out a curious book entitled *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments*, to prove, in the words of Disraeli, that "Europe is honey-combed with secret societies," and that the French Revolution had been brought about by the Freemasons! As Playfair said: "It is difficult to persuade oneself that the original documents from which Mr. Robison drew up his

<sup>1</sup> Playfair's "Biographical Account of the late Professor Robison" in the *Transactions* of R.S.E. for 1815.

narrative were entitled to the confidence which he reposed in them." In 1803 he brought out Black's *Lectures on Chemistry*, carefully edited; and in 1804 he produced his own *Elements of Mechanical Philosophy*, of which, however, only the first volume, on Dynamics and Astronomy, was completed. Robison had long been in delicate health, and he died in 1805. He was a most accomplished man, and is said to have possessed "extraordinary powers of conversation."

(6) JOHN PLAYFAIR, 1805-1819, on Robison's death, was promoted to the Chair of Natural Philosophy. This Chair, according to a tradition derived from 1708, was considered the Senior Chair in the Arts curriculum (see Vol. I. pp. 264-265). It also offered greater freedom than the Mathematical Chair, and, comparatively speaking, a post of learned leisure. Playfair accepted it in his fifty-seventh year, having done all his best work in the previous twenty years, as Professor of Mathematics. Thenceforth he did next to nothing in the way of original research, but contented himself with giving punctually his one lecture a day, and for the rest with making many contributions to the literature of science. In 1812, as President of the Astronomical Institution, he procured the completion of the Observatory on the Calton Hill. During the session 1816-1817 he obtained leave of absence from the University in order to make scientific observations on Mont Blanc and others of the Alps near Geneva. Sir R. Christison, who attended his lectures on Physics, says: "Professor Playfair was a charming teacher, so simple, unaffected, and sincere in manner, so chaste in style, so clear in demonstration. I retain a more lively admiration of him as a lecturer than of all my other Professors, except, perhaps, James Gregory." Playfair read every word of his lectures, except when he had to demonstrate, not trusting himself to speak without book. Lord Cockburn, referring to this period, says: "No one who knew John Playfair can ever resist basking in his remembrance. The enlargement of his popularity after he began to verge towards age was the natural result of that beautiful process by which that most delightful philosopher increased in moral youthfulness as he declined in years. Admired by all men, and beloved by all women, of whose virtues and intellect he was ever the champion, society felt itself the happier and the more respectable from his presence. 'Phil-

andering at the Needles' was a phrase by which Jeffrey denote his devotedness to ladies<sup>1</sup> and to rocks."

(7) JOHN LESLIE, 1819-1833, followed Playfair from the Chair of Mathematics to that of Natural Philosophy. He had been almost worked out beforehand. But he made some contributions to Physics by the employment of the "differential thermometer," an instrument the invention of which he contested with Count Rumford. In 1823 he brought out the first volume of his *Elements of Natural Philosophy*, a work which was never completed. In the same year he proposed to form a class in "Special Physics," but the Senatus actually refused to sanction this, on the ground that it "would interfere with other established Chairs." He secured a good collection of apparatus for the teaching of Natural Philosophy. And then his activity took a new form, that of introducing (1826) popular lectures in the University during the summer session for mixed classes of ladies and gentlemen. Unseemly results are said to have followed. The Senatus always protested against the innovation as unsuitable to the dignity of the University. The Town Council permitted such a course for one session, after which it was dropped. Leslie, who had a good deal of eccentricity of character, and who from his personal appearance was compared in the Students' Magazine called *Lapsus Linguae*, to Sir John Falstaff, became Sir John Leslie in 1832, when by Lord Brougham's recommendation he received Knighthood in the Guelphic Order.

(8) JAMES DAVID FORBES, 1833-1860. When Sir John Leslie died he was succeeded in the Chair of Natural Philosophy by one who ranks among the most eminent Professors of the University. James D. Forbes was son of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, and of that beautiful lady, the daughter of Sir John Stuart of Fettercairn, who had been Walter Scott's first love. She died when her youngest son, James, was in his second year, and he, being a delicate child, was entirely brought up at home, living with his father in Colinton House till he was sixteen years old, when he began to attend the University of Edinburgh, riding every day to the classes of Latin and of Chemistry. On account of his health he had been purposely kept back from Mathematic

<sup>1</sup> In this characteristic, another illustrious *savant* in his old age—Sir David Brewster—resembled Playfair.

and did not begin Euclid till he was sixteen. But he had secretly devoured every scientific book he could lay hands on, and had begun keeping for himself a journal of observations in meteorology and astronomy, and a record of ideas and inventions.

When he was seventeen he began sending anonymous contributions to Sir D. Brewster's *Journal of Science*, which were welcomed by the Editor. After his first session at the University Sir W. Forbes took him for a year and a half's travel and sojourn in Italy and Switzerland. And from abroad he sent papers on "Mount Vesuvius," "The Climate of Naples," "Physical Notices of the Bay of Naples," etc., which were published in Brewster's *Journal* under the signature  $\Delta$ . Afterwards Forbes revealed his identity to Brewster, who gave him the warmest encouragement, and introduced him to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, by whom he was admitted Fellow on completing his twenty-first year. He had in the meantime resumed his studies at the University, especially of Natural Philosophy, under Sir John Leslie, who, after seeing his work for two years, told the young man that, in case of his own absence, he had thought of proposing Forbes to officiate for him. So early was his scientific merit recognised; and at this time, travelling to England, he was received as a *confrère* by Whewell, Airy, Herschel, Babbage, Peacock, Sedgwick, and others.

Forbes had been destined for the Bar, and he was indeed admitted Advocate; but on his father's death in 1829, being left with a competence, he resolved, after much consideration, to abandon all idea of legal pursuits. It is curious that Brewster dissuaded him from this course, and especially from looking to a Professorship. He said: "There is no profession so incompatible with original inquiry as a Scotch Professorship, where one's income depends on the number of pupils." This dictum was surely refuted by the after career of Forbes, who showed that a Professor of Natural Philosophy, with a vacation of six months, can make himself illustrious by the number and importance of his original researches.

When Leslie died Forbes was abroad, but his friends at once made him a candidate for the Chair, and he thus found himself pitted against so great a rival as Brewster, who, in spite of the views expressed two years before, had himself applied for the Professorship. Forbes' testimonials, especially that from Herschel, were quite sufficient to justify his appointment; and

Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and in that capacity made some valuable reforms (above, p. 118) in the degree system. When Sir David Brewster became Principal in the University of Edinburgh, Forbes, his life-long friend, succeeded him as Principal of the United College of St. Andrews, into which new career we cannot follow him. He was succeeded in 1860 by (9) PETER GUTHRIE TAIT, the present Professor of Natural Philosophy.

XV.—REGIUS PROFESSORS OF RHETORIC AND BELLES  
LETTRES.

(1) HUGH BLAIR, 1762-1784, was one of the distinguished products of Professor Stevenson's class in Rhetoric; in that class Blair composed an essay, *περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ*, which so much delighted Stevenson that it was appointed to be read in public at the end of the session. In 1738 Blair, under encouragement of Principal Wishart *secundus*, composed and printed a Thesis for his M.A. degree: "De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturæ" (see Vol. I. p. 277). Being licensed as a preacher in 1741, he at once struck out a new line in his sermons. He delivered discourses which were neither incoherent rhapsodies like those of the covenanting divines, nor dry and formal disquisitions like those of the Moderates. He delighted the fashionable congregation of the Canongate Church, to which he was appointed in his twenty-fifth year, by the novelty of sermons that had a literary style about them. It was not till thirty-four years afterwards that he prevailed upon by Lord Kames to offer a volume of these sermons to the London publisher Strahan, who, with a publisher's common inability to recognise merit under a new form, would have returned the MS. had not Dr. Johnson got sight of it and said: "I have read over Dr. Blair's first sermon with more than approbation; to say it is good is to say too little." The volume was then published, and had at once a great sale; no devotional work hitherto produced by Scotland having attracted so much attention as this did in England. Blair's *Sermons* were part of the literary revival in Edinburgh, and, like Robertson's *History*, they took people in London by surprise. Admired as Blair was as a preacher, his sermons were better in print than when delivered by him; for he had no graces of delivery, and, "independently of a very strong



provincial accent, his elocution was but indifferent from a defect in the organs of pronunciation."<sup>1</sup> He appears to have been singularly deficient as an *extempore* speaker, and on this account declined to be made Moderator of the General Assembly. Dr. Carlyle smiles at the idea of some one having written to ask Blair to instruct him in the art of preaching.

The success of Blair's printed *Sermons* was, of course, long after his appointment by the Town Council in 1759 to be unsalaried Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, and his subsequent appointment by George III., in 1762, to be Regius Professor of the same subject, with a salary of £70 (see Vol. I. p. 276). Blair can hardly have been a good Professor: for this reason, that in the preface to his *Lectures on Rhetoric* he says: "The following Lectures were read for twenty-four years in the University;" that is to say that, having carefully composed a set of lectures in his first session, he ever afterwards read them to his class without alteration or development. The *Lectures* are fairly good for those times; but that a Professor should go on all his time in such a cut-and-dry fashion seems deplorable.

For the rest, Blair published his sermons and brought out three more volumes of them. Queen Charlotte got hold of some of them, and was delighted; and George III., in 1780, granted Blair a pension of £200 a year. He then set up a carriage, being perhaps the first Presbyterian minister in Edinburgh that ever did so. He was very hospitable to strangers, both at his town and country house, and he was minutely fastidious in dress and furniture, being a sort of forerunner of the *æsthetes*. He lived in cheerful friendship with the Robertson, Hume, and Carlyle set. At one time he had Lord Percy, son of the Duke of Northumberland, as a pupil in his house; but he did not like it. He retired from the duties of his Chair in 1783, and died at the very end of the eighteenth century, in his eighty-third year.

His joint Professor and successor in the Chair was (2) WILLIAM GREENFIELD, 1784-1801, who was also his colleague in the High Church of St. Giles'. There is a story<sup>2</sup> that, when Burns was in Edinburgh in 1787, he was at a party in Blair's house.

<sup>1</sup> Bower, *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. iii. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See the article on "Burns's Unpublished Commonplace Book," by Prof Jack, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xxxix. p. 452.

and, being asked "from which of the public places he had received the greatest gratification, he named the High Church, but gave the preference as a preacher not to Blair, but to his colleague," which candid remark threw the company into embarrassment. Burns thus preferred Greenfield as an eloquent preacher to Blair. Greenfield was a man of considerable ability; he was a member of R.S.E., and contributed to their *Transactions* a paper "On the use of Negative Quantities in the Solution of Problems by Algebraic Equations." He published anonymously *Essays on the Sources of the Pleasures derived from Literary Compositions*, which is a pleasing work, showing an appreciative knowledge of some of the best literature. It ranks with Beattie's *Essays*, Burke *On the Sublime*, etc., in its philosophy of Beauty, the Ludicrous, the Imagination, and so on; but of course it falls short of the subtlety of Coleridge and the style of Ruskin. There is a flavour of last century formality and prosiness about the æsthetic of Greenfield. Owing to an aberration of intellect he was removed from his Chair at the end of 1798. And Blair having died in the meantime (3) ANDREW BROWN, 1801-1835, was appointed Professor of Rhetoric. He, too, was a city minister (of Old St. Giles'), and was said to be "characterised by the eloquent composition of his writings, the unobtrusiveness of his manners, and the kindness of his feelings."<sup>1</sup> He appears to have written "an elaborate History of America," but this was never brought out, and his only published works were two sermons and a *Notice of the Life and Character of Prof. A. Christison*.

Dr. Andrew Brown appeared before the Commission of 1826 and stated that his class averaged from 27 to 37 Students, and that he never ventured on examinations, or any attempt to secure regular attendance. Altogether he took a despairing view of the Rhetoric Class, left, as it then was, out in the cold. His evidence probably tended to induce the Commissioners to recommend the abolition of the Chair.

(4) GEORGE MOIR, 1835-1840, who was the next brief tenant of the Chair of Rhetoric, must not be confounded with the contemporary and more famous man of letters who wrote under the signature of "Delta," and whose name was David Macbeth Moir. George Moir was an advocate, and an accomplished man, being

<sup>1</sup> Scott's *Fasts*, p. 12.

one of the first persons in this country who had a thorough knowledge of the German language and German literature. As Professor, he is said to have lectured on Greek tragedy, but the class being at a low ebb, he resigned it in 1840, in order to confine himself to legal pursuits. In 1864 he came back to the University as Professor of Scots Law.

(5) WILLIAM SPALDING, 1840-1845, also held the Chair for something less than five years. His class only numbered from 20 to 30 Students, and in 1845 he migrated to the Chair of Logic in St. Andrews, James Ferrier having during the same year abandoned the then poverty-stricken Chair of Civil History in Edinburgh, and gone to that of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews. Spalding was a man of a good deal of ability; the Commission of 1858 added the province of English Literature to the Professorship of Logic in St. Andrews, and Spalding was well able to teach both subjects. He published both a *Logic* and a *Manual of English Literature*.

(6) WILLIAM EDMONSTOUNE AYTOUN, 1845-1865, was far the most brilliant and at the same time the most efficient of former occupants of the Chair of Rhetoric. Born in 1813, of an old Fifeshire family, he was educated in the University of Edinburgh, and then proceeded to Germany, where he imbued his mind with the literature of the country. In 1840 he was called to the Scottish Bar, and practised for some time in criminal cases on the western circuit. But his bent was entirely to literary pursuits: he began by contributing to *Tait's Magazine*, and then, in conjunction with his friend Theodore (now Sir Theodore) Martin, he produced the *Bon Gualtier Ballads*, which contained such "excellent fooling" as at once to establish his reputation for wit and humour. From 1833 till his death he was a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*, in which he brought out those Jacobite poems which were afterwards published as the *Lays of Scottish Cavaliers*, and had an immense popularity. Without having any of the divine *afflatus* which constitutes poetry of the highest order, the *Lays* were full of swing and action, and they dealt with the romantic side of History and appealed to national sentiment. Altogether, Aytoun contributed 120 articles, in poetry or prose, to *Blackwood*, among which were several mirth-inspiring tales—such as the famous *Glenmutchkin Railway*,—and

also papers in support of the Conservative party, in reward for which Lord Derby's Government, in 1852, gave Aytoun the appointment of Sheriff and Vice-Admiral of Orkney and Shetland, the duties of which office he performed entirely to the satisfaction of the islanders. But long previously to this, on Spalding's departure to St. Andrews, Aytoun had received from the Crown, in 1845, the Chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.

As a Professor he obtained the most signal success; it was his characteristic to combine a lively fancy with the most solid good sense, and he showed this in the management of his class. He put great life into the lecturing, and also took pains with the training of the Students, by examining them and correcting their exercises; and at the same time he showed them much kindness and sympathy. He became very popular, and the Rhetoric class, which had hitherto been regarded as hopeless, steadily increased in numbers under Aytoun from 30 to 150. This success struck the Commissioners of 1858-1862; they commented on it in their Report, and instead of abolishing the Chair, as the Commission of 1826 had recommended, they consolidated it. They changed its name to that of the Chair of "Rhetoric and English Literature;" they made English Literature a necessary subject for graduation in Arts; and they added £100 a year from money voted by Parliament to the salary of £100 formerly granted by the Crown. Ever since that time the Chair has greatly flourished, but it was to William Edmonstoune Aytoun that the foundation of its prosperity is due. In 1849 he married Jane, youngest daughter of his great *collaborateur* in *Blackwood*, Professor Wilson, but she predeceased him. His own active life was brought to a somewhat premature close in 1865, when he died in his fifty-third year.

He was succeeded by (7) DAVID MASSON, the present Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature.

#### XVI.—REGIUS PROFESSORS OF PRACTICAL ASTRONOMY.

(1) ROBERT BLAIR, 1786-1828. We have mentioned above (Vol. I. p. 339) Dr. Blair's appointment as the first Professor of Practical Astronomy, and how, though "a zealous student and cultivator of Astronomy and Optics," he never opened a class,

owing to the want of an Observatory and instruments; and how he not only treated his Chair as a complete sinecure, but never went near the *Senatus Academicus*. Indeed it is said that he lived for nearly eight years entirely in London, where his son Archibald was carrying on the business of an optician. Robert Blair, M.D., was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in January 1786, but he did not contribute anything to the Society till 1794, when he read a paper of "Experiments on the unequal refrangibility of light." In 1797 he contributed "A new method of constructing Achromatic Telescopes." Sir David Brewster, in his *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* (No. XV., Article on "Optics"), praised "the ingenious labours of Dr. Blair in the construction of fluid achromatic object-glasses, and the high degree of perfection which he gave to the telescopes that he had constructed." Brewster added that these experiments had never received their due share of praise, and that they deserved liberal encouragement. Thus Robert Blair's forty-two years of endowed leisure were not entirely thrown away. After his death in 1828 there occurred an interregnum in the Professorship, till in 1834, an Observatory having been in the meantime made available, the Government were prepared to make another appointment. As we have seen (Vol. I. p. 342), the office was no longer to remain a sinecure, the Professor of Practical Astronomy was also to be Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, and in the latter capacity onerous duties were to be exacted from him.

It is a fact of some little interest that for the vacant post so constituted Thomas Carlyle was a candidate. In his *Recollections* it is recorded how he thought himself ill-used by his friend Jeffrey, then Lord Advocate, who would not appoint him, but gave the office to a law-clerk instead. Carlyle had shown some aptitude for Mathematics, but it is difficult to believe that such a born man of letters could have so far altered the direction of his mind as to have done any good service in the Observatory. At all events, the appointment of a law-clerk by Jeffrey was very far from being a mere piece of favouritism, as Carlyle seemed to imply.

(2) THOMAS HENDERSON, 1834-1844, who was now made Professor of Practical Astronomy and Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, was a man of genius, who had shown the highest qualifications for the post conferred upon him. He was one of

those who seem to arrive unaided and intuitively at a knowledge of science, for all the teaching which he received in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy was as a boy in the Grammar School of Dundee from his thirteenth to his fifteenth year. At fifteen he became a writer's clerk first in Dundee and afterwards in Edinburgh, was employed to classify the burgh records of Dundee, was highly esteemed as a man of business by Mr. Gibson-Craig, became clerk to Lord Eldin (one of the Judges), and secretary to the Earl of Lauderdale. The important thing for him was that he made the friendship of Professor Wallace, who had then the care of the Edinburgh Observatory, to which he gave Henderson free admission; and thus amid his law-work he was enabled to acquire practical skill in Astronomy, and also to evolve new ideas in that science. "The first which he made public relates to the computation of an observed occultation of a fixed star by the moon."<sup>1</sup> In 1827 he excited the attention of Astronomers by detecting an error in the *data* furnished to Mr. Herschel for the determination of the difference of longitude of London and Paris. In 1832 Henderson accepted the appointment of Astronomer at the Cape of Good Hope, where, with indefatigable exertion, he amassed in little more than a year a valuable stock of observations. But his labours undermined his health, his heart was affected, and in May 1833 he returned. In this country, both before and after his appointment as Astronomer-Royal, he, unremunerated, went through the labour of reducing the observations which he had made at the Cape. And when placed in possession of the Edinburgh Observatory he at once entered upon an arduous and unremitting course of new observations. Henderson had the glory of being "the first discoverer of our distance from a fixed star," having investigated the parallax of a *Centauri*. If he did nothing in the way of teaching classes as Professor in the University, we must remember that he was a man of impaired health, who needed all his strength for the duties which the terms of his Commission, as well as his own scientific ardour, imposed upon him. His name is certainly an honour to the University. Henderson died, exhausted, in 1844;

<sup>1</sup> Obituary notice of Henderson, by the late Professor Kelland, in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1845, from which the above facts are taken.

his end was hastened by the death of his lately-married wife, the accomplished daughter of Mr. Adie, a celebrated optician of Edinburgh.

(3) In 1846 the present Professor of Practical Astronomy and Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, CHARLES PIAZZI SMYTH was appointed.

#### XVII.—PROFESSORS OF CIVIL LAW.

(For the circumstances of the foundation of this Chair see Vol. I. p. 284.)

(1) JAMES CRAIG, 1710-1732, was younger son of Lewis Craig of Riccarton, and great-great-grandson of Sir Thomas Craig, the feudalist. He thus belonged to a family which for two centuries has hardly ever been without its representative at the Bar or on the Bench. James Craig graduated M.A. in Edinburgh 1696; his name does not appear in the Album of Leyden so probably he studied Law at Utrecht; he passed Advocate in 1701. He then taught Civil Law privately till the Town Council took him up as a Professor into the College. He lectured on the *Institutes* and the *Pandects*, using for his text-book in the latter course Van Eck's *Principia*, of which his own copy, with MS. notes much more voluminous than the text, is preserved in the library at Riccarton. Those notes testify to a very large and accurate knowledge of the Civil Law. On his death (2) THOMAS DUNDAS, 1732-1745, was appointed. He was member of another of the legal families of Scotland, that of Arniston, being younger brother of the first Lord President Dundas. He was admitted to the Bar in 1730, and sent up by the Faculty in November 1732<sup>1</sup> on a leet, together with John Erskine, afterwards Professor of Scots Law, in preference to whom he was elected. As his name is mentioned by contemporary writers on the Continent Dundas must have enjoyed some reputation as a civilian, but he does not appear to have published any work. In 1741, as we saw (Vol. I. p. 289), he was lecturing on the *Institutes* from Van Muyden's *Compend*, and on the *Pandects* from Voet's *Compend*. Owing to weak health he resigned his Chair in 1745.

<sup>1</sup> In the Leyden Album the name of Thomas Dundas occurs as entering the study of Law in 1733, aged twenty-two. This can hardly have been the same person.

