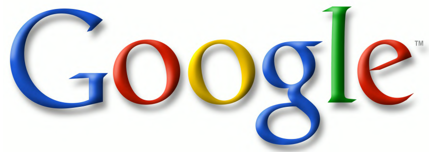

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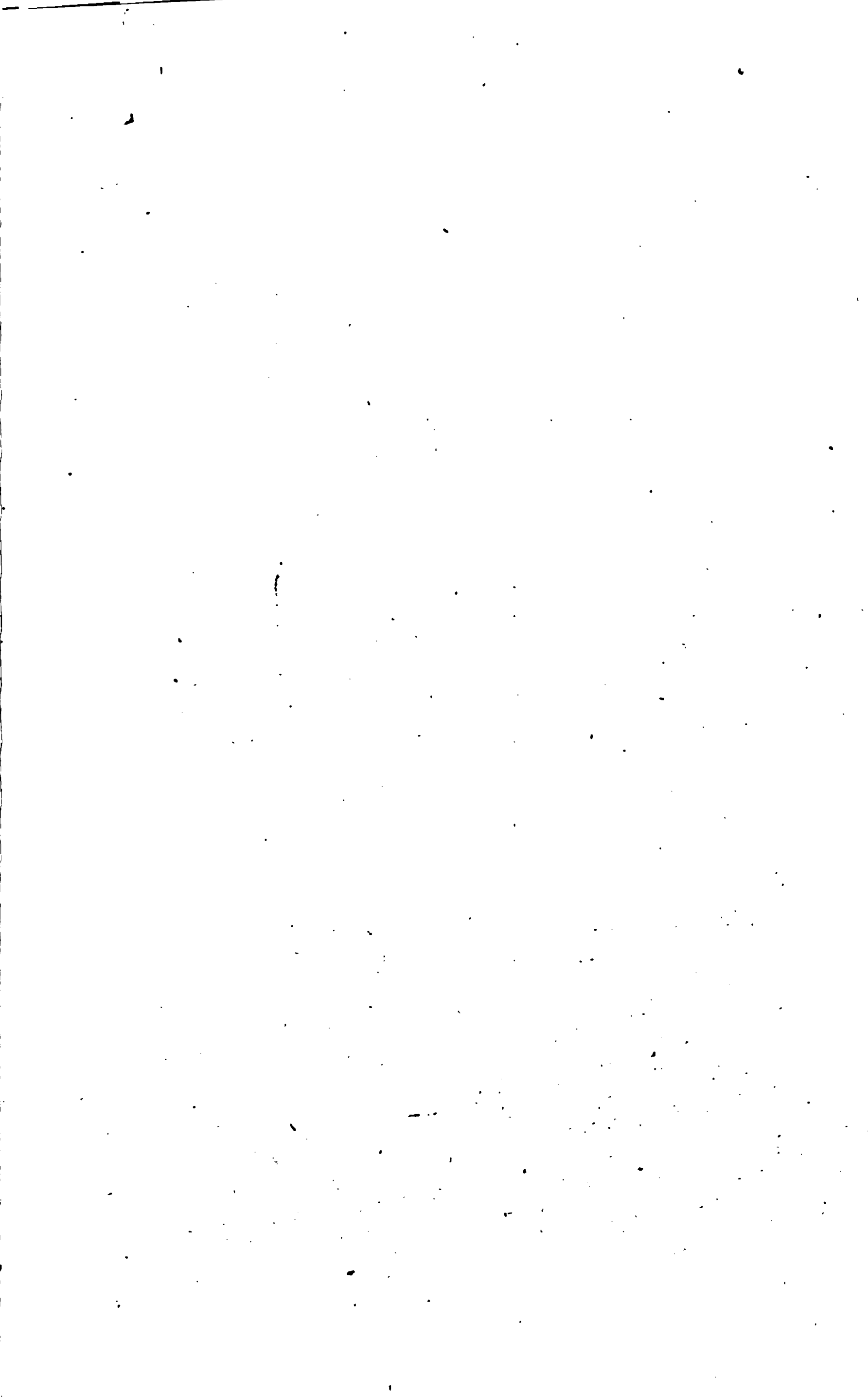

THE ORIGINAL SEAL OF THE COLLEGE OF
ST. MARY IN NATIVITATE.

The Universities of Aberdeen

A HISTORY

By

Robert Sangster Rait, M.A.

ABERDEEN

Published by James Gordon Bisset

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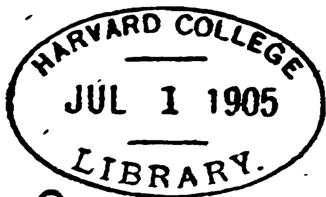

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PREFATORY NOTE

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Special acknowledgments are due to Mr P. J. Anderson, LL.B., whose wide and accurate knowledge has always been at my service; and to Mr W. Grahame Walker, who has revised the proof-sheets. To Mr Anderson I owe the representation of the seal of the College of St. Mary which appears in the book.

I should like to say, further, that I have tried, as far as might be, to make the original documents speak for themselves. Information received from published works has been acknowledged in the volume itself.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

ABERDEEN, *September*, 1895.

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The Universities of Aberdeen

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE FOUNDING OF A UNIVERSITY IN ABERDEEN: THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

The name of Scotland has ever been associated with the love of learning. Since universities were first introduced into our country, there has been the closest connection between these institutions and the soil. Literature has never been the exclusive privilege of the high-born and wealthy classes; and it may be said that the Scottish Universities have done more for Scotland than Oxford or Cambridge for the sister kingdom. It is now well nigh five hundred years since the first university was founded in Scotland; but, long before that time, the Scot had distinguished himself in the field of literature.

A generally received tradition makes Alcuin, the reputed founder of the University of Paris, a Scotsman; but it would probably be more correct to call him an Irishman, for the early days of the "mother of universities," as

ancient writers call her, take the mind back to the time when the name of Scot was connected only with Ireland. Various writers have, from time to time, exercised their ingenuity in the attempt to give to Scotland the credit of the foundation not only of the principal continental universities, but of Oxford also. In exemplification of this, one may refer to a work published by the well-known Scotsman, David Chalmers, in Paris in 1631, under the somewhat lengthy title of "Davidis Camerarii Scoti : de Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate, ac de ortu et progressu haeresis in Regnis Scotiae et Angliae." The general inaccuracy of this remarkable production is indicated by the fact that Chalmers represents the University of Aberdeen, in his own day, as having no fewer than six colleges ; this result being obtained by counting King's and Marischal, and elevating the faculties of arts, medicine, canon law, and civil law into distinct colleges. With regard to medicine, he very truly observes that "it is close to King's College as regards its site." Chalmers, at some length, sets himself to prove that four foreign seats of learning owe their existence to Scotsmen — Paris, Pavia, Oxford, and St Gall. At the beginning of this century, Principal Jack, of King's College, attempted to vindicate the truth of the same tradition, contributing a paper on the subject to Sir John Sinclair's "Analysis of

the Statistical Account of Scotland" (Edinburgh, 1826). Dr Jack cites many authorities to show that Alcuin was a Scotsman—claiming the distinction also for Clement, the founder of Pavia.

Passing from the purely legendary, we have, in the records of the University of Paris, sufficient evidence for the remark that, even in the fourteenth century, Scotland was not indifferent to the advantages of education. There were grammar schools in the larger towns; and, throughout the country, the inmates of religious houses imparted instruction to a certain extent. But Paris was usually the goal of the Scottish scholar at this time. The recently published "Chartulary of the University of Paris" has rendered accessible much valuable information regarding this period. At Paris, as at all ancient universities, the students were divided into different "nations," according to their place of birth. One of these nations was, in the fourteenth century, composed of students from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Scotland, Ireland, and England—the whole nation bearing the name of the last-mentioned country. The supplement to the Chartulary shows that about a fourth of the procurators, or representatives, of the "English" nation, elected during the second quarter of the century, were of Scottish blood. Later in the century, the

increase of Scotsmen was such that the "English" nation became divided into Upper Germany, Lower Germany, and Scotland. In view of this close connection between Scotland and France, the recent proposal to revive the famous Scots College at Paris is one of no little historical interest. But it was not to Paris alone that the youthful Scot betook himself in search of learning. The Faculty of Civil Law did not exist in the University of Paris, and, accordingly, the student naturally proceeded to Orleans, where, we are told, the Scots formed a distinct nation. Bishop Elphinstone, as we shall afterwards see, prosecuted his studies, first at Paris, and then at Orleans.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Henry Wardlaw, the patriotic Scotsman who presided over the diocese of St Andrews, took steps towards the erection of a native school of learning. The origin of the University of St Andrews was exceedingly humble. That university arose, doubtless, out of some earlier institution for the education of the clergy, such as we know to have existed also at Aberdeen, Ayr, Perth, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Stirling. In the year 1410, a few Churchmen formed a society for the propagation of learning, and gave lectures to all who chose to attend. Bishop Wardlaw gave his countenance to their proceedings, and, in the course of the following year, issued a charter, founding the University of

St Andrews and granting the usual rights and privileges. It was customary to apply for authority in such cases to the See of Rome; since the great fabric of Roman Christianity was what bound together the civilized world, and the Pope alone could confer on the graduates of any university the privilege of a licence to teach in any other university without further examination. But, at this particular juncture, there were two rival Popes; and that may explain Bishop Wardlaw's action. It was, however, necessary to apply to Rome for confirmation; and the bishop, making use of the name of the King, James I., then a prisoner in England, sent a request for his sanction to Benedict XIII., the claimant who was recognized by Scotland. Benedict replied, in 1413, by granting a new foundation, giving the seal of his authority to what had been done by Wardlaw, and conferring additional privileges. Despite all this, however, the funds of the infant university were so lamentably deficient that but little progress could be made. The teachers were beneficed clergymen, but they received no emoluments in virtue of their academic position. Technically, every student, after completing his curriculum, was bound to teach in the university for two years; but it is not clear with what fulness this was carried out. When Elphinstone founded his university, he abandoned this system

entirely, instituting a fixed number of salaried teachers. The professors were largely teachers of mental philosophy and the Aristotelian physics. To the subjects taught further reference will be made in a subsequent chapter. The question has been treated by Professor Bain in his rectorial address to the students of Aberdeen on "The University Ideal" (reprinted in "Practical Essays," London, 1884), and by the late Professor Veitch, of Glasgow, in the second volume of the first series of "Mind."

It was not till 1430 that any definite building became part of the University of St Andrews. Up to that date, the teaching had been given in different parts of the town. In that year, Bishop Wardlaw gifted a house, on the site of the present St Mary's College, to the Faculty of Arts. This building became known as the "Pedagogy." Some thirty years later, St Salvator's College was founded; St Leonard's in 1512; and St Mary's rose on the ruins of the Pedagogy in 1537. This was the beginning of the University of St Andrews —a brief account of the history of which was published in 1878 by Mr J. M. Anderson, now librarian of St Andrews University. It may be interesting to mention the "nations" at St Andrews in its early days. They were four in number. The first, Fife, covered the county of that name; the second,

which was afterwards called Angus, included all the country north of the Tay; the third, which came to have the name of Lothian, consisted of the Lothians E. of Stirling, and Tweeddale, Eskdale, Lauderdale, and the Merse; the fourth, denominated at first Gallovidiana and afterwards Albania, contained all the rest of the world.

Forty years elapsed before a second seat of learning was established in Scotland. When we consider the small number of universities in much larger countries, the question might be raised,—Was not one fully equipped school quite sufficient to meet the needs of the nation? Probably it was. But, in the fifteenth century, not only were the means of transit of the most primitive description, but a journey from the south of Scotland to St Andrews was an undertaking which involved no small personal danger, and it was thus scarcely possible that the University of St Andrews could have done more than serve its own immediate neighbourhood. Further, as has been said, education was really desired by the Scottish youth, the feeling of patriotism was strong, opportunities existed in connection with the Church, and each bishop was desirous of erecting a university in his own diocese, and under his own protection. In 1450, King James II. approached Pope Nicholas V., requesting sanction for a university in connection with

the diocese of Glasgow. The Papal consent was cordially given; and to the privileges therein contained King James added several in a charter dated 20th April, 1453, exempting the officials from taxes and similar burdens. Some months later, Bishop Turnbull, to whom the credit in the matter belongs, issued another charter. This document gives, among other things, the right of buying the necessaries of life without the payment of any Customs duty. For some years, as in the case of St Andrews, no discinct building was erected for university purposes. This was nothing unusual, as the early history of Paris indicates. In Glasgow, some of the religious houses of the city were employed for university purposes—the Cathedral, at all events, was so used. In 1459-60, James, Lord Hamilton, gifted a tenement in the High Street, and some land near the Molendinar Burn; and, from that date, residence within the university became possible. Gradually various gifts were made to the infant college, which, in course of time, became possessed of sufficient funds to enable it to become really a power in the land.

We possess a comparatively large amount of information regarding the early days of the University of Glasgow. There is extant a very important set of statutes and annals of the faculty of arts, dating from 1451. Some of these will be hereafter mentioned in connection with the early

teaching at Aberdeen, but a few may find a place here. The "nations" were thus composed, being, as usual, four in number,—"Natio Clidisdaliae (the nation of Clydesdale), comprehending the natives of Lanarkshire, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, from Erikstane, the source of the Clyde, to Dumbarton; Natio Thevidaliae (Teviotdale), including the Lothians, Stirling, and all the towns east of the Water of Urr; Natio Albaniae, containing all the country north of the Forth; and Natio Rotsay, including Ayrshire, Galloway, Argyle, with the Isles, Lennox, and Ireland." It is not surprising to learn that the nation which included the country north of the Forth was numerically the smallest of the four, and, indeed, was sometimes not represented at all; for the youth of that portion of the country would naturally gravitate to the older sister university. Considerable expense devolved upon graduands, who, before receiving their degrees, were expected to pay fees and present gifts, consisting of hats and gloves, as well as money. The recipients were the prelates who happened to be present, and the higher university officials. These fees were the natural result of the poverty of the academic treasury, on which comment is made by several ancient writers, including Major, the historian, who was himself connected with the university. There was a heavy penalty against assigning to anyone the title of

Master, if he had not received the degree; "and," says Professor Jardine, writing in 1819, "the penalty was still more heavy if any man took it to himself before he had lawfully obtained it. Academical degrees were considered as of divine institution (probably because instituted by popes, who were thought to be inspired by the Holy Ghost), and, therefore, the chancellor or vice-chancellor conferred them authoritate divina et in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti."

St Andrews was founded during the regency of the first Duke of Albany, who had waded through blood to the highest place in the kingdom, and whose strong, though unscrupulous, nature was a certain check upon the lawlessness of his brother nobles. Between the founding of St Andrews and that of Glasgow, there was an interval of forty years; and, during these years, much had happened. After the death of Albany in 1419, the Government fell into the weaker hands of his son, and the regency of the second Albany came to an end in 1424 with the return of the Poet King. The brief reign of James I. was not without influence in civilizing the country; but, by the murder of the energetic monarch in 1437, the nation was again subjected to the evils of a minority. The second James had but newly come of age when Glasgow University was founded: his reign was troubled, and his life ended prematurely in 1460. Scot-

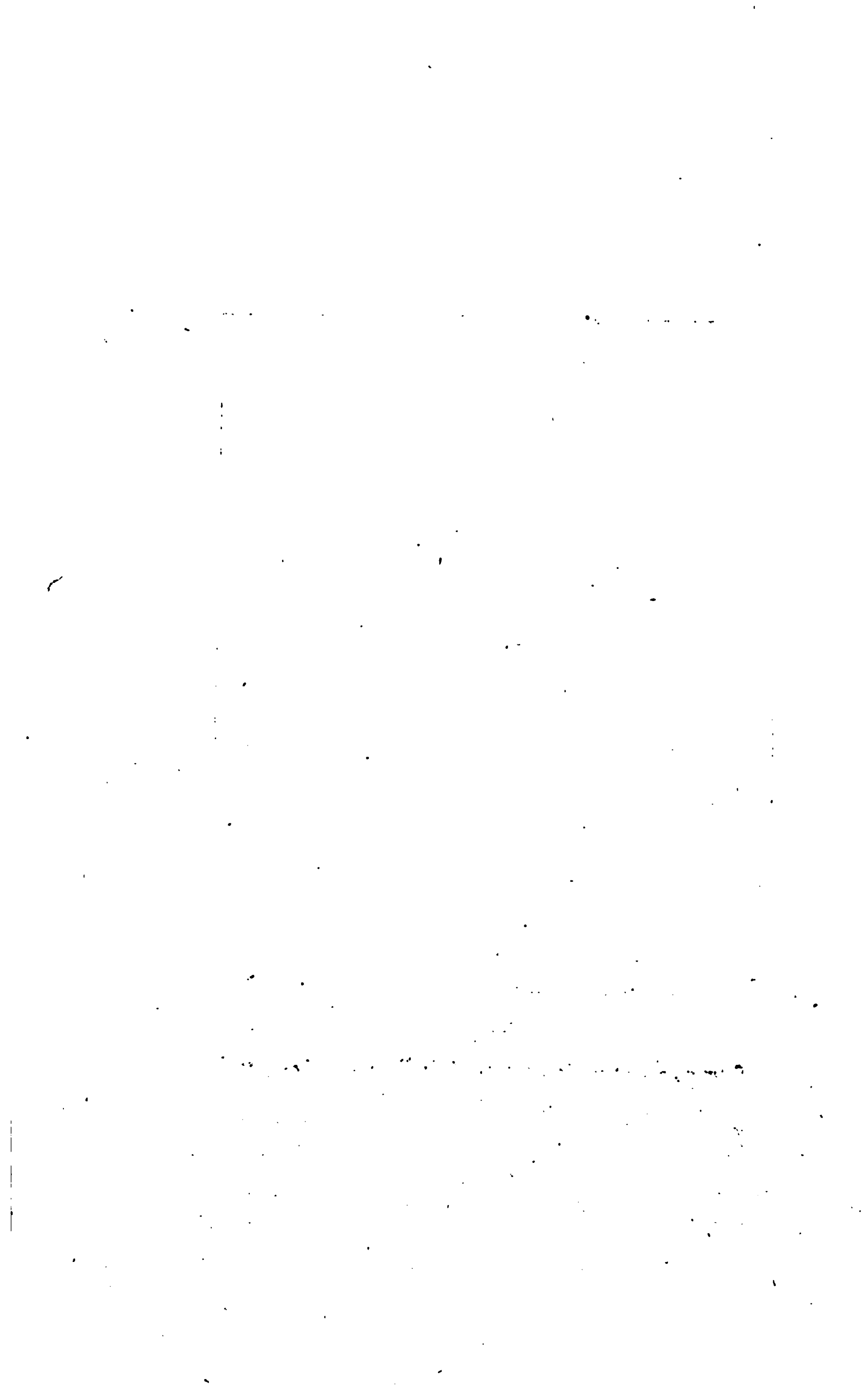
land did not know much peace during the forty-five years which separated Turnbull's foundation from that of Elphinstone. The reign of James III. was one continuous struggle between a weak throne and powerful nobles. With the death of James in 1488, a more settled period commenced; and it was during this brief interval that the University of Aberdeen was instituted.