(3) KENNETH M'KENZIE, 1745-1754, an Advocate of over twenty years' standing, who had commenced his legal studies at Leyden in 1718, became the next Professor of Civil Law. He was of the family of Delvine. On the same leet with him the Faculty sent up the name of Alexander Boswell, afterwards Lord Auchinleck (father of Johnson's "Bozzy"), but the Town Council preferred M'Kenzie, about whose teaching, however, no particulars seem to be recorded. He resigned the Chair in 1754.

(4) ROBERT DICK, 1755-1792, on appointment, began by giving two courses annually, in Latin, as his predecessors had done; but in 1768 the Professor of Civil Law in Glasgow (Millar) commenced lecturing in English, and continued to do so, in spite of a protest on the subject lodged by the Faculty of Advocates with the Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow. Professor Dick followed this very proper example, and the lectures on Civil Law in Edinburgh were subsequently given in English, though for some time the practice was continued of examining the class orally in Latin. After thirty-seven years' tenure of his Chair Dick applied for assistance, and (5) JOHN WILDE, 1792-1800, was appointed joint-Professor with him, in preference to Adam Gillies (afterwards Lord Gillies), whose name had also been sent up by the Faculty. Wilde became sole occupant of the Chair in 1796, but in 1799-1800 he had become so much indisposed as to be clearly unfit for lecturing; and the Senatus made a representation on the subject to the Town Council, between whom and the Faculty of Advocates it was arranged that Wilde should go on drawing the salary of the Chair, but that a joint Professor should be appointed to do the work. A stipend of £100 was to be provided between the two bodies, but the Town Council only contributed £30 a year, leaving the Advocates to pay the rest. Perhaps this was because the Advocates had forced their hand in the matter of electing the joint Professor, and deprived them of any choice in the matter, by the ingenious expedient of sending on their leet the name of a person who, it was known, would not accept the office. Accordingly, when the leet came up containing the names of Solicitor-General Blair and Alexander Irving, the Council had no resource but to appoint the latter.



(6) ALEXANDER IRVING, 1800-1826, during his tenure office, gave two courses annually on the *Institutes* and on *Pandects*, and appears to have been a successful teacher; and was also a successful lawyer, which led to his being promoted the Bench (under the title of Lord Newton) in 1826. One of his last acts as Professor was to give evidence before the Royal Commission. *Inter alia*, he said that the class in *Pandects*, which was always slenderly attended, ought to be abolished. Irving was said to have had great taste for music, and to have been a good performer on the violoncello. On his elevation the Advocates again took the election of a Professor into their own hands by sending up a dummy name (that of the Dean of Faculty), together with that of (7) DOUGLAS CHEAPE, 1827-1858, who was necessarily elected as Irving's successor. Cheape, on assuming office, gave evidence also before the Commission, and he announced his intention of abolishing (as Irving had recommended) the class in *Pandects*, and giving only one course on *Institutes*, supplemented from the *Corpus Juris*, as a systematic course on Civil Law. This change had, in fact, been rendered necessary by the establishment (in 1825) of a Chair of Conveyancing, which gave the Law Students an hour's more work *per diem* than they had had previously. Cheape also introduced another sensible innovation by conducting his examinations in English, instead of in Latin, as had hitherto been the custom. On his resignation, owing to domestic circumstances, the Faculty of Advocates recorded "their high sense of the very able and efficient manner in which he had discharged the duties of the Chair." It is observable that Bower, who took so much trouble in finding out biographical details with regard to most of the Professors, says not a word about any of the old Professors of Civil Law. Of Irving or Cheape, indeed, he could not speak as they were alive when he wrote his last volume. Perhaps he did not find the others interesting. They seem all to have taken out diligently out of the Dutch text-books, without adding anything to the literature of the subject. (8) ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL SWINTON, 1842-1862, succeeded, and is now *Emeritus Professor*. (9) JAMES MUIRHEAD, 1862, is the present Professor of Civil Law.

XVIII.—PROFESSORS OF UNIVERSAL CIVIL HISTORY AND  
GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

The foundation of this Chair was in all probability part of the scheme of Carstares for turning the College of Edinburgh into a complete University (see above, Vol. I. p. 230).

(1) CHARLES MACKIE, 1719-1765, the first Professor, was son of a sister of Carstares ; he had received his education in the University, living in the house of his uncle the Principal, and had been admitted to the Faculty of Advocates.<sup>1</sup> It was from materials contributed by Mackie that the Rev. Joseph M'Cormick drew up the "Life of Carstares" which was prefixed to the *Carstares State-Papers*. On his appointment Mackie was enjoined to give "colleges" upon the History of Scotland in particular, and upon the Roman, Greek, and British Antiquities. We have quoted (Vol. I. p. 289) his programme of lectures for 1741. His method was to comment (in Latin) upon the *Epitome* of Tursellinus, a short chronicle of events from the beginning of the world to the end of the sixteenth century ; but he drew from original sources in Rymer's *Fœdera*, the *Grand Corps Diplomatique*, etc., and "detected many vulgar errors in History." He also lectured on Roman Antiquities, in reference to the Law Procedure of the Romans. A copy of notes for his lectures and other MSS. of his, including a curious *Index Funereus*, or register of deaths between 1727 and 1756, is in the Laing Collection in the University Library.

Mackie held his Chair till 1765, but he only worked in it till the end of 1753. At his request Mr. John Gordon was then appointed joint Professor with him, to teach the class, but within a year Gordon resigned this appointment "that he might be in a condition to accept of the Professorship of Civil Law, for which the Faculty of Advocates thought him well qualified, and he was sensible himself that he was a better civilian than historian." Mr. William Wallace was then made joint Professor with Mackie, and so continued till 1765 when Wallace obtained the Chair of Scots Law ; Mackie, who must have been extremely old, resigned at the same time, and (2) JOHN PRINGLE, 1765-1780, was

<sup>1</sup> This implied that Mackie must have studied Law in some foreign University.

lecture altogether for some sessions ; on attention being called to this he got permission for his brother, Patrick Fraser Tytler, the historian of Scotland, to read his lectures for him during one session, and he then resigned ; he had been appointed Sheriff of Inverness-shire.

(5) Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., 1821-1837, then obtained the Chair of "Civil History and Greek and Roman Antiquities,"<sup>1</sup> as a sort of *solatium* to him for not getting the Chair of Moral Philosophy the year before. His great learning qualified him to make the teaching of his subject solid and profound, and he entered upon his duties with ardour ; but his success was very limited. His course of lectures comprised "an historical survey of the relations of the political system of modern Europe and its dependencies—with a view of the progress of literature in the different nations ;" and for some years he maintained a class of upwards of 30 Students. His fiery soul chafed in the narrow scope thus afforded to his energies, and in 1824 he petitioned the Senatus to give "protection" to his Chair by admitting his subject to the Arts curriculum. But the Arts Faculty gave him no encouragement ; and in 1828 he stated his views in a letter to the Royal Commission.<sup>2</sup> He said that "while the single Historical Chairs in our Scottish Universities have been hardly able to maintain their existence—in Germany from twelve to twenty different historical courses, in the same University, and in the same session, are delivered to audiences more numerous than those in almost any other department of knowledge." He pointed out the depressing circumstances of his own Chair, and "to remedy the evil" he suggested that attendance on the History Class should be made necessary for the M.A. degree. He estimated that this would add (in the neglected state of Arts graduation) only 10 or 12 Students to his class. But he thought that the Faculty of Advocates and the Society of Writers to the Signet might encourage him by a recognition of his subject. The Commissioners, as we have seen (p. 43), turned a deaf ear to his

<sup>1</sup> So it was called in his Commission, the word "Universal" having been omitted, apparently through inadvertence.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that Sir W. Hamilton, who was so great an authority on the history and constitutions of Universities, was not examined before the Commission of 1826.

was gratified by a large attendance. At what appeared to him the proper time, when he hoped that some taste for his subject had been aroused, he began to demand the usual fee. His class instantly dwindled down to a mere handful. He lowered the fee; it was no use; no one came; he again demanded nothing, and again his benches filled. With these experiences, Cosmo Innes renounced the effort to make the Chair remunerative, and discontinued lecturing. We have seen above (p. 128) that in 1862 the Executive Commission changed the title of the Chair to that of "History," and made the lectures of the Professor on Constitutional Law and History necessary for a degree in Law. Innes then took up the duties of what was in fact a new Chair, and fulfilled them till his death in 1874, lecturing to a secured class on English and Continental Constitutional History.

(9) ÆNEAS J. G. MACKAY, 1874-1881, now Advocate-Depute for Scotland, was the second "Professor of History." On his resignation he was succeeded by (10) JOHN KIRKPATRICK, the present Incumbent.

#### XIX.—PROFESSORS OF SCOTS LAW.

(1) ALEXANDER BAYNE, 1722-1737. We have related above (Vol. I. p. 288) how, in 1722, the Town Council, on the petition of Mr. Alexander Bayne of Rives, created a Chair of Scots Law in the University, and made him the first Professor. The Act continuing the Ale Duty, of the same year, provided a salary of £100 for the Chair, and gave the first presentation to the Town Council; but enacted that their right afterwards should be restricted to selecting from a leet of two, to be sent up by the Faculty of Advocates. Bayne had passed Advocate in 1714, and the terms of his petition show that he had been engaged in lecturing privately on the Law of Scotland before he was made Professor. In 1730 he published *Institutions of the Criminal Law of Scotland*; and soon after a volume of *Notes for the use of the Students of the Municipal Law in the University of Edinburgh*, the preface to which contains the following passage, of some interest as connecting the old system of "Dictates" with the modern system of lecturing: "So long," says Bayne, "as Students would be at the trouble to take them down in writing, I thought

it a proper exercise for them, and to keep them to it I had hitherto avoided the printing of them. But that intention became now quite disappointed by the increasing number of written copies, and these having become very incorrect by the addition of *errata* of every new transcriber, I thought it better to provide correct printed copies for the use of my students, than to let them take up with the incorrect MS. copies of others. And that those who shall be disposed to make use of their pen in the course of their studies may not be without somewhat proper whereupon to exercise it, let them be assured I shall yet find them suitable materials in the course of my Prelections explanatory of what contained in our Author" (he made use of Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions* as his text-book) "and these notes, to be a fit subject in their second course whereupon to display their assiduity."

At the death of Bayne (2) JOHN ERSKINE, 1737-1765, having been nominated by the Faculty together with James Balfour, Advocate (who "had no desire for the appointment"), was duly appointed Professor of Scots Law by the Town Council. He was son of the Hon. Colonel Erskine of Carnock, and grandson of Lord Cardross. He entered with great ardour on the duties of the Chair, and his class was more numerously attended than that of Bayne had been. For many years, as we saw by his program for 1741 (Vol. I. p. 289), he took as his text-book Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions*; but in 1754 he published his *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, and afterwards lectured on it. After teaching the Scots Law class for twenty-eight years Erskine retired, and devoted the last three years of his life to the completion of his larger work, *The Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, which was published after his death, in 1773, and which has subsequently been a book of the highest authority on the Law of Scotland. Matthew Ross, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates having been once asked how he acquired his great knowledge of law, replied: "The day that I passed Advocate I walked home from the Parliament House and buried my nose in Erskine, and kept it there for three years." Of the next Professor (3) WILL WALLACE, 1765-1786, no particulars can be obtained, except that he was son of a Writer to the Signet, was admitted Advocate in 1752, was appointed to the Chair of Scots Laws in 1765, and lectured the decisions reported for the Faculty of Advocates for

1772-1776, and died in 1786, leaving his widow and an only daughter in great poverty. His successor in the Chair was a man of powerful mind, and a great legal luminary, namely (4) DAVID HUME, 1786-1822, who was the eldest son of John Hume, Esq., of Ninewells, and nephew of the Philosopher. David Hume was born 1756, admitted Advocate 1779, and made Sheriff of Berwickshire 1784, at the early age of twenty-eight; he was afterwards transferred to the Sheriffship of Linlithgowshire, and was made one of the Principal Clerks of Session. He published a work of great learning and research on the *Criminal Law of Scotland*, which passed through several editions during his lifetime, and has been republished since his death. He also collected a well-known volume of *Decisions*, which appeared posthumously. As a lecturer he had a high reputation; but he not only did not publish his lectures, but he left strict injunctions to his executors to prevent any publication of them. Many copies, however, of MS. notes of those lectures are in circulation among the profession, and they are frequently quoted both at the Bar and on the Bench. We have mentioned above (p. 9) Hume's sagacious opinion, written in 1816, on the relations between the Senatus and the Town Council. In 1822 he was promoted to the office of Baron of Exchequer. He died in 1838. When Principal Clerk of Session Hume sat at the same table with Sir Walter Scott, who thus writes of him in his autobiography: "I copied over his lectures twice with my own hand from notes taken in the class, and when I have had occasion to consult them I can never sufficiently admire the penetration and clearness of conception which were necessary to the arrangement of the fabric of law, formed originally under the strictest influence of feudal principles, and innovated, altered, and broken in upon by the changes of times, of habits, and of manners, until it resembles some ancient castle, partly entire, partly ruinous, partly dilapidated, patched and altered, during the succession of ages, by a thousand additions and combinations, yet still exhibiting the marks of its antiquity, and symptoms of the skill and wisdom of its founders, and capable of being analysed and made the subject of a methodical plan by an architect who can understand the various styles of the different ages in which it was subjected to alteration. Such an architect has Mr. Hume been to the law of Scotland,—neither wandering

had for a seat on that Bench, which his great legal work had been instructing and directing for above thirty years.”

(6) JOHN SCHANK MORE, 1843-1861, son of a Seceding Minister, was born at North Shields in 1784; admitted Advocate in 1806, in 1827 published an edition of Erskine's *Principles*, and in 1832 an important edition of Lord Stair's *Institutions*, with notes and illustrations. More had an extraordinary knowledge of the literature of Scottish law, which showed itself in these works. When appointed Professor, he was not only interesting to his Students by his learning, but he took remarkable pains in going through and correcting their exercises. He was a great book collector, and amassed a library of 15,000 volumes. Among these was a remarkable collection of about 14,000 pamphlets, bound up into 1400 volumes. He was full of gentle tastes outside the legal profession; his books were his companions; like Southey's scholar he might have said, "My days among the dead are passed;" and in old age his chief favourites were the Episcopal divines, Horsley, Hooker, and Leighton. He exhibited to his class the type of a Christian gentleman.<sup>1</sup>

(7) GEORGE ROSS, 1861-1863, who next succeeded to the Chair of Scots Law, held it for the brief space of two years. He was son of George Ross, Esq., Advocate, and the last Judge of the Commissary Court; was admitted Advocate 1835, and afterwards appointed Presenter of Signatures,—an office involving the responsible duty of revising, before they were issued, all Charters asked for from the Crown. He published various *Commentaries* on statutes connected with Land Rights, and edited many volumes of Leading Cases both on the subject of Land Rights and on that of Commercial Law. He was appointed Professor of Scots Law in 1861, but died prematurely in 1863.

(8) GEORGE MOIR, 1863-1865, was another brief incumbent. He had before held the Chair of Rhetoric for a short space, and had gone off to be Sheriff of Ross-shire. In 1863 he was chosen Professor of Scots Law by a unanimous vote of the Faculty

<sup>1</sup> The view of Professor Schank More, above given, is taken from Dean Ramsay's obituary notice of him in the *Proceedings* of R.S.E., 1861. The substance of the accounts of the other Professors of Scots Law has been kindly furnished by Professor Macpherson.

of Advocates, all other candidates having withdrawn on being known that he was willing to occupy the Chair. But he only held it two years, and then resigned, on which (NORMAN MACPHERSON, the present Professor of Scots Law, was appointed.

#### XX.—PROFESSORS OF CONVEYANCING.

It appears that about the year 1750 "the institution of Chair of Conveyancing was strongly urged by certain individuals in the legal profession. The foundation of the Chair was successfully resisted by the Society of Writers to the Signet, on the ground that it would interfere with the duties of masters in the teaching of their apprentices in chambers. About forty years afterwards the Society had become more enlightened on the subject,"<sup>1</sup> partly owing to the influence of a work entitled *Lectures on the History and Practice of the Law of Scotland, relative to Conveyancing and Legal Diligence*, by Walter Ross, W.S. In 1791 they instituted a Lectureship on Conveyancing, and in 1796 they tried to get it erected into a Chair in the University, but this was opposed, and for a time successfully, both by the Senatus (see Vol. I. p. 292) and by the Faculty of Advocates, on the ground that such a Chair would interfere with that of Scots Law. In 1825, however, the Town Council set aside these objections and erected a Chair of Conveyancing, for which the Society of Writers agreed to provide a perpetual salary of at least one hundred guineas.

The first Professor of Conveyancing was (1) MACVEY NAPIER, 1825-1847, a learned and philosophical lawyer, who was still more renowned as a man of letters and a critic. Born in 1770 and having been educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, Macvey Napier passed W.S. in 1799, and in 1800 he was appointed Librarian to the Society. In the same year he had an article on "Degerando" in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which he continued afterwards to be a contributor. In 1811 he reviewed Dugald Stewart's "Philosophical Essays" in the *Quarterly Review*. He then commenced making an edition of the works of Sir Walter Raleigh, of which six volumes were printed, when in 1814 he

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on Conveyancing*, by Professor Montgomerie Bell, vol. i. p. 14.



was engaged by Messrs. Constable to act as editor of the "Supplement" to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; which work was in his hands till 1824.<sup>1</sup> In 1816 Napier was appointed Lecturer on Conveyancing by the Writers to the Signet. In 1818 he contributed a remarkable paper to the *Transactions* of the R.S.E., entitled "Remarks Illustrative of the Scope and Influence of the Philosophical Writings of Lord Bacon." In 1820, on Dr. Thomas Brown's death, Dugald Stewart wrote a strong letter to the Lord Provost, recommending Napier for the Chair of Moral Philosophy; but he, knowing that as a Whig he had no chance of success, declined to become a candidate. In 1825 he was promoted by the Town Council from being Lecturer to be Professor of Conveyancing. "Of his qualifications for this Chair," says Professor Montgomerie Bell, "I can join a numerous body of his Students in speaking with the highest respect and gratitude." But he was not able to concentrate his whole attention on his work as a Professor, having in 1829 been chosen as editor of the *Edinburgh Review* in succession to Jeffrey. His individuality as an author was lost in anonymous contributions to this *Review*. An interesting volume of letters to him from eminent contributors, such as Brougham, Macaulay, Carlyle, James Stephen, Brewster, Senior, M'Culloch, etc., has been published by his son,<sup>2</sup> and shows that he had a somewhat difficult team to drive. He died in 1847, in the seventy-first year of his age.

(2) ALLAN MENZIES, 1847-1856, who was Napier's successor, had, like himself, a considerable capacity for literature. We have mentioned his name above (p. 39) as one of the Students who were particularly distinguished in producing essays, in competition for Lord Aberdeen's prize, on the Character of the Ancient Athenians. Afterwards, belonging to a firm of Writers who were agents for the Dick Bequest for the benefit of Teachers in the North of Scotland, he took great interest in the administration of the Trust, and was accustomed himself to test the qualifications of the Parish Schoolmasters and the results of their teaching. In the Chair of Conveyancing his *Lectures*, which after his death,

<sup>1</sup> The edition of Raleigh having been suspended in 1814 was never completed by Napier. On the Constables becoming bankrupt, in 1825, the volumes that had been printed were sold off as they were.

<sup>2</sup> From the Introduction to this work most of the above particulars have been taken.

in 1856, were published by his son, and went through two editions were characterised by literary excellence of style. Menzies introduced the system of examining his class by papers to be answered in the class-room without the aid of books or notes.

(3) ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE BELL, 1856-1866, who was a partner of Messrs. Dundas and Wilson, W.S., had not the literary tastes of his predecessors, but he was a very able teacher of Conveyancing, and his *Lectures*, which were published after his death, have already gone through three editions. Without being so well written as those of Professor Menzies, which they have now superseded, they have a more practical tone, and also bring the Law down to a later date.

(4) In 1866 JAMES STUART FRASER TYTLER, the present Professor of Conveyancing, was appointed.

#### XXI.—PROFESSORS OF BOTANY.

The beginnings of the study of Botany in the College of Edinburgh date far before those of any other medical or scientific subject, except, indeed, Mathematics. We have seen above (Vol. I. p. 218) how Sir R. Sibbald and Dr. A. Balfour got hold of "Mr. James Sutherland, a youth, who by his own industry had attained a great knowledge of the plants and of medals," and employed him to lay out for them, as a Physic Garden, a piece of ground belonging to Holyrood House about forty feet square how next they got "a lease to Mr. James Sutherland" of the garden belonging to Trinity Hospital, which was the second site of the Physic Garden; and how in 1676 the Town Council gave Sutherland a salary of £20 sterling, and annexed his profession to the rest of the liberal sciences taught in the College, and granted him a convenient room in the College for keeping books and seeds relative to the said profession. They thus indirectly made him Professor of Botany in 1676, from which we may date the foundation of the Chair, though it was not till 1695 that the Council formally appointed Sutherland to be Professor of Botany in the College, with his former salary of £20, and "all emoluments, profits, and casualties."