The state of Scotland at this time may best be understood from Dr John Mackintosh's "History of Civilisation in Scotland" (Vol. I., cc. 11-12). The lawlessness and turbulence of the earlier decades had, by the "nineties," in some measure disappeared; but much cruel injustice was constantly being done to the poorer classes. Each noble was all-powerful in his own territory, and the happiness or misery of multitudes depended on the will and nature of a single individual. In the towns, the burgesses had a comparatively large measure of freedom; and, by the end of the century, there was a considerable amount of commerce, which greatly increased during the reign of James IV. The sanitary arrangements were of the worst possible description; and this was the cause of various pests and plagues which devastated the country. Cases of leprosy were quite common. King Robert Bruce had been one of its victims; and the deadly disease persisted long after his time. The morality of the people was far from high; but all

classes were firm adherents of the Church, which, from time to time, co-operated with the State in attempts to suppress various forms of vice.

The literature of the age was considerable, both in quantity and in importance. The first half of the century saw Wynton's "Original Chronicle of Scotland," King James's "Quair," and the other two poems attributed to that monarch, "Christ's Kirk on the Grene," and "Peblis to the Play." Towards the end of the century, Blind Harry composed his "Wallace," and the famous Dunfermline schoolmaster, Robert Henryson, wrote his "Poems," while the larger portion of Dunbar's life falls within the same period. Owing in some degree to the influence of the Church—more so, perhaps, than Dr Mackintosh admits—the musical faculties of the people were not uncultivated. In addition to vocal music, such instruments as the violin or fiddle, the harp, the lute, the trumpet, were in popular use. In the beginning of the century, organs had been introduced into the churches; and mention is made of one in Bishop Elphinstone's charter.

Such were the political and social circumstances of the country in the fifteenth century; and under such conditions did the project of a third Scottish university become, in the course of the last decade of that century, an accomplished fact.



BISHOP ELPHINSTONE.

(From a painting in the possession of the University of Aberdeen.)

CHAPTER II.

Bishop Elphinstone: the Founding of Aberdeen University.

We have seen that the two sister Universities of St Andrews and Glasgow owed their existence to the bishops of their respective dioceses. It was likewise due to the wisdom and devotion of a bishop that our country was enriched by the addition of another seat of learning. During his thirty years' tenure of the See of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone conferred many benefits upon the north-east of Scotland. His presence was welcome in the Councils of Church and nation alike, and the honour of the devoted prelate and the glory of the wise statesman add lustre to the name of our founder. With the bishop's personal history much of the early story of the university is bound up. For our knowledge of his life we are indebted mainly, and, indeed, well-nigh exclusively, to Hector Boece's well-known work—the "Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen." Boece was a contemporary of Bishop Elphinstone; and, in spite of the admittedly unsatisfactory nature of his historical writings, it is not unreasonable to accept his account of the facts of the bishop's

life, due allowance being made for the hyperbolical tendencies that follow a fervent admiration. The quotations from Boece are taken from the edition of his work recently edited by Dr James Moir for the New Spalding Club.

William Elphinstone, a scion of the noble house whose name he bore, first saw the light in the ancient city of Glasgow about the year 1431. His parentage has been matter of dispute. Tradition makes him the son of a churchman, William Elphinstone, rector of Kirkmichael and archdeacon of Teviotdale. This belief was challenged in 1861 by the late Professor Grub, who, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," maintained that the bishop's father was a layman. The fact that Boece passes over his parentage with the remark that "he belonged to the ancient Elphinstone family," is of itself an important argument for the traditional opinion, which is further confirmed by William's residence at Kirkmichael in his youth. More recent investigations of Vatican and other MSS. have finally decided the question ; and we know for certain that his father was a churchman.

The future bishop received a liberal education. When seven years old, his biographer tells us, he was placed under the care of suitable teachers, and "made such progress that he

seemed even then to give promise and certain hope of being all that he afterwards proved himself to be." Various stories of his boyish doings and sayings are recorded; and they go to show that he was a thoughtful, bookish, boy, fond of his studies, and accustomed to the company of his seniors. He studied at the University of Glasgow, gaining distinction in logic and physics, and graduating in his twenty-fifth year. He was thereafter ordained to the priesthood. About this time, he seems to have had a breakdown in health, and abandoned his studies to take charge of the family estates. He soon, however, returned to Glasgow to devote his attention to the study of canon law. For some time subsequently to this, he practised in the courts of justice, and distinguished himself by his advocacy of the rights of the poor. But learning had more attraction for him than the fame of a popular advocate, and he again withdrew from the city, and spent four years as rector of Kirkmichael—in which capacity he would seem to have done duty for his father. "The routine of his life," Boece tells us, "was such as every private Christian should observe—reading succeeding prayer, and prayer reading, in unbroken sequence." But a life of leisure and study was not to be his. Roused by an uncle's censure, he determined to bid farewell to Arcadia and its "dreamful ease," and to pre-

pare himself for active public life. For this purpose, he went to the University of Paris; following, in this respect, the usual custom of procedure of a Scottish youth who aspired to a thorough education. Here, after a course of severe study, he was elected reader or lecturer in Canon Law—the duties of which office he performed with much acceptance for the space of six years. At the end of that time, he proceeded to the University of Orleans. Of his conduct there, and of the fame of his learning throughout France, his biographer gives us a glowing account, assuring us that the French authorities "more than once sought his advice in connection with important decisions." While abroad, he formed a friendship with Jean de Ganai, afterwards Chancellor of France. The diplomatic mission on which Elphinstone was subsequently sent to France would give an opportunity for the renewal of the early friendship which, says Boece, "continued unchanged in both to the end of their days."

After residing several years in France, he returned to Scotland, at the desire of his parents, and proceeded to Glasgow. There, he soon became connected with both the diocese and the university of his native place. He was appointed Episcopal judge of the see, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University, and, in 1474, was made Rector of the University. But Glasgow was, in the 15th century,

a town of comparative insignificance, and higher honours awaited the distinguished student. He was at this time received into the Royal favour and sent by the king, James III., on an embassy to Louis XI., in company with the Bishop of Dunkeld and the Earl of Buchan. Boece reports a long speech which, after the manner of Livy, he puts into the Bishop's mouth on that occasion. The oration, of course, cannot be regarded as genuine, nor is it possible fully to accept the biographer's account of the very close relation in which his hero stood to King James. For the French Embassy, and for subsequent missions to England, Burgundy, and Austria, we have confirmation from other sources; and Elphinstone's learning and long residence abroad would render him eminently suited for such service. In recognition of his diplomatic distinction, he was, in 1481, offered the Bishopric of Ross. Boece informs us that he declined it; but it is evident that he held, at all events, the title. Dr Moir suggests a probable explanation of the discrepancy, viz., that difficulties as to birth delayed the consecration, and that what Boece means us to understand is simply that Elphinstone never acted as Bishop of Ross. Before the death of James III., he was not only employed on several occasions as an ambassador, and made a member of the Privy Council, but received, in 1483, the Bishopric of Aberdeen, and, in 1487-8,

the Chancellorship of the Kingdom, an office which he held but a few months, being deprived of it on the accession of James IV. In the Civil War, which resulted in the death of the cultured, if impolitic, James III., Elphinstone remained faithful to his patron, returning, after the fatal event of Sauchieburn, in June, 1488, to his diocese of Aberdeen—his career as a statesman, to all appearance, at an end.

But the young King soon ceased to be a puppet in the hands of the turbulent nobles who had forced him to appear in the field against his Royal father; and, when his personal influence increased, he collected round him many worthy counsellors. In the number of these, the Bishop of Aberdeen was soon included, and, in 1500, he became Keeper of the Privy Seal. By James IV. he was also employed in State service, and frequently consulted on important matters. That he possessed influence with the King is indicated by the interest taken by James in Elphinstone's great project of a university. But, during the last fourteen years of his life, he devoted most of his attention to the affairs of his diocese. He illustrated his tenure of office in Aberdeen in three ways. His first duty was towards his Cathedral Church of St Machar; and, early in his Episcopate, he took steps to improve the services, which had deteriorated from canonical form. He also turned his attention to the edifice itself,

completing the great central tower and making preparations for the building of the choir. His next important labour was the institution of the university and college at Old Aberdeen, and, towards the end of his life, he made preparations for a work of great benefit to the district—the construction of a bridge over the river Dee, now known as the Old Bridge of Dee. He did not live to see it commenced. His last days were saddened, and probably their duration shortened, by the disaster at Flodden. The aged prelate had raised his voice in warning against the folly of plunging the country into an utterly needless war with its richer and stronger neighbour; and, when the defeat came, he felt the disgrace so keenly that, Boece tells us, he was never seen to smile again. The death of the bright young monarch with whom he had been brought into relations so close and so pleasant, the bitterness of defeat, and the terrible loss which had befallen his fatherland in the slaughter of its best and bravest, might well prove the death-blow of the patriotic churchman. On September the ninth, 1513, King James lay dead on Flodden field; thirteen months later the body of William Elphinstone was laid in its last resting-place in front of the High Altar of the Collegiate Church which he had founded. The closing months of his life were occupied in attempts to allay the dissensions of the nobles

which followed the premature death of their king; and it was while on a visit to Edinburgh for this purpose that he died, on 25th October, 1514. Never was bishop more sincerely mourned. Tytler tells us that he was "the only man who seemed to possess authority in the State," and that it was Queen Margaret's intention to make him Archbishop of St Andrews—an appointment which would have prevented the unseemly struggle that took place for the Primacy.

Even after all allowances have been made for the exaggerations and inaccuracies of his biographer, it will be admitted that William Elphinstone's was the life of an able and upright man, of a scholar and a statesman, and a true lover of his country. There is least certainty as to his diplomatic services; nor need we lay much stress on them here. That he was a learned man, we need not doubt. Of his love for literature, his collection of the Acta Sanctorum is proof; and Boece expresses his great indebtedness to the bishop for material for his history. That he was "mov'd with concord of sweet sounds" we may infer from his reviving and reforming the Gregorian chant in the Cathedral service, and from his placing a peal of bells in the Crown Tower of his college. He lived in dignity, and enjoyed universal respect and esteem. His hospitable table was surrounded by lovers of literature and music.

His devotion to his Episcopal charge is worthy of all praise. How much he did for the University of Aberdeen will become evident as we proceed. His memory, beyond that of any other, deserves to be kept green by the sons of the university he founded,—to whom he has left a name and an inspiration, the influence of which may still be felt.

The foundation of the university, the Bishop's most lasting memorial, now demands more detailed treatment. When Bishop Elphinstone came to Aberdeen, he found two educational institutions—a Grammar School and a College of Canons; the second of which gave some training to candidates for holy orders. Of the existence of this latter we have evidence in Boece's description of his own arrival in Aberdeen. As to the date of its origin, there is no sure indication; and ancient authors have left a most romantic account of its antiquity and prosperity. The following is Boece's presentment:—"Edward, [Bishop of Aberdeen about 1157] was the first to establish in connection with the Church at Aberdeen men of a holy order (he called them canons) as confreres for the discharge of sacred rites along with the chaplains." This statement is probable enough, and the arrangement which Boece found in Aberdeen in 1500 was some expansion of this college of canons. But legends have grown up around

the matter. The romance reaches its most ambitious phase in Chalmers's "De Scotorum Fortitudine," &c., already quoted. Chalmers's patriotism leads him to vouch for statements that are obviously fictitious, as will be seen from his paragraph regarding the antiquity and dignity of Aberdeen University. "I am unwilling," he says, "to refer the date of this Academia to the century after the capture of Troy, as certain Englishmen absurdly do with regard to that of Oxford. . . It will, therefore, suffice to refer it to the times of Alexander, King of Scotland, for he, in the year A.D. 1240, conferred on it many and great privileges. It seems to be older than this; but what we have said is quite certain, for, before Alexander, it held no title except that of schola; nor could it properly hold any other, for there is required to justify the appellation of academia or universitas, as I suppose, a profession of all the sciences that are wont to be taught in public academiæ—which, however, one will scarcely find to have existed in Aberdeen before the time of Alexander. But it is difficult to say how greatly the study of letters has flourished since that date, and how large a concourse there has been from every part to it as to a celebrated school of virtue and learning." The disproof of the existence of a university previously to 1240 is amusing. This legend

reappears, about a century later, in Orem's "Old Aberdeen":—"Power was given by Pope Adrian I. to Edward, Bishop of Aberdeen, to institute a canonical college, A.D. 1157, August 13th. In the reign of Alexander II. there was a studium generale in the Canonical College, where there were professors and doctors of divinity, and many learned men have flourished therein." To criticize these fictions as to the antiquity of Aberdeen University would be nowadays as much a work of supererogation as it was for Chalmers to demolish his "man of straw," the upholder of a university prior to the time of Alexander.

At the time of Elphinstone's arrival, Orem's "studium generale" was a humble arrangement; but it may have served to suggest to the bishop the possibility of emulating Wardlaw and Turnbull and erecting a third Scottish University. For this purpose, the situation of Aberdeen was eminently suitable: its position with regard to the northern counties was such as to render it possible for these to be brought under civilizing influences. At the commencement of his episcopate, Elphinstone was, as we have seen, much occupied with State duties; but these terminated for a time with the Civil War of 1488, and it was not till he had been received into favour by the young King that he was in a position to move in the matter of a University. He was successful in obtaining the cordial co-operation

of James, who belonged to a Royal house which, whatever its failings, was never indifferent to the claims of learning. Doubtless, to this day there remains, lost in the archives of the Vatican, a letter from James IV. of Scotland to Pope Alexander VI. asking authority for the erection of a University in Old Aberdeen. A communication from Bishop Elphinstone must have been transmitted to Rome about the same time. In response to King James's request, a Bull was issued on the 10th February, 1494-5, giving the required sanction for the erection of a university. The original may still be seen: it is preserved in the muniment room at King's College, the leaden séal or "bulla" being in excellent condition. The introductory paragraph of the document speaks of the value and importance of learning, and of the duties of the Supreme Pontiffs with regard to its distribution. Learning is a pearl; it points the way to a wise and worthy mode of life; it gives a great advantage to its possessor over a person not so equipped; it opens up the way to the secret of the universe ("ad mundi archana cognoscenda"); and it exalts those of low degree. It is, therefore, the duty of the head of the Church to take all reasonable measures for the wider spread of this blessing. After the panegyric upon knowledge comes a reference to the condition of Scotland. It is a famous kingdom, possessing

great cathedrals and religious houses of all descriptions, and notable cities. But there is a portion of it which is cut off from the rest by arms of the sea and very high mountains. These remote regions are inhabited by unlettered, ignorant, and almost barbarian people, who not only have no opportunity of coming into touch with culture, but who have scarcely among them men capable of preaching the Word of God or of administering the Sacraments. In proximity to these places is the city of Old Aberdeen, and a university, if situated there, would be of the greatest possible service in supplying the much needed means of culture to the savages of the north of Scotland.

With this long preamble, the Bull goes on to state that King James had asked sanction for such a university, and incidentally pays a tribute to that monarch and his predecessors for their faithfulness to the Church (Romane ecclesie et sedi apostolice constantissimi et sine aliqua varietate filii obedientes). The compliment is worth quoting, in view of the fact that the Scottish Kings had not always obeyed implicitly orders from Rome. Permission is then given for the erection of the university. The details, it would appear from the Bull, were suggested in the communications sent to Rome from Scotland; full powers were asked, and the Universities of Paris and

Bologna were specially named as examples of what was desired for Old Aberdeen. The Papal consent is as full as the Scottish request. There is to be a "studium generale et universitas;" and the faculties are to include theology, canon and civil law, arts, and medicine. William, Bishop of Aberdeen, is appointed Chancellor of the University; and his successors are to be the subsequent bishops of the diocese. During a vacancy, the duties are to be performed by the vicar appointed by the Chapter to undertake the episcopal functions. The other college dignitaries are to include a rector, regents, masters, and doctors, the mode of whose election is not described. These officials are to examine the students, and promote them to degrees of bachelor, licentiate, doctor, and master. Graduates are to have all the rights and privileges of masters or doctors, and are empowered, without further test, to teach in Aberdeen or in any other university. The government of the university is to be carried on by the chancellor or his substitute, the rector, resident doctors, a number of licentiates, and some properly qualified students. In conclusion, all the privileges of existing universities are conferred upon Aberdeen, and the curse of St Peter and St Paul is invoked upon any who may interfere with the enjoyment of these privileges.

Such are the contents of the Bull, and very liberal are the powers conferred. On the same day (10th February, 1494-5), an injunction was sent to the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane, and to the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, ordering the publication of the Bull, and bidding them take care that its provisions were carried out. Some time elapsed before the Bull was published at Aberdeen. The "Publicatio Erectionis" is still extant, and is dated at St Machar's Cathedral in February, 1496-7—almost two years from the date of the Bull itself.

The exertions of King James on behalf of the university did not end with his letter to the Pope. His efforts for the raising of funds for endowment will be described in a later chapter. He followed up the Papal Charter with a charter issued on behalf of himself and his successors, giving numerous privileges to the University. By this important deed, King James confers upon it all the rights, privileges, and immunities granted by the kings of France to the University of Paris, and all those granted by James I. to St Andrews and by James II. to Glasgow—"omnia et singula jura privilegia libertates et commoditates prout Cristianissimi Francorum reges Universitati Parisiensi et sicuti nostri nobilissimi progenitores Jacobus primus Universitati Sancti Andree et Jacobus Secundus Scotorum Reges

Universitati Glasguensi donarunt et concesserunt." Pope and King combined, then, to make the powers and privileges of Aberdeen University as liberal as possible; and it is to the credit of both that the good bishop's benevolent scheme received every encouragement at its initiation.