(1) JAMES SUTHERLAND, 1676-1705, was a person about whose antecedents Bower could find no particulars, except th

“he had followed the honourable profession of a gardener.” That he was a diligent botanist and collector of plants may be gathered from his Catalogue of some 2000 species and varieties of plants cultivated in the Physic Garden. In the dedication of this Catalogue in 1683 to the then Lord Provost, he mentions with honest pride his exertions during seven years; his foreign correspondence to obtain seeds and plants from the Levant, Italy, Spain, France, Holland, England, and the East and West Indies; and his “painful journeys in all seasons of the year to recover whatever this Kingdom produceth of variety.” In 1695 Sutherland got himself placed on a better footing than before. He was not only formally made Professor in the College of Edinburgh, but the College of Surgeons resolved to assess their apprentices one guinea each for instruction in Botany. In return Sutherland, besides teaching the apprentices, was “to wait upon” the Surgeons “at a solemn public herborising” four times a year. It seems certain that Sutherland, who had great merits in his own way, never gave a lecture on Botany within the College. Some of the Students may have gone to the Physic Garden, as the Surgeons’ apprentices did, and picked up information. In 1705, when he had served for thirty years, complaints were made of his neglecting his duties both to the apprentices and to the College garden, which he had been directed to keep in order. The Town Council reduced his salary as Professor from £20 to £5, and Sutherland then resigned, on the ground that he “had resolved to live more retiredly and to quit the said profession, and apply himself to the study of medals.” Bower<sup>1</sup> thinks that he must have died in the same year, since in 1705 “the Faculty of Advocates purchased his excellent collection of Greek, Roman, Scottish, Saxon, and English coins and medals.” If he began life as a common gardener, he must have been a remarkable man to acquire both the knowledge and the means for such a collection.

(2) CHARLES PRESTON, 1706-1712, the next Professor, seems to have been a Doctor of Medicine. A year after his appointment he issued the following advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courant* for 16th May 1707: “Dr. Preston teaches his lessons of botany in the Physick Garden at Edinburgh, the months of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 373.

May, June, July, and August 1707. Therefore, all gentlemen and others, who are desirous to learn the said science of botany may repair to the said garden, where attendance will be given. This advertisement was an invitation to the general public to visit the Physic Garden and receive from Dr. Preston the same sort of instruction which the Surgeon apprentices were in all probability receiving from him—namely, they were shown the plants, and were told their names and medical properties, and whether they were indigenous or exotic. Botany as a science, or as a subject for systematic lectures in a class-room, hardly existed then. After the death of Charles Preston in 1711 (3) GEORGE PRESTON 1712-1738, possibly his son, was appointed “Professor of Botany of this city, and Master of the Physick Garden thereof,” “with power to cultivate and possess the said garden and house, at the New North Port, and pertinents belonging thereto.” He was “to carry on the said profession of Botany,” to cultivate the garden and “to keep correspondents for procuring plants and seeds from foreign countries.” For these services he was to have a salary £10 sterling, subject, however, to the burden of £40 Scotch (£3 : 6 : 8 sterling) ground-duty to Trinity Hospital. In 1712 the Surgeons subscribed a guinea each towards building a greenhouse, and the Town Council allowed George Preston £10 sterling a year for maintenance of the garden and greenhouse. His position then was that he had a free house, a clear salary of £6 : 13 : 4, and leave to make what he could by teaching the Surgeon apprentices and others, and by the sale of drugs from the garden. Probably the last-named privilege was considered to be of some value; we have seen above (Vol. I. p. 308) that in 1724 four Physicians of Edinburgh applied for the use of the College Garden, with the view of raising pharmaceutical plants therein. George Preston was by profession a druggist and an apothecary. Bower<sup>1</sup> quotes from the *Edinburgh Gazette* for 9 October 1701 an advertisement of his, announcing that he “newly arrived with a parcel of all sorts of drugs newly come from the Indies, as also all sorts of spices, sugars, tea, coffee, chocolate etc., and are to be sold at his shop, in Smith’s New Land, on the north side of the High Street, foreagainst the head of Blackfriars Wynd.” He had seen medical service abroad, and was master

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. ii. p. 121.

Surgeon-Major to the Forces in North Britain, and as such obtained remission of city taxes on his shop. Alexander Monro *primus*, as part of his early medical education, got some instruction about plants from George Preston.

With (4) CHARLES ALSTON, 1738-1761, the history of the Chair of Botany, as part of the Medical Faculty in the University, commences; Sutherland and the Prestons had been Keepers and Exhibitors of the Physic Garden, rather than Professors. We have already mentioned (Vol. I. p. 318) the circumstances of Alston's appointment. He was born in 1683, and spent his youth about Hamilton Palace, under the patronage of the Duchess, who wished to make a lawyer of him, but he preferred Botany and Medicine. He seems to have commenced his studies in Edinburgh, but in his thirty-third year proceeded to Leyden, where, with many others of his countrymen, he imbued his mind with the ideas of Boerhaave. Returning, as Doctor of Medicine, to Edinburgh in 1820, he began to practise, and also obtained, through the influence of the Duke of Hamilton, the sinecure office of King's Botanist and Keeper of the Garden at Holyrood, which he enriched with plants procured in Holland; and he began teaching Botany there in rivalry to G. Preston. On Preston's death, in 1738, the Town Council, with all the air of creating a new office, "considering that were a Professor of Medicine and Botany elected and installed in the City's College, it would in a great measure contribute to the advancement of learning, etc.; they therefore" appointed Dr. Charles Alston accordingly. Alston, entering on his duties in his fifty-fifth year, gave a course of lectures on Botany every summer, and one on *Materia Medica* every winter, for twenty-two years. In 1740 he published, for the use of his Students, a list of the officinal plants in the Physic Garden, and in 1753 an introduction to Botany, entitled, *Tyrocinium Botanicum Edinburgense*. It was at the opening of a new era for Botany that Alston came to his Chair; for in 1736 Linnæus published his *Systema Naturæ*, which first definitely established the existence of sex in plants. Alston was too old to at once adopt the novel and striking views of Linnæus; like many other naturalists, he resisted them, and in the *Physical and Literary Essays* (1751) he published a paper controverting the new system. Of course in this matter Alston was behindhand, but he did good service in

inaugurating systematic Botany and *Materia Medica* in the University. He wrote several papers for the *Medical Essays*, the most important of which was on "Opium."

(5) JOHN HOPE, 1761-1786, unlike his predecessor, was an enthusiastic admirer and apostle of Linnæus, to whose memory he put up an imposing monument (now standing in the present Botanic Garden). Hope had studied Medicine abroad, and on his return had graduated M.D. at Glasgow (1750), after which he resided in Edinburgh, and joined the College of Physicians. In April 1761 he was appointed "King's Botanist for Scotland," and in the same month was elected by the Town Council "Professor of Botany and *Materia Medica*" in the University. His Professoriate was marked by two important changes—(1) having for seven years given a double course of lectures, like Alston, in 1768 he got a commission as Regius Professor of Botany, and then resigned the Professorship of *Materia Medica*, which was accordingly erected into a separate Chair; (2) finding the site for the Physic Garden (where the Waverley Station is now) utterly unsuited for its purpose—low, swampy, and unexposed to the sun—he, by great exertions, got the Garden removed in 1776 to a site on the west of Leith Walk, "where, under his superintendence, the ground was laid out, the plants arranged according to the Linnæan system, suitable hot-houses erected, and a pond established for the growth of aquatic plants. For this purpose he appears to have obtained the assistance of the Government, and thus to have laid the foundation of that connection with the State which has so materially furthered Botanical education in Scotland." These were great services rendered by Dr. John Hope. He was the father of Charles Hope, the eminent Professor of Chemistry

(6) DANIEL RUTHERFORD, 1786-1819, was the son of Dr. John Rutherford, one of the founders of the Medical School of the University (see Vol. I. p. 308). *Fortes creantur fortibus* has been often illustrated in that School. Daniel Rutherford has the honour of emulating Black by the discovery of one of the gases, and, like Black, he announced it in his Graduation Thesis, *De aëre Mephitico*, in which he observed that "healthy and pure air, by being respired, not only becomes partly mephitic, but al

<sup>1</sup> From Professor Dickson's Address to his Students on the opening of a new Botanical class-room in May 1782.

suffers another change in its nature. For after all mephitic air (carbonic acid gas) is separated and removed from it by means of a caustic lixivium, that which remains does not thence become more healthful; for although it makes no precipitate of lime from water, yet it extinguishes fire and life no less than before." The residuum got the name of nitrogen gas, which Rutherford was acknowledged to have discovered by his experiments. After this successful *début* in his twenty-second year (1772) he proceeded to Paris, various places in Italy, and London, whence he returned to practise in Edinburgh in 1775. On the death of John Hope he was appointed "Professor of Medicine and Botany."

Sir R. Christison, who attended his lectures in the Leith Walk Garden, says: "Tradition had it in my student years that he was disappointed at not being made Assistant and Successor to Black in 1795, when that office was given to Dr. Charles Hope; and he again, son of the botanical predecessor of Rutherford, was said to have preferred to step into his own father's University shoes than into those of Dr. Black. However that may have been, Hope highly distinguished himself in his Chemical Chair; while Rutherford in that of Botany, which he filled for thirty-four years, always seemed to lecture with a grudge, and never contributed a single investigation to the progress of the science which he taught." "His lectures, however, were extremely clear, and full of condensed information, his style was beautiful and his pronunciation pure and scarcely Scotch." But disability from gout prevented his giving his Students any practical training in the field, a duty which Sir R. Christison thinks that he should have devolved on his excellent head-gardener and henchman, Mr. William Macnab.

Daniel Rutherford was uncle to Sir Walter Scott, his sister having married Scott's father. There are numerous mentions of him in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, and especially there is a letter from Sir Walter, dated 22d December 1819, in which he relates the sudden deaths of three of the Rutherford family—his own mother, his uncle, and his aunt—within one week. And, strange to say, neither of them could hear of the other's death: Mrs. Scott was seized with paralysis and lost speech and consciousness on the 12th December, but lingered to the 23d; Professor Rutherford visited his sister on the 14th, but dropped down dead from gout in the stomach on the 15th; and Miss C. Rutherford,

pupil, "the large, light, conservatory-looking lecture-room, surrounded by fine shrubs and beautiful flowering plants, the abundance of newly gathered flowers, with which the lectures were illustrated, and the lecturer himself, simple, unaffected, cordial, and joyous, with no dulness or tedium in him, but as fresh and healthy, and full of life, as the youths around him, remain as a permanent picture in the mind's eye, from which so many scenes have altogether faded." Graham lectured at first according to the Linnæan principles, but he gradually adopted more and more the Natural System. He introduced the practice of giving a winter course in Botany in addition to the summer one. One great feature of the summer course was the botanising expeditions on the Saturdays, which were enjoyed alike by the teacher and the taught. Graham carefully described in scientific journals all new plants, on their first flowering in Edinburgh, and in journeys through Great Britain and Ireland he made several additions to the flora of the Kingdom. In 1836 some of his old pupils, headed by Dr. Hutton Balfour, founded the Botanical Society of Edinburgh, and made him President. In 1845 his health rapidly succumbed to the effects of a tumour on the thoracic duct, and he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age.<sup>1</sup>

(8) JOHN HUTTON BALFOUR, 1845-1879, succeeded to the Chair of Botany, which he held for thirty-four years. He retired in 1879, and is now *Emeritus* Professor. (9) The present Professor of Botany, ALEXANDER DICKSON, was then elected by the Board of Curators.

## XXII.—PROFESSORS OF ANATOMY.

We have sufficiently related (Vol. I. pp. 295-300) the foundation of the Anatomy Chair in Edinburgh,—at first in a tentative way in 1705, afterwards permanently in 1720. Of the first three so-called Professors—(1) ROBERT ELLIOT, 1705-1716; (2) ADAM DRUMMOND, 1708-1720; (3) JOHN M'GILL, joint Professor 1716-1720—there is nothing special to tell, except that M'Gill, in 1733, thirteen years after his resignation of the Chair, published

<sup>1</sup> The above particulars are taken from a *Biographical Sketch* of Professor Graham, by C. Ransford, M.D., being an address to the Harveian Society (1846).



Hutchinson, in his *Biographia Medica* (1799), vol. ii. p. 156, records the character drawn by Lavater of Monro from the inspection of the engraving of his portrait by Allan Ramsay, which we have reproduced. Lavater was not told whose portrait it was, and his physiognomical art was completely baffled. He saw nothing in Monro's face but "a good, gentle, peaceable character, of a sanguine-phlegmatic temperament," "not what is usually denominated a great man," but a "respectable personage," to whom with much verbiage he attributed many amiable virtues. Perhaps if Lavater could have seen the living man he might have made a better guess. But, after all, people do not bear all their qualities stamped upon their countenance.

When A. Monro *primus* was fifty-seven years old he persuaded the Town Council to appoint his son as joint Professor with him (1754), but he did not resign his Anatomical Chair till 1758, and he lived nine years after that, devoting himself still to practice, of which he had always enjoyed a large share, and to teaching as one of the Professors of Clinical Medicine.

(5) ALEXANDER MONRO *secundus*, 1758-1798, so far from being overshadowed by the eminence of his father, surpassed him in scientific merit. He had gone through the Arts course, and through two sessions of the Medical curriculum under Alston, Whytt, Rutherford, Plummer, and his father, when in 1753-1754 he was employed, when only in his twentieth year, to deliver his father's evening lecture. Owing to the insufficient size of the class-room Monro *primus* had to repeat his lecture in the evening for those Students who had failed to get admission in the morning. He was relieved of this duty when his son, having attentively listened to the morning lecture, was able to reproduce it; and this he did most successfully. Monro *primus*, representing to the Town Council the high qualifications of his son, engaged that, if they would give him the reversion of the Chair, he should be educated further under the best masters in Europe, and this George Drummond's Council wisely assented to. Monro *secundus* graduated M.D. in 1755, and then proceeded to London, Leyden, Paris, and Berlin, where for two years and a half he studied Anatomy, chiefly under Hunter, Albinus, and Meckel. Returning to Edinburgh in 1758, at the age of twenty-five, he took his father's place in the Chair of Anatomy. He at once showed his

Charles Hope, and Dr. Duncan senior, he was acknowledged by all as their head. Abroad as well as at home he had a great reputation, and was admitted member of the Academies of Paris, Madrid, Berlin, Moscow, etc. His chief works were three folio volumes: *On the Structure and Functions of the Nervous System* (1783); *The Structure and Physiology of Fishes explained and compared with those of Man and other Animals* (1785); and *A Description of all the Bursæ Mucosæ of the Human Body* (1788). He succeeded his father as secretary to the Philosophical Society till 1782, when it was merged in the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and he contributed many papers to their *Essays*. He is said to have possessed great anecdotal powers, and to have been "an enthusiastic admirer of the theatre."<sup>1</sup>

(6) ALEXANDER MONRO *tertius*, 1798-1846. The three Monros held the Chair of Anatomy for no less than 126 years, and for 111 years they retained the teaching of Surgery also in their hands. Sir Robert Christison, in his *Recollections*, says of the third of the name, that "he must have felt the fame of his father and grandfather a great load upon their successor, and indeed it appeared as if he did." "His manner betrayed an unimpassioned indifference, as if it were all one to him whether his teaching was acceptable and accepted or not." "Yet he lacked neither ability nor accomplishments. But apathy in a teacher cannot stir up enthusiasm in a student. A lecturer who seldom shows himself in his dissecting room<sup>2</sup> will scarcely be

<sup>1</sup> Struthers, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Both in the time of the second and the third Monro there was always a very able "Prosector," as it was called in those days, who took charge of the dissecting room, and demonstrated to the Students. The first of these was John Innes, 1757-1777, who published a treatise "On the Muscles." The second was Andrew Fyfe, 1777-1814, who was a voluminous writer of anatomical textbooks. Sir Astley Cooper recorded of him that "he was a horrid lecturer, but an industrious worthy man, and good practical anatomist." Sir R. Christison says: "Andrew Fyfe, one of the last in Edinburgh to wear a pig-tail, was my teacher of Practical Anatomy. Practical students in those days were not numerous, and 'subjects' were plentiful. I believe I made fair use of my opportunities; and the good old Fyfe took care of this by going every afternoon, attended by all his dissectors, over what each had done with his 'part' during the day, and making us demonstrate our work. Duty over, we all gathered round him at the fireside, where he entertained us with anecdotes of the departed Medical Worthies who had adorned the University or City in his day."

caricature of Barclay trying to ride the skeleton of an elephant into the University gate.

After Barclay's retirement from lecturing Monro had to encounter the still more formidable rivalry of Robert Knox, the morphological Anatomist and paragon of lecturers, to whose dissecting room (without any connivance on his part) the victims of the Burke and Hare murders were brought as "subjects;" and Knox for a time had a class of 500 Students.

The writings of Monro *tertius* were voluminous, but need not be here specified. His largest work was his *Outlines of the Anatomy of the Human Body*, in 4 vols. (1813). Monro *tertius* practised as a physician. "He spoke Latin well, and was fond of paintings."<sup>1</sup> He resigned his Chair in 1846, and died in 1859, aged eighty-five.

(7) JOHN GOODSIR, 1846-1867, having as a youth gone through a course of Arts at St. Andrews—where he is said to have shown a taste for metaphysics, and to have imbibed the doctrines of Coleridge, which coloured his subsequent thoughts and speculations—came to Edinburgh, and was apprenticed to Nasymth, the eminent dentist. At the same time he studied Medicine, learning Anatomy under Knox, and making the friendship of Edward Forbes, with whom he shared a fondness for researches in Natural History. In his twenty-fourth year (1838) he brought before the British Association his *Observations on the Development of the Teeth*. He was then made Conservator of the Museum of the College of Surgeons, while holding which office he produced many papers on animal form and structure in both healthy and morbid conditions. In 1842-43 he delivered lectures at the College of Surgeons, in which he enunciated his views on various physiological and pathological processes, and especially his theory as to the nucleus of the cell; these lectures were afterwards published. In 1844 he was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy in the University by Monro *tertius*, whom in 1846 he succeeded as Professor.

Goodsir was a remarkably successful teacher, his lectures being rendered attractive by his practice of going beyond the dry details of Anatomy, and pointing out its relation to kindred

<sup>1</sup> Struthers, p. 37. To Professor Struthers' charming *Historical Sketch* the preceding pages owe great obligations.

sciences. He worked "in a high-toned philosophic spirit in that spirit we may suppose which he had caught from Cok By his labours in Comparative Anatomy the museum which University had received from Monro *secundus* was greatly mented. In 1850 he projected and edited the *Ann Anatomy and Physiology*, but his health gave way, and after years he was obliged to relinquish the undertaking. A p affection now undermined his constitution, though he con intermittedly, to do some good work. In 1867, at the ea of fifty-three, he died, and was succeeded by (8) WILLIAM T the present Professor of Anatomy.

#### XXIII.—PROFESSORS OF MEDICINE AND CHEMISTRY

(1) JAMES CRAUFURD, 1713. Chemistry was first nised in the University of Edinburgh owing to Dr. Craufurd, a pupil of Boerhaave, suggesting to the Town C that he should be allowed to teach the subject (Vol. I. P They acquiesced in his views, gave him the title of "P of Physic and Chemistry," and provided him with rooms, salary. He then gave occasional courses, of which not recorded beyond the fact of their having been given. remarkable thing, showing how small a claim the C Chemistry was expected to make upon Craufurd's time, 1719 he (being a very accomplished man) was appointed Chair of Hebrew also. He held both these importa utterly unconnected Chairs together. Joseph Gibson, t Professor of Midwifery, records that he was assisted in mortem examination by "Dr. James Craufurd, late Profe Hebrew and Medicine in the University of Edinburgh eulogises his "universal literature and consummate i knowledge" and his "beautiful character, as a good m sincere friend."<sup>2</sup>

But the modern science of Chemistry had not then co

<sup>1</sup> The whole of the above account of Goodsir is taken fr fessor Turner's obituary notice of his predecessor in the *Proceeding R.S.E.*, vol. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Medical Essays and Observations*, vol. ii. p. 301.

existence; and what was known as Chemistry was for the time under a cloud in Edinburgh owing to the powerful attacks made by Dr. Pitcairne at the end of the seventeenth century upon the "Iatro-Chemists." "Pitcairne, while a Professor at Leyden, before he settled in Edinburgh, had become disgusted with the absurdities of Iatro-Chemistry, and employed all his eloquence, learning, and logic to effect its overthrow. So unpopular did he make the science of chemistry that half a century elapsed before it was restored to favour in this Capital. Students had learnt to look on it with contempt, and the professors did not encourage its study."<sup>1</sup> Chemistry, which had fallen into neglect through its ill-assorted union with Medicine, was restored to favour by Cullen.

Whether Craufurd had died, or resigned, or simply given up lecturing, we know not; but in 1726 the Town Council proceeded, as if the coast were clear, and they appointed Drs. Andrew Plummer and John Innes to be Professors of "Medicine and Chemistry." Innes appears to have acted as if he had been "Professor of Medicine" simply, and he taught no Chemistry.

(2) ANDREW PLUMMER, 1726-1755, on the other hand, who had been a graduate of Leyden and a pupil of Boerhaave, lectured zealously for twenty-nine years, chiefly upon Chemical Pharmacy. He was the author of a preparation of antimony and mercury, which for nearly a century was in repute under the name of *Plummer's Pill*. He analysed the Moffat Water, and was the cause of so many patients resorting to that spring.<sup>2</sup> He contributed several papers to the *Medical Essays*, for the editing of which he was joint-secretary with A. Munro *primus*. Of Plummer Dr. Fothergill recorded "such was his universal knowledge that in any disputed point in science the great M'Laurin always appealed to him as to a living library."

(3) To succeed him WILLIAM CULLEN, 1755-1766, was brought from Glasgow, and thus commenced his brilliant Professorial career in this University. Cullen had had no foreign teaching. Born in Lanarkshire in 1710, he had served an

<sup>1</sup> *A Century of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh*, by Lyon Playfair, C.B., etc. (1858), being his Inaugural Address, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Bower, vol. ii. p. 216.