CHAPTER III.

THE BUILDING OF KING'S COLLEGE: BISHOP ELPHINSTONE'S FOUNDATION.

The University at Old Aberdeen was not long in existence before it became evident that a college or colleges must be built, if full advantage were to be taken of the manifold privileges with which Pope and King alike had endowed the Studium Generale. That there was teaching of some description before any edifice was erected is certain from the records of the endowments of the infant university. The first indication of the bishop's intention to build a college is to be found in an instrument, dated the 22nd May, 1497, where certain sums are "to be applied to the support of the Collegiate Church, to be founded by the bishop in the said university;" and, in a confirmation of the same deed, dated six days later, reference is made to "the collaeg foundit be our soverane lord and brother, James the ferd at the Universitie of Aberdon." In another deed, dated 7th December, 1499, the following words occur:—The College of St Mary in the University of Aberdeen ("novo nostro collegio sepius narrate beatissime

virginis Marie in Universitate Aberdonensi);" and, in a document of 20th August, 1500, we read of doctors, masters, regents, prebendaries, students, and choristers of the Collegiate Church of Aberdeen University ("doctoribus magistris regentibus prebendariis studentibus ac pueris chori ecclesie collegii universitatis Abirdonensis.") From these and other similar references, it might be inferred that the building of the college had followed immediately on the receipt of the Bull, and that, by 1500, full collegiate discipline was established. But we know by the inscription over the west door of King's College Chapel that the masons began to build ("latomi inceperunt edificare") in the spring of 1500; and Bishop Elphinstone's charter, which presumably was issued immediately after the completion of the building, bears the date of 17th September, 1505.

It would thus appear that teaching was begun in a temporary building of some sort soon after the publication of the Bull in 1496-7, and that a course of instruction was considerably elaborated by the close of the century. This is further borne out by the fact that Hector Boece, the first Principal, was in Aberdeen by the 20th August, 1500, on which day a document was signed in his presence, "coram . . . magistro Hectore Boyiss." We are, accordingly, enabled to look upon the bishop's foundation of 1505 as the result, not only

of his own and Boece's training at older universities, but also of an experience of university teaching at Aberdeen which had extended over the larger portion of a decade. By the autumn of 1505, then, the college with its chapel and crowned tower had been erected. A description of the various buildings which have formed part of the college is reserved for a later chapter; but it may be said here that the glories of the edifice, as it stood in its early days, furnish ancient chroniclers with a theme worthy of their pens. From Boece and others, we learn how

> He builds
> A statlie structure thair,
> A fabrick firm and fair,
> Which has a temple tabulat
> Of polished stones and squair,
> With tables, celrings, seats,
> Lights of discoloured glass.
>
> . . . . .
>
> A strait, strong steeple, too,
> A pleasant princelie frame,
> Beaut'f'd with bells within : without,
> Deck't with a diadem.

Such, then, was the exterior of the college. Of its internal arrangements we possess a detailed account in the foundation of Bishop Elphinstone. The bishop's scheme was, confessedly, modelled on the constitution of the University of Paris; and, no doubt, it was the product of Elphinstone's own experience there, as well as at Glasgow and Orleans, and of the

knowledge acquired on the Continent by Hector Boece. The foundation, dated 17th September, 1505, is a very detailed document, and demands careful treatment, as by its aid alone we are able to picture the life of the college at its inauguration.

The opening sentences of the "Fundatio" quote the Papal sanction as given in the Bull ten years previously, and refer to the enthusiasm ("instantia") which the reigning monarch had displayed in the interest of the university, and to the various endowments which could now be applied to academic purposes. The aim of the founder is declared to be that the members of his university might live safely, quietly, and freely, as became servants of God and good Catholics, eat in one house, sleep under one roof, and be at peace within the protecting walls of a university. The name of the college is given,—the College of St Mary ("sub vocabulo sancte Marie in nativitate.") At an early period of its history, the institution came to be known as the King's College. How and when the change occurred is somewhat obscure. The reason was, doubtless, the interest taken in it by King James the Fourth; and, probably, it was called the King's College in the vernacular long before the official records ceased to refer to it as the College of St Mary. Before 1505, it is denominated variously Collegium Sancte Marie,

Collegium novum Universitatis Aberdonensis, or, simply, Collegium Universitatis Aberdonensis, except in one document, the wording of which is so important that we have already had occasion to quote it. The date is 1497, and the words run "the Collaeg foundit be our soverane lord and brother James the ferd at the Universitie of Aberdon." The title of the foundation which we are now considering runs, — "Fundatio Collegii Regii Universitatis Aberdonensis," but it is evidently of late date, and, in the deed itself, as has been said, the other nomenclature is adopted. No instance of any departure from this occurs till 1542. In a deed of that year, the following combination of both titles is adopted: —"Regalis collegii infra universitatem Abirdonensem sub titulo de nativitate beate Marie Virginis;" and two years later we read, "Novi regalis collegii Aberdonensis." After this, references to the King's College become more frequent, till, in the deed of appointment of Principal Anderson, in 1553, the title of "the college of St Mary" appears for the last time.

Provision was made for the endowment of thirty-six persons who were to reside within the college, exclusive of the chancellor and the rector, who were not paid for their services; the latter, however, might combine his office of rector with one of the other appointments. The thirty-six members of the college were

composed thus—Principal, canonist, civilist, sub-principal, mediciner, grammarian, five students in theology, thirteen bursars, eight prebendaries, and four choristers.

The principal was required to be a master in theology, or, at all events, to proceed to a master's degree within a year from the time of his appointment. His duties embraced the government of the university, lecturing on theology, and preaching; and it was incumbent upon all the members of the College to render him obedience. Next in importance were the canonist, civilist, and mediciner. These were required to be doctors in canon law, civil law, and medicine respectively; or, as in the case of the principal, to qualify for the doctorate within a year of appointment. Their duty was to lecture, on ordinary days, on their respective subjects, in accordance with the custom of the Universities of Paris and Orleans. It was specially enjoined that they were to wear the academic costume suitable to their degrees. After these came the sub-principal—a master of arts. His duties consisted in lecturing, along with the other regents or teachers, on the liberal arts, and in managing the college during the absence of the principal. The last of the six masters was known as the grammarian. He, like the sub-principal, was to be a master of arts, and his duty lay in "the instruction

of youth in grammar and its rudiments." All the masters, the mediciner alone excepted, were, by deed of appointment, to be prebendaries, and were expected to celebrate masses for the founder. These were the permanent teachers of the college.

Of the remaining thirty members, the highest were the students in theology. These had completed their curriculum in the liberal arts, and taken the degree of master, and, during their studies in theology, they not only qualified for the degree of bachelor in theology, but also acted as regents of the students in arts. They preached both before and after receiving their bachelor's degree ; before receiving it, to all the assembled students every Lord's Day and holy day. The students in arts who were specially provided for were thirteen bursars proceeding to the degree of master.

Twelve members remain yet to be described. Eight of these were prebendaries and four were choristers. Among the prebendaries, there were two to whom special duties were assigned, the cantor and the sacrist—the former of whom had charge of the singing, and the latter performed various comparatively unimportant duties, including the marshalling of the procession for services. One of the prebendaries had to be a proficient on the organ, being chosen for this purpose by the chancellor. A further

office was that of procurator of the college, who was one of the ordinary members, and to whose care various details of management were committed.

Superior to all the resident members were the chancellor and the rector. The former was head of the university, and was empowered to act in the election of various members, and to take measures upon receipt of an annual report furnished by the rector, should that report indicate the necessity of any action. He was the proper person to whom all disputes were to be taken for settlement; and, at a late period in the history of the college, we find complaints that members had sued each other in the law courts instead of referring the dispute to the chancellor, whose judgment should form the final court of appeal. The rector was enjoined to visit the college annually, and report to the chancellor: if the rector happened to be a resident member of the college, his place was taken by the dean of the faculty of arts, and the Official of the diocese of Aberdeen.

While the chancellor is, as we have seen, defined in the bull, the rector is mentioned both in the bull and in the charter, but the mode of election is nowhere detailed. Academic usage in the matter was so well known that it was considered unnecessary to deal with it. In all the mediæval universities, the rector was

chosen by the votes of all the members, who gave their suffrages in "nations,"—that is to say, according to the place of their birth. Such an arrangement becomes intelligible when, for example, we consider the circumstances of the University of Paris, which we have already mentioned, and the number of different nationalities there represented. The members, thus divided, gave their votes for the election of a procurator to act for each nation in the choice of a rector. This was, doubtless, the method intended by Elphinstone. Probably all the members, including the students, had a vote in the election of the procurators, in accordance with the custom of the Continental universities on which Aberdeen was modelled. The procurators took part in other elections besides that of rector. What the division of the "nations" was in 1505 is not clear. This practice has survived up to the present day in the Universities of Aberdeen and Glasgow.

The method of election of all the resident members is laid down in the charter. The principal, canonist, civilist, mediciner, sub-principal, and grammarian, were all nominated by the chancellor, to whom very great authority thus attached. The students in theology, who were allowed to reside only seven years, were admitted by the chancellor upon the recommendation of the rector, the dean of the faculty of arts, the principal, and the sub-principal. The same

procedure was adopted in the case of the students in arts—except that for them the time of residence was restricted to three years and a half, that being the period necessary for graduation. All the students were removed at the end of their respective periods of residence, whether they had graduated or not. It was further laid down that the two first bursars were to be of the name of Elphinstone, and these had the privilege of admission to the theological curriculum after passing through arts. Three of the remaining eleven bursars were to be natives of one or other of the following parishes—Aberluthnot, Glenmyk, Abirgerny (Glengairn), Slains.

In addition to the salaries of the various officials, which will be detailed in connection with the endowments of the college, some other matters of interest find a place in the charter. All the members were to live within the college, with the exception of the canonist, the mediciner, the grammarian, and the civilist. These were to have manses outside. At eight o'clock in winter, and ten in summer, the college gates were to be closed for the night, and opened not earlier than five o'clock in winter and four in summer, the principal and sub-principal having charge of the keys. Delinquents were to be punished by either the principal, the sub-principal, or the regents; and, if due obedience were not rendered

to them, the rector was to interfere, and, finally, if the rector's intervention did not have the necessary effect, the Chancellor himself was to take action, the extreme penalty of the law being expulsion. Prebendaries were forbidden to hold benefices in the Cathedral of Aberdeen, although they might do so elsewhere. The intention in the institution of the office of a procurator was declared to be the giving of time to the other members for divine service and study: the procurator had to take charge of the pecuniary interests of the college. Instructions were given for the wearing of the appropriate robes and hoods and for the proper canonical service in the collegiate church.

Of the furnishings of the College Chapel, we have accounts from various ancient sources. All agree as to the magnificence of the arrangements. To this day there remains the carved oak screen, which was a prominent feature from the first; but whether it be of native origin or obtained by Elphinstone from France is uncertain. The windows were of stained glass, and are described as of great beauty. In addition to the High Altar, there were, at least, two others—one the Altar of the Blessed Sacrament, and the other dedicated to St Mary in Nativitate. Boece speaks of marble altars, images of the saints, chairs of brass, and hangings and carpets to cover the

walls and floor. As to the robes, the same authority tells us that there were fifteen of cloth of gold, with pictures of saints woven in scarlet, purple, and blue, seven of fine linen, and twenty of linen covered by a design of palm branches. The total, it will be observed, is forty-two, which, as we shall see, is the number of members as increased by Bishop Dunbar, in whose time Boece was writing. Many vessels of gold and silver are also referred to; and it is evident from an ancient document that the college did possess a number of these. In the crown tower were thirteen bells, "pleasing the ear with sweet and holy melody." These bells are referred to by chroniclers; and David Chalmers says that they were above twenty-four in number, and that they chimed very pleasantly four times every hour. Elphinstone's charter was confirmed on the 18th April, 1506, by Pope Julius II.

CHAPTER IV.

The Endowments of the College. The First Principal and His Colleagues.

Aberdeen was fortunate as regards the rapidity with which funds became available for academic purposes. St Andrews and Glasgow Universities existed for some time without a building of any description; within eight years from the receipt of the Bull, the University of Aberdeen was housed in a beautiful and well-equipped college. Bishops Wardlaw and Turnbull were able to endow their respective colleges with but a minimum of wealth. Bishop Elphinstone, when he issued his charter, was able to assign suitable salaries to all his college officials. This, by the way, is the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that the Bishop of Aberdeen was not a wealthy man, and that he raised the necessary funds for the restoration of his Cathedral, the erection and maintenance of his college, and the building of the Bridge of Dee, all without prejudicing his successors in the See of Aberdeen.

The earliest grant of money to the college was made by Pope Alexander VI. a year

after the issue of the bull. In the 15th century, Scotland possessed a comparatively large number of hospitals, which served various purposes. The aged poor and those afflicted with illness resided within them, and the wanderer, whether a pilgrim wending his way to some shrine, or a merchant bent on buying and selling, found within their walls food and shelter. There was in the diocese of St Andrews an institution known as the Hospital of St Germain's, and connected with the Order of St Augustine. King James, a year after writing to the head of the Church for sanction to found a university, further asked that a portion of the income of this hospital might be diverted towards the support of the university. The Pope granted the request in a new Bull. In this bull, which is dated 9th February, 1495-6, almost exactly a year after the date of the first bull, reasons are given for this treatment of the hospital. The funds had greatly diminished owing to continuous litigation, and not within the memory of man had the institution served the purpose of its founder. The buildings, except the chapel, had become ruinous, and the resources of the hospital were being applied to secular ends. The revenues were, accordingly, placed in the hands of the chancellor of the university for college uses, the only reservation being that one "religious person" of the Order

of St Augustine and three "poor persons" should continue to be maintained within the hospital. The original purpose of the founder of the hospital was, to some extent, further conserved by a clause to the effect that three poor students were to be supported within the university. The revenues are quoted as being thirty pounds. It is not easy to say what this sum really represented; for, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both King and Parliament were constantly altering the coinage. But seeing that the buying power of money was very much greater then than now, we shall not be far wrong in supposing that this sum would represent probably not less than £300 at the present day. Having received the Papal sanction, the bishop approached the master of the hospital, Thomas Piot, and came to an agreement with him, giving him some ecclesiastical appointment, 9th August, 1497. Some years later, 16th February, 1504-5, we find a certain John Chalmer resigning his right to a pension from the hospital on his having received a similar preferment from Bishop Elphinstone.

The next gift to the university was made by King James IV., acting in concert with his brother James, Duke of Ross, Archbishop of St Andrews. The privileges conferred by the King in this document have already been treated of. It gives the university, in addition

to these rights, certain church revenues—those, namely, of the churches of Aberluthnot, in the diocese of St Andrews, and Glenmyk and Abirgarny (Glengairn), in the See of Aberdeen. A further clause in the Royal charter provides that the feu-duties of certain lands in Banffshire are to be given for the support of a mediciner or professor of medicine. Neither in St Andrews nor in Glasgow had any such provision been made, and it should not be forgotten that Aberdeen was the first university in Scotland, or, indeed, in Great Britain, to recognise the claims of the art of healing. The revenues of a fourth church were soon added—those of Slains, the grant being made by the king and confirmed by Alexander, Earl of Buchan; and Bishop Elphinstone himself, with the consent of his chapter, united the vicarage of New Aberdeen to the university. Some years later, February, 1503-4, he gave a feu-duty, for the maintenance of the students in theology, from the lands of Petty, in Formartine.

There remains one more annexation of Church revenues to record. Near King's College may be seen a small graveyard, known in the neighbourhood as "The Snow Kirkyard." On its site once stood the church of St Mary ad Nives. This Church was founded by Bishop Elphinstone in the interests of the university. The Bull for its erection has never been printed, and

incomplete knowledge of its provisions has led to misstatements as to the early officials of King's College. Some of these occur in the "Fasti Aberdonenses," and are pointed out by Mr P. J. Anderson in his "Officers and Graduates of King's College." William Strathauchin, for example, is given as the second rector of the college; he was actually rector of the Church of S. Mary ad Nives. Again, "Three names are placed in the list of canonists," says Mr Anderson, "before Arthur Boece :—15—, John Lindsay; 1513, Henry Spittal; 1516, Alexander Lausone. These, however, were not really canonists, but holders of the readership in canon law, conjoined with the prebend of St Mary ad Nives, founded by Papal Bull in 1497." We shall see how the revenues of the church were applied.

The beneficence of private individuals also added largely to the resources of the college. The earliest of these was an Aberdeen burgess, Robert Blinseile, who, on the 20th August, 1500, made a deed of gift "to the doctors, masters, regents, prebendaries, students and choristers of the Church of the College in the University." The money was obtained from a feu - duty off some ground in the Castlegate. There was added a condition, which almost invariably accompanied such gifts in those days, that masses should be celebrated for the souls of the donor and his relatives. The next gift came

from a Churchman,—Duncan Scherar, prebendary of Clatt. He, on the 21st March, 1501 2, gave certain feu-duties on properties in Aberdeen and Kintore for the support of a student in arts, connected by blood with the donor, and another feu-duty from some land in the Gallowgate "for the masters, chaplains, and boys." A year later, he also founded a chaplainry in the college. A reason which doubtless prompted many of the grants is mentioned in the next deed. It was made by a very generous giver, an Andrew Elphinstone of Selmis. Elphinstone made three distinct deeds of gift to the university, consisting of a feu-duty and certain lands—Balnakeddill, Andail, and the Mill of Mindurno. He states in the documents that the reason of his generosity is his gratitude to Bishop Elphinstone for many kindnesses. What these were is not on record, but the gift is a tribute to the bishop's character, and to his influence over those with whom he came in contact. The remaining benefactors need not occupy much space, but it is fitting that their names should be recorded in a history of the university. They were —Adam Hepburn of Craigis and Elizabeth Ogston, his wife, who also indicate their gratitude to the bishop, Thomas Sanquhare of Murecroft and Sir Alexander Boswell of Balhelvys (Belhelvie). Plainly, all these endowments were not obtained without considerable

exertion on the part of those interested in the university. Seldom has a founder done more for a college than William Elphinstone did for Aberdeen; and to this day the college derives pecuniary benefit from the care of the bishop. The lands of Balnakettle, for example, which were given by Andrew Elphinstone, bring in close on £400 per annum to the university, and bursaries are still paid out of the endowments given by the founder himself.

In Bishop Elphinstone's charter, the funds of the college are allocated, the various officials receiving salaries in proportion to the importance of their duties. The remuneration of the principal is given at forty merks. The late Mr Cosmo Innes gives, in the preface to the "Fasti Aberdonenses," the value of forty merks as £26 13s. 4d. This would represent a very considerable sum to-day. The first principal also held—as any principal might hold, and, indeed, was intended to hold—a benefice in the Church, and was pensioned by the King. Altogether, Mr Innes concludes, there is no reason to doubt that in emolument, as well as in social position, Hector Boece was greatly above any principal of a Scotch college at the present day. The statement is perhaps exaggerated; and it is probably sufficient to say that Boece's emoluments as a university official

were not beneath those of a modern principal. The canonist and civilist had thirty merks each, the mediciner and the sub-principal twenty each. The grammarian received the revenues of the Parish Church of St Mary ad Nives. The students, both in theology and in arts, were maintained within the university. The former had, in addition, twelve pounds, and twelve of the latter ten merks of stipend, the thirteenth bursar being paid only five merks. The salary of the cantor was twenty merks, and the sacrist received a similar sum. To each of the prebendaries sixteen merks were assigned, and to each of the choristers five. The procurator received an additional sum of five merks. The principal. canonist, civilist, sub-principal, twelve of the students in arts, prebendaries, and choristers were paid out of the revenues of the four churches already mentioned. The salary of the mediciner came from the feu-duties which had been granted by King James for that purpose. Four of the students in theology received their stipends from the endowments granted to the university by the bishop himself. The remaining students in theology and one of the students in arts were provided for out of the funds given by Duncan Scherar. Such were the financial arrangements of the college.

If the infant college owed much to Bishop Elphinstone, it was also indebted for some of its

early success to the men with whom he surrounded himself. Hector Boece, the first principal, was a man of great ability and renown. He was, as he himself tells us, a native of Dundee. Of his parentage and early life, nothing is known. In all probability, he studied at the University of St Andrews, for his writings show that he possessed an intimate acquaintance with that seat of learning. We know that he studied at Paris, and was teaching in that university when Elphinstone asked him to come to Aberdeen as Principal of the College of St Mary. Boece had as a fellow-student at Paris the most renowned of sixteenth century thinkers, Erasmus, who, in two of his letters, refers to the Aberdeen scholar. Boece speaks of Erasmus with the greatest admiration, calling him "The glory and ornament of our age," and saying that "There is no spot in Europe so inaccessible that his praises are not there found." Among the Scotsmen who were at Paris along with Boece, a list of whom he gives, was John Major, the historian. To Major s historical work no reference is made, although Boece eulogizes him as "a profound theologian, whose writings, like brightest torches, have shed a glorious light on the Christian religion." That Elphinstone's choice was vindicated by the success of the college we know from various sources.

While at Aberdeen, Boece wrote the two works which have given him a place in the literature of Scotland—the "Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen" and the "History of Scotland." Undoubtedly these books are far from accurate; indeed, at an early date the writings of Boece were quoted as exemplifying the work of a vivid imagination, unfettered by even the faintest regard for truth. Certainly his weaknesses have not been spared by subsequent writers. Leland, in his well-known tetrastich, which Dr Moir thus translates—

> "If you should bid me count the lies
> Of Hector's history,
> I might as well essay to sum
> The stars, or waves of sea,"

has expressed his opinion in terms sufficiently severe and somewhat bald; and Lhuyd and Stanihurst, writing in 1572 and in 1584 respectively, are no more lenient than Leland or than Pinkerton in recent times. But it should be remembered that Boece lived in a superstitious and credulous age, in which the canons of historical criticism were unknown. Livy, too, was confessedly Boece's model, and the feeling was not quite dead which had inspired the various cycles of romance, and which had led Barbour to find in Robert Bruce a Scottish parallel to Charlemagne and Arthur. Some of his early critics

were not much better than himself. Dr Irving, in his "Lives of Scottish Writers" (Edinburgh, 1850), quotes an amusing sentence from Joseph Scaliger, wherein the writer condemns Boece for believing in the possibility of birds growing from shellfish, and gravely adds that there can be no doubt that they do grow from the rotten wood of old ships. At all events, it may safely be said that Boece's Latin, if not strictly classical, has an elegance of its own, and it is interesting to find a great Latinist the first principal of a college which was to send forth Arthur Johnston and the Aberdeen doctors. The name of Hector Boece is not unworthy to occupy a prominent position in the early annals of a great seat of learning. In his own day his merits were recognised by James V., who gave him a pension and a benefice. He was a canon of Aberdeen and rector of Tyrie. The exact date of his death is matter of conjecture. His arms adorn the south wall of King's College Chapel, and on the shield there appears the following inscription—"H.B., ob. 1536." Probably the inscription is accurate, for, in 1536, a successor was appointed to Tyrie, which is stated to be vacant by Boece's death. His name is found for the last time in the official documents of the college in 1531.

He was succeeded by the first Sub-Principal, William Hay, also a native of Dundee, and a

student at Paris, whence he accompanied his friend, Boece, to Aberdeen. Boece speaks of him in very affectionate terms:—"His great love to me led him to settle with me in Aberdeen as if he had been my kinsman." Of the other teachers, we know almost nothing but the names, and Boece's generous tribute to their ability and merit. Their names are taken from Mr Anderson's "Officers and Graduates of King's College," and from Boece's own reference to them. They were, so far as we know, in Scotland at the time of Boece's arrival. Only Boece and Hay were brought from abroad. The first canonist was Arthur Boece, a brother of the principal; the first civilist, James Ogilvie; the first mediciner, James Cumyne; the first humanist, John Vaus; and among the earliest regents were Henry Spittal and David Guthrie. The names of the first cantor and sacrist are not definitely on record; in 1519 the holders of these offices were James Awell and Patrick Hay respectively. These, of course, may have been the first to occupy the positions. Except the humanist, no one of these teachers is anything more than a name to us—*vox et praeterea nihil.* Vaus is the author of a Latin grammar and of a theological treatise, of which some early editions are preserved in the University Library, but that statement sums

up nearly all that can be said of him. The first chancellor was, of course, Bishop Elphinstone himself; the first known rector, Andrew Lyell. The names of the graduates are not recorded; all that we know is that Boece and a John Adam were the first to receive the degree of Doctor of Divinity. These, then, were the earliest teachers of our University.

CHAPTER V.

THE SUBJECTS TAUGHT: CHANGES IN THE COLLEGE: BISHOP DUNBAR: LATER ENDOWMENTS.

Nothing was further from the intention of Wardlaw, Turnbull, or Elphinstone than to establish an institution for the training of the Scottish youth in Latin, as English schoolboys were trained in the great public schools. The universities they founded were part of the great association of learned men which was held together by the Church, and which, in spite of differences of race and climate, existed as one body, with "one faith, one hope, and one doctrine." The conception of a university was understood as completely and adhered to as firmly in Aberdeen as in Paris or in Oxford. Even after the Reformation came, and the Church, which had so greatly helped the infant universities, was no longer the Church of Scotland, the university ideal was scarcely ever lost sight of. Of course, in a history covering so long a period as from four to five centuries, there were times of degeneracy and declension. It could not well be otherwise. But we have in

Scotland to-day as true an idea of the end and aim of university teaching as our fathers had four hundred years ago.

Before the Reformation, the universities were schools of philosophy, mental and physical. Aristotle was, naturally, supreme; and the work was based upon his treatises. The seven liberal arts were, as is well known, arranged in the Middle Ages in two divisions—the trivium, consisting of three, and the quadrivium of four subjects. There were grammar, rhetoric, and logic on the one hand; and, on the other hand, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The trivium was taught in Aberdeen, but it occupied quite a subordinate position; and the principal subjects were not included in the ancient table of the Arts, belonging to Aristotle's theoretical rather than to his practical class of studies. In Glasgow, the work was divided into logic and philosophy. By the first was meant the logic of Aristotle, and by the second his metaphysics, ethics, and physics. The course also included some arithmetic and astronomy—"a dreary, single-manned Aristotelian quadriennium," is Dr Bain's summing-up of the arts curriculum of the fifteenth century. Among the books used in Glasgow at an early date were Porphyry's "Introduction" to certain books of Aristotle, and Petrus Hispanus. In Glasgow, we find no mention of the teaching of Latin; but, as was usual in the mediæval

universities, all the instruction was given in that language, and the students were forbidden to converse in the vernacular. Greek, of course, was not taught till much later than the period of which we are now speaking. It was not introduced into Scotland till 1534—nearly a century after the capture of Constantinople had given an impetus to learning. In this connection, it is interesting to note, as indicative of the influence of the University of Aberdeen, that what must be one of the earliest Greek inscriptions in Scotland is to be seen on a tomb within the ruined church of Kinkell, near Inverurie—a church which was brought into very close contact with the university through its famous incumbent, Alexander Galloway. The inscription, which consists of the 21st verse of the first chapter of Philippians, is in memory of a John Forbes of Ardmurdo, who died in 1592, the father of Alexander Forbes, who preceded Bishop Patrick Forbes in the See of Aberdeen.

In Aberdeen, the course was, doubtless, very similar to what it was in Glasgow. Provision, however, was made from the very first for the teaching of Latin. It was the duty of the grammarian or humanist to give instruction in grammar and its rudiments ("pro puerorum et juvenum informatione in gramaticalibus et illius scientie primis rudimentis.") The fact of the occurrence of this sentence in

Elphinstone's charter implies that it was necessary to make special provision for the peculiar circumstances of Aberdeen, and may have been a result of Boece's experience of teaching in the north before the college was completed. But the duty of the humanist was, after all, a subordinate matter. Latin was not regarded as an end in itself. It was merely the necessary preliminary to the more important subjects for the sake of which the university existed. The sub-principal and the students in theology taught the arts, which are referred to in the charter as logic, physics, or metaphysics ("logicam, physicam, aut metaphysicam.") The phraseology evidences a course of study almost identical with that of Glasgow—namely, the Organon of Aristotle, along with his physics and metaphysics, probably Porphyry being specially in use. One of the students in theology was appointed to teach poetry and rhetoric; the text books almost certainly being Aristotle's poetics and rhetoric. Of this there is no trace in Glasgow. We have seen that, in addition to the Arts, canon or Church law, civil law, medicine, and divinity were taught within the university.

In the records of the mediæval schools of learning, the teachers are spoken of as "readers." The expression gives the key to the method of teaching. The difficulty of obtaining copies of the text books led to the

practice of dictating, and the student received, as his teacher's contribution to the subject, only a few occasional notes explanatory of the text. The class was questioned orally on the subject matter of previous lectures. It was not an inspiring system. It lasted till late into the history of the college, even after the multiplication of copies of books had rendered dictation unnecessary. In another respect, the manner of teaching was very different from what is now the custom. Each teacher was confined, not to a certain subject, but to a certain class, directing its studies from beginning to end of the curriculum. To this system of "regenting" constant reference will have to be made as the history of the college advances. The regents had full charge of their classes in the days when the students lived within the college, and to them belonged the often difficult task of maintaining discipline out of class hours. The practice of "disputation" was also a recognized part of the curriculum. This system developed as the university grew older; and we shall find that, at one period, the examination for a degree consisted of a disputation. At stated times, in the early years of the college, the students were assembled, in divisions or in a body: a thesis, probably intimated beforehand, and connected with the work of the class, was discussed, certain of the students

attacking or "impugning," and others defending or "propugning" it. In later days, regents were appointed after such a "disputation," and the unique survival to this day of the examination for the Chair of Systematic Theology at Aberdeen is a remnant of the custom, which was universal for many centuries. The students were under strict rules, and perhaps in those days not the least valuable lesson they learned at college was the training to self-restraint which the method of living necessitated.

As regards the manner of graduation, there is considerable difficulty. Professor Laurie, in his "Lectures on the Rise and Early Constitution of Universities" (London, 1886), says "Graduation was, in the mediæval universities, simply the conferring of a qualification and right to teach (or, in the case of medicine, to practise), given after a certain length of attendance at a university, and an examination conducted by those already in the position of teachers." The nature and importance of the examination varied in different universities. In the Bull, the dignitaries of Aberdeen University are empowered to confer degrees upon deserving students after due examination. But, at first, these dignitaries were not themselves graduates in the several faculties. How, then, were they to comply with the clause of Elphinstone's charter, in terms of which they

were bound to proceed to their respective degrees within a year of their appointment; The problem was solved by another application to Rome—the seventh on record in connection with the university, between 1494 and 1506. Pope Julius II. followed up his confirmation of Elphinstone's charter on the 18th April, 1506, by issuing, on the 5th of May of the same year, another Bull, granting permission to the Chancellor of the University to confer degrees, after examination by the members of the university, but without the presence of doctors. This facility is stated to be given in view of the scarcity of doctors in the various faculties in the college, and the difficulty of obtaining the services of those resident in other universities. The privilege was only temporary ("donec copia ac numerus conveniens doctorum in dicta universitate fuerit"). A similar Bull had been issued six years earlier; but it had reference only to law. It is, unfortunately, impossible even to hazard a guess as to the exact position actually held by graduation in the curriculum at Aberdeen. The proceeding to degrees is encouraged in the official documents; but whether it was the rule or the exception cannot be known. The lectures or prelections seem to have been delivered to a wider audience than the members of the college.

We have now reviewed the circumstances

which led to the institution of a university in Aberdeen, and attempted to give some account of those connected with its foundation, and of its finances and system of teaching, immediately after the erection of the college about the middle of the first decade of the sixteenth century. It will next be necessary to trace the various changes which, from time to time, were made upon earlier methods.

Only a short interval elapsed before these changes began. Nine years after the date of his charter, Bishop Elphinstone died at Edinburgh, and the university lost its founder and first chancellor. So far as is definitely known, the death of the bishop was the first break in the list of dignitaries who were permanently attached to the college at its initiation. Elphinstone was succeeded in the See of Aberdeen by an Alexander Gordon, whose brief episcopate left no traces upon the history of the diocese of which he was bishop, or of the university of which he was chancellor. The interesting circumstances attending his election are thus given by Boece:—"After the death of Bishop Elphinstone on the day appointed for the election of his successor, the Earl of Huntly, a rich nobleman, unexpectedly appeared in the meeting of the canons, entreating them to appoint as bishop-elect his relation, Alexander Gordon, chanter of Moray." Boece puts the matter very delicately; but the wish of the Earl

of Huntly was equivalent to a command, and it would have been a very rash proceeding for the canons to have made an enemy of so strong a neighbour. Gordon was finally appointed; the Aberdeen authorities unanimously submitting his name to the Pope. Two other candidates were mentioned. One, James Ogilvie, was nominated by the Regent Albany, and the other, Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow, brother of the Archbishop of St Andrews, was declared Bishop of Aberdeen by the Pope himself. The fact that both of these withdrew their claims is an indication of the power of the Earl of Huntly, and of the condition of the county, where, for centuries, the Gordons were all-powerful, which throws interesting side-lights upon academic and ecclesiastical affairs of that day. Bishop Gordon, however, seems to have been a sufferer from some incurable disease at the time of his appointment. This prevented him from taking any active part in the life of the diocese or of the university, and he died after three years' tenure of office. Nothing more is known of the second Chancellor.

Gordon was succeeded by a man whose work remains, although the record of his life is lost. On Gavin Dunbar there fell the mantle of Elphinstone, and he was, we are told, the successor whom Elphinstone himself had desired. Boece tells of the delight with which Dunbar was received

by the people of Aberdeen, and of the happy omens which attended his arrival. The first act of the new bishop, after his consecration, was to visit the last resting-place of his great predecessor, and he was, it is said, much grieved to find that no monument had been erected on the spot. "The bishop," says Boece, "was at once filled with pity and indignation that the remains of so great a man should be neglected, without a name or any monument to celebrate one whose fame extends over a great part of the world." It was due to the pious care of Dunbar that there was erected the tomb of black marble which can to-day be seen within the chapel at King's College. On the stone reposed a magnificent jewelled effigy of the founder, but it was long ago destroyed.

Elphinstone had left many of his projects unfinished, and to Dunbar there belongs the credit of completing them. The Bridge of Dee, the Church of the Greyfriars, and the central tower of the Cathedral were among these. But much remained to be done for the university. It was natural that Bishop Elphinstone should consider the Collegiate Church within the university to be the most important portion of the buildings, and accordingly it was finished and adorned in his lifetime. Bishop Dunbar found when he entered upon office, that more accommodation was

necessary for the resident members of the university, and for those teachers who were to have manses outside the walls of the college. These buildings had been in progress at the time of Elphinstone's death, and by his will he left funds for the prosecution of the work. But, unfortunately, those whom the dying bishop had appointed to carry out his desires refused to apply the money in their hands in accordance with the terms of the will, and his immediate successor could not, or, at all events, did not, take any active steps in the matter.

With the appearance on the scene of a strong bishop, the difficulties experienced in securing Elphinstone's legacies soon vanished, and the funds became available for the purposes for which they were intended. The work of superintending operations was entrusted to one who had been an intimate friend of Elphinstone's, and who was acquainted with his aims and desires—Alexander Galloway, rector of Kinkell, well known as a benefactor and rector of King's College, and as the architect of Greyfriars Church and the Bridge of Dee. According to Boece, Galloway was, towards the close of Elphinstone's life, "so highly esteemed by him that hardly anything was done by him in his official capacity without the rector's guidance." Of Galloway's important rectorial visitation (the second on record) some account will fall to be

given in a subsequent chapter. Under his care, the various projects of Elphinstone were carried out; Bishop Dunbar giving additional aid in the shape of handsome contributions to the funds. Ker, in his "Donaides" (1725), states that the additions made at this time to the college were known as "Dunbar's Buildings." They occupied a site on the south side of the quadrangle near the present Humanity and Greek Class-rooms. We know besides that Dunbar commenced the emblazoning of the heraldic ceiling of the cathedral.* He also erected a hospital near the Cathedral, long known as "Dunbar's Hospital." No trace of it now remains, but a picture of it (the only one extant) is to be found in the 1791 edition of Orem's "Old Aberdeen."

The internal arrangements of the university were also in need of alteration. The system enforced in the document known as "Dunbar's Charter" will be described in the succeeding chapter, for the clear understanding of which it is now necessary to advert to one or two additional endowments received by the university, since those detailed in connection with Elphinstone's charter of 1505.