*Painted by Sir Henry Raeburn*

*King's College*

Sir Lyon Playfair says<sup>1</sup> that "Chemistry owes but little to Cullen as a discoverer, but much to him as a clear and philosophical expounder." "Like other Chemists of his time, he seems to have accepted only four primary elements (fire, earth, air, and water) as the basis of his prelections." "He, of course, taught the theory of phlogiston, which was then doubted by no one." But his mode of teaching made a new era in the Professorial system. "He saw<sup>2</sup> that a science like Chemistry was not to be taught by mere lectures, but that there must be a free and unreserved communication between the teacher and the taught. He cultivated the personal acquaintance of his pupils, and zealously aided them to overcome their first difficulties." His clearness of exposition was remarkable; and, as a specimen of his methods, it may be mentioned that he was the inventor of those diagrams, now universally used, which by means of connecting lines show the affinity of bodies to each other. In 1766 Cullen was transferred to the Chair of the Institutes of Medicine, and was succeeded in the Chair of Chemistry by (4) JOSEPH BLACK, 1766-1795, a great genius, who first opened the road to the modern science of Chemistry, a road which his own feeble health prevented him following up. Lavoisier, as is well known, entered victoriously on the path, and became the founder of modern Chemistry; but that he acknowledged Black to have been the pioneer may be seen from a letter which he sent to Black, together with his researches on respiration, saying: "*Il est bien juste, Monsieur, que vous soyez un des premiers informés des progrès qui se font dans une carrière que vous avez ouverte, et dans laquelle nous nous regardons tous comme vos disciples.*" The remarkable thing is that Black's discovery, which revolutionised former ideas, was announced to the world in a Graduation Thesis, written when he was twenty-four years old.

Joseph Black was born in 1728 at Bordeaux, where his father, a native of Belfast, but of Scottish extraction, was settled as a wine merchant. Black's mother was of an Aberdeenshire family, and was cousin to Adam Ferguson. Being sent home for his education to a school in Belfast, Black afterwards proceeded to the University of Glasgow, where he was initiated into Chemistry by Cullen, and showed such aptitude that he became

<sup>1</sup> *A Century of Chemistry*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11.



When Cullen vacated the Chair of Chemistry in Edinburgh Black succeeded him at the age of thirty-eight ; but Black's work as a discoverer was already finished. He contented himself thenceforward with being a perfectly lucid and successful teacher. "He took no part in the heavy conflicts which followed the discovery of oxygen, and the downfall of the phlogistic theory. He loved rest and the quiet society of his friends." Among these the chief were Adam Smith, Hume, A. Carlyle, Hutton, and Adam Ferguson. With very delicate health, Black "husbanded out life's taper" by the most careful regimen. He died in his seventy-first year, while sitting alone at table, and so completely without a struggle that a cup of milk was found resting on his knees and steadied by his hand, without a drop having been spilt. He carried his ideas of quantitative exactness into his Will, by dividing his property into 10,000 shares, so as to be able to allot to his various relatives, with the utmost minuteness, the amount which he thought each could claim.

(5) CHARLES HOPE, 1795-1844, was son to Dr. John Hope, the Professor of Botany, and was holding the Lectureship on Chemistry in Glasgow, which Cullen and Black had adorned, when he was called upon to become joint Professor with the latter, and relieve him of the labours of teaching. Hope was fully alive to the importance of the quantitative age in Chemistry, which was slowly though steadily unfolding itself ; he had learnt Lavoisier's views from himself, and in personal communication with Dalton had imbibed his ideas of atomic constitution.<sup>1</sup> He was not deficient in the powers of an investigator, and his name is associated with two discoveries : first (in 1798) of the properties and salts of the previously unknown earth called Strontia ; secondly, of the curious property of water to attain its maximum density at 39°·1.<sup>2</sup> This was a beautiful supplement to Black's discovery of latent heat, which had thrown great light on the economy of the Universe and the arrangement of the Seasons. Hope revealed a wonderful device of Providence ; for "if water contracted and became heavier at low temperatures, like other fluids, the top water chilled by the air would always cool and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Lyon Playfair, *A Century of Chemistry*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Hope, having less delicate thermometers, had fixed it at 39·5, but Sir Lyon Playfair and Dr. Joule afterwards showed the exact point to be 39·1.

fall down, until the whole of a sea or lake became of a freezing temperature, when it would become a solid mass of ice. Not only would vegetable and animal life be thus destroyed, but the heat of the warmest summers would be insufficient to melt such vast quantities of ice."<sup>1</sup>

But after these achievements Hope abandoned the career of investigation, and made it his chief aim to improve the mode of lecture, and to make his science attractive. His success in this respect was triumphant. "His manner and his diction," says Sir R. Christison, "were somewhat pompous, but this was more than counterbalanced by uncommon clearness of exposition, and unexampled splendour, and success of experimental demonstration. To be visible to a class of 500 Students (in 1823 he had 575)<sup>2</sup> his experiments required to be performed on a very large scale, which every one conversant with experimental lectures knows to increase greatly the difficulty of exact manipulation. Nevertheless, when I attended Hope in 1814, there was not a single failure to attain exactly what he announced." There was, however, for a long time a deficiency in Hope's system; for many years he afforded his Students no opportunity of practical instruction, and his laboratory was only open to his class-assistant. Some of the Students, headed by Christison and Syme, formed a Chemical Society for making experiments, in order to meet this deficiency. At last, in 1823, the teaching of Practical Chemistry was begun by Dr. Anderson, Hope's assistant. In 1833 a movement was made, and favoured by the Town Council, for the establishment of a separate Chair of Practical Chemistry; but this the Senatus, perhaps with reason, opposed. In 1826 Professor Hope represented to the Senatus that he "had been solicited to give a popular course of lectures on Chemistry to ladies as well as gentlemen," and the Senatus sanctioned his doing so. There was at that period a decided, but short-lived, movement in favour of popular lectures in the University, to which ladies were to be admitted. We must not here omit to mention that Hope, who had derived large emoluments from his Chair, founded by bequest a prize of £50 per annum to encourage investigation in Chemistry.

<sup>1</sup> *A Century of Chemistry*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> It was owing to Hope's large classes that the Chemistry class-room was made the largest of all the class-rooms in the Adam-Playfair building.

After Dr. Hope's long Professorship of forty-nine years (6) WILLIAM GREGORY, 1844-1858, succeeded to the Chair, but under a new title, for the Town Council now judiciously omitted "Medicine" from its province, and elected Dr. Gregory to be "Professor of Chemistry." He was the son of Dr. James Gregory, long Professor of the Institutes, and then of the Practice of Medicine. In early youth William Gregory, on seeing Hope's experiments, had been filled with a feeling of emulation. And he is said to have steadily kept before him the idea of succeeding Hope. "It was not, however, until he had made his name known throughout Europe as a chemist, as a favourite pupil and friend of Baron Liebig, and the approved translator of several of his works, and had established his reputation as a teacher of his favourite science in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, and King's College, Aberdeen, where he was appointed Professor of Chemistry in 1839," that he at length, in 1844, realised the object of his ambition. His teaching was marked by clearness and power of condensation, as well as by "his just perception of the many important discoveries by which the science of Chemistry was advanced during his lifetime." But he was himself rather an expositor than a promoter of science. From the effects of a fever in his youth, he, though a large and powerfully-made man, was precluded from much walking, and was condemned to an almost sedentary life. He devoted much of his time to the acquisition of various languages, to the practice of music (for which he had a refined taste), and to microscopical observation. He contributed several memoirs on the "Diatomaceæ," to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he was one of the secretaries. His last chemical work consisted in *Notes on the Action of the Soil in Vegetation*, which he drew up only a few days before his death, when he was with difficulty supported in bed, so as to enable him to write.<sup>1</sup>

He was succeeded in 1858 by (7) Dr. (now the Right Hon. Sir) LYON PLAYFAIR (now K.C.B., and M.P., etc.), who held the Chair for eleven years. On his resignation in 1869 (8) ALEXANDER CRUM BROWN, the present Professor of Chemistry, was appointed.

<sup>1</sup> The above particulars are from Professor Alison's obituary notice of William Gregory, in the *Proceedings* of the R.S.E., 1858.

## XXIV.—PROFESSORS OF THE INSTITUTES OF MEDICINE

Some persons wish to date the foundation of the Medical Faculty in the University from 1685. But this is hardly correct; we have related (Vol. I. pp. 217-229) the beginnings of a Medical School in Edinburgh about that time, the establishment of the Physic Garden and of the Royal College of Physicians, and in 1685, Sir Robert Sibbald, and Drs. James Halket and Archibald Pitcairne, were appointed by the Town Council to be "Professors of Medicine in the University." But these appointments were honorary; Halket and Pitcairne never lectured at all, and that we know of Sibbald's teaching is, that twenty-one years after his appointment as Professor he advertised his willingness to give some private lectures in Medicine and Natural History. The three distinguished physicians, then, were only nominally University Professors. The foundation of the Medical Faculty really dates from 1726. Much gratitude, however, is due to Sir Robert Sibbald for all that he did for Edinburgh. Scientifically, he appears not to have been very strong. He published an account of the fauna and flora of Scotland, under the title of *Prodromus Historiæ Naturalis*, which Dr. Pitcairne unmercifully reviewed in a pamphlet called *Dissertatio de legibus Historiæ Naturalis*, holding up to ridicule the wild oxen with manes, the beavers, badgers resembling swine, the nightingales, etc., which Sibbald had discovered in Scotland. The fact appears to be that Sibbald's book had been compiled out of the answers to questions which circulated, which answers had often been furnished by ignorant or perhaps roguish persons. Dr. Halket was not a person of great eminence; but Dr. Pitcairne deserves especial mention in this place, not only as one of the greatest physicians of his time but on account of the honour which he reflected on his country by being chosen as Professor of Physic in the University of Leyden, a distinction which he gained partly by a learned treatise vindicating for Harvey the discovery of the circulation of blood. He only remained a year in his Chair at Leyden, because his wife's friends did not wish her to reside abroad. It may be mentioned that his Leyden appointment was made in 1692, six years after he had been made honorary Professor in Edinburgh. Pitcairne followed the principles in Medical science of Bel-

who dedicated a volume of *Opuscula* to him. He had an extensive practice in Edinburgh; he was a great wit, and also an excellent scholar, and the author of many Latin poems, chiefly of a satirical character; being an Episcopalian and a Jacobite, and also somewhat ribald in his jokes, he was accused (unjustly) by the Presbyterians of being "a confirmed Deist." He was a great friend of Principal Carstares, but Bower mistakes in saying that he had been "of the same standing" as Carstares at college, for Carstares graduated in 1667, and Pitcairne in 1671. He died in 1713.

By the arrangements made in 1726 (see Vol. I. p. 315), when four Professors then appointed divided the Medical teaching among themselves, the Chair of the Institutes of Medicine was allotted to (1) ANDREW SINCLAIR, a physician who had graduated at Angers. In lecturing he took for his text-book the *Institutiones Medicæ* of Boerhaave, and did not go beyond what was therein contained. His lectures were delivered in Latin, as indeed all those of the Medical Faculty then were, with the exception of those on Anatomy; Sinclair's Latin was considered remarkably elegant. His health failed in 1747, and his place was taken by (2) ROBERT WHYTT, 1747-1766, who became a bright luminary in the rising University, and left a name great in the history of physiological science. Whytt was the son of Robert Whytt, Esq., of Bennoch; he had a good fortune, and in 1743 married the sister of James Balfour of Pilrig (afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy); their son, inheriting the entailed estate of General Melville of Strathkinness, took the name of Whytt-Melville, or Whyte Melville, and was grandfather to the late Mr. Whyte Melville, of Mount Melville, St. Andrews. Whytt pursued Medicine for the love of science; he graduated M.D. at Rheims in 1736, having studied under Monro *primus* and his colleagues in Edinburgh, Cheselden in London, Winslow in Paris, the aged Boerhaave and Albinus in Leyden. About that time Sir Robert Walpole and his brother Horace being both troubled with the stone, public attention was called to this disease, and the Government paid a Mrs. Joanna Stephens £5000 for the secret of her Medicine for curing "all calculous complaints," in order that it might be sold cheaply to the poor. It proved, of course, to be a quack preparation containing a number of useless





WILLIAM CULLEN, M.D.

FROM A PORTRAIT BELONGING TO THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.

who had held the Chair of Chemistry for more than ten years, had also given proofs in other and more congenial departments of his capacity ; from 1757 onwards he had delivered Clinical lectures in the Infirmary, in the place of Rutherford, whose strength was failing ; in 1760, on the death of Dr. Alston, he had given a course of lectures in *Materia Medica*. When Rutherford wished to retire in 1765, Cullen offered himself for the Chair of Practice of Physic, which was indeed his proper sphere ; but Rutherford, from some feeling of jealousy, declined to resign in his favour, and persuaded the Town Council to bring from Aberdeen, as successor to himself, Dr. John Gregory, who was an accomplished Physician, and the author of a *Comparative View of the Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*. Next year Whytt died, and the Students, who had a strong appreciation of Cullen as a Clinical teacher, petitioned that John Gregory might be transferred to the Chair of Institutes, and Cullen placed in that of Practice of Physic, or else that they should be jointly appointed to the two Chairs, and instructed to teach the two subjects in alternate sessions. The Town Council did not immediately accede to this ; they appointed Cullen in 1766 to be Whytt's successor, bringing Black over to be Professor of Chemistry ; but in 1769 they adopted the second suggestion, and appointed Cullen and Gregory to be joint Professors of Medicine, and to lecture alternately on the Theory and Practice of Physic. By this arrangement the Medical Faculty was strengthened. Till Gregory's death in 1773 Cullen, each alternate year, lectured on the Practice of Physic. He gave altogether five courses on the Institutes or Theory of Medicine ; but he told his Students at the outset that by "Theory" he did not mean "hypothesis" ; "my general doctrines," said he, "are to be only so many general facts." His "general facts" were the product of a life of extraordinary laboriousness in reading and observation ; but at the same time it must be noted that Cullen, in every department in which he pre-lected, was extremely speculative. His chief contribution to physiology was bringing into prominent notice the nervous system, especially in reference to disease. Former systems had regarded the human body in a mechanical way, as "a chemical mixt," or as "a hydraulic machine ;" Cullen added a third way of viewing it, as "an animated nervous frame." From this he developed a



more correct classification of disease, introducing the hitherto unclassified class of *neuroses*. It is said that the good Provost James Cullen came to him one day, begging him not to damage the University by opposing the doctrines of Boerhaave. Cullen, basing himself to some extent upon Hofmann and more on his own experience, had passed beyond Boerhaave, and he was soon recognised in England and on the Continent as a leader in Medicine. It may indeed be claimed for him that at his time he was the foremost physician in the world. In 1773, on John Gregory's death, he became sole Professor of the Practice of Physic, and held the Chair for seventeen years, during which he was one of the most illustrious Professors that the University has had to boast of. It is impossible here to enter into details of his scientific merits, which are minutely recorded in the *Life of Cullen* by the late Professor John Thomson. Cullen was instrumental in the drawing up of the first *Statuta Solennia* for Medical Jurisprudence in the University in 1767 (see Vol. I. p. 330), which were much wanted, for an unfortunate case had occurred in 1766 of an impostor named Leeds, who having attended the Medical School without knowing a word of Latin, in which language the laws were delivered, and having, by a Thesis written by some one else, obtained a degree as M.D., was on the strength of this made Physician of the London Hospital, where his ignorance brought disgrace to the University of Edinburgh. Cullen's chief works were his *Synopsis Nosologiæ Methodicæ* (1766), his *Practice of Physic*, and his *First Outlines of the Practice of Physic*, which are still even yet used and quoted. Cullen was not only a great physician, but also most admirable as a lecturer, and he trained up a large number of very eminent physicians. He was generous, and sociable, and of evenings fond of a rubber and penny whist. He had a country-house at Ormiston Hill near Kirknewton, and enjoyed country pursuits. He resigned his connection with the University, after holding Chairs in Medicine for thirty-four years, at the end of 1789. The Town Council then presented him with a piece of silver plate. He died a few weeks afterwards, and was buried in Kirknewton churchyard.

(4) JAMES GREGORY, 1776-1789. On Cullen's moving to the Chair of Practice of Physic in 1773, the Town Council

offered the Chair of Institutes to Dr. Alexander Monro Drummond, whose very Edinburgh names indicate that he was possibly a relative of the great Provost, and certainly named after the great Anatomist. But Drummond was at this time settled in Naples, and Physician to the King. After waiting for two sessions the Town Council made another choice, and it unanimously fell upon James Gregory, who, though only twenty-three years old, had great personal qualifications, and an extraordinary pedigree to justify his election. He was son of John Gregory, late Professor of the Practice of Physic, grandson of the Professor of Medicine in Aberdeen, and great-grandson of James Gregory the great Professor of Mathematics. Altogether, he was the sixteenth Professor that had sprung from the loins of David Gregory, Esq., of Kinairdy in Aberdeenshire. Born in 1753, he had come with his father from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, had gone through the Arts course, had then spent some time at Christ Church, Oxford, had graduated M.D. in Edinburgh, and had spent two years in Medical studies in Holland, France, and Italy. While he held the Chair of the Institutes of Medicine he was engaged in drawing up for his Students a text-book of the subject; this he brought out in 1788, under the title of *Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ*, which was "a model for perspicuity, exactness, completeness for the time, and classical elegance. It was for a long time a standard work for examination in Latinity at the various examining boards of the Kingdom, and was adopted as a text-book even at some German Universities. Its extraordinary success, however, did not tempt him to any new effort of authorcraft in his second Chair"<sup>1</sup>—that of the Practice of Physic, which he obtained in 1790, on Cullen's retirement, and held till 1821, thus serving in the University as Professor for forty-five years. Sir R. Christison says of him: "He was the most captivating lecturer I ever heard." Large, powerful, and handsome, he was full of combativeness; and on questions about Infirmary management he was involved "in deadly life-long feud with many estimable brethren, both in and beyond the University." "His measures for the cure of disease were sharp and incisive. In acute diseases there was no *Médecine*

<sup>1</sup> Sir R. Christison's *Recollections*. James Gregory, though writing nothing more on Medicine, was the author of two volumes of *Literary and Philosophical Essays* (1792), and of a *Theory of the Moods of Verbs* (1787).

*Expectante* for Gregory. He somehow left us with the idea that we were to be masters over nature in all such diseases; the consequence was that Gregorian Physic, free blood-letting, cold effusion, brisk purging, frequent blisters, the nauseating use of tartar-emetic, came to rule medical practice for many quarters throughout the British Islands and the Continent. Gregory's influence has now passed away; blood-letting, he was the apostle, has been superseded. But his name has become a household word in connection with that milder remedy "Gregory's mixture." He died in April 1821, and received a public funeral in Edinburgh.

(5) ANDREW DUNCAN *primus*, 1790-1819, having graduated in Arts at St. Andrews, became a distinguished Medical Professor in the University of Edinburgh, 1762-1768. Especially as a leading member of the Royal Medical Society, of which he was President in 1764; and after his return from a voyage to Italy in 1769, he was four times successively re-elected to the office, while holding which he carried through the building of the Society's hall, where his portrait now hangs. He always regarded the Royal Medical Society as an important adjunct to the University, and throughout his long life he was in the habit of occasionally attending its meetings. Andrew Duncan was not an extra-mural lecturer on Medicine of any importance in Edinburgh. In 1774, while Drummond was still expected from Naples to hold the Chair of the Institutes of Medicine, Duncan was asked to teach the class, which he did for two sessions, at the same time giving Clinical lectures in the Infirmary. On Drummond's ultimate declination Duncan naturally applied for the Chair, but he was set aside in favour of the brilliant young James Gregory. Mortified by this rejection, he announced his intention of lecturing extra-murally on Medicine; he attracted a certain number of Students, and his class during fifteen years gradually increased. At this period he published his *Elements of Therapeutics*, *Medical Commentaries*, and his *Heads of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic*. He thus made himself so solidly established that in 1790 he was chosen to succeed James Gregory as Professor of the Theory of Medicine. He was a respectable and respected Professor for twenty-nine years. Every Sunday during the session he used to entertain twenty or thirty

Students at his own house, thus going through the whole class.<sup>1</sup> He was also a valuable member of the *Senatus Academicus*, always taking broad and liberal views of the questions that arose. In 1797, in a Memorial to the Town Council, he suggested the establishment of a Chair of Medical Jurisprudence, and after ten years' opposition he saw his idea realised. It is astonishing how many good things in Edinburgh Dr. Duncan *primus* originated. *First*, the Dispensary, which was entirely his creation; *Second*, the Lunatic Asylum at Morningside; *Third*, the Horticultural Society; *Fourth*, the Harveian Society; *Fifth*, the Esculapian and Gymnastic Clubs; *Sixth*, the *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries*, which he started and edited, till in 1804 this periodical became the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* under the editorship of his son. Dr. Duncan's vigour was prolonged into extreme old age. For more than half a century it was his practice every May-day morning to walk to the top of Arthur's Seat. This feat he accomplished for the last time in 1827, when he was in his eighty-third year. Next year he did not feel himself equal to the task, and he died soon after the May-day of 1828. In 1819 he had resigned the teaching of the Chair of the Institutes of Medicine to his son.

(6) ANDREW DUNCAN *secundus*, 1819-1821, only held this Chair for two years, preferring to take that of *Materia Medica*, when it became vacant, so that an account of him will be more appropriate elsewhere.