In 1513-14, the revenues of a fifth church

* For an account of this ceiling the reader is referred to Principal Sir William D. Geddes's "Lacunar Basilicae Sancti Macarii Aberdonensis" (Aberdeen, 1888).

were annexed to the college—that of Auchindoir, in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the 24th March of that year, the rector of the church, Thomas Myrtoun, was created a prebendary of the college. The chaplainry of St Mary Magdalene, in the church of St Nicholas, was also incorporated with the college. In 1526, Bishop Dunbar, after consultation with the chapter, granted to the college the ground on which it stood, the site of the various manses, and the churchyard ("de totis et integris terris super quibus dictum collegium edificatur cum cimiterio domibus, etc., dicti collegii.") There was also gifted at the same time some ground on the west of the college for the purpose of erecting a manse for the mediciner, in accordance with the provisions of Elphinstone's charter. Two private gifts belong to the period between the two charters. In 1506, William Cumyng of Inverelouchy (Inverallochy) gave a feu-duty from the lands of Inverallochy, in the county of Aberdeen, "for performance of an obit at the altar of St Mary, in the said college." Six years later, David Leslie of Petcapill (Pitcaple) left another feu-duty on a similar condition. On 8th May, 1512, Bishop Elphinstone bought "an annual rent of nineteen merks Scots from the customs of the King's fishings of the waters of Dowerne (Deveron) belonging to the burgh of Banff." Finally, it may be mentioned

that, on the 7th February, 1527-8, King James V. issued a charter confirming all the grants and privileges which his father had conferred upon the university. The additional funds which thus came into the possession of the university enabled Bishop Dunbar to arrange for the expansion of the college, more especially in law, where Elphinstone's provision was somewhat incomplete.

CHAPTER VI.

Bishop Dunbar's Charter.

Towards the close of his life, Bishop Elphinstone saw that, for the greater prosperity of the college, it would be necessary to make some changes upon his foundation of 1505. He, therefore, proceeded to draft a new foundation, but was prevented by death from carrying out its provisions. When Dunbar succeeded to the episcopal office, he found a number of more immediately necessary reforms awaiting his care and industry, and it was not till after the lapse of several years that he was free to turn his attention to a new foundation. Somewhere about the year 1525, the rector, principal, and masters of the university wrote to Rome, pointing out that Bishop William had intended to make certain alterations on the constitution of the college, and asking permission to take action in the matter. In response to this request, Pope Clement VII., on the 18th January, 1526-7, issued a bull, which empowered Bishop Dunbar, Arthur Boece, canonist, and treasurer of Brechin; and Gilbert Strathauchin, canon of Aberdeen, who was at the time rector of the university, to take

evidence as to the alterations made by Bishop Elphinstone on the early foundation. This may have been merely a formality, or it may have been considered necessary after the difficulty that had been experienced in carrying out the will of the dead prelate. At all events, there was confirmed, on the 18th December, 1529, a document which made considerable changes on the constitution of the college, and which is known as Bishop Dunbar's charter.

The additional endowments now possessed by the college enabled Dunbar to add six members to the thirty-six mentioned in Elphinstone's charter. The number of students in theology was increased from five to six. One student in canon and two in civil law were provided for, one of the latter being the chaplain of St Mary Magdalene in the Church of St Nicholas. Two additional choristers make up the total of forty-two. The duties of the various members and their mode of election are detailed with fulness and precision, and a rearrangement of some of their functions is ordained. A different allocation of the revenue is also made.

The Principal is to rule the college; and all are instructed to render him due obedience and reverence. It is his duty to keep the buildings in good order, to pay heed to the morals of the members, to maintain proper discipline, and

punish offenders, to attend the lectures of the regents, and to assign chambers to those resident within the walls, after consulting the sub-principal and the regents on the subject. In addition to these details of management, a certain amount of lecturing also devolves upon him. He is to lecture every lawful day in philosophy, arts, and theology, and to preach publicly to the people six times a year. While lecturing, he is enjoined to wear the costume proper to his doctor's degree. The canonist is to lecture either in his own house or in the college church, and is expected to keep, at his own expense, a temporal vicar in the church. The duties of the civilist and the mediciner do not differ from those assigned to them in the former charter. The sub-principal is to perform a variety of functions. His work embraces reading in philosophy and arts, instructing the students "in morals and virtue," presiding at the public disputations, and noting and punishing those absent from the religious services. The mode of punishment is, as usual in those days, corporal ("punire, corrigere, et castigare.") The grammarian or humanist has his circle of duties enlarged. He is to teach not only "grammar," but also poetry and rhetoric—two subjects which were assigned, in Elphinstone's charter, to one of the students in theology specially appointed for the purpose. This system, it would thus seem, had not worked well.

The most remarkable alteration appears in the list of duties of the six students in theology. In early times, it was customary for all graduates to teach in their own universities immediately after taking their degrees. Elphinstone had made a manifest improvement on this system when he limited the number of teachers to the four doctors, the sub-principal, the humanist, and the students in theology. Under his foundation, all the five students in theology were regents in arts. In Dunbar's charter, it is ordained that the regents in arts are to be chosen by the principal and sub-principal from among the theological students, "whenever need may arise." It is thus obvious that all the students in theology were not regents, and this denotes an advance upon the earlier arrangement. The whole question of the "regents" in King's College is, however, one of some difficulty. Both in Elphinstone's and in Dunbar's charter, reference is made to "the regent in arts." This expression must mean that the title of "the regent in arts" was given to one of the members of the college, who is usually indicated in another way, because the limitation of the number of residents to thirty-six in Elphinstone's charter and forty-two in Dunbar's precludes the possibility of his having been an additional official. To which of the members this description of

regent in arts applied has never been made clear. The confusion arising from the original Latin of the charters has been increased by mistranslation in the summary in Mr Cosmo Innes's "Fasti Aberdonenses."

Who, then, was this mysterious personage? He was certainly not one of the four doctors, for they all had their special departments outside of the Faculty of Arts; and various references in the documents show that "the regent" was not identical with any of these officials. Nor was he the sub-principal. This is proved by a sentence in Elphinstone's charter, where he is mentioned along with that dignitary ("predictus vero principalis et subprincipalis nec non prefatus regens artium.") The sub-principal is, indeed, referred to as "a regent," but, with this sentence before us, it is impossible to argue that he was "the regent." Was the grammarian, then, "the regent" in arts? It is here that the error in the "Fasti Aberdonenses" has intensified the obscurity. A clause in the summary of Elphinstone's charter runs thus—"All the members to have their residence within the college, except the canonist, mediciner, grammarian, and regent." But the Latin reads quite differently—"Canonista . . . et legista." The word "legista" means, of course, "civilist," and is so translated in other places by Mr Cosmo Innes. The inference deducible from the "Fasti," that

the grammarian and "the regent" were not identical, stands, accordingly, on insufficient ground. Nowhere, in either of the charters, do the terms "grammarian" and "the regent in arts" occur in such a manner as to preclude the identification of the two officials. In one place, indeed, in Dunbar's charter, as printed in the "Fasti," a phrase appears which would be difficult to explain; but more recent reference to the original has shown the existence of a copyist's error, and it has been corrected in a quotation in Mr Anderson's "Officers and Graduates." Further, in all cases where "grammarian" and "the regent in arts" are found, the two terms may be interchanged without apparent prejudice to the sense. It is, therefore, in the absence of further evidence, a fair conclusion that the two titles belonged to the same functionary. But the question is a complicated one.

While Dunbar's charter lays down the general rule that the principal and the sub-principal are to select regents from among the students in theology, it gives no information either as to the number of regents required or as to the method of election; nor are their duties detailed. The charter usually descends to minute particulars, and the omission of these, in this instance, is surprising. Possibly, the explanation is to be looked for in the fact that the number

of residents was small. In Paris, where the arts students were very numerous, it was necessary that the permanent teachers should receive aid from the students in theology; but, in Aberdeen, where the bursars in arts numbered only thirteen, the sub-principal and the grammarian could undertake all the work, and those who were thus chosen as regents may have been so in little else than the name.

The duties of the students in theology, as students in theology, are very fully described. Their course is to cover six years. During the first three they are to study for the degree of bachelor in theology, and perform certain religious duties. At the end of the third year, they are, if deserving, to obtain the degree. The remaining years are to be devoted to preparation for the doctorate, and to the discharge of certain public functions. They are to instruct the junior theological students, and to preach on feast days. In addition to this, they are to lecture in turn every day, after dinner and after supper, on De Lyra's treatises, with special reference to portions of Scripture read by one of the arts students before these meals. De Lyra is the only theological text book of which mention is made. An ancient copy of it is preserved in the library, probably the very book in use at this period.

No special duties are assigned to the law students, in addition to their proper work, beyond the saying of masses for the founders: two are to do so within the college, and the third (the second student in civil law) within the Church of St Nicholas.

Among the functions devolving upon the students in arts is the guarding of the gates of the college. On feast days they are to attend service, and on other days to prosecute their studies. The cantor has, of course, charge of the musical service, the training of the choristers, and the instruction of any who may desire to learn music. The sacrist is to keep the buildings clean, and has care of the robes, the plate, and the marshalling of the procession for religious services. The work of the other officials remains much the same as it was in Elphinstone's foundation. Two "scholars in grammar" are associated with the college, and funds are assigned for their use. These are, in course of time, to be promoted to the status of bursars in arts.

The rules for elections differ widely from those laid down in Elphinstone's charter. In accordance with it, the four doctors, the sub-principal, and the grammarians were appointed by the chancellor; now they are to be chosen by the most important officials and admitted by the chancellor. It would be

tedious to enumerate all the details affecting the election of members; suffice it to say that the plan adopted in the new charter is much more popular than the arrangement under that of Elphinstone. The students in theology and arts are to be admitted by the principal, all the other members by the chancellor. The stipends are, in some respects, altered. The principal's salary remains as it was, but that of the canonist is increased from thirty to forty merks. The revenues of St Mary ad Nives had been, as we have seen, assigned to the grammarian; they are now given to the canonist in payment of his forty merks, with the reservation of five merks for the grammarian, whose total income is to be the same as that of the sub-principal, viz., twenty merks. The newly-founded students in law are provided for by chaplainries; and the first student in civi law is to reside with the civilist. Allowances are made to the prebendaries, the cantor, and the sacrist for vestments, in addition to their stipends. The minor officials and the students are to receive stipends much as before; the organist is paid two merks additional, and the same sum is set aside for a chorister, who is to help the sacrist in ringing the bells. The various members are permitted to hold benefices anywhere except in the Cathedral of Aberdeen. An estimate of forty-

five pounds is made as the sum necessary for the repair of the college buildings and manses. There is, then, considerable additional expenditure in the new charter, to meet which, as we saw, new endowments were available. Bishop Dunbar and his chapter confirm, in the document before us, all the grants that had been made of Church lands and revenues in the neighbourhood of the college. We learn from the phraseology that the Mediciner's Manse was on the west of the college, bordering, evidently, on the present High Street. Mention is made of a cemetery in connection with the college. It is understood to have lain to the north of the chapel, where the manse of the professor of Systematic Theology now stands.

Some references in Dunbar's charter help to give us a conception of the manner of life within the college. It is evident that there was great strictness regarding the use of the proper academical costume. The members were, over and over again, instructed to wear their gowns and hoods, and to keep these in good order. Conversation within the college was in Latin or French; the bursars, in particular, are forbidden to converse in the vernacular. In the arts course, the classes met twice "every reading day." When one considers the large number of feast days, which would not come under the descrip-

tion of "reading days," a question arises as to how much work was got through in a session. On Saturdays, all the students were assembled together, and a disputation took place. Unfortunately, none of the subjects of these disputations have been recorded. All the members dined and supped at a common table. When a student took an infectious disease, he was removed from the college, and his parents were informed, but none of his rights were allowed to lapse.

Every entrant to the college had to take an oath of submission to the chancellor, rector, and principal, promising to obey all the rules and statutes, to remain sound in the faith, and to keep inviolate all the privileges of the university. The usual solemn invocation follows :—"Ita me Deus adjuvet" (So help me God !).

These were the leading provisions in Bishop Dunbar's charter. The document was confirmed on the 18th December, 1529 ; but all the legal formalities were not complied with till June, 1531. It is signed by Bishop Dunbar himself, by Gilbert Strathauchin, the rector ; by Hector Boece, the principal ; Arthur Boece, the canonist ; Robert Graye, the mediciner ; William Hay, the sub-principal ; and John Vaus, the grammarian. In addition, the signature of Alexander Galloway of Kinkell appears, as also do

certain names which we have already mentioned in connection with early gifts to the college.

In this charter, Bishop Dunbar gave his contribution to the history of our university. Within about a year after the last legal formality connected with it had been complied with, the See of Aberdeen became vacant by the death of the bishop. There is preserved at King's College a deed, dated 15th November, 1531, in which he grants to the university a piece of land to the west of the mediciner's manse. In it, his name occurs for the last time in the documents.

Gavin Dunbar deserves a very high place among the benefactors of King's College. The piety with which he carried out Elphinstone's designs, the zeal which he showed in his office of chancellor, and the liberality with which he gave to the needs of the university entitle him to our respect and gratitude. In his time, the college attained its highest pre - Reformation success. By 1530, the difficulties of initiation were over; and the vigour and freshness of youth were not yet spent. Energetic and zealous chancellors, a distinguished principal, and able teachers combined to render auspicious the early days of the college. The time, too, was opportune. The preceding century had been rich in inventions and discoveries, the inspiration of which remained.

The revival of learning had awakened Europe from the "dogmatic slumber" of the Middle Ages. The Reformation struggle was still in the distance. The sounds of that tremendous tempest, which may have reached this remote corner of Scotland, were as yet faint and far off. If any hooded doctor, as he "paced the cloistered hall," foreboded the rising storm, he made no sign. If any thoughtful student felt that Aristotle and De Lyra could no longer satisfy the human soul, he was a dreamer of dreams, and held his peace. No shadow of coming evil was projected across the busy scene. The college was in the full tide of prosperity at the close of Dunbar's life, and that prosperity was in great part due to Dunbar himself.

A shield, bearing the Dunbar arms and the two letters G.D., is fittingly placed alongside the Elphinstone coat on the wall of King's College Chapel. A portrait of Dunbar hangs on the wall of the Senatus Room in Old Aberdeen. It is not an original, but is well authenticated; its story is told in Orem's "Old Aberdeen." Near it may be seen an ancient portrait of the founder, a copy of which, by Alexander, of the date 1747, is also in the possession of the university. Dunbar was buried within his Cathedral Church of St Machar, where his tomb, gracefully designed and skilfully executed, remains one of the architectural beauties of the place.

CHAPTER VII.

Alexander Galloway and his Visitation.

Of the state of the college immediately after Dunbar's death we know but little. Only detached items of information are available till we come to Galloway's visitation in 1549—that is to say, nearly twenty years after the death of Bishop Gavin. The successor of Dunbar in Aberdeen was William Stewart, who occupied the see from 1532 to 1545: his death is given by Spottiswood as having occurred in April of the latter year. He was the builder of the jewel house and library, which projected from the south side of the chapel into the quadrangle. A pulpit, used by him in the cathedral, was taken to King's College Chapel in the beginning of the present century, and it may still be seen there. Stewart's tenure of office was rendered memorable by a Royal visit, paid in 1541, by King James V. and his Queen, Mary of Guise. Our knowledge of the circumstances is derived from the history of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, well known as the defender of Queen Mary. Leslie was for some years canonist in the university: his name occurs in that connection in 1556, and again in

1558-59. At the time of King James's arrival he was probably a student. The king and queen were "weill entertenit be the bishop," and remained in Aberdeen for fifteen days. Both the academic and the civic authorities made preparations for the reception of the monarch. There was great rejoicing in the town; and numerous amusements, including "playes," were arranged. The university did its part in a manner worthy of a seat of learning, though, perhaps, somewhat tedious to James and his consort. "There was," says Leslie, "exercise and disputations in all kinds of sciences in the college and sculis, with diverse oratiouns maid in Greke, Latine, and uther languages, quhilk wes mickell commendit be the king and quene and all thair company."

The mention of Greek at so early a date is somewhat remarkable. The introduction of that language into Scotland is usually assigned to the year 1534, so that the reference here says something for the enterprise of Aberdeen. The close connection of the university with the continent, and especially with Paris, yields an explanation. Elphinstone, Boece, and Hay had all been educated abroad, and neither of the two latter was dead in 1534, while Hay was alive in 1541. Aberdeen would thus be kept in touch with the older universities. The works of Vaus, too,

were published at Paris; and, in an edition printed some ten years later than the Royal visit, there appears the rendering of the inscription on the Cross in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. We may thus assert of our college that it was, even at this stage, alive to the claims of Greek. It is interesting to conjecture that it may have been the want of Greek type that caused Vaus to print at Paris, and not at Edinburgh, where, through the influence of Elphinstone, as Mr Innes points out, a press had been established in 1507.

Two changes in the principalship must be recorded. On Boece's death in 1536, William Hay, who had been sub-principal, succeeded. He died before 1543, in which year John Bisset, who had held the office of a regent, appears as principal. Arthur Boece disappears from the records about the same time as his brother, for a John Sinclair is mentioned as canonist in 1537-8. All the other offices had been vacated by 1549, so that the personnel of the university had been completely changed by the middle of the century. A number of new endowments had also been added, but none of these need detain us. On Bishop Stewart's death, William Gordon was appointed to the diocese. To him the college owes nothing.

Alexander Galloway has already been mentioned as a prominent figure in the early annals of the university. Little is known of his

personal history. He appears in 1516 as Rector of King's College; but before that he was connected, at all events unofficially, with the university. A very beautiful relationship existed between him and Bishop Elphinstone, whose projects, as we have seen, he carried out. He was Rector again in 1521, perhaps in 1530, and, lastly, in 1549. He became incumbent of the parish of Kinkell in 1518. His work as an architect we have already noticed. He is known to have designed Greyfriars Church and the Bridge of Dee; and probably portions of King's College and of St Machar's Cathedral bore traces of his hand. At Kinkell, specimens of his workmanship may still be seen. The church is completely ruined, but on one of the walls two pieces of stone, beautifully sculptured, have been preserved, although the Presbytery of Garioch, on the 27th September, 1649, ordered "the monuments of idolatrie in the kirk to be demolished, against the next meeting." One piece of sculpture consists of two scrolls—one on either side of an aumbrye; the letters A.G. are carved on the right and the date 1528 on the left. The other is a representation of the Saviour upon the Cross. The initials A.G. are again to be seen; and the date is 1525. A full account of Galloway's connection with Kinkell and the neighbourhood will be found in Davidson's "Inverurie and the

Earldom of the Garioch" (Edinburgh, 1878). Boece speaks of Galloway as "well skilled in canon law," and as having accompanied himself on a voyage to the Hebrides, where they found the geese that grew from shell-fish. It appears to have been Galloway that made this discovery, for "he openit some of the musyll schells," says Boece in the "Cosmographie," "but then he was mair astonyt than before. For he saw no fische in it but ane perfect schapen fowl, small and great, aye effeiring to the quantity of the schell." Galloway died on October 6th, 1552. For some time before his death he seems to have been in residence as a canon of the Cathedral in Aberdeen and to have employed a vicar at Kinkell. This accounts for the signature of a Henry Lumsden as rector of Kinkell in 1545.