(7) WILLIAM PULTENEY ALISON, 1821-1842, was not only an eminent Professor, and for a time head of the Medical profession in this country, but his name deserves to be kept in remembrance as a great philanthropist, and the author of the improved system of the Poor Laws in Scotland, by which the misery of the poor has been alleviated, and the tendencies to disease diminished; while all have been taught the important lesson that their own safety and happiness are indissolubly linked with those of other men. William Pulteney Alison was son of an Episcopal Minister in Edinburgh (author of the celebrated *Essay on Taste*, which in 1811 produced so much discussion on the Philosophy of Beauty) and of the sister of Professor James Gregory; his younger brother

<sup>1</sup> Sir R. Christison, in his *Recollections*, describes one of these entertainments as "a dull enough tea and talk party."

was Sir Archibald Alison, Sheriff of Lanarkshire and Historiographer of Modern Europe. In early life he had the advantage of the literary and scientific society in Edinburgh, which gathered in his father's house. He was himself a devoted follower of Du Stewart, and much given to Metaphysics; as late as 1817, in his thirty-seventh year, he defended the system of his master in *Blackwood's Magazine*. Alison, in his ardent youth, fired by the events of the European war, had wished to join the army; he obeyed the counsels of his uncle, studied Medicine, graduated M.D. in 1811 with a Thesis *De Viribus Nari Medicatricibus*. After a short tour, in which he witnessed the entry of the Allied Armies into Paris, and which he describes in a volume of *Travels in France*, he settled to practise in Edinburgh, especially as Physician to the New Town Dispensary. His constant work among the poor in this capacity, and his observation of the epidemic fevers of 1817-1819, of 1827-1828, of 1837, and 1838, impressed him with the conviction that there was a direct connection between destitution and epidemic disease. This led him to a series of long-continued, and finally successful exertions for the amelioration of the Poor Laws of Scotland. The systems of England and Scotland for a long time pursued in opposite directions, that of England in too easy largesses, that of Scotland in a too gripping economy. Scotland swarmed with beggars, and epidemic fevers alarmingly increased. The national sentiment, however, supported the national system, and the General Assembly reported in favour of it. In 1840 Dr. Alison brought out his *Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland*, which won the public ear, and the result was the passing of the Act of 1845, and the appointment of the Board of Supervisors. Such was Alison's great service to his country, outside of the University. And what he did was not done as by a mere Political Economist with a clear view; it was the outcome of his sympathy with and compassion for the poor. He gave away his fortune to charitable objects, and devoted half his time to unremunerated attendance on the poor. His benevolence was often indiscriminate, and doubtless often abused, but he showed a divine spirit in common life. It is curious that in theory he should have been diametrically opposed to Dr. Chalmers, while in practice his voluntary system for the relief of pauperism was nobly carried

by himself and Edward Irving in one parish of Glasgow, but for a whole country was impossible.

In 1820 Alison was appointed by the Crown to the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence, but he only held this for a year; and he was then removed by the Town Council into the Chair of the Institutes of Medicine, in which he taught for twenty years. In 1831 he published his *Outlines of Physiology*, embodying the substance of his lectures, and in 1833 expanded this into his *Outlines of Physiology and Pathology*, which formed a complete text-book. "The idea of a *life-force* or *forces*, of something distinct from and superadded to the physical forces of dead matter, was the ruling idea of all Dr. Alison's physiological speculations."<sup>1</sup>

In 1842 Alison succeeded Dr. Home as Professor of the Practice of Physic. In the following year he published his *Outlines of Pathology and Practice of Medicine*. In 1846 his health, undermined with excessive labours, began to give way; in 1855 he resigned his Chair, but was still able to take an interest in scientific pursuits. In 1858 he presided over the meeting of the British Medical Association in Edinburgh, and was enthusiastically hailed by many hundreds of practitioners. In 1859 he received a public funeral from the Magistrates, the University, and the citizens of Edinburgh.

(8) ALLEN THOMSON, 1842-1848, the second son of John Thomson, Professor of Military Surgery and afterwards of Pathology in the University of Edinburgh, succeeded Dr. Alison in the Chair of the Institutes of Medicine. In 1848 he migrated to the Chair of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow, of which he is now *Emeritus* Professor.

(9) JOHN HUGHES BENNETT, 1848-1874, was an Englishman by birth and early education, and even went through a Medical apprenticeship at Maidstone; but in his twenty-first year he came to Edinburgh for more thorough Medical study, and after that he became naturalised in the place. He was made President of the Royal Medical Society, and in 1837 graduated M.D. with the highest honours, receiving a gold medal for his Thesis on "The Physiology and Pathology of the Brain." He then spent four years

<sup>1</sup> From the obituary notice of Professor Alison in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, vol. v. p. 475, from which the above facts are taken.

## XXV.—PROFESSORS OF THE PRACTICE OF PHYSIC.

By the arrangement made in 1726 the teaching of the Practice of Physic in the University was allotted to Drs. Rutherford and Innes. (1) JOHN RUTHERFORD, 1726-1766, lectured, as before mentioned, on the *Aphorisms* of Boerhaave. When the Infirmary was opened in 1746 for clinical teaching, Rutherford, in addition to his systematic courses, in the twentieth year of his Professorship, commenced giving clinical lectures. For twenty years more he continued these combined duties. "He was possessed," says Bower,<sup>1</sup> "of very respectable talents, exceedingly cautious in his practice as a physician, and the students reposed the utmost confidence in the opinions which he delivered." Dr. Buchan, the author of *Domestic Medicine*, who had been his pupil, said of him: "Rutherford is slow but absolutely sure." He resigned his Chair in 1766, John Innes, who acted as his colleague, and of whom nothing special is recorded, having retired, owing to failing health, in 1746. The circumstances of the appointment of (2) JOHN GREGORY, 1766-1773, have been already mentioned (above, p. 403). He was son of an Aberdeen Professor, and a very worthy member of the great Gregorian family. He was first cousin to Reid, the psychologist. He learned Medicine in Edinburgh and afterwards at Leyden, and subsequently to this was Regent of Philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen, but soon resigned the appointment. He then went to London as a Physician, had the friendship of Lord Lyttelton and Lady Wortley Montague, and was made F.R.S. He returned to Aberdeen in 1756, to succeed his father as Professor of Medicine. On being called to succeed Rutherford in the Chair of Practice of Physic, he gave some introductory lectures on *The Duties and Qualifications of a Physician*, which were afterwards published. In 1770 he brought out his *Elements of the Practice of Physic* for the use of his class. On the death of his wife (the daughter of Lord Forbes) he wrote, in her memory, a charming little work entitled *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*. In 1773, at the age of forty-nine, he was suddenly cut off by an attack of gout,<sup>2</sup> to which he had been subject

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Un. Ed.*, vol. ii. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> In the MS. correspondence of David, 11th Earl of Buchan, a little trait of Dr. John Gregory is recorded. There was a letter from Gregory to Lord

a physician as Dr. Gregory. But if it was a mistake on Dr. Home's part to desire translation to the Chair of Practice, it was a greater one for the Patrons to translate him. A keen, bitter struggle arose for the vacant Professorship." The candidates were Dr. Abercrombie, then of great eminence as a physician; Dr. John Thomson, the Professor of Military Surgery; and Home. Sir Robert indicates that Abercrombie should have been appointed; but the contest lay between Home and Thomson, and was decided on political grounds, a majority of the Town Council being Tories, and Home being a Tory.

(6) WILLIAM PULTENEY ALISON, 1842-1855, has been already characterised.

(7) THOMAS LAYCOCK, 1855-1876, was perhaps the first Professor in the Medical Faculty of Edinburgh who was not only an Englishman by birth, but had received none of his Medical education in any Scottish University. Born in Yorkshire, he went through the full Medical curriculum of University College, London, then studied at Paris under Velpau and Lisfranc, and finally graduated M.D. at Göttingen. He then settled as a general practitioner at York, and in 1846 became Lecturer on the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the York Medical School. He was a prolific contributor of papers to the Medical journals, and presently brought out his *Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Women*, in which he developed original views as to the reflex action of the brain, explaining thereby the phenomena of mesmerism, dreaming, and insanity. Ultimately, this work was extended and completed as a system of Practical Philosophy, in a work in two volumes, entitled *Mind and Brain, or the Correlation of Consciousness and Organisation*. Whatever may be thought of the system as a whole, there is no doubt that particular views, advocated by Laycock, contributed to the advance of Physiology and of Mental Pathology. He himself became more and more absorbed in the investigation of mental phenomena approached from the physical side. In 1855 he was appointed by the Town Council as successor in the Chair of Practical Physic to Professor Alison. He gradually made this Chair, to a considerable extent, one of Mental Diseases, and thus gave to that important subject a too predominant share of his attention. The province of Mental Diseases was very properly separated by the Senatus in



1881 from the Chair of Practice of Physic, and assigned separate lecturer. Laycock, however, did good service in training his Students for the supervision of Lunatic Asylums, and imparting to them methods for alleviating the saddest of human afflictions. It used to be an interesting thing to accompany him and his class to the inspection of one of the great Lunatic Asylums of Scotland. One scheme of which Laycock was an active promoter was the setting up of a Hall for the residence of University Students; this project, however, which will be mentioned elsewhere, did not prove successful. Laycock died in 1876, in his sixty-fourth year.

(8) THOMAS GRAINGER STEWART, the present Professor, then appointed by the Curators to the Chair of the Practice of Physic.

#### XXVI.—PROFESSORS OF MIDWIFERY AND THE DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

(1) JOSEPH GIBSON, 1726-1739. We have related a (Vol. I. p. 315) the circumstances under which "Mr. Joseph Gibson, surgeon in Edinburgh," was appointed "Professor" of Midwifery, in connection with regulation of the Town Council for the proper education of Midwives, who were not to practise henceforth without a certificate, signed by a Physician and a Surgeon, that they were acquainted with the "grounds and principles" of their art. This movement of the Town Council came at an opportune moment, when the battle of *Accoucheurs versus* Midwives had fairly been engaged, and, as Professor A. R. Simpson<sup>1</sup> shows, Joseph Gibson was probably the first person who ever had the title of "Professor of Midwifery." On this ground he has been placed at the head of the present list of Professors, though he did not belong to the University, and probably had none of the Students among his pupils. "It is always taken for granted that he lectured on women; but where they gathered, and what instruction he gave is all unknown." Some traces of Joseph Gibson still remain.

<sup>1</sup> See his learned and interesting lecture on the *History of the Art of Midwifery* (1883), p. 10.

three contributions to the *Medical Essays and Observations*, published by a Society in Edinburgh. They "cannot be said<sup>1</sup> to be the productions of a master mind. The most important of them discusses the question of the mode of nutrition of the *fœtus in utero*." In this Gibson supports the doctrine of the aliment being received both by the mouth and the navel, whereas A. Monro *primus*, who has also a paper on the same subject, refutes (and rightly) the arguments of his "ingenious, valuable friend, Mr. Gibson."

(2) On the death of Gibson ROBERT SMITH, 1739-1756, was appointed "Professor of Midwifery in the City's College," "with the same privileges and immunities which the other Professors in the said College do enjoy." Beyond this nothing is known of him. "It is taken for granted that he duly taught midwifery to classes of nurses. But if he ever wrote anything, the product of his pen has perished."<sup>2</sup>

(3) THOMAS YOUNG, 1756-1780, who next succeeded, has left no writings except his graduation Thesis, *De Lacte*, in which he treated milk as a sovereign remedy for all sorts of ailments. But MS. notes of his lectures still remain, and "bear evidence to his wide acquaintance with the literature of his subject, and his excellent power of observation and exposition."<sup>3</sup> Young was the first to give regular courses in Midwifery to Medical Students, and he made efforts to obtain the means for their clinical instruction. In the year of his appointment "a ward in the attic story of the Royal Infirmary, by the permission of the Managers, but at Dr. Young's expense, was fitted up for four lying-in women, or as many more as Dr. Young could accommodate." But in addition to his work with Students, Young did great service by dissipating the prejudice which existed against the necessity of instructing Midwives. Professor Hamilton, his successor, speaking of this, said: "Even they who pretended to the sacred name of philosophers, joined in the prejudice. Dame Nature, they said, is the proper midwife, and nobody can be better qualified to attend to her dictates than Dame Ignorance. Dr. Young might, with great facility, by publishing a few of the horrible blunders committed by the midwives resident in Edinburgh when he began to practice, recorded in his note-book, have offered powerful argu-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 14.

was called by Professor James Gregory to a pamphlet entitled *A Guide for Gentlemen studying Medicine in the University of Edinburgh*, by J. Johnstone, Esq., the purport of which was to cry up the merits of Dr. Hamilton, Professor of Midwifery, and to bring charges against Professors Rutherford (Botany) and Playfair (Mathematics); and Gregory charged Hamilton with the authorship. The latter positively denied having had anything to do with the pamphlet, and the Senatus exonerated him, while pronouncing the remarks on Rutherford and Playfair to be calumnious. At a subsequent meeting Gregory renewed his attack, but he now assigned the authorship of the pamphlet to James Hamilton, the Professor's son, who, indeed, if he did not write it, had probably inspired it. The Senatus, however, declined to take further notice of the matter, as having become extra-Academical.

Among other things said in praise of A. Hamilton by the *Guide*, was a mention of his efforts for the foundation of the Lying-in Hospital. This through his exertions was established in 1791, and "for nearly a century it has held an honourable position among the charitable and educational institutions of Edinburgh."<sup>1</sup>

(5) JAMES HAMILTON, 1800-1839, who had been trained by his father, and, who from his twenty-first year had assisted him in his practice, seems to have very much resembled his father both in appearance and character. He was a very eminent Professor; and when, in 1839, he published his *Practical Observations*, the book was acknowledged "to embody the result of an experience extending to upwards of fifty years, and comprehending a practice the most extensive, perhaps, that was ever enjoyed by any single practitioner in this department of medicine."<sup>2</sup> But his great abilities were marred by his pugnacious and uncompromising disposition. The following is Sir Robert Christison's description of him in the Professorial Chair: "His voice was harsh, and his intonation Scotch, pure and unsophisticated. Nevertheless he was a man of great energy and alertness, and a powerful lecturer. His delivery, though plain, was forcible and

<sup>1</sup> Professor A. R. Simpson's *Lecture*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *British and Foreign Medical Review*, quoted by Professor A. Simpson, p. 17.



To the more important qualities of James Hamilton Sir R. Christison pays a high tribute: "Apart from his quarrelsomeness and its results, there was much to approve and little to blame in his character." Sir Robert dwells on his humanity in supporting the Lying-in Hospital at his own expense; on his kindness to his patients; and on his refusing to desert his town patients in order to dance attendance on great ladies expecting confinement in the country. "They must come," he said, "to me." As a lecturer, he attracted crowds of Students at a time when his subject was not necessary for graduation. He died, as Professor A. Simpson says,<sup>1</sup> "full of years and honour." The Senatus, in November 1839, forgetful of any unpleasantness in the past, recorded their regret for the loss of so distinguished a colleague.

(6) JAMES YOUNG SIMPSON, 1840-1870. On James Hamilton's death there was a lively contest for his Chair—such a contest as used to be possible and common when there was open and secret canvassing of thirty-three Town Councillors, with the solicitation and promise of votes, the interference of outsiders, and a variety of unseemly practices which are now a thing of the past. There were five candidates, but the struggle ultimately resolved itself into one between Simpson and Dr. Kennedy of Dublin. A majority of the Medical Faculty in the University took an attitude hostile to Simpson, and did all they could to prevent his election. But, as had sometimes happened in other matters, the Town Council were guided somehow to be wiser than the Professors, and on this occasion they elected Simpson by a majority of one vote, and thus gave the University one of the greatest Professors of Obstetrics that has ever taught in any School of Medicine.

Simpson, being the youngest son of a small tradesman in Bathgate, had, by the generosity of his elder brothers, received a better education than the rest of the family, and had come to the University of Edinburgh at the age of fourteen. In his second session he obtained the Stewart Bursary of £10 per annum for three years, which was given by preference to candidates of the name of Stewart or Simpson. With this assistance he went through the whole of the Arts course, with the exception of Logic and English Literature, the Professors of which were at that time

<sup>1</sup> Professor A. R. Simpson's *Lecture*, p. 18.

undistinguished. He took two sessions in Latin and three in Greek. He was led to the study of Medicine by the example of John Reid, a Bathgate friend, with whom he shared lodgings, and who afterwards became the distinguished Professor of Anatomy in St. Andrews. He attended Medical classes in the University, but studied Surgery extra-murally under Liston. He passed the examination of the College of Surgeons in 1830, in his nineteenth year; and in 1832 he presented to the Medical Faculty a Thesis for graduation, *De Causa Mortis in quibusdam Inflammationibus proxima*. This Thesis was referred for examination to Dr. John Thomson, the new Professor of Pathology, who was so much struck by the merits of the paper that he not only recommended Simpson, with whom he was unacquainted, for the degree of M.D., but also offered to take him as his class-assistant. This opportune proposal kept Simpson in the University, and prevented him from seeking some small appointment in the country or on board ship. By Professor Thomson's advice he turned his attention to Midwifery; and when, in 1835, his fellow-Students showed their high opinion of him by electing him Senior President of the Royal Medical Society, he delivered an inaugural address on "Diseases of the Placenta," which immediately attracted attention in the Medical world, and was translated into German, Italian, and French. Other important papers followed in subsequent years, gradually confirming Simpson's claim to be an original genius and a discoverer in his own department. In 1838-39 he established himself as a Lecturer on Midwifery in the extra-mural school, and gave proof of brilliant teaching powers, as well as of great learning and ability.

The Town Council then were not without full warranty for what they did when they appointed Simpson to be Professor of Midwifery, and the appointment was more than justified by its results. "For thirty years Simpson lectured with an enthusiasm, the contagion of which is evidenced by the numbers of young men whom he stirred to the pursuit of his branch of study. Not only in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen are his pupils now teaching Midwifery, but seven out of the eighteen present professors and lecturers on the subject in England were once members of his class."<sup>1</sup> In him, however, the Teacher fades

<sup>1</sup> Professor A. R. Simpson's *Lecture*, p. 19.

into insignificance in comparison with his glory as a Discoverer and Inventor of new modes of practice. The very name of "Chloroform" reflects honour on the University of Edinburgh. It is no light boast that the most beneficent discovery of modern times was made by a Professor of this University. And not only have pain and suffering in countless cases been obviated by the blessing of chloroform, but also it is well known that by chloroform, in conjunction with the Antiseptic Treatment—the discovery of another Professor of this University—operations in Surgery, which would formerly have been impossible, have been rendered practicable.

As early as 1837 Simpson's active mind had started the problem—"Cannot something be done to render the patient unconscious while under acute pain without interfering with the free and healthy play of the natural functions?" For ten years the idea of anæsthesia was present with him. As so often happens in scientific discovery, other minds had been working in the same direction. In 1846 sulphuric ether was used in America as an anæsthetic in dentistry. Simpson at once jumped at this, and in January 1847 he wrote to his brother that he was "less interested" in having been made Physician to the Queen than in having delivered a woman without pain while inhaling sulphuric ether. He was the first person to have used ether in obstetrical practice; but he was not satisfied with it, and renewed his search for anæsthetic agents.

Chloroform, as a substance, had been discovered and described, almost simultaneously, by Soubeiran in 1831 and by Liebig in 1832. Its composition was accurately ascertained by Dumas in 1835. But the world remained unconscious of the physiological effects which it was capable of producing. It had been used as an injection into the veins to produce insensibility, but no one had tried inhaling it. In 1847 a Mr. Waldie of Liverpool, with whom Simpson had communicated, sent him a bottle of chloroform, which for some time he neglected as "a heavy, unvolatile looking" fluid. But one evening he took down the bottle to his supper-table, where he filled a glass for himself and for each of his two assistants, Drs. Keith and Duncan; they each inhaled it, and all were "under the table in a minute or two." At once Simpson recognised the properties of the fluid

Paris, setting aside the list proposed to them by their governing body, insisted on making him an "Associate" over the heads of Owen, Faraday, and Bright. He received honorary titles from other Academies or Societies in France, Belgium, Prussia, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, India, and North and South America. When some one from Edinburgh was introduced at the Court of Denmark the present King said: "You come from Edinburgh? Ah! Sir Simpson was of Edinburgh;" as though the achievements of Simpson were the association which the name of Edinburgh most naturally called up.<sup>1</sup>

Simpson's life for thirty years was essentially that of a public man. And this was the *role* for which he was by nature qualified. He might have said with M. Renan (whom indeed in appearance he somewhat resembled): "I live for the public and not for friends." He had a diffusive geniality, and an incapacity for hating any one, but friends were not necessary to him. With several of his colleagues in the *Senatus* he was never on cordial terms; and for some cause or other Professors who had greater powers both of loving and hating than he possessed, cherished, justly or unjustly, an antipathy towards him. But by the larger world of Edinburgh he was for the most part idolised. His statue and the excellent Maternity Hospital erected in his honour perpetuate the feeling towards him entertained by his fellow-citizens.

(7) In 1870 ALEXANDER R. SIMPSON, nephew to Sir James, was elected to be his successor in the Chair of Midwifery.

#### XXVII.—PROFESSORS OF MATERIA MEDICA.

Materia Medica was originally a province of the Chair of Botany in the University of Edinburgh, and separate courses on it were given annually by Professor Alston and John Hope. Alston at his death left his *Lectures on Materia Medica* ready for publication, and they were brought out by his successor<sup>2</sup> in two

<sup>1</sup> The above facts have been chiefly taken from the *Memoir of Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart.*, etc., by J. Duns, D.D., Professor of Natural Science, New College, Edinburgh (1873).

<sup>2</sup> After Alston's death, and before Hope was appointed, Cullen lectured for a session on Materia Medica. He appears to have been boldly speculative on the physiological action of drugs.



quarto volumes. They described 400 medicinal substances, mostly still in use; but "those who are curious regarding the fantastic remedies of ancient medicine, such as snails and earth-worms, pearls, he-goat's blood, the distilled water of cow-dung, etc., will find all that is worth knowing about them" in Dr. Alston's *Lectures*. He was himself too advanced to assign to them much value. John Hope, who edited this work, probably used it as his text-book. After seven years Hope resigned the department of *Materia Medica*, and the Town Council appointed (1) FRANCIS HOME, 1768-1798, Professor of the subject. Home had served from 1742 to 1748 as Surgeon to Sir John Cope's regiment in Flanders, where he had been commended by Sir John Pringle, and he had taken the opportunity to study Medicine at Leyden. He then quitted the army, and graduated M.D. at Edinburgh in 1750; he joined the College of Physicians, and commenced producing several works; in 1757 he obtained a gold medal which was offered for the best treatise *On the Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation*. In the Chair of *Materia Medica* he followed Cullen into speculations beyond what the state of knowledge at that time justified, but he also "fully considered the physical characters and mode of administration of drugs" which Cullen had omitted. He was made a Clinical Professor of Medicine, and in 1780 he brought out *Clinical Experiments, Histories, and Dissections*, in which work he related the effects produced by many new remedies tried by him in the Infirmary. He thus contributed to the advance of Therapeutics. He died in 1813, more than ninety-three years old; but in 1798 he had resigned his Professorial duties to his son (2) JAMES HOME, 1798-1821, "whose great success as a teacher raised the Chair of *Materia Medica* to a height of prosperity which has never been surpassed. In his father's time the average attendance was 50 pupils. When Dr. James Home resigned the Chair to take that of Practice of Physic he left a class of 310 Students."<sup>1</sup>

(3) ANDREW DUNCAN *secundus*, 1821-1832, had previously held the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence for thirteen years, and that of Institutes of Medicine for one year. His life and character are elsewhere summarised. He was a man of most

<sup>1</sup> The above quotations are from Professor T. Fraser's Address in inaugurating the new class-room of *Materia Medica* on the 26th October 1883.



versatile genius, but he had chosen the province of *Materia Medica* as being more congenial to him than that of *Physiology*, and his success in teaching it was conspicuous. An early work of his on *Materia Medica*, entitled the *Edinburgh Dispensatory*, was for many years a standard authority in every Medical school in Europe. Among Dr. Duncan's contributions to Medical knowledge we may specially mention his experiments on Peruvian bark, whereby he discovered cinchonin, and paved the way for the discovery of the vegetable alkaloids so important to the advancement of pharmaceutical science.

(4) ROBERT CHRISTISON, 1832-1877. This is a name, the very mention of which has often excited enthusiasm. Should these volumes come into the hands of any old Medical Students of the University of Edinburgh, they will very likely turn first to see what is here said of one who was to them a hero, whether they knew him as "Professor" or as "Sir Robert" Christison. Many a one may be inclined to say of him—

" This was the noblest Roman of them all !  
His life was gentle, and the elements  
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up  
And say to all the world, 'This was a man.'"

No Professor, out of all the long list, ever made so great an impression by his character on the University—that is to say, both on the Students and on his colleagues—as Robert Christison. There was in him a combination of Roman virtue with the qualities of a man of science; he united physical with mental excellences; he was an athlete and the performer of feats of agility in his youth, and in his sixty-fourth year became the smart, jauntily-marching Captain of the University Corps of Rifle Volunteers; he was skilled in music, and an excellent singer, with a rich bass voice; he was extremely well educated, had an excellent literary style, and spoke in public with great appropriateness as well as force; he was very quick, firm, and adroit, and most skilful in all manipulations, so that he succeeded in many emergencies where other men had failed; he was *totus, teres, atque rotundus*, and almost devoid of weaknesses. He was entirely devoted and loyal to the University, and unwearied in promoting its interests; he was the considerate friend of his Students, and zealous for their welfare; he was utterly upright and pure in all

relations of life, *sans peur et sans reproche* ; he was a warm and, though it was said that he was cold and somewhat s exterior, this feature was mellowed by age, and the writer c pages, during the thirteen years and more that he had th lege of knowing him, never found him otherwise than gen sympathetic ; he was very generous in his nature, and quite all petty jealousies, but high-spirited, sensitive in poi honour, and prone to do battle *à outrance* for what he dee be a righteous cause. His mind was thoroughly scientif all his interests intellectual ; he was an ardent mountaine had a deep love for Nature in all her aspects ; to his last r he was always making observations and researches ; he advanced the two departments of which he was succe Professor ; and he became the acknowledged head of the M profession in Scotland. Such were some of the qualit organisation or acquirement, which have caused the name Robert Christison to be almost adored by several generati his pupils and friends.

Robert Christison actually served for fifty-five and a hal as Professor in the University ; his Professorial career span: than one-sixth of the whole history of the University, mor one-third of the history of the Medical Faculty. No Professor has quite completed half a century of service, t Jameson was within a few months of doing so. In 1871, advice of Mr. Gladstone, Christison was made a barone accepted this hereditary rank after some hesitation, and year, at the jubilee dinner in his honour, which was attend 250 gentlemen coming from far and wide, he alluded pl to his Scandinavian name as having been originally brou Scotland by some plundering "piratical rogue," and adde by the honour which the Queen had conferred upon hi name of Christison had for the first time "become the na a family."

In the spring of 1871 he sat down and wrote as follo "Having lately entered on the 50th year of my Profess and having just finished my University lectures for the s with a week of fatiguing work, I find I require relaxatio routine toil in my professorial and professional duties, as v from a very unusual amount of the turmoil of public strife

turbulent city during the last six months. Could I as easily reach the foot of a Highland mountain, or the shore of a Highland loch, as I can betake myself to this sheet of paper, climbing the mountain and rowing on the loch would be my choice for repose and refreshment. I must stick to town, however, for some months longer, before earning a right to the pleasures of idleness; and it has occurred to me that there may be complete mental distraction from ordinary mental pursuits, as well as the relief always derived from amusement, in thus recalling something of what I have done, or witnessed from a position of some little prominence, in which I was placed at a very early age."

Thus were commenced what we may call the *Recollections* of Sir Robert Christison, though he himself gave no title to what he wrote. Continuing his task from time to time, he filled 471 pages of notepaper with firm, small, exquisite handwriting, clearer and more beautiful than print, and with hardly an erasure, containing a genial autobiographical account of his own education and first successes in life, and of his mode of procedure in the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence, especially with reference to various trials in which he gave scientific evidence. There are also descriptive notices of several of his teachers and early colleagues in the University, from which extracts have been made<sup>1</sup> into these pages. It is very much to be regretted that this record is only a fragment, stopping short in the year 1830, and therefore giving no account of Christison's election to his second Chair, or of interesting events in the University which occurred subsequently. There is, however, a narrative of the great quarrel between the Senatus Academicus and the Town Council, which agrees substantially with what has been given, from other sources, above; though of course Christison, as a leading combatant, could hardly enough recognise that there was a certain amount of right, as well as wrong, on both sides. The strife was a misfortune for him, as he came to be regarded as an antagonist to

<sup>1</sup> By the kind permission of Sir Alexander Christison, Bart., and his brothers, Dr. David and Mr. John Christison. It is to be hoped that the remainder of this charming autobiographical fragment may be given to the public. The account of Robert Christison's studies in the Medical School of Paris (1820) is specially interesting.

the Town Council, and this probably prevented his being placed in the Chair of Practice of Physic in 1855, and made Principal in the University in 1868, for both which appointments he had great claims. Christison's filial piety, as exhibited in his *Recollections*, is very beautiful. In recording the death of his father, Professor A. Christison, in 1820, he speaks of "his noble character, his evident strong attachment, and the constant interest he had taken in my studies, so that in his own favourite branch, the higher Mathematics, he made of me almost a fellow-student. Consequently his figure, carriage, and gait, his countenance and its varying expression in conversation, his very mind, were all so impressed on me, that they seemed, as it were, ever with me or within call. Time, which tries all things, has tested me for a term fast approaching to sixty years, but has left that inward feeling unblunted. When my father left this life I could well have said of him, *Questo qui mai da me non fia diviso.*"

Christison entered the High School, under Pillans, during his father's first year as Professor in the University, and he spent six years there, always near the top of his class, and ended by pleasing Pillans with a set of Latin verses. Sir Robert was always a warm advocate for a classical education. At fourteen he proceeded to the University, and went through the entire Arts course, after which, as he says: "I was entitled, by the rules of the University, to receive the M.A. degree without examination. But that very privilege made the degree no object of ambition to the great mass of the Students, and especially to the best class of them. I declined the honour when offered, and even pressed upon me; and it was a common saying among us, that nobody took it but 'a Dominie.'"

It is unfortunately not possible here to reproduce Christison's anecdotes of his Student life. We will only quote his account of his examination for the M.D. degree in 1819. A prelude to this ceremony occurred two days before, when he walked with three companions to Rosslyn, Hawthornden, and Lasswade. Unluckily one of the party imbibed too much of the Lasswade ale, which led to a fray with the inhabitants of Liberton. Christison, endeavouring to rescue his friends from the *mêlée*, was "struck down by a heavy blow on the outside of the left eye." Returning to Edinburgh he became alive to the horrors of his probable ap-

pearance before his examiners with a black eye. "I therefore," says he, "determined to lie awake all night with cold wet cloths constantly over my bruise. I succeeded till morning approached, when I dropped asleep. But instantly I started broad awake, dreaming that I was before my examiners, and that Dr. Gregory's first question was, '*Dic mihi, Domine, unde venit hicce oculus caruleus?*' I was delighted, however, to find at dawn that there was no discoloration. The custom then was for the Medical Faculty to meet for examination successively at one another's houses, and for the host to bear the chief brunt of duty. Dr. Gregory examined me for an hour on the anatomy, physiology, and diseases of the stomach, their treatment, and the chemistry of some of the remedies mentioned. I have not since heard so masterly an examination, so thorough and yet so fair a scrutiny. Each of the five other Professors then put a few questions on desultory subjects. Of these I recollect only Monro's and Rutherford's. Monro chose for his subject concretions in the stomach. Never having heard of such a thing—I have never met with a case of the kind, but once saw at a Medico-Chirurgical Society meeting a large ball of human hair which had been taken after death from the stomach of a hysterical girl—my answers were taken from acquaintance with intestinal concretions, a favourite study both of Dr. Monro himself and of his father. The Doctor was satisfied, although assuredly no such concretion has ever been formed in the stomach; and, as I knew these concretions well, my answers were accepted until he arrived at the treatment. This I had to spin out of my own brain, and, on being pushed by him for more remedies, I proceeded with the aid of my old engineering propensities to invent an instrument for the extraction of offensive substances. Monro, thereupon, wound up the dialogue by asking, '*Vidistine unquam, Domine, tale instrumentum usitatum?*' To which I replied somewhat coolly, and in doubtful Latin, '*Nec vidi, nec audivi.*' Dr. Rutherford, who followed last of all, probably regarding me as too confident and easy, resolved, as it seemed to me, to cool my conceit with a subject very much out of a tyro's way. Throwing Botany aside, which it was said he never cared for, he asked me the symptoms of the descent of a calculus from the kidney into the bladder. But fortune had favoured me by presenting a characteristic case of the kind about

Senatus with great prudence and skill; his clearness of mind appeared conspicuously in the annual budgets which he drew up; he was elected and re-elected by the Senatus as their Assessor in the University Court, from its outset till 1877, when a severe illness induced him to resign his Chair. And after that he was elected by the General Council as their Assessor in the Court till the time of his death. No man can have rejoiced more than Christison in the new regime of the University, introduced by the Act of 1858. After his resignation of Professorial duty his mind was ever occupied with scientific interests, and he continued to contribute papers to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which in 1869 he had been made President. In 1878, when over eighty-two years of age, he ascended Ben Vrackie in Perthshire. The winter of 1881-1882, during which Sir Robert Christison was stricken with mortal illness, was exceptionally mild; it so happened that the aged philosopher had prophesied that this would be the case, from meteorological symptoms in the early autumn; when the writer of these pages visited him on his deathbed, he found him in all the peace of a Christian, sorrowing somewhat to leave so interesting a world, but still diligently recording the daily temperatures and cheered by the circumstance that his prophecy had come true. It is needless to recount the honours which in his lifetime were heaped upon Sir Robert Christison; the great public funeral which followed his remains on the 1st February 1882 testified to the feeling towards him entertained by his fellow-citizens in Edinburgh.

As his successor (5) THOMAS R. FRASER, the present Professor of *Materia Medica*, was appointed in 1877 by the Curators.

#### XXVIII.—REGIUS PROFESSORS OF NATURAL HISTORY.

(1) ROBERT RAMSAY, 1767-1779. We have seen above (Vol. I. p. 319) that in 1770 Dr. Robert Ramsay presented to the Town Council a Commission from George III., dated 13th March 1767, appointing him Regius Professor of Natural History and Keeper of the Museum in the University of Edinburgh, with a salary of £70 per annum. What the history of this transaction may have been we know not. Perhaps Dr. Ramsay may have had



alogy, Botany, and Zoology. The Students were first taken through the "Fossil Kingdom" before commencing on Natural History proper. In Zoology Walker used a primitive classification, under the heads of Mammals, Birds, Amphibia, Fishes, and Invertebrates. His Amphibia included reptiles (and among these were frogs and toads), serpents, and a group called "*Nantes*," differing from ordinary fish in the structure of their lungs. "Thus sharks and rays, reptiles and serpents, were all included in the same group as the frogs and toads." Among the Invertebrates are mentioned animalculæ, and it is interesting to find that Walker, even in those days, pointed out that "animalculæ are the chief cause or concomitants of exanthematous disease." "Much that he said of what he called 'animalculæ' would in all probability apply to the minute organisms which now so deeply interest alike the Biologist and the Physician." "Notwithstanding the very primitive classification adopted by Walker, he seems to have possessed a fairly typical museum, and to have made occasional dredging expeditions in the Firth of Forth."<sup>1</sup> His lectures, though not necessary for the Medical degree, seem to have attracted a fair number of Students, as well as a sprinkling of auditors not otherwise connected with the University.

(3) ROBERT JAMESON, 1804-1854, the next Professor, was born in Leith, and was for some time a Surgeon apprentice; he studied Natural History under Walker in 1792, and thenceforth devoted himself to the subject, especially to that branch of it which has now been separated from the Chair, namely Mineralogy and Geology, which he studied under the celebrated Werner at Freiberg. This was no doubt Jameson's favourite pursuit; he wrote a *Treatise on the Characters of Minerals*, which he used as a text-book for his class. But his syllabus, which was printed in the Report of the Commission of 1826, shows that he gave interesting lectures also on Meteorology, Hydrography, Botany, and Zoology. In the latter department his course was full, commencing with the natural history of man. His classification of animals was far more scientific than that of Walker, and he used to finish up with lectures on the "Philosophy of Zoology," of which the first was on "The Origin of the Species of Animals."

<sup>1</sup> The above quotations are from Professor J. Cossar Ewart's *Inaugural Address* (1882).

lectures on Natural History to popular institutions. Next he accompanied Captain Graves as naturalist on board the *Beacon* to Syria. From 1843 to 1845 he was Professor of Botany in King's College, London, and Curator to the Geological Society. In 1845 he was attached to the Geological Survey, and was appointed Lecturer on Zoology and Palæontology at the Royal School of Mines.

On the 15th May 1854 the goal of his ambition was attained, and, surrounded by rejoicing friends, he delivered his inaugural lecture in the University of Edinburgh "to a brilliant audience, which had representatives from all parts of the country to welcome him and do him honour." After his first session he presided over the Geological section of the British Association at Liverpool. During the meetings he suffered from the return of a remittent fever by which he had been prostrated when in Greece. He met his class at the opening of the winter session, 1854-55, but after a week was compelled to suspend his lectures, and died a few days afterwards at the age of thirty-nine.

Edward Forbes "had the faculty of carrying on elaborate investigations, as well as the power of generalising; and, being a good draftsman, he was able to impress the main facts of his lectures by happily conceived and marvellously executed black-board sketches. He had a great unwritten influence in his day, and he still lives in his numerous memoirs and papers. Of these, perhaps the most important are the *Papers on the Mollusca*, the *Monograph on the British Naked-Eyed Medusa*, and the *History of British Starfish*."<sup>1</sup>

(5) GEORGE JAMES ALLMAN, 1855-1870, the recent distinguished President of the Linnæan Society, succeeded Forbes, but owing to ill-health resigned the Professorship in 1870.

(6) WYVILLE T. C. THOMSON, 1870-1882, was born in 1830, and, having studied in the Medical School of the University of Edinburgh, was, when only twenty years old, appointed Lecturer on Botany in King's College, and afterwards in Marischall College, Aberdeen. Then he went in 1853 to Queen's College, Cork, as Professor of Botany and Zoology, and in the

<sup>1</sup> The above account of Edward Forbes is taken from Professor Cossar Ewart's *Address*, pp. 9-12.

they "will no doubt form an epoch in the history of Biological Science."<sup>1</sup>

(7) In 1882 J. COSSAR EWART, the present Regius Professor of Natural History, was appointed. It may be mentioned here that in 1871, by the creation of Sir Roderick Murchison's Chair of Geology, that subject, together with Mineralogy, was taken out of the province of the Natural History Chair. Also, that in Professor Ewart's Commission, for the first time, an appointment to be Regius Keeper of the Natural History Collections in the Museum of Science and Art was omitted. Owing to Wyville Thomson's long absence it had been suggested to the Government that a Keeper of those Collections, not connected with the University, should be appointed—and this was done. But the Science and Art Department of the Privy Council recommended that, in lieu of the University Professor acting as Keeper, a Committee of the Senatus should annually report on the Collections; which seems a very reasonable plan.

#### XXIX.—REGIUS PROFESSORS OF CLINICAL SURGERY.

We have mentioned (Vol. I. p. 322) the circumstances under which a Chair of Clinical Surgery was erected by the Crown in 1803, and bestowed upon (1) JAMES RUSSELL, 1803-1833, a Surgeon of the City. Sir R. Christison comments on the "singular manner" in which Clinical Surgery was taught by him. "Mr. Russell was not an Acting Surgeon in the Infirmary, as the Clinical Professor has always been since. He received, however, the appointment of permanent Consulting Surgeon, in which capacity he regularly accompanied the attending Surgeons in their visits, was cognisant, therefore, of everything going on in their wards, and, moreover, was in some measure answerable for all acts of surgical interference which required to be authorised by a consultation. Having thus no Hospital cases of his own, Russell nevertheless undertook, and by the acting Surgeons was allowed to discharge, the delicate duty of lecturing on the cases of others. In such a method criticism is of course impossible. Mistakes cannot be acknowledged. Better methods cannot be suggested. Even commentary must often tread on tender ground, unless it con-

<sup>1</sup> From Professor Ewart's *Address*, pp. 25-28.

sist entirely of approval, or at least of assent. Thus they will be led to suppose that Surgery is a sure and exact art, which either always attains its object, or if not, fails no fault of its own or of the surgeon. Russell, however, went his way skilfully among these quicksands, and gave much information to well-attended classes. But I must say of a somnolent lecturer—a quality which was fomented by a long class-hour, and betrayed by an inveterate habit the Professor of yawning while he spoke, and continuing to speak when he yawned." In his eighty-first year, with the sanction of the Advocate, Russell sold his Chair to (2) JAMES SYME, 1818, who, under a simple and unpretentious exterior, concealed extraordinary powers, which made him the first Surgeon of Great Britain, and entitled him to rank among the great professors of the University of Edinburgh. His life was characterized by sagacity, decision, and truthfulness. His "heroic" cases were never made for display, but only when his pathological diagnosis recommended them as the best and only in extreme cases. And he was all but infallible; he was the Wellington of Surgery—almost without a reverse.

As a boy at the High School, he was noted for his tastes, and for his adroitness in picking out the skeleton of animals. When he came to the University and had Chemistry under Hope he distinguished himself in his twentieth year (1818) by discovering that a distillation of caoutchouc formed a cheap solvent for caoutchouc, by means of which it might be made waterproof. He published this invention in a scientific journal, and it was immediately patented by a manufacturer. Thus waterproofs are now called "Mackintosh" whereas they ought in justice to be called "Symes."

Syme did not graduate in Medicine, but became assistant demonstrator to Barclay, the brilliant extra-mural lecturer in Anatomy. Afterwards he became assistant to Liston, at a rival Anatomical school. But both Liston and Syme turned more to Surgery; after five years of friendship they parted under some misunderstanding. Syme studied for a year especially practising surgical operations on dead bodies at Lisfranc. In 1826 Syme, who had hitherto been an Anatomist, resolved finally to abandon it. He was mov-

by two circumstances—(1) the difficulty of obtaining “subjects” in those days, before the Anatomy Act of 1832; and (2) the emulation which was excited in his mind by seeing the performances of the Irish Surgeons, and especially Cusack, during a visit to Dublin. He opened an extra-Academical class in pure Surgery, and soon was attended by 250 Students.