How far the regulation regarding a rectorial visitation, made by Elphinstone and Dunbar, was actually obeyed in practice it is not possible to say. The first time that such a ceremony is mentioned is in 1542, when James Strathauchin visited the college as rector. Seven years later Galloway's visitation took place. To an account of it we now proceed.

Galloway was accompanied, in accordance with a provision of Dunbar's, by Patrick Myrtoun, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and by three canons of the cathedral, Alexander Spittall,

James Wawane and Duncan Burnett, who were prebendaries of Clatt, Oyne, and Methlic respectively. The names of all, except Burnett, occur as subscribing to Dunbar's Foundation; and it was possibly because of their acquaintance with that document that they were elected by the masters to act as Galloway's assessors. The inquiry into the condition of the college was effected in the late summer of 1549. The suggestions made are fifty-one in number, and they reveal a great declension from the state of affairs twenty, or even ten, years previously. The officials of the college had become negligent in the performance of their duties and lax in discipline, and they are warned to change their course of action without delay. A further sentence indicates how careless they had become. The preceding regulation is declared to apply only to the principal, subprincipal, mediciner, grammarian, cantor, and sacrist, and not to the canonist, and civilist, because these two functionaries were not in residence at the time. It is thus quite plain that the most stringent provisions of the foundation were set at naught by those whose duty it was to render obedience themselves, and to see that others did the same.

One is not surprised to read that the taught were no better than their teachers. The students in theology were not attending to their work, were omitting to take holy orders,

and were not wearing the proper garb. Those of them who are regents are instructed to commence "their lectures in philosophy and the arts;" and all are commanded to appear in their black hoods and round caps, and "to discourage the growth of their hair and beards." The law students, too, had ceased to reside within the college and to perform their religious duties.

If the teaching arrangements were unsatisfactory, monetary matters were in no better condition. Fifteen days are given for the preparation of a statement of the financial position of the college. Details are particularly requested regarding the money devoted to the maintenance of the buildings and manses, and to the purchase of oil for the lamp which burned before the Holy Sacrament. The college buildings, which had been greatly neglected, are to be at once repaired.

These regulations have reference to gross derelictions of duty on the part of the officials. A number of others suggest improvements for the future, and are mainly intended to guard against the danger of the recurrence of such a state of affairs. Four times every year the whole college is to be assembled for the purpose of hearing the foundation read; and every one is to act in conformity therewith "as he wishes to avoid the Divine vengeance and our everlasting curse."

A further provision gives an indication of the course of study. The principal and sub-principal are to choose a regent from among the students of theology, who is to commence his duties upon the 1st October, 1549, and "to finish the course of his regency before the expiry of six years." He is, however, to lecture for only three years and a half: the first year, on logic; the second, on physics and natural philosophy, with the treatise on the sphere; and, during the third year and a half, his prelections are to cover arithmetic, geometry, cosmography, and moral philosophy. The last-named subject is defined as being "ethics, that is to say, politics and economics." This clause conflicts somewhat with the remark made earlier regarding the students in theology who were regents in arts. Probably, the arrangement was that one theological student had charge of each arts class, so that there would always be three, and only three. As we have seen, no such list of duties is assigned to the student regents in Dunbar's foundation, where these functionaries are merely mentioned. This had led to the abeyance of the office, and Galloway seems to have considered it advisable to revert, in a modified form, to Elphinstone's arrangement.

Another alteration should, perhaps, be taken in connection with this. Galloway ordains that the bursars in arts are to be "poor persons"

("mere pauperes"), are to receive everything free, and are not to be charged fees for graduation. At the same time, he fixes the fees payable by other students to various college dignitaries. Now, we know that when this visitation was made, there were practically no students in arts except the thirteen bursars, and these seem to have all been candidates for the priesthood; so that the college was doing little more than educating priests for her own service. Galloway, in restricting the bursaries to poor students, thought it likely that the classes would be attended by a number of pupils not in need of such assistance. The number of those in attendance on the classes would thus be increased, and the sub-principal and the grammarian would require help in teaching. The first mention of a "bursary competition" is made here; for aspirants to a bursary are to be examined in grammar before entrance. A knowledge of grammar could, of course, be obtained at the Grammar School. In addition to the ancient school in the new town, a new institution seems to have been erected in connection with the college, and to have been taught by the humanist. Some time after this, it is referred to as being outside the college gate. The whole tendency of these regulations is to show that Galloway was making a strong effort to return to the university ideal, which had not of late been properly maintained.

An attempt is also made to place the financial arrangements on a satisfactory basis. The duties of the procurator, who is not to be either the principal or the sub-principal, are carefully detailed.

In the records of this visitation we find, for the first time, the name of Economist. A reference occurs earlier to a sort of contractor who undertook the providing of food and drink ("Provisor idoneus qui eorundem in dicto collegio expensis quoad exulenta et poculenta provideat.") Now the principal, sub-principal, and regents are instructed to find an officer of this character, who is called the "economus." The procurator is to provide the economist with meal, bread, ale, flesh, fish, coals, candles, and whatever else may be necessary. The economist is to keep accounts, which the principal and the sub-principal are to examine at least once a month. It is specially mentioned that the food is to be "new."

Some interesting matters of minor importance are included in the documents we are considering. Latin alone is to be spoken within the college, not only by the masters and students, but even by the servants. "It is also ordained that, for the future, boys ('garsiones') shall not be employed to wait on the masters or students within the college, unless they speak the Latin tongue, lest they give to the masters and

students an occasion of using the vernacular." Even these attendants are not to wait at table. That duty is to be undertaken by two of the bursars, who are to dine afterwards along with the economist, each two to serve for a week. No female brewers or bakers are to come within the college : the servants are to meet them at the gates and take in the provisions. At religious services, no women or country people are to enter the chapel by passing through the gates : the outer (west) door is to be used by them. The Bible is to be read daily—before and after dinner and supper—by the masters. This is a change from Dunbar's provision—which had evidently fallen into desuetude—viz., that the arts students were to read from Scripture before dinner and supper, and the theological students were after these meals to read De Lyra's comments on the passages. The regents are instructed to commence lecturing immediately on the stroke of the bell, "so that the students may have no excuse for idleness." The feasts which accompanied the promotion of arts students to the degree of master, and of students in theology to that of bachelor, seem to have given occasion for incidents not very creditable to the college, and injunctions are made regarding those who are to be admitted to such festivities. As regards sleeping apartments, each student in theology is to share a dormitory

with two arts students acting, thereby, as a kind of monitor. Galloway's recommendations received the approval of the chancellor, Bishop Gordon, on the 15th August, 1549.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMATION: PRINCIPALS ANDERSON AND ARBUTHNOT.

The records of Galloway's Visitation contain no hint of the great religious upheaval which was even then convulsing the country. Martin Luther was born in the year in which Elphinstone was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, and the early part of the sixteenth century saw the struggle begun in Germany. From the Continent, the new ideas spread to Britain. The English Reformation dates from 1535, and even before that time Scotland felt the new influence. But the year of Luther's death, 1546, marks the real beginning of the conflict in Scotland. In that year Wishart was burned at the stake, and, three months later, Cardinal Beaton was assassinated at St Andrews. The north-east of Scotland, however, stood outside the movement. In those days, Aberdeen was not within four hours' journey of Edinburgh, and the Church there remained undisturbed for a number of years after the commotion of the Reformation had been widely felt in the south. Various causes combined with the isolation of Aberdeen to pro-

duce this effect. The most powerful nobleman in the district, the Earl of Huntly, was devoted to the old religion, and the Gordons were then of more importance in the north than either King or Parliament. Again, the Diocese of Aberdeen had been singularly fortunate in possessing as bishops, during a long stretch of years, men, not only of probity and earnestness, but also of intellectual and administrative power. To these considerations, the force of which will be admitted by all, students of Scottish history will add others, in accordance with their own particular points of view.

Be the reason what it may, it is not till 1561 that we find any reference to the Reformation as it affected King's College. By that time, changes must have taken place. A number of new endowments had been added; but that fact sums up almost all that can be stated with regard to the twelve years which had elapsed since Galloway's visit. We have no means of ascertaining how far the recommendations then made had been carried into effect. The individuals prominent in the college story in 1549, do not all appear in 1561. Galloway himself had died in 1552. In 1544, or thereabout, John Bisset had resigned his office into the hands of the Pope, Paul III., thereby disobeying the injunction of both Elphinstone and Dunbar, who had placed the appointment within the power of

the local bishop. The Pope, in 1546-7 appointed William Cranston. His name never occurs in the records, and Mr P. J. Anderson does not include him in his list of principals, on the ground that he never acted. Who Cranston was is uncertain. He may have been the William Cranston who was principal of St Salvator's College, St Andrews, in 1559. Several years later, Bisset again resigned, and in the same manner. The Pope, now Julius III., in 1553-4, conferred the office upon Alexander Anderson, the sub-principal. Anderson was, in 1543, Galloway's vicar at Kinkell. In 1537-8, he appears as sub-principal, and before that date had been a regent.

By 1561, the state of affairs in Aberdeen had attracted the attention of the Protestant ministers, whose party was now dominant in the State. The matter was discussed in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in January of that year. Principal Anderson and John Leslie, afterwards the Bishop of Ross, were summoned to answer for their conduct of the university. Knox, Willox, and Goodman were foremost on the other side. We possess three reports of the encounter. Knox, in his "History" describes the scene from the Protestant, and Leslie, in his writings, from the Roman Catholic standpoint. The third account is the Latin translation of Leslie's Scotch, adapted to suit the

prejudices of readers of the old faith. Knox says:—"In that assemblie was Maister Alexander Andersone, sub-principall of Abirdene, a man more subtill and craftye than ather learned or godlie, called, who refused to dispute in his fayth, abusing a place of Tertullian to cloik his ignorance. . . . Then was commanded Maister John Leslie to answer, . . . and he with grait gravitie begane to answer, 'Yf our maister [Anderson] have nothing to say to it, I have nothing, for I know nothing but the cannon law; and the greatest reassone that ever I could fynd thair is *Nolumus* and *Volumus*.'" A slight inaccuracy will be observed here. Anderson was not sub-principal, but had for some years been principal, and is called so by Leslie. Mr Cosmo Innes speaks as if Leslie had been still canonist at the time of the investigation. But an Andrew Leslie held that office about 1560, and Leslie, in his own book, refers to himself as "official of Aberdene."

Leslie writes with less prejudice than his great Protestant opponent. "Thair was," we read, "very sharpe and hard disputacions amangst thame, speciallie concerninge the veritie of the body and bluid of Christ in the sacrament and sacrifice of the messe. Bot nothing was concludit, for that every ane of them remainit constant in thair awin professione, and thairfore these clarkis of Aberdene war commandit to waird in Edinburgh a lang space

thairafter, and that they should not preiche in ony wyis in tymes cumming." In the Latin translation, however, Leslie is much more bitter. He represents the champions of the Roman Catholic Church as carrying everything before them, as far as argument was concerned. "Alexander Anderson," this version runs, "replied so learnedly, firmly, and piously that he confirmed the faith of the Catholics, and so overwhelmed the heretics that they never afterwards challenged him" to discuss any doctrinal point.

Amid this diversity of testimony, the main facts are quite clear. Anderson and Leslie were put on trial for their adhesion to Roman Catholicism, and, in particular, for their belief in transubstantiation. A wordy warfare ensued, in which neither party convinced its opponents. Finally the Assembly ordered the two accused to remain in Edinburgh, and forbade them to preach. Here the matter ended for the time. Queen Mary had returned from France in the August preceding the meeting of Assembly, and, for the next eight years, the Reformed Church was too busy elsewhere to pay attention to the orthodoxy of so remote a place as Aberdeen. But, in 1569, Adam Heriot, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, called the attention of the Church authorities to the condition of King's College. Our knowledge of the events of that year is

gathered chiefly from Calderwood's "History," from "The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, 1560-1618" (Bannatyne Club, 1839-45), and from Wodrow's "Life of John Erskine of Dun." St Andrews and Glasgow were first visited, and, by order of the Assembly of 1569, the laird of Dun and "some others adjoyned to him" proceeded to Aberdeen to make investigations. They were afterwards joined by no less a personage than the Earl of Moray, Regent of the Kingdom. Principal Anderson and four of his colleagues were summoned before this Commission, and ordered to sign the Confession of Faith. This they declined to do, "most obstinately contemning his grace's most godly admonitions." They were thereupon deprived of their offices and emoluments, the sentence being dated on the last day of June, 1569.

Except in the case of the principal, we know nothing of the teachers who thus suffered what was, in those days, the usual fate of minorities. To Anderson's memory censure has often been unjustly attached by writers under the influence of a strong bias against him. He has been charged with making a wrong use of the college funds. For example, in the "Panegyricus Inauguralis" of Andrew Strachan (Aberdeen, 1631), while Anderson's learning and general honesty are admitted ("vir ceteroquin doctus et probus") he is accused of

alienating the revenues of the college in order to avoid their falling into the hands of the Protestants, and so being used for the propagation of the new religion. The further charge is made that he destroyed the university charters, which he most assuredly did not do, seeing that we possess them to-day. In the documents there is absolutely nothing to show that Anderson interfered in this manner with the college property; nor has any proof of the accusation ever been adduced. We are therefore justified in refusing to consider Principal Anderson guilty of embezzlement, the more so, as Mr Innes argues, because for eight years after his deposition he lived within reach of the law, and was not called to account. The fiction has been aided by a confusion with the alienation of funds in the time of the third Protestant Principal, David Rait. One thing is specially to Anderson's credit. It was owing to him that King's College Chapel did not share at the hands of the Reformers the fate of St Machar's Cathedral. Ker mentions the incident in his "Donaides," and tradition has it that the Principal armed the students and servants, and succeeded in keeping out the mob. Anderson died in 1577, "excommunicatt contrayr the religione and at the kyngis horne."

The stress of the Reformation was felt, then, at King's College between 1561 and 1569. It must have had its influence on

the teaching and on the students. Before this, Aberdeen had sent out men like Florence Wilson, of Elgin, and William Barclay, the lawyer, to swell the ranks of "the Scot abroad." Three-quarters of a century later, we find what has been aptly termed "the Augustan age of Aberdeen." But at this time, as was natural, things were not prosperous. On the whole, it is likely that the condition of the college at the time of Galloway's visit is a fair sample of its state during the thirty years between 1545 and 1575. We have a record of how the university impressed an outsider in 1562. In that year, Queen Mary visited Aberdeen, and among those who followed her to the north was Randolph, the English Ambassador. In a report sent by him to Cecil, and dated 31st August, 1562, he speaks of the university as "one college with fifteen or sixteen scollers." In November of the same year, Mary graciously took the university under her protection, and issued a letter to that effect.

The next principal, Alexander Arbuthnot, was a man of considerable reputation in his own day. He has himself told us that he was the son of Andrew Arbuthnot of Pitcarles, in the Mearns. The date of his birth was 1538. He was educated at St Andrews and afterwards in France, where he studied law. When he returned to Scotland in 1566, he

found both civil and ecclesiastical affairs in a state of transition. Abandoning his intention of adopting law as his profession, he entered the Church, and became minister of Logie-Buchan. In 1569, he was appointed Principal of the University of Aberdeen. He was a member of the anti-Episcopal party in the Church, and an intimate friend of Andrew Melville, and his nephew, James Melville, the author of the "Diary," to which we are indebted for much interesting personal information. James Melville speaks of Arbuthnot as "a man of singular gifts of learning, weedome, godliness, and sweitnes of nature." The friendship between Andrew Melville and the principal was to have an influence upon the changes of system in the college. Arbuthnot died in 1583, to the great grief of the Melvilles, who lamented his decease—Andrew in verse, and James in prose. A more remarkable tribute, however, was paid to Arbuthnot by the historian of the opposite side, Archbishop Spottiswood, who mentions that the principals of Aberdeen and Glasgow died within a few days of each other. Of Arbuthnot, Spottiswood writes :—" He was greatly loved of all men, hated of none, and in such account for his moderation with the chief men of these parts that without his advice they could almost do nothing. . . . Pleasant and jocund in conversation, and in all sciences expert : a good

poet, mathematician, philosopher, theologue, lawyer, and in medicine skilful; so as in every subject he could promptly discourse, and to good purpose. He died in the 45 year of his age much lamented, and was buried in the College Church at Aberdene the 20 of October, 1583." Spottiswood is exceptionally free from prejudice, and his eulogy of Arbuthnot is not less honourable to the writer than to the subject of his commendation. Arbuthnot is known to have published some speeches on the origin and dignity of Law. No copy of the volume is extant, and our knowledge of its existence is derived from some verses of Thomas Maitland, in which he praises it highly. A number of Arbuthnot's poems have been preserved. One of these, written during the stormy years of Mary's reign, deplores the neglect of learning in the North:—

"Letters are lichtliet in our natioun;
For lerynING now is nother lyf nor rent:
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament?"

Again, he tells us:—

In poetrie I preis to pas the tyme,
When cairfull thochts with sorrow sailyes me;
Bot gif I mell with meeter or with ryme,
With rascal rymours I sall rakint be.

The lines are intended as an apology for indulging in what was considered so trifling an occupation as the writing of poetry. A manuscript by Arbuthnot, detailing the history of his own family, is in the hands of Viscount Arbuthnott.

It is entitled "Originis et incrementi Arbuthnoticæ familiæ descriptio historica."