For complete success he required to have some wards of a hospital at his disposal; and in 1829 a vacancy occurring among the Surgeons of the Royal Infirmary he applied for it. But, owing to his feud with Liston, the managers, fearing discord, declined to appoint him. He at once took one of those bold and decisive steps which were characteristic of his career: with slender means at his disposal, but with hope and courage, he hired Minto House, the old residence of the Elliot family, between what is now Chambers Street and the Cowgate, and there opened the “Edinburgh Surgical Hospital,” with twenty-four beds. As this was to be a charity as well as a school for science, he obtained about £250 a year in subscriptions towards its maintenance. For four years and a half Minto House Hospital flourished triumphantly, and in it Syme developed his system of clinical teaching. A literary interest attaches to Minto House, because that exquisite writer, Dr. John Brown, was Syme’s assistant there, and the main incident in the affecting tale of *Rab and his Friends* took place within its walls.

In 1833 Professor Russell wished to resign his Chair of Clinical Surgery in the University, but as there were then no retiring pensions he had to be bought out. He demanded £300 a year for his lifetime, and on these terms offered to make way for Liston, who contemptuously rejected the proposal. Syme, on the other hand, at once accepted it, and on his appointment by the Crown the Managers of the Infirmary placed three wards at his disposal, and the Senatus made Clinical Surgery necessary for graduation. Syme revolutionised the teaching of the subject, for whereas before it had been the practice for the Professor merely to lecture on and describe groups of cases which had come under his notice, Syme had the patients brought in one by one, explained the principles of treatment, and did what was necessary before the eyes of the Students.

In 1847 Liston, who had taken the Chair of Clinical Surgery in the University of London, died suddenly. Syme, being invited

generally one or more feuds on hand ; but he was always conspicuously a man of honour and a gentleman. And he cherished the warmest friendships ; in fact he lived for his friends. The favourite by-work and diversion of Syme's life was horticulture. In the seclusion of Milbank, away from the streets of the "gray metropolis," he would be often among his plants before the gardener, and when daylight was hardly in. And of an evening, returning to the same spot, the great Surgeon would solace his mind, after the scenes of horror through which he had passed, with the gentle beauty of the flowers which he loved. On his deathbed he requested a particular orchid to be brought into the room and placed within his sight. He died in his seventy-first year, in 1870. The "Syme Surgical Fellowship" was established in his honour by the contributions of English and American Surgeons. He was succeeded by his son-in-law (3) JOSEPH LISTER, the distinguished introducer of the Antiseptic System ; on whose removal to London in 1877 (4) THOMAS ANNANDALE, the present Professor of Clinical Surgery, was appointed by the Crown.

### XXX.—REGIUS PROFESSORS OF MILITARY SURGERY.

(1) JOHN THOMSON, 1806-1821, had the singular honour of procuring the establishment of, and himself inaugurating, two new Chairs in the University of Edinburgh, the one a Surgical and the other a Medical Chair. He was the son of a silk weaver of Paisley, and was born in 1765. He had been apprenticed to his father, but his intellectual capacities and ambitions soared above a mechanical employment. He privately got himself taught Latin, and his father consented to make him over as apprentice to a local Medical practitioner. At the age of twenty-three he found himself attending Medical classes in Glasgow, and next year, with the help of some patrons, he got to the classes of Munro *secundus* and Black in Edinburgh. In 1790 he was appointed Assistant-Apothecary to the Royal Infirmary. In 1798 he published an edition of Fourcroy's *Elements of Chemistry and Natural History*. In 1799 Lord Lauderdale came to study Chemistry in Edinburgh, and Thomson was introduced to him as a person qualified to assist him, a circumstance which ultimately

about 280, out of whom 18 Medical officers belonging to the army and 62 to the navy were gratuitously admitted. According to an eye-witness the discourses were "always animated and often eloquent," and they gave rise to much discussion among the hearers as to different modes of Surgical treatment. With regard to Thomson's own practice as a Surgeon, he was said to have a good hand and eye, but to have been "deficient in that freedom from commiseration which Celsus declares to be requisite in a surgeon. Both previously to any serious operation and during the doubtful period of the subsequent progress of a case in which he had operated, he was oppressed with a too painful anxiety."

His lectures were not purely Surgical, but were full of Medical Pathology. Before 1820 he had begun collecting coloured pathological delineations. For this purpose he secured the services of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Carswell, and sent him to various hospitals and museums at home and abroad to make water-colour drawings of morbid structures. This being carried out with great skill during a number of years resulted in a splendid collection of pathological diagrams, now in the possession of the University. This collection was the first of its kind ever made, and was an original conception on the part of Thomson.

In 1821, on the death of Dr. James Gregory, Thomson offered himself as a candidate for the Chair of Practice of Physic. He was defeated, as before mentioned, on political grounds, by Dr. James Home. The Duke of York sent a letter to the Lord Provost in Thomson's favour, but it arrived too late. The Town Council, however, felt so strongly the force of this royal mandate that, to justify what they had done, they asked and got from the Medical Faculty of the University additional (and very mistaken) testimonials as to Home's fitness for the Chair of Practice of Physic. After these occurrences Thomson resigned his Professorship of Military Surgery, and betook himself to delivering extra-mural courses of lectures upon the practice of Physic and Pathology. In 1824 he addressed to the Town Council a published letter, entitled "Hints respecting the Improvement of the Literary and Scientific Education of Candidates for the Degree of M.D." This led to his being invited to give evidence before the Commission of 1826, and he took the opportunity

occupation in Paris. In 1818 he retired on half-pay, and settled as a practitioner in Edinburgh. In 1823 he was appointed by the Crown to the then vacant Chair of Military Surgery. He published a work on *Fever, Dysentery, and Liver Complaints, Introductory Lectures to a Course of Medical Surgery*, and a *Treatise on Military Surgery*. Going up with Principal Baird to present an address to William IV. on his accession, he was knighted, and became Sir George Ballingall. He was Surgeon to the Queen in Scotland, and had various other honorary titles. Dr. Gibson,<sup>1</sup> who saw him in 1839, speaks of him as "tall, robust, and active; of open generous countenance, and mild and amiable manners, and quiet and unpretending." He was a favourite with the Students, and had a reputation for accuracy and caution, substantial information, and a clear way of imparting it. He died in 1856, and then the Chair of Military Surgery, by the advice of Professor Syme, was removed from Edinburgh.

#### XXXL.—REGIUS PROFESSORS OF MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE AND POLICE.

(1) ANDREW DUNCAN *secundus*, 1807-1820. We have seen (Vol. I. p. 291) that Andrew Duncan, the father, moved the Town Council to found a Chair of Medical Jurisprudence; but it was from Andrew Duncan, the son, that the idea had first come. He it was who first called the attention of the Medical profession in Edinburgh to that branch of science called by the Germans *State Medicine*, which comprehends the principles of Medical evidence on questions before law-courts, and the doctrines of Public Health. When opinion as to the desirability of having this science taught had been matured, the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence and Police was erected by the Crown, and bestowed upon him who had devised it. Andrew Duncan *secundus* had a mind of greater calibre than his worthy father, and had received an extremely wide and liberal education. As a boy he had been noted for poring over Medical books; at the age of fourteen he was apprenticed for five years to Messrs. A. and G. Wood, Surgeons; then he went through a full course of Arts and

<sup>1</sup> *Rambles in Europe in 1839*, p. 166.



he was an assiduous and able member of "the College Commission" for rebuilding the University, and to him is greatly due the success with which the Adam-Playfair Buildings were carried out.

(2) WILLIAM PULTENEY ALISON, 1820-1821, held the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence only as a temporary interlude; he has been already characterised elsewhere.

(3) ROBERT CHRISTISON, 1822-1832. When, by a shifting of Professors in 1821, Alison left vacant the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence, Christison, in his twenty-fourth year, was just finishing a course of Medical study in Paris. In his absence his friends proposed him for the vacancy, and he was able to assist their efforts with a powerful testimonial from Robiquet, the great French chemist, who spoke of the delicate and difficult analyses which he had performed, and said that he was *en état d'entreprendre toute espèce de travail chimique*. According to Sir Robert's own *Recollections*, just at that time Sir George Warrender, then a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, had rendered an important service to the Tory party by posting down to vote in the Haddingtonshire election, when, by that one vote, the Tory candidate was carried. Sir George had a great regard for Christison, who says: "With this service lately rendered, and Robiquet's testimonial to back him, he went to Lord Melville (the Ministerial fountain of Crown patronage in Scotland), asked the vacant Professorship for me, and of course got it." In Sir Robert's *Recollections* there is an interesting account of his work in the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence, which, unfortunately, cannot here be given in full. After being inducted in February 1822 he resolved to commence lecturing on the 1st May. He got hold of the best French medico-legal works, and such meagre treatises as the infancy of English Medical Jurisprudence could afford. He was thus able to put together lectures which carried him through his first session; they were based on the French medico-legal science, which was then in advance of that of Britain. But he soon found that there was another repertory prepared for him, so soon as he could master the German language. His manner of doing this was characteristic of his energy:—"In the winter, when I could command continued time, I spent one entire day in studying a good German *Grammar*, superficially, so as to be able to use it as a grammatical dictionary. Next day, with the help of a dictionary

proper, I began to read Schiller's *Dreissig jährig*. I well remember how hard it was to satisfy myself. I had got at the true sense of the first long sentence, the difficulty then seemed to vanish; and any scholar will find that this single elegant sentence may serve as an epitome and exercise on almost all peculiarities of German of speech and collocation. In fourteen days I was able to read ten pages of my lesson-book in an hour; and then I was able to apply my new acquisition to its object. Under the influence of this I was thus thrown on the subject and object of my Professor's course of three years the greater part of my original lectures were thrown aside for others more appropriate. I was ashamed of my first set that I destroyed them. My last set last came to consist—besides the introductory *général* lectures on each topic, and the necessary scientific discussions under the heads—of a collection of medico-legal cases grouped together as in a treatise on law, so as to bring out generalised principles. Study in this direction interested me profoundly, and I was rewarded by earnest attention on the part of my hearers, and a steady increase in their number." At the subject of Medical Jurisprudence being purely voluntary, the number of Students appear to have been chiefly "young lawyers." Of these he had at first twelve, afterwards five, and at last one! But he persevered, and—the subject having been an alternative one in the Medical curriculum—when he was appointed to the Chair in 1832 to go to that of *Materia Medica*, he had a class consisting of 90 Students. The *Recollections* give an interesting and interesting discussion upon the conduct of scientific witnesses in the trials before Law-courts. Sir Robert Christison was acknowledged by the Scottish judges of his time to have been the best Medical or scientific witness that ever came before them,—the most upright and unbiassed, and at the same time the most clear and definite as to what he had to testify. His first *cause célèbre* in which he gave evidence was the trial of Hare and Hare in 1829. The most conspicuous instance of his assistance to the cause of justice was in the case of the *Rugely* when, the prisoner's counsel having succeeded in breaking down the testimony of other scientific witnesses, Christison stood up in his own defence against them so impregably that in the opinion of

"hanged Palmer," and was highly complimented by Lord Campbell, the presiding judge. Christison records the several points in which he found British Medical Jurisprudence deficient ; of these the most important was that "the principles and practice of Toxicology, founded in 1814 by Orfila, had scarcely begun to be appreciated, or even known, in the British Isles in 1822." "It was clear," he adds, "that Toxicology was the most promising subject for bringing my Chair and Medical Jurisprudence itself into notice. First Dr. Duncan and then Dr. Alison had failed, during the most populous period of the University Medical School, because they did not think of striking out a path of their own in some single department of their subject. I had life before me, and chose Toxicology for its first occupation. I set out by undertaking to investigate the theory, detection, and treatment of poisoning with oxalic acid." He next studied the detection of poisoning with arsenic, and proceeded with a fruitful investigation of the chemistry, physiology, pathology, and symptomatology of various kinds of poisoning. His bold and hazardous experiments of the effect of poisons on his own person were often remarked on. He discovered by actual trial that the taste of arsenic is, contrary to the statements of Orfila, sweet rather than acrid. He nearly became a martyr to science by swallowing a large piece of the Calabar bean while dressing one day ; but, warned by his sensations, saved himself by promptly using his shaving-water as an emetic. In 1829 Christison brought out his great *Treatise on Poisons*. In 1832 he was translated to the Chair of *Materia Medica*. A brief summary of the career of this great Professor is elsewhere given.

(4) THOMAS STEWART TRAILL, 1832-1862, was described by an American traveller<sup>1</sup> as "a short, thick, squat-looking man, with bushy black head and queer expression, who skellies slightly out of one eye, and is very busy, bustling, and important." He was born at Kirkwall, in Orkney, of which place his father was Minister, in 1781. He might have boasted that his Orcadian surname was the oldest in Scotland ; and he himself was "*Orcadiensibus orcadensior*, and his face lighted up, and his hand gave an extra grip, when he met with a man whose young eyes had seen

<sup>1</sup> *Rambles in Europe in 1839, with Sketches of prominent Surgeons, Physicians, etc.*, by William Gibson, M.D., Philadelphia, 1841.

1842-1869, as Thomson's successor. Henderson had graduated M.D. in 1831, with a Thesis *De Empyemate cum Pneumothorace*. For some time he was a very successful extra-mural teacher of the Practice of Physic, and during the years 1835 and 1837 he published a valuable series of clinical studies on the *Diseases of the Heart and Larger Blood-Vessels*. He was an early and expert stethoscopist and employer of the microscope in pathological histology. His observations on different classes of fevers were valuable, and he contributed to the recognition of enteric fever as a separate disease. In person he was handsome and dignified, and he entered upon the duties of the Chair of Pathology under the brightest auspices. But, alas! he strayed from the right and orthodox paths of Medicine, and actually became a convert to the doctrines of Homœopathy, which had been introduced into Edinburgh by the establishment of a Homœopathic Dispensary in Stockbridge in 1841. In 1845 Henderson published his *Enquiry into the Homœopathic Practice of Medicine*, commenced business as a Homœopathic practitioner, and wished to follow the same system in his clinical ward in the Infirmary. The consternation manifested by the Medical Faculty in the University and by the College of Physicians was such as might be exhibited in ecclesiastical circles if the Professor of Divinity were to announce that he had become a Mahomedan. Henderson resigned his appointment as clinical teacher of Medicine, but, as he was not required to teach Therapeutics in his Chair of Pathology, there was no reason why he should not go on lecturing to his class on morbid tissue. He pursued a successful course of private practice, but his colleagues, Syme and Christison, and especially Simpson, fulminated against him. In 1851 there were only 48 Medical Students graduated in the University, and of these it was said that eight were secretly Homœopathists. Henderson died in 1872, having resigned his Chair, owing to loss of health, three years previously. The *Edinburgh Medical Journal* then said of him: "We believe the kindest thing we can do is to draw a veil over his later years, and express our sincere regret that so talented, so genial, and so lovable a man should have been led astray by so miserable an *ignis fatuus* as Hahnemannism."

(3) WILLIAM RUTHERFORD SANDERS, 1869-1881, the next

Professor, was not likely to be led astray by any *igme* he was a person of remarkable good sense and with a well-balanced mind, which qualities were conspicuous discussions of the Senatus in which he took part. For some years at the High School of Edinburgh, had studied graduated *Bachelier es Lettres* in the University of M Then he came back to the Medical School of Edin President of the Royal Medical Society in 1848, and graduated M.D. with a Thesis "On the Anatomy of the which was afterwards published in Goodsir's *Annals of and Physiology*, and has since retained an authoritative in Medical literature. In 1853 he became Conservator Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. He contributed many valuable papers to the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* on the Institutes of Medicine in the extra-Academic and as Physician to the Royal Infirmary gave clinical instruction of the most thorough and searching kind. When appointed the Chair of Pathology he at once signalled himself by his introduction of practical teaching. "His students were taught to observe for themselves the naked-eye and microscopic of morbid conditions, of which they could acquire only a superficial knowledge in the lecture-room."<sup>1</sup> By these practicals conducted by Dr. Sanders' able assistant, Dr. Hamilton, Professor of Pathology in Aberdeen, the teaching of Pathology in Edinburgh assumed a new character, and rose to the level of modern science. Sanders had a great reputation as a Physician, and the extensive consulting practice which he opened to him proved too much for his strength. He succumbed to paralysis in 1880, and died, much regretted by his colleagues in the University, in February 1881, at the age of fifty. The Curators then appointed (4) W. S. GREENFIELD, the Professor of General Pathology.

#### XXXIII.—PROFESSORS OF SURGERY.

(1) JOHN WILLIAM TURNER, 1831-1835, was an Englishman by birth, but received his Medical education in Edinburgh.

<sup>1</sup> From Professor T. R. Fraser's obituary notice of Professor Sanders in the *Proceedings of R.S.E.*, 1881.

made a voyage to India, as Surgeon to an Indiaman, and on his return became for ten years assistant to Dr. John Thomson, Professor of Military Surgery, on whom his subsequent fortunes depended. Turner was elected Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and for some time acted as Conservator of their Museum. In 1821, when Thomson retired from Surgical teaching, Turner was appointed Professor of Surgery by the College of Surgeons. In 1831, as we have seen above (p. 444), Thomson's influence with the Government procured the creation of Chairs of Pathology and of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, and Turner was appointed, through the same influence, to be the first Professor of Surgery. He had but a brief tenure of his office, for he died in November 1835, in his forty-sixth year. Both the Senatus and the College of Surgeons expressed regret at his loss, and the *Medical and Surgical Journal* spoke in complimentary terms of Professor Turner's knowledge and ability as a Surgeon, and of his merits as a teacher.

(2) CHARLES BELL, 1836-1842, is one of the greatest names in the *Fasti* of the University. The discoverer of the separate existence of the sentient and motor nerves ranks indeed among the greatest names in science. On the Continent Charles Bell was spoken of as greater than Harvey. On his visiting the class of Roux in Paris, Roux at once dismissed the class, saying, "*C'est assez, Messieurs, vous avez vu Charles Bell.*" He was an artist, as well as a man of science, and the extra-medical world can appreciate his charming work on *The Anatomy of Expression in Painting* (1806), and his Bridgewater treatise, *On the Hand* (1833).

Charles Bell was born in 1774, being youngest son of the Episcopalian clergyman at Doune. His three elder brothers were all distinguished: Robert Bell was Lecturer on Conveyancing to the Society of Writers to the Signet; John was an eminent Anatomist and Lecturer on Surgery in the extra-mural school of Edinburgh; George Joseph was Professor of Scots Law (see above, p. 374). Charles Bell began his career as assistant to his brother John. He soon took the entire teaching of Anatomy in his brother's class, and had about 90 Students. Had he been appointed Professor of Anatomy in the University in 1798, instead of *Monro tertius*, it would have been a good thing for the Medical

well known throughout the United States. Shortly before his death this work appeared in completed form as a *System of Surgery*. Miller's writings were by no means confined to professional subjects, his warm interest and zeal in social and religious questions leading him to spend much time in giving support to the views which on conviction he espoused. He was a frequent and powerful speaker at meetings for religious or philanthropic objects, and he was universally respected as a man of high Christian life and character. He died, unexpectedly, after a short illness, in his fifty-second year.<sup>1</sup>

(4) JAMES SPENCE, 1864-1882, was educated at the High School, and then attended Medical classes in the University and extra-mural school, and received the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1832. He further studied in Paris, and made some voyages to India in troop-ships, after which he returned to Edinburgh, and for seven years acted as Demonstrator of Anatomy to Professor Monro *tertius*. He then taught Anatomy in the extra-mural school till 1849, when he became Fellow of the College of Surgeons and their Lecturer on Surgery. In 1864 he was appointed by the Curators to succeed Miller as Professor of Surgery in the University.

“For nearly half a century James Spence was intimately associated with the teaching of Anatomy and Surgery in Edinburgh. From the first he adopted a course of self-education, and under many difficulties he gradually but surely made his way to the front, and at the time of his death (1882) he had attained a position in which he was esteemed by all as the representative of Scottish Surgery. He possessed most marked manipulative skill, and was a very successful practitioner.” He had complete mastery over the details of Anatomy, and taught Surgery from an Anatomical point of view. At the same time “his systematic lectures were essentially clinical. He has left, as a result of his long practical experience, a most valuable work on the *Practice of Surgery*. To tracheotomy, herniotomy, the ligature of vessels, urinary diseases, and methods of amputation, he paid special attention, and has done much to advance knowledge. Much loved by those who knew him best, his memory will long remain

<sup>1</sup> The above account is from the Obituary Notice in the *Proceedings* of R.S.E., 1864, and from a communication by Professor Chiene.

in the Edinburgh School as a faithful teacher, a good op and a kind friend."<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Professor Spence (5) JOHN CHIEN present Professor of Surgery, was appointed by the Curator

#### XXXIV.—PROFESSORS OF AGRICULTURE.

(1) ANDREW COVENTRY, 1790-1831. We have already I. pp. 344-348) given a somewhat full account of the fou of the Chair of Agriculture by Sir William Pulteney, and o teaching of the first Professor during his forty-one years of and very little has to be added here. Andrew Coventr eldest son of the Minister of Stitchell, and through his n (a Miss Horn) he inherited the estate of Shanwell, near Ki and some other landed property in Perthshire. He was b 1764, was educated in Edinburgh, and took his M.D. deg 1783, with a Thesis *De Scarlatina Cynanchica*. Wheth practised as a Physician is not apparent, but he gradually ac a reputation for scientific knowledge, especially in relati Agriculture, which led Sir William Pulteney to select him the first Professor of that subject. His independent rendered the very moderate endowment of the Chair a ma little importance to him, but he was very diligent as a te and, on the whole, very successful in attracting a class. I had great calls upon his time outside the University; h recognised as the first authority on Agriculture in Scotlan was constantly called on to arbitrate in land questions, a give evidence before the Court of Session and before Comn of the House of Commons; the drainage of Loch Leven, an reclamation of surrounding lands, was carried out und directions. He brought out two small treatises on *The sion of Crops and Valuation of Soils*, and on *Dairy Producc*. mixed much in the literary society of Edinburgh, and was c the Cockburn and Jeffrey set. He died at the age of sixty in 1832, having resigned his Chair in the previous year.