Two attempts were made to induce Arbuthnot to resign his academic office and take charge of a congregation. In the "Book of the Universal Kirk of Scotland," we read in the report of the General Assembly of 1581, "Maister Alexander Arbuthnot transportit to the ministrie of Aberdeen, and ordanit to demitt the principalitie of the college in favour of Mr Nicoll Dalgleisch." This, however, proved to be a dead letter. Two years later, and only about two months before his death, the Aberdeen principal was invited by the kirk-session of St Andrews to become minister of that place. But even the temptation of proximity to his friend Melville did not induce him to leave Aberdeen, where his presence was so much required. The letter in which he declined the St Andrews proposal has been printed by M'Crie in his "Life of Andrew Melville." "There be," he says, "presentlie sic stoppis and impediments of my transporting, and just causis to retein me heir, and chieflie no sufficient provision maid for this universitie, that nather presentlie can I address me to remove nor yit can I see how the same can be done without great inconvenientis to this cuintrie in generall and to me in particular." Aberdeen was as fortunate in its first post-Reformation Principal

as it had been in the scholar whom Elphinstone had placed at the head of his newly-founded university, and the name of Arbuthnot lives in the roll of famous men who have taught within the walls of King's College.

The Reformation brought about a change in the Scottish university system. The old conception of a university could not survive the triumph of the new faith. There was among the Reformers a party that ardently espoused the cause of education; it was led by Andrew Melville. In the new rules which were drawn up for the management of the colleges in St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen we shall find good and bad commingled. But the universities were no longer a part of one grand European community. They became, henceforth, more national in their character, and more local in their aims. The fame which they had attained before the middle of the sixteenth century had attracted many foreign students to the Scottish schools of learning. A considerable number attended St Andrews and Glasgow. Aberdeen, too, had its share, for Ferrerius, an unprejudiced observer, spoke of it in 1534 as the most celebrated of the three Scottish universities; but the lists of entrants at Aberdeen have not been preserved. These foreigners continued to come throughout that century and during the first quarter of the next, but, after that, we find no trace of them.

CHAPTER IX.

The Influence of Melville: The "Nova Fundatio."

The prominent name in Scottish University history immediately after the Reformation is that of Andrew Melville. But, while Melville was yet in his teens, efforts were being made to adapt the university system to the new state of things. In the "First Book of Discipline," sanctioned by the General Assembly of 1562, a section was inserted which dealt with higher education. The three existing universities were approved of, but their constitutions were altered. The duties of the rector, the principal, and the other officials were rearranged in accordance with the needs of the time. There were to be seventy-two bursars in St Andrews, and forty-eight each in Glasgow and Aberdeen. The subjects to be taught included mathematics, ethics, economics, politics, civil law, natural philosophy, Greek, Hebrew, and divinity. These regulations, however, were, for various reasons, never carried into effect. In Aberdeen, Principal Anderson must have maintained the ancient foundation till 1569. What alterations Arbuthnot made before

a meeting with Melville in 1575, we do not know. His management would, probably, be on the lines of the Books of Discipline.

Melville was born in 1545. After studying at St Andrews, he went to Paris, where Ramus was leading the revolt against the supremacy of Aristotle. On his return to Scotland, in 1574, he was made Principal of the University of Glasgow. In November of that year, he proceeded to the scene of his duties, accompanied by James Melville, his nephew, to whom we are indebted for an account of their work. "We cam," he says, "to Glasgow about the first of November, 1574, whare we fand Mr Piter Blakburn, a guid man, new com from St Androis, enterit in the collage, and begoun to teatche, conform to the ordour of the course of St Androis. But Mr Andro, entering principall maister, all was committed and submitted to him; wha . . . . sett him [Blackburn] haillelie to teatche things nocht hard in this countrey of befor, wherein he travelit exceiding diligentlie, as his delyt was thairin alleanerlie." Melville's aim seems to have been to collect around him a number of clever youths, whom he might himself train, so that they could undertake the duties of regents; for, at this time, the affairs of the University were in utter confusion, and, except the Melvilles and Blackburn, there were no teachers. Melville introduced into the curriculum the "Dialectics" of his old master,

Petrus Ramus; and when, the infallibility of Aristotle was affirmed by Blackburn, who, coming fresh from St Andrews, was ignorant that the dictum *absurdum est dicere errasse Aristotelem* had ever been questioned, Melville produced undoubted instances where the great Greek philosopher had been in error. He also taught Greek grammar and rhetoric "with the practise thairof in Greek and Latin authors," mathematics, including Euclid, and Aristotle's and Cicero's ethical works, along with portions of Plato. Natural philosophy too was taught, but it was not yet freed from the shackles of the Aristotelian Physics, although more modern books were used along wlth Aristotle. Theology, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac complete the list of subjects. The whole course occupied six years. Part of the work devolved upon the regents, when once they had acquired sufficient training. Much of Melville's system was embodied in the Nova Erectio, or new charter, which, largely through his influence, was given to the University of Glasgow in 1577.

The importance, for Aberdeen University, of Melville's method lies partly in the fact of Arbuthnot's close association with the great educationist. In his account of the events of the year 1575, James Melville says:—"Efter the Assemblie we past to Anguss in companie with Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, . . . then

Principall of the Collage of Aberdein; whom, withe Mr Andro, communicat anent the haill ordour of his collage in doctrine and discipline; and aggreit, as thair-efter was set down, in the new reformation of the said Collages of Glasgw and Aberdein."
When Arbuthnot returned to Aberdeen in the autumn of 1575 he would, in all probability, put in practice some of Melville's methods, and the discipline would be analogous to that of Glasgow. Melville had great influence in the General Assembly, and, on the basis of his recommendations, new foundations were given to the Universities of Glasgow and St Andrews, and a strong effort was made to provide a similar foundation for Aberdeen.

A mystery surrounds the "Nova Fundatio" of Aberdeen. The testimony on the subject is conflicting, and it is almost hopeless to attempt a satisfactory explanation. We shall best understand the position by collecting the relevant matter from documents of the period.

On the 15th July, 1578, the Scots Parliament passed an Act "anent the visitatioun of the universiteis and collegis." A Commission was appointed to meet at Aberdeen on the 15th November of the same year to "putt this present Act and ordinance to dew executioun in all pointes efter the form and tennour thairof." Commissioners were sent to St Andrews and Glasgow, as well as to

Aberdeen, and the duty imposed upon them was "to considder the foundatiouns and erectionis of the universiteis and collegis within this realme, with full power to thame to reform sic thing is as soundis to superstitioun, ydolatrie, and papistrie, and to displace sic as ar unqualifiet and unmeit to discharge ther office in the saidis universiteis." In 1579, the St Andrews Commissioners gave in their proposals, which were immediately ratified; but there is no record of similar procedure on the part of their Aberdeen brethren. In the Parliament of 1581, however, the "Reformatioun of the College of Abirdene" was ready for confirmation. The word "Reformatioun" implies a Nova Erectio, or new foundation, such as St Andrews and Glasgow had received. We hear no more of this document.

In the General Assembly of October, 1582, the state of the universities was "considderit." The Assembly gave "commissioun and power to thair lovit and honourable brethren afterwrytin, to concurre with such as the King's Majestie and counsell directs with them, in visitatioun of the haill colledges within this realme." Peter Blackburn, of whom we have heard as regent at Glasgow, was chosen, with some others, to represent the Assembly in the Aberdeen Commission. The most important name in the list of Aberdeen Commissioners appointed by the king is

that of George, fifth Earl Marischal, who was, ten years later, to found a university in New Aberdeen. By April of the following year, they had drawn up a report, which they had placed in the hands of Principal Arbuthnot. The Assembly, which met in April, 1583, appointed a committee to examine the new foundation embodied in the Commissioner's report, and to visit the college, to take trial of the members, that they be sufficient and qualified, conforme to the new erectione." One of this committee was Andrew Melville. They reported to the Assembly of October, 1583; and their proceedings and recommendations were fully approved of. We have then reached this point: In October, 1583, there was a Nova Fundatio, prepared by a commission, appointed partly by the king and partly by the Assembly, examined by a committee of the Assembly, and, finally, confirmed by that court.

The secret history of King's College at this date would prove exceedingly interesting reading, if it were available to us. There was a party bitterly opposed to the Nova Fundatio. It would likely be led by the canonist, civilist, and mediciner, whose functions were abolished by the document in question. Since both Parliament and Assembly were in agreement with Melville and the Earl Marischal, application was made to the King himself to interfere in favour

of the old foundation. On the 25th May, 1583, King James VI. wrote from Holyrood :— "We are surlie informed that at this last generall assemblie it is desyrit by some persones . . . to pervert the ordour of the foundatione establi-shed be our progenitors and estaites of our realme. Quhairfore we will and command you to observe and keipe the heides of your funda-tione, and in no wayes to hurt the funds, ay and quhill the estaites be convenit to ane parlia-ment, at quhilk tyme we will cause see quhat is to be reformit thairin. And this ye do upone your obedience as ye will answer unto us therupone, notwithstanding any ordour taken presentlie or to be taken thairin in any sort thairanent, and keep this our lettre for your warrand." What the Assembly enjoined, the King, then, forbade.

Matters were in this condition when Arbuth-not died. His successor was Walter Stuart, who had been previously sub-principal. Stuart belonged to the party of Melville and Arbuth-not ; for, immediately after his accession to office, a petition was sent to the King and the Parliament, by "the maisters of the college of Abirdene," asking that the Nova Fundatio might be considered by the chancellor of the kingdom, the secretary of the kingdom, the clerk of register, and the Bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen. The record of the meeting of Parliament on the 22nd August, 1584, says :—

"Our soverane lord and thre estaittis gevis and grantis full pouer and commissioun to the personis above writtin to visite and considder the forme of the said fundatioun and to report their jugement and opinioun therof to the saidis estaittis to the effect that the same being found formale and in gudeorder may be confermit and approved." Thirteen years elapsed before any further steps were taken. The Earl Marischal, a strong supporter of the new foundation, gave up all hope of seeing it introduced into King's College, and, in 1593, founded the university which bears his name.

In 1592, Principal Stuart died. He was succeeded by David Rait, who had filled successively the offices of humanist, regent, and sub-principal. Five years after Rait's appointment, the question of the Nova Fundatio was again raised in Parliament. On the 16th December, 1597, the foundation was sanctioned, subject to a revision to be made by "his hienes commissioneris appointit to that effect, viz., Mr Johnne Lyndesay of Balcarhous, his mateis (Majesty's) secretar, Mr James Elphingstoun of Barntoun, . . . and Mr David Cunynghame, bischop of Abirdene." An Act of Parliament was ordered to be drawn up in accordance with their emendations, but we have no evidence that this was done. Here the references in public documents end, and histories

like those of Calderwood and Spottiswood throw no further light on the subject. Nor can anything be gleaned from the college records of this date. We shall meet with the difficulty again.

Meanwhile let us proceed to examine the foundation itself. The original document, if ever there was a properly ratified original, is no longer in existence. But we possess some copies of it. One of these has been printed by Mr Anderson in his "Officers and Graduates," along with much valuable information on the subject. The charter represents the king as anxious to place Aberdeen on an equal footing with St Andrews and Glasgow, by giving it a constitution similar to the foundations which had recently been granted to those universities. It also confirms all the ancient grants that had been made to the college, and confers on it several new endowments, including the revenues of the deanery of Aberdeen, the Churches of Forvie, Spittal, and Methlic, and the chaplainries of Westhall and Folla Rule. These new grants had already been made to the university, so that their legality was not affected by the question of the validity of the charter. King James had conferred them on the 10th September, 1574.

The number of members of the college is to be only twenty-two, consisting of a principal, four regents, twelve bursars, a grammarian, an

economus, a cook, and two servants. The duties, salaries, and mode of election of all these is detailed in the charter.

With the office of principal are combined the duties of the professorship of theology, and of the incumbency of the parish of St Machar. He is responsible for the government and discipline of the college. His salary is fixed at "twenty-four bolls of corn and two hundred merks Scots." The body of electors is different from that under the old system. In addition to various officials of the college, including the chancellor and the rector, the principals of St Andrews and Edinburgh and the minister of New Aberdeen are to have a share in choosing a principal. This is the first mention in the college documents of the University of Edinburgh, which had been founded in 1584.

The most important change — excepting the abolition of the canonist, the civilist, and the mediciner — is made in the duties of the four regents. They are now to devote their attention to one department only, instead of conducting a class through the whole curriculum. This manifest improvement was due to the wisdom and foresight of Melville, who had introduced the system into St Andrews. One of the regents is to be sub-principal.

The twelve bursars, or poor students, are to be chosen by examination. The charter clearly

contemplates the attendance of more students than these twelve ; for fees are fixed, varying according to the rank of the student. All entrants are to take an oath of loyalty to the reformed religion. Conversation is to be carried on in Latin or in Greek, and no student is to carry arms. In order that nothing may interfere with the progress of the students all holidays are abolished ("omnes consuetas olim a studiis vacationes aboleri penitus.")

The economus is to conjoin his own functions with those which had belonged to the procurator. He is to take charge of the revenues as well as of the provisions. The cook is also to act as gardener, and the two servants are to attend on the principal and the sub-principal.

A grammar school is to be erected outside the college, and the grammarian is to give instruction there as well as within the walls. Some further regulations forbid the masters to hold offices outside the college, and to feu the college property without the express consent of the chancellor, rector, principal, and certain other members. All the members named in the foundation are to live within the college except the grammarian. If any bursar disobey, he is to be punished ("admonitus et castigatus"), and, if he persist, to be expelled. Women are prohibited from entering the college, and no exception is to be made even in the case of wives and daughters of the masters.

The rector is mentioned in the Fundatio. He is to be elected by means of "nations;" and we have here the earliest indications of the division into nations in Aberdeen. The names are the same as they are to-day—Mar, Buchan, Moray, and Angus. The diocese of Aberdeen is divided into the two nations of Mar and Buchan. Moray is to comprise the rest of Scotland north of the Grampians, and Angus covers the whole of Scotland south of that range. In the first account of the election of a Rector, which we possess, the nations are, however, Aberdeen, Angus, Moray, and Lothian. The date of this is 1634, and the nations continued to be so named at King's College till 1856, except that Aberdeen was changed to Mar in 1640. The dean or titular head of the faculty, who had been named, but not defined, by Elphinstone and Dunbar, is to be chosen by the rector, chancellor, principal, regents, and the minister of Aberdeen.

So far, it cannot be denied that the Nova Fundatio is worthy of praise. It brings the university into line with the requirements of the new age. Its provisions bear witness to the ability of Melville, to whom, from an educational standpoint, the country owes much. But even Melville had his limitations, and the rebound from the Aristotelian slavery of the Middle Ages carried him too far.

Although the Schoolmen had rendered philosophy a useless burden to the memory, it did not follow that the great subjects of physics and metaphysics should cease to be taught in our colleges. Yet, this was virtually the intention of the Nova Fundatio. We have its list of arts subjects. Physiology, geography, astrology, history, and Hebrew are assigned to the sub-principal. Another regent is to explain "the principles of reasoning from the best Greek and Latin authors, with practice in writing and speaking;" and a third is to lecture upon Greek and read the more elementary Latin and Greek authors. The functions of the remaining regent correspond most nearly to the older system. He is to teach arithmetic and geometry, and along with them, a portion of Aristotle's Organon, Ethics, and Politics, and the "De Officiis" of Cicero. The philosophical part of the curriculum was thus not entirely neglected, but it was relegated to quite a subordinate position, and complaints were made that the university was being reduced to the level of a grammar school. It is difficult to understand why the offices of mediciner and civilist were abolished in the foundation. The canonist was no longer necessary; but the Reformation had certainly not obviated the need of instruction in medicine or in civil law.

CHAPTER X.

BISHOP PATRICK FORBES: THE ROYAL VISITATION OF 1619: THE CHAIR OF DIVINITY.

We are to think of the college about the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth as governed, to some extent, in accordance with the Nova Fundatio. The offices of canonist, civilist, and mediciner were allowed to lapse, and for over twenty years neither law nor medicine was taught in the university. We do not know if the regulation of the Nova Fundatio confining the regents to one subject was in practice before 1600. The list of entrants in arts, which begins in 1601, shows that by that time the old system had been restored—if, indeed, it was ever abolished at all. Arbuthnot may have made an effort to carry out the scheme of Melville, but his successors in office were satisfied with the old arrangement.

A very puzzling question arises in connection with a temporary abandonment of the custom of "regenting," and it may be as well to discuss it here. The regents continued to conduct their classes through the entire curriculum up to session 1627-28. But the table showing the sequence of regents, drawn up by Mr Anderson,

and inserted in his "Officers and Graduates," proves that during session 1628-29 and the twelve immediately succeeding sessions, the professorial system was in force. Further, the regents who contributed to the "Funerals" of Bishop Patrick Forbes, in 1635, style themselves "professors." David Leech, for example, is professor of physiology and lower mathematics, and John Lundie of literæ humaniores. A visitation was held by the chancellor, Bishop Forbes, in 1628. Only one enactment then made has been preserved, and it is comparatively trivial. The visitation took place in May, and the alteration was made at the ensuing session; so that it is reasonable to connect the two facts. It is, in some degree, a confirmation of this view that one of the visitors was Dr Patrick Dun, who was then both mediciner at King's College and Principal at Marischal, where professors taught at that time separate subjects.

It is more difficult to explain the recurrence to the old method after session 1640-41. The following occurs in the Senatus minutes of 8th June, 1641:—"The said day the haill memberis of uniforme consent for the maist pairt have appoyntit that the sub-principall and regents shall follow ther scollaris and continow with thame frae ther entrie till they be laureat, and so forth in tyme cuming; . . . and in all tyme thereafter to

follow ther scollaris from the first class quhill they be laureat." Regenting was adopted in Marischal College about the same time, but we are unable to tell why. If the reason for instituting a professoriate in 1628 is doubtful, the cause of its abandonment in 1641 is a complete mystery.

The lists inform us how many students at this time entered the college. In 1601, there were fourteen, and in 1602 twelve ; in 1604, thirty-eight, and, in 1612, twenty-five. Things were certainly much better than when Randolph visited Aberdeen, and found only fifteen or sixteen students altogether. In 1604, the total reached by the four years combined makes seventy-eight—assuming that all the entrants of the previous three years had returned to their classes. We possess also the lists of graduates of this date. Of the fourteen who entered in 1601, eight graduated in 1605 ; of the thirty-eight who entered in 1604, sixteen graduated in 1608.

Little information can be gathered from the College records till we come to the Royal visitation of 1619. The official papers show that feus were being granted by the College, and that a difficulty was occasionally experienced in recovering payment. There had been some additional endowments. Of one deed of gift the university has not yet been able to take advantage. In 1593 William Meldrum, vicar of

Peterculter, gave funds, invested abroad, for the maintenance of four bursars in King's College. But the money was not to be available till the return of Scotland to obedience to the Papal See; the Scots Colleges at Douay and Louvain to have the revenues in the interval.