(2) DAVID LOW, 1831-1854, was the son of Mr. Alex

<sup>1</sup> The above account is from Professor Chiene's obituary notice of Spence in the *Proceedings* of R.S.E., 1882.



Low of Lawes, Berwickshire, an eminent land-agent. He was born in 1786, studied in the University of Edinburgh, and in early life assisted his father in the general management of land. In 1817 he produced a work entitled *Observations on the present state of Landed Property, and on the Prospects of the Landholder and the Farmer*, which was suggested by the agricultural embarrassment caused by the sudden fall of prices on the cessation of the war. In 1825 he settled in Edinburgh, and soon afterwards became Editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, to which he himself contributed largely. In 1831 he was appointed successor to Professor Coventry, and his first step in the Chair of Agriculture was to urge upon the Board of Manufactures, and then upon the Government, the necessity for forming an Agricultural Museum in Edinburgh. In 1833 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, consented to allow £300 a year for the purpose. Low contributed collections of his own, and employed an artist (Mr. Shiels, R.S.A.) to travel throughout the kingdom, taking portraits of the best specimens of different breeds of animals. Altogether £3000 were expended on the Museum, whereof £1500 came from Government, £300 from the Reid Fund, and the rest from the private resources of the Professor. The Museum gave a stimulus to attendance on the class of Agriculture, which numbered from 70 to 90 Students during the first years of Low's Professorship. In 1834 he published his *Elements of Practical Agriculture*, which was translated into French and German. In 1842 he brought out a splendid work in two vols., 4to (price £16 : 16s.), on *The Breeds of Domesticated Animals of the British Islands*, with coloured plates. This was translated for the French Government. In 1846 he published *Landed Property and the Economy of Estates*, and afterwards some less important works. He was an accomplished French scholar, and was Corresponding Member of most of the great Agricultural Societies or Academies throughout the Continent. He resigned his Chair in 1854, and then (3) JOHN WILSON, the present Professor of Agriculture, was appointed.

#### XXXV.—PROFESSORS OF THE THEORY OF MUSIC.

The circumstances of the founding of the Chair of Music have been related above (Vol. I. pp. 348-354). Evil fortune, as well

in putting the Chair and its teaching into a proper position without involving the Senatus in those strifes and litigations which afterwards ensued.

After Thomson's death, the election being in the hands of the Senatus, four names were proposed for the Professorship, those of Donaldson, Wesley, Graham, and Henry (afterwards Sir Henry) Rowley Bishop. The last-named was elected.

(2) HENRY ROWLEY BISHOP, 1841-1844, was one of the most celebrated of the English operatic composers both in quality and quantity. He would have conferred distinction upon the Edinburgh Chair had he not treated it as a sinecure, so that the Senatus were compelled to put pressure on him to resign, which he did in 1844. Soon afterwards he was appointed Professor of Music at Oxford. He now lives in the University of Edinburgh in his glees, such as "Mynheer van Dunck" and the "Chough and the Crow," which the Students are never weary of performing at their concerts. After his resignation the choice of the Senatus fell upon (3) HUGO PIERSON, 1844-1845, a talented Oxonian musician, author of the music for "Ye Mariners of England," and of several oratorios and operas. The Senatus did not feel quite sure about him, for they inserted a clause in his Commission that "if he should be found to have such an impediment in his speech as would disqualify him from lecturing, it shall be in the power of the Senatus to revoke the appointment." He was therefore appointed without having been seen, and it does not appear that he ever presented himself in the University. He betook himself to Germany, "where his abilities were warmly appreciated by Schumann and other eminent musicians."<sup>1</sup> The unfortunate Chair of Music thus again became vacant.

In 1845 the Senatus granted a Commission to (4) JOHN DONALDSON, who had been a candidate for the Chair of Music in 1841. Perhaps the Senatus were disheartened by the ill success of their two appointments of eminent English composers; they now accepted a local aspirant, whose name does not appear in any book of musical biographies, because, in fact, he never composed anything. Donaldson had been a well-known teacher of music in Edinburgh, and, apparently with a view to an improved social position, had got himself called to the Bar, without, however,

<sup>1</sup> Baptie, p. 179.

perishing from the earth? In proportion as you are able to enter into the true scope and spirit of the New Testament, you will be the less capable of fomenting evils on which the Head of the Church cannot but look with displeasure. For my part I can see no hope of any reconciliation among Christians, till the New Testament shall become the *bona fide* text-book, from which all parties shall be content *immediately* to draw their theology. In that case a general agreement is conceivable, and would be possible, which now it is not, when each sect makes its own system, written or unwritten in creeds, its hermeneutical code." These sentiments, which need recognition over all the world, could nowhere be more appropriately enforced than in a Scottish University.

Had Robert Lee been able to devote himself entirely to the studies connected with his Chair—in the way, for instance, that Dalzel did—he might have become a great Professor. But he was not only Professor of Biblical Criticism, but also Minister of Greyfriars', and almost constantly a member of the General Assembly; and he had a great life-work outside the University. This work was no less than the reform of the Church of Scotland, and what Robert Lee actually achieved in this respect was so valuable that it is impossible to regret that his energies should have been so expended instead of being absorbed in researches however scholarly and profound. Lee's chief characteristics were a fine and critical taste, a wide good sense, which revolted against pettiness and formalism, an original spirit, and great courage—all these qualities being harmonised under genuine piety and goodness. He was what would be called in England a "broad-Churchman"; but when told that he had been accused of Unitarianism, his reply was: "Those who charge me with such opinions little know me. My entire trust for everything is placed in the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup> But he fought for freedom of worship and freedom of thought within the Church of Scotland, and in the former issue he was successful. He had been long fretted by the baldness and ungracefulness of the forms of public worship in Scotland. When Old Greyfriars' was restored in 1857, after a fire, Lee took the opportunity to remodel its arrangements, introducing stained glass into some of the windows. And he then commenced a more than ten years' struggle for

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Life of Robert Lee*, vol. i. p. 205.

354-361), and an account has been given of the work done in connection with that Chair by the first and only Professor, GEORGE WILSON, 1855-1859. It will be only necessary here to add a few particulars about his life. He was born in Edinburgh in 1818, his parents being in moderate circumstances. Like Sir Robert Christison, he was a twin, but his twin brother only lived till his eighteenth year. George Wilson was throughout life the close friend of his elder brother Daniel, now the distinguished Professor of History in the University of Toronto and author of *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, etc. George Wilson was educated at the High School, and then came for Medical studies to the University; he attended Hope's classes in Chemistry, but in the last year of his course he learnt Practical Chemistry extra-academically from Mr. Kenneth Kemp, a self-taught demonstrator of great ability, who died young. Wilson was the College friend of Dr. John Reid the Anatomist, and of Edward Forbes the Naturalist, and he afterwards wrote the *Lives* of both of them. He was a Member of the Oineromathetic Brotherhood, of which some account is elsewhere given. In 1839 he graduated M.D. with a Thesis "On the certain existence of Haloid Salts of the Electro-negative Metals in solution;" this paper was published next year in the *Edinburgh Academic Annual*. In the session 1840-41 he commenced lecturing on Chemistry in the extra-Academical school, but unfortunately, at the very outset of his career, the effects of a neglected sprain, incurred during a walking tour, brought on a disease of the foot, which became so much aggravated that, on the 1st January 1843, he underwent Syme's operation for the amputation of the ankle-joint, Wilson's case being only the second in which this operation had been practised. That was before the days of chloroform. Wilson suffered greatly, and the shock to his constitution led to a permanent delicacy and to pulmonary disease. He lectured, however, with great brilliancy for fifteen years. All that he did was marked by genius; his language was precise in scientific statement, but constantly embellished from his stores of imagination and fancy. In 1850 he brought out *Chemistry an Elementary Text-book*; in 1851 *The Life and Works of the Honourable Henry Cavendish*; in 1852 *Electricity and the Electric Telegraph*; and *The Chemistry of the Stars*; in 1855 *Researches on Colour-Blindness*; in 1857 *The*

at the High School and the University of Edinburgh; he then devoted several years to private teaching and study; in 1839 he became Secretary, and afterwards Principal, of the Liverpool Institute, a school which flourished greatly under him till 1847, when he removed to Manchester as Principal of the Chorlton High School; in 1851 he resigned that appointment, and travelled for some time abroad; from 1854 to 1860 he was engaged in England in advocating improved scientific and economic teaching in schools; in 1858-59 he was attached to the Royal Commission on Primary Schools, and made a Report for that Commission on the London district; from 1863 to 1868 he was Examiner in Political Economy to the London University.

From time to time Hodgson had published numerous pamphlets and lectures, such as *On Education*, 1837; *What is seen and what is not seen, or Political Economy in one lesson* (being a translation from Bastiat), 1852; *Classical Instruction, its use and abuse*, 1853; *The Conditions of Health and Wealth educationally considered* (two lectures), 1860; *Classical Education, Why, When, and for Whom?* 1866; *Exaggerated Estimates of Reading and Writing as a Means of Education*, 1867; *On the Education of Girls and the Employment of Women of the Middle Classes*, 1869; *Competition*, 1870; *Turgot, his Life, Times, and Opinions* (two lectures), 1870.

Hodgson, in 1871, accepted the Chair of Commercial and Political Economy and Mercantile Law on an appointment for seven years; he felt that his position was inferior to that of all the other Professors in the University, who had their Chairs for life, but he relied on the understanding that after five years, if he should be successful in his teaching, he would receive a life-tenure of his office. He therefore brought his *Penates* to Edinburgh, and purchased the beautiful country-house of Bonaly, formerly Lord Cockburn's residence, in the neighbourhood, where he settled down. He became extremely popular among the citizens; took a paternal interest in the Merchant Company's schools; frequently lectured for the Philosophical Institution and the Literary Institute of Edinburgh; and became member and Deputy Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. In the meantime, during six years, his Class in the University had averaged fifty Students per annum, which, if not a brilliant result, was as much as could be expected,

ments he was especially well-informed; particularly in French literary history and in the *mots* and *ana* thereto appertaining. He was a noted conversationist, overflowing with anecdote. He had amassed a large library, and his collection of works on Political Economy was exceptionally perfect. This, through the kindness of his widow, was presented to the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

In 1880 (2) JOSEPH SHIELD NICHOLSON, the present Professor of Commercial and Political Economy and Mercantile Law, was appointed as successor to Professor Hodgson for a period of seven years.

#### APPENDIX S. NOTICES OF STUDENT-LIFE IN THE COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH IN BYGONE TIMES.

Owing to the unfortunate loss of the "Old College Record," which was carried off by the Town Council in 1704, and carelessly destroyed among the accumulated rubbish in the office of a Writer to the Signet some time subsequently to 1826 (see Vol. I. p. 245 note), we have doubtless been deprived of valuable *data* relative to Student-life in the early days of the "Town's College." The City Records furnish very few hints on the subject. We note, under date 30th August 1586, that "for good causes and considerations moving them, the Council find it expedient that the privilege and vacance be given to the Students of the Town's College, for one month next to come." This shows the conception entertained by the Town Council of the College which they had established. So far from enjoying the freedom of a University, it was to be in the position of the High School, which at that time had a one month's vacation in the autumn, not fixed, but to be asked for each year and conceded *ex gratia* by the Town Council. It may, however, be here mentioned that in the Foundation Deed of Marischall College (1593), a vacation of one fortnight in the year was all that was permitted. More liberal ideas on this subject gradually came in, and on the 15th December 1624 "the Council think good to grant a vacance to the College to the 8th January next," that is to say, a Christmas vacation of more than three weeks was granted, in addition to the month in autumn. In the Regulations for College Discip-

by invitations to burials, to their great prejudice in their advancement in learning, discharge the Principal to grant any license to the Scholars to go to any burials whatsoever, except of such as have been benefactors to the College, old Magistrates, Lords of Council or Session, Clerks or Prime Advocates, or Students or Scholars within the said College, only."

As before related, the Town Council's original idea of the College was that it should contain resident Students with an "economy," or common table. Never being able to get funds for the latter purpose, they were obliged to drop it. At first a certain portion of the Students resided in chambers provided for them in College, but, so far as we know, they catered for themselves. In the seventeenth century a great movement was made to increase the number of those chambers, which were built round the three courts of the College. But by degrees Students ceased to occupy them, and they were turned into classrooms or Professors' houses, or let to various citizens. In the early part of the eighteenth century College residence for the Students had virtually ceased. They all lived at home or in lodgings, as now,—a very few boarding with the Professors.

The Town Council at first laid down the rule that the Students must wear gowns. But this was never enforced, having perhaps been distasteful to influential parents. In 1695 the Royal Commission for visiting the Universities of Scotland recommended "that all Masters and Regents shall be obliged to wear black gowns, and the Students red gowns, that thereby the Students may be discouraged from vageing or vice." But nothing came of this, and the gown never having been worn during 260 years, the Senatus received, in 1843, a petition from 382 matriculated Students, asking them to "devise means for *reviving* among Students and Graduates in attendance on classes in the University use of the black gown and cap worn by Students of the Sister Universities." This petition, to judge from the mention of the colour "black," must have been got up by some English Student; it was met by a counter-petition, with about an equal number of signatures, against the introduction of Academical costume, and a Committee of the Senatus found that the great bulk of the Students took no interest in the matter. It was therefore resolved to make no change, except that of authorising a gown for

Edinburgh, and that these were considered places of dissipation not desirable for a Student to frequent.

The Students of the College of Edinburgh were, as a rule, on the Covenanting side. Among the Graduates of 1658 we find the name of Hugo Mackaile, who eight years later was tortured and hanged for his adherence to the cause. The dying speech upon the scaffold of this youthful martyr was one of the most sublime and affecting things in the history of the Covenanters, and it should be quoted here, only that it would seem out of place, if introduced in the midst of a number of trivial details.

In December 1680, when the Duke of York was at Holyrood, the Students made a great demonstration of their religious principles. A few days before Christmas-Day the following "Advertisement" was posted up in the town:—

"These are to give notice to all Noblemen, Gentlemen, Citizens, and others, That We, the Students in the Royal University of Edinburgh (to show our Detestation and Abhorrence of the *Romish Religion*, and our Zeal and Fervency for the Protestant), Do Resolve to Burn the Effigies of Antichrist, the Pope of Rome, at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, the 25 of December Instant, precisely at Twelve a-Clock in the Forenoon (being the Festival of our Saviour's Nativity): And since we hate Tumults, as we do Superstition, we do hereby (under the Pain of Death) Discharge all Plunderers, Robbers, Thieves, Whores, and Bawds, to come within 40 Paces of our Company, and such as shall be found disobedient to these our Commands, *Sibi Caveat*.

By our Special Command, Robert Brown, Secretary of State to all our Theatrical and Extra-literal Divertisements." <sup>1</sup>

The sequel of this proclamation may be gathered from several sources, but most minutely and graphically from a rare tract <sup>2</sup> en-

with the French "chasse," Eng. "Chase," the great stroke at tennis. Sir David Lyndsay makes his Abbot say:

"Thocht I preach not, I can play at the caiche."

Dunbar, in his *General Satyre*, st. xiv., says that before his time

"Sa mony ratkettis, sa mony kette-pillaris,  
Sic ballis, sic knackettis, and sic tutivallaris,  
Within this land was never hard nor sene."

<sup>1</sup> A printed copy of this "Advertisement" is preserved in the University Library. <sup>2</sup> Of which a copy is in the possession of the Lord Justice General.



Grassmarket were the Lifeguards under General Dalziel; in the Parliament Close two companies under the Earl of Mar; the City Militia in the middle of the High Street; and "a company of Foot to double the ordinary guards at Holyroodhouse for the security of the Duke's person." To meet "all this martial preparation—all this noise of drums, kettledrums, and trumpets, all this appearance of colours flying, drawn swords, matches burning, etc., wherewith at this time the whole city was full,"—the Students sallied out in their procession without arms, but their numbers were swelled as they advanced "by an unsought for accession of a great many tradesmen and apprentices, who, it seems, were as eager for the pastime and as ready to expose Popery," as themselves.

"We thus," says the writer, "attended the Statue in its *Pontificalibus* down the High School Wynd and up Blackfriars' Wynd to the High Street. You will admire how we got any place free almost to perform the execution, yet we did; but seeing the armed opposition that was drawing in on all sides, and being careful of keeping the peace, without further ceremony than the reading of a short accusation, we set it on fire with a couple of flambeaus: at the sight whereof *Pereat Papa* being loudly resounded made, it seems, a terrible reverberation in some ears." The troops did not arrive in time to prevent "the Statue" from being thoroughly kindled, and the Students then absconded, "leaving it to the discretion of its defenders." The pamphlet amusingly describes "the cruel drubs which the merciful soldiers gave his Holiness with the butts of their muskets, preferring to knock him on the head rather than see him die before their eyes the unhallowed death of an heretic,"—and how learning that the image was stuffed with gunpowder, "they thought it their wisdom to retire. And 'twas well they did so in seasonable time; for immediately the flames reached the powder, and the Pope expired in a—stink."

After the burning of the Pope the Students, who had been previously arrested, were examined by Sir George Mackenzie, King's Advocate. Especially "the two English gentlemen" were asked "if they were not instigated by letter from the Lord Grey." On denying this they were threatened with "the boot." As none of the prisoners would confess any external complicity in what

Prestonfield, the seat of Sir James Dick, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was burnt down on the night of the 11th January 1681, the family being then in town. "Several people deposed that they saw some young men with unlighted links in their hands and a dark lantern going, on the night of the conflagration, towards Prestonfield; but, notwithstanding a pardon and reward of 200 merks being offered by the Privy Council to any one who would discover their associates, the actual perpetrators were never detected. The College gates were ordered to be shut, and the Students to withdraw themselves fifteen miles from the City. But in ten days the College gates were thrown open, and the Students allowed to return, upon their friends becoming caution for their peaceable behaviour."<sup>1</sup>

From the *Modest Apology* we learn that the privilege of returning to the College, on security for behaviour, was absolutely denied to the English Students, who, when they found that their caution was not to be accepted, "fearing to be trepanned, were in all haste necessitated to go out of Edinburgh on foot, and take post at the next stage." In fact, the Crown Officers, either from information received, or from a just intuition, attributed the instigation of this foolish escapade, ending in a serious crime, to the English Students. We have seen that Sir George Mackenzie connected the name of Lord Grey with the affair, and it seems quite possible that the Students of the College were made tools of, and that in the burning of the Pope by these thoughtless youths there was really an experimental attempt, planned by older heads, to excite the religious passions of the people of Edinburgh, and bring them into collision with the Duke of York. The whole tone of the *Modest Apology* favours this view. It is very clever, but *qui s'excuse s'accuse* is suggested by every page. We notice first the Student's Advertisement, about which the pamphlet is significantly silent; then the "unsought for accession" of tradesmen and apprentices; then, as Christmas-Day passes away without anything serious, the renewal by the Students of tumultuary proceedings on a very lame excuse; then the wearing of badges and shouting "No Pope!" in the High Street; then the burning down of Prestonfield—all which has the appearance of an organised attempt to force on a collision with

<sup>1</sup> Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 394.

the *Anti-Nemo*, and at the same time *University John, the Giant-Killer*. Perhaps the best of all these short-lived productions was the *University Maga*, which appeared as a weekly sheet in the winter of 1834. It was the work of Edward Forbes, the brilliant Naturalist, then a Medical Student. Each number was illustrated with a sketch by Forbes—who had a genius for caricature—of some Professor or other personage connected with the University. The verses on the “Anatomy Bill,” and other topics interesting to “the Medicals,” were good, but the whole thing was rather too much flavoured with the spirit of Christopher North and the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. *Maga* lived till its twelfth number. Those who had assisted Forbes in concocting it formed a “Maga Club,” which was afterwards developed into “the Oineromathetic,” the members of which wore a red ribbon across their breast, terminating in a silver triangle which bore the words ΟΙΝΟΣ ΕΡΩΣ ΜΑΘΗΣΙΣ. This mystical Order, for the promotion of Truth, Philanthropy, and Good-Fellowship, was joined by many who afterwards became distinguished. In 1838 its name was changed to that of “The Universal Brotherhood of the Friends of Truth.” Under this name the Order long subsisted, and Forbes used to sign himself in writing to any of the brotherhood (in allusion to their triangle) “Δly yours.”

In 1835 there appeared *The Edinburgh University Souvenir*, which was merely an “Annual,” after the fashion of those days, containing elegant verses and slight romantic stories. In 1840 another Annual came out, but of a much more substantial character; it was called the *Edinburgh Academic Annual*, and consisted of serious papers contributed by Students of the previous session, and very good they were: Edward Forbes wrote on Mollusca; George Wilson on Haloid Salts; Macquorn Rankine on the Conduction of Heat; Samuel Brown on the Coagulation of Albumen; James Dodds on the Study of Church History, etc. And as an Introduction, Dr. John Lee, just before his appointment as Principal, contributed a brilliant sketch of the History of the University.

In January 1871 a second *Edinburgh University Magazine* was started, of which four monthly numbers appeared. This production was enlivened by some of Lord Neaves' witty songs, and the writing in it was, from a literary point of view, superior to



bust of Prince Alfred, in his youthful beauty, stands in the Library Hall, at the apex of two long lines of the marble effigies of the most eminent Professors of the University in bygone times. And every one must feel that the post is worthily occupied by a Royal Prince, who, by his great ability and scientific attainments, might, if his other public duties did not prevent him, take a distinguished place among the *savants* of the kingdom.

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