The names of most of the officials have come down to us, but not many were men of note. William Gordon, who held the See of Aberdeen at the Reformation, had joined the successful party, and remained unmolested till his death in 1577. The next two chancellors are known to us from Wodrow's "Biographical Collections." David Cunningham was appointed after the death of Gordon. Wodrow refers to him as "this Tulchan bishop"; but Spottiswood calls him "a grave, wise, and learned man." In 1600 Cunningham was succeeded by Peter Blackburn, who had been with Melville at Glasgow. Calderwood says in reference to him:—"He was said to be ever more mindful of a purse and five hundred marks in it, which he keeped in his bosome, than anything else"; but Wodrow speaks of him with commendation. On Blackburn's death, in 1616, Alexander Forbes became bishop. He lived for only a year after his appointment. The year 1618 brings us to the great name of Patrick Forbes, whose interest in the university was such that he has been called its second founder.

Patrick Forbes was the eldest son of William Forbes of Corse, and belonged to a family well known in the north of Scotland. He was born on August 24th, 1564. His early education was received at Stirling. Thence he was sent to the University of Glasgow, the principal of which was Andrew Melville, to whom Forbes was related. When Melville was transferred to St Andrews, Forbes accompanied him, and, soon after, shared his master's exile in England. On his return to Scotland he lived for some time near Montrose, and, after his father's death, went to reside at Corse. Gradually he drifted away from the Presbyterian principles which had been instilled into him by the Melvilles, and finally allied himself with the opposite party. "Now," says Wodrow, "that he had come over the difficultys he once had against Episcopall government, and, joyning with it, the bishops made a great deal of him; and they had reason, for he was among the most considerable a man as they had brought over to their side." After serving the Church as minister at Keith, he became, in 1618, Bishop of Aberdeen. In this capacity he not only proved himself a zealous pastor, but did much for the universities of his diocese, and took a prominent part in controversies of the period. While he was strongly opposed to the introduction of the English liturgy, he "did not think [it] the interest either of Church or State to yield

meanly to the perversity of some who stood out against holy Scripture, Catholick antiquity, and the practise of all Reformed Churches, and set up their own will in their room." His opponents regarded him with respect, although he was uncompromising in his treatment of those who did not conform to legal requirements. James Melville speaks of him as "guide, godly, and kynd Patrick Forbes of Cors," and Wodrow passes several encomiums upon him. Those on his own side held him in the greatest reverence. Archbishop Spottiswood wrote to Forbes's son, the famous Dr John Forbes — "So wyse, judicious; so grave and graceful a pastor I have not known in all my time, in anie church."

The affection felt for Bishop Forbes in Aberdeen was very marked at the time of his death, which occurred on the 28th March, 1635. He had collected round him the scholars known to all the learned world as the "Aberdeen Doctors." Among these the name of Forbes was pre-eminent, for it was held by four of the best known — Bishop Patrick himself, his brother, and his son, and Principal (afterwards Bishop) William Forbes. Many eulogies were written in commemoration of him. Arthur Johnston, David Leech, and David Wedderburn penned his praises in elegant Latin verse. The Bishops of Moray, Ross, Brechin, and Edinburgh combined with his successor in Aberdeen to pay

tributes to his memory. The learned men, who owed so much to him, mourned his loss in words which indicate personal love and gratitude. His "Commentary on the Apocalypse" and his other writings hold a place in the history of religious thought. The name of Patrick Forbes is still honoured in the University, the prosperity of which lay so near his heart. His episcopal throne stands in its chapel, and his portrait adorns the wall of its Senate Chamber. The names of Elphinstone, Dunbar, and Forbes form the "apostolic succession" of its history.

The affairs of King's College attracted the attention of the Scots Parliament in 1617, and, on the 28th June of that year, an Act was passed "ratifying all the foundations and donations made to the college, with its privileges." Some difficulty had arisen as to the appointment of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, for it was now fixed that the principal should be dean. Two years later, King James appointed the Bishop of Aberdeen and some others to examine into the state of King's and Marischal Colleges, and report to the Privy Council. In so doing, the King acted on the advice of the Chancellor of the University, the distinguished occupant of the See of Aberdeen.

The Commissioners met at King's College on the 14th September, 1619; and it is the record of their proceedings that gives us our next detailed information.

Bishop Patrick Forbes and his colleagues did not find the university in a flourishing condition. There was no canonist, mediciner, nor civilist; and the only officials who appeared before the Commission were the principal, David Rait, the sub-principal, Patrick Guthrie, and three regents. These were called upon to produce legal proof of their appointment, but none of them could do so, for "formall and cannonicall electioun had fallen away." The teaching was not satisfactory, and the principal, in particular, was found deficient in this respect, "as haifing the yeir preceiding taught nothing but sum few preceptis of the Hebrew grammer, and for practise thairof onlie the first psalme." If Rait did not teach, it was not from want of knowledge. He was the first post-Reformation Doctor of Divinity, and is usually spoken of as a man of learning. The rubric of Leech's memorial poem on Bishop Patrick Forbes calls him "clarissimum et venerabilem."

Monetary matters were even in a worse condition than was the teaching. The principal had undertaken the duties of Procurator in defiance of a rule to the contrary; for by the old foundation, the principal was intended to check the procurator's accounts, and by the Nova Erectio, the office of procurator was conjoined with that of economus. The revenues of the college had been very badly managed. The

commissioners found that Rait had "not onlie bene negligent but also harmefull," by granting feus upon too easy terms, "quhairthrow the yeirlie ravenewis of the said colledge wes reducit to small importance, and as he alledgit wes presentlie thrie thoosand pundis in his debt." It was also noted that graduation fees were "invertit to privat use," and that "nocht-withstanding ilk burser had payet at his entrie to the colledge a silver spoone or the price thairof, that thair wes in all the colledge but sex silver spoones, and no moir silver wark of ony kynd."

Other regulations had also been disregarded. The members were not all living within the walls ("collegialiter.") The gate was not kept by a bursar, as it ought to have been, but by "ane porter hyrit and feit." The buildings had become very much dilapidated, no money having been put aside for their maintenance, "quhairthrow the haill place is becum ruinous." The churches which had been incorporated with the university were not supplied with ministers, and the Commissioners found "lamentable hethenisme and sic lowsnes as is horrible to record, albeit evin about the cathedral kirk of the dyocie."

For all this the principal was called to account; but the Commissioners, "rather than they suld be forced to proceid to a sentence against him," came to an agreement with him

for the restoration of the buildings. He undertook to supply the vacant churches with ministers, to thoroughly repair the buildings "with leid whair leid wes, sklaittis quhair sklaitt wes, aik quhair aik is, fir quhair fir is," and to equip it with "table clothes and utheris necessar for the table." All this was to be done within a year, to the satisfaction of the Bishop, and some workmen were to be appointed for the purpose, who had, in the first instance, to decide what repairs were needful. He also promised to "free the colledge of all debt" within four years, and he was allowed to continue in the Procuratorship for that space of time. If he failed to perform all this, he was to pay two thousands merks besides losing anything that the college might be owing him. There were also certain stipulations made in case of Rait's death before the end of the time specified.

The Commission elected a rector, a canonist, a civilist, a mediciner, and a grammarian ; thus restoring the old foundation. Orem says that the canonist "was only titular, and had no salary." It was only their desire to restore the old arrangement as fully as possible that led the Commissioners to appoint a canonist at all.

Four years later the Commission again met to see if the principal had fulfilled his portion of the agreement. The record is a very tantalising one. It gives us the list of repairs which had been made out by the workmen appointed to

investigate the state of the buildings, and then suddenly breaks off without informing us whether Rait had satisfied the commissioners or not. The document will be cited when we come to discuss the college buildings. We may assume that the agreement had been, at least partially, carried out by 1623, for Rait kept his office till his death, nine years later.

Matters were, therefore, far from satisfactory when the century was twenty years old. It is easy to blame the principal, and it cannot be doubted that he was in many respects blameworthy. But, on the evidence before us, we are not shut up to the conclusion that he was guilty of more than gross negligence. There is no hint of peculation on his part in the report the commission made. The principal was asked to make good the deficiency, simply because he was the person responsible. It was a period of transition, and nobody knew even to what foundation the college was expected to conform. The Chancellors had been careless and inactive. We know definitely of the appointment of only one rector between 1592 and 1618. As to the silver spoons, we cannot be absolutely certain that these had been actually demanded from the bursars; and, if they had been, there is nothing to connect the principal, personally, with their disappearance. The times were troublous, and even a vigorous man at the head of the college

would have found it difficult to keep matters in good order. Rait was not a vigorous man. Leech speaks of him as "oppressed with old age and many cares."

Before proceeding to the visitations which were made in 1628 and 1638, we shall mention the most notable gift of Bishop Patrick Forbes to the college. Impressed with the insufficient instruction which the students in theology were receiving from Principal Rait, he secured the co-operation of the presbyteries of his diocese in instituting a chair of theology in King's College. The sum of ten thousand merks was collected, and, on the 27th April, 1620, John Forbes, the second son of the bishop, was appointed professor of divinity. Six years later, the money was invested in the lands of Cairntradlyn in the parish of Kinellar, which are still in possession of the university, and bring in to the college exchequer over £400 a year. The contract between the Bishop and William Forbes of Craigievar, to whom the ground had belonged, was confirmed in a charter under the great seal in 1642. In this document the mode of appointment was laid down. As the method is still adhered to, it deserves some particular notice.

Bishop Forbes had decided to keep the patronage in the hands of the donors. But the ecclesiastical situation changed after his death,

and in the list of patrons in the deed of 1642 there is no mention of a bishop. The chair is to be conferred after a competition. The examiners are to be the moderator of the Provincial Synod of Aberdeen, two commissioners from each of the presbyteries in the synod, the principal, and one professor of the university, and the dean or other suitable member of the faculty of divinity. The subjects of examination are interesting as showing what was expected of the occupant of the chair of Systematic Theology in 1642. The candidates are to be examined in Hebrew and Greek, in Latin, in history—sacred and secular, so far as it is relevant to the subject—in ecclesiastical controversies, in philosophy, and in the Scriptures. A disputation is to take place in connection with the examination in controversies—"That he be well versed in all religious controversies, and for this purpose, some special controversy shall be intimated to him by the examiners, on which he shall give an exercise, and shall sustain his positions and disputations." The examining body is still composed in the prescribed manner, and the arrangements for the examination are those of the charter, somewhat adapted to modern requirements.

The charter is dated on the 12th March, 1642. By that time Dr John Forbes no longer occupied the chair. He had resigned it in

1634, on being elected to the third charge of Aberdeen. His successor was a brilliant youth, Andrew Strachan, who died about a year after his appointment. He lies buried in the College Chapel. On his death, John Forbes was again chosen professor, and held office till his deposition on the 20th April, 1641.

CHAPTER XI.

THE VISITATION OF 1638. THE ABOLITION OF EPISCOPACY.

The next important date in the history of King's College is the Visitation of 1638, when the difficulty about the Nova Fundatio again meets us. Before treating of it, however, a few minor matters claim our attention.

On the death of Patrick Forbes, in 1635, Adam Bellenden became Bishop of Aberdeen. He was deposed, along with the other bishops, in 1638, and died nine years after. The most famous rectors of the period were Dr John Forbes, the Professor of Divinity, and Arthur Johnston. Principal Rait died in 1632. He was succeeded by Dr William Leslie, who had been sub-principal since 1623. He, too, was deposed, in 1639, for refusing to sign the Covenant. Orem tells us that "he was in very great esteem for his learning."

On the 2nd May, 1628, a visitation was held by Bishop Forbes. Only one enactment is known to have been made on that occasion. It had become usual for students, at graduation times, to invite the professors to banquets. Their parents complained

of the expense thus incurred, and the authorities at this time suppressed the custom. These enacted that there were to be no more such banquets—"except it sall please the saidis studentis so to be graduat, [at] the tyme of their examination and tryallis and graduatioun, to bestow upoun the saidis maisteris and examinatouris ane drinke upoune fute for recreatioun allanerlie without anie forder addition." Part of the money thus saved was claimed by the college. It was decreed that every graduand should pay four pounds Scots for books to the library; "and the names of the saidis contrabuitteris to be superscryvit to the saidis booke or bookes." The students might, if they cared, give a further donation of their "awin good will and intentioun," and might also make presents to their regent "by and attoure his ordinare stipend."

We must now resume consideration of the vexed question of the Nova Erectio. We found that the document known as the New Foundation, of which some account was given, must have been either the scheme approved by the Assembly and forbidden by the King, in 1583, or the arrangement which, in 1597, was ordered to be embodied in an Act of Parliament, after revision by Lindsay, Elphinstone, and Bishop Cunningham. In all probability the two were practically the

same. It will be remembered that, in 1619, Bishop Patrick Forbes found the Nova Fundatio, in some degree, observed, and that he restored the old foundation. He did so in accordance with a Royal command. King James, in a Parliament held at Edinburgh in March, 1619, had ordered the bishop to revive the old statutes. In 1633, on the 28th June, the Scots Parliament passed an Act to the following effect :—"Our Soverane Lord . . . confirmes all and sundrie the forsaids Auld Fundationes of the saids universitie and colledge of Auld Aberdeine . . . and approves the statuit and ordinance maid be his royall father of glorious memorie in his said Parliament holdin at Edinburgh" in 1619. The Act of 1617, quoted in the previous chapter, had ratified the "haill foundatiouns" of the college, so that, altogether, the legal references to the matter between 1597 and 1638 are on the side of the validity of the old foundation.

About 1637, when Presbyterianism was again in the ascendant, an effort was made to have the Nova Erectio imposed upon the college. It was represented to King Charles I. that his father had conferred a new constitution upon the University, and that it had fallen into disuse, although it was properly confirmed by "king, councell, bishope, and members of the college." The king, in a letter,

dated 7th October, 1637, which is, unfortunately, not extant, ordered its re-establishment. This would have meant the suppression, a second time, of the offices of canonist, civilist, and mediciner, and these members of the college, or others acting in their interest, furnished the king with information of an opposite kind. Charles, accordingly, ordered the Marquis of Huntly to proceed with some colleagues to Aberdeen and confirm the old foundation. A commission had been appointed in the previous year to carry out the provisions of the first Royal letter, but had not met, owing, no doubt, to the fact that further orders were expected from Court. The same Commission was now instructed to begin work. "We . . . . ar now informed," says the King, "that the principall and four regents of philosophie haveing these many yeires bein lyabill to the censure of deprivation through manifest contempt and violation of their originall foundation, ar now of lait come to that hight of presumption as to abolish as much as in thame lyeth, the ancient and trew foundation, so often ratiefeit, and to bring in a new one of thair awin forgeing, ... so to extinguish the professiones of law and medecin."

The Commission, thus appointed and with these instructions, met at King's College on April 12th, 1638, under the presidency of

George, second Marquis of Huntly. The Earl of Findlater and Bishop Bellenden accompanied him. They found the college divided into two factions. On the one side were the rector, Arthur Johnston, Principal Leslie, the sub-principal, the humanist, and three regents. On the other were William Gordon, the professor of medicine, and James Sandilands, the canonist.

The numerically stronger party placed in the hands of the visitors a statement of the case for the new foundation. They pointed out the contradictory nature of the two Royal letters, argued that the commissioners must act in accordance with the terms of the one that had been written after receiving the true statement of the case, and claimed for the first letter the preference in that respect. They denied that they had forged a foundation, asserted that the Nova Erectio was confirmed in 1597, and offered to produce witnesses "who hes both sen and red it." Finally, they alleged that the original had been "secretlie destroyed and burnt be privat persones having no publict warrand." This was read on the 12th April, and the canonist and the mediciner were ordered to state their case on the following day.

The two professors, who were most deeply interested in the Commission's decision, began their statement by submitting that it was extremely unlikely that King James would have given his consent to such a document as the

Nova Fundatio. They denied that it had ever been ratified or confirmed, and pointed out that it was of pecuniary advantage to the Principal and his friends to support it. "How could it be possible," they asked, "if the said King James haid so laitlie abefoir made such a new fundation contrarie to the true originall, that he sould so soone become so oblivious of his owin deid, or so changable in short space, as in his Parliament, 1617, to make no mentione of his new foundatione; . . . and theirefter, in anno 1619, to direct a commissione under the gryt seall for re-establishing of all the said professiones [*i.e.*, law and medicine], in doctrine, discipline, and stipendis according to the originall fundation?" They contended that it was absurd to send youths abroad to study medicine, when money had been given for teaching them at home. In closing, they demanded proof of the burning of the Nova Fundatio, which, their opponents had asserted, had been done by Bishop Patrick Forbes.

The decision of the Commission was, of course, a foregone conclusion. The Commissioners had been sent to maintain the old arrangement, and they did so. They made an injunction that everything was to remain *in statu quo*, "so to continew ay and quhill his majestie be pleased to give forder order in the business."

What, then, are we to make of the discussion? It is scarcely possible to speak with any precision. Contemporary writers give us no help. Gordon, in his "Scots Affairs," asserts that the Nova Fundatio was prepared by Principal Rait, and presented to James VI., "and it went neer to be ratifyd in Parliament had it not been opposed by Secretair Elphinstoune." He adds—"That paper coming afterwards into the hands of Bishop Patrick Forbes, with a sollicitatione for him to set it anew on foote, he threw it into the fyre, where it ended." The reference is interesting, but it does not solve the difficulty. The most probable explanation is that the Nova Fundatio never became an Act of Parliament at all, owing to the opposition of James Elphinstone, who was to revise it. Its confirmation by the Assembly in 1583, and the fact that it came so near being made an Act in 1597, would give it a certain amount of authority. Under Rait, it was nominally in force till the Forbes visitation of 1619, and, then, during the Presbyterian reaction which began twenty years later, this fruitless attempt was made to revive it. The whole question was really bound up with the great religious controversy of the day.

Some information is available regarding the life of the college during the period of

Episcopalian ascendency that closed in 1640. The college decided, in 1634, that each faculty was to elect its own Dean; the rector to have a casting vote. This is the method now in force. The office of cantor was revived in 1634, when Gilbert Ross, "maister of the musick scoole of Auld Abirdine," undertook the duties. The session began on the 29th September, and lasted till the 15th July. If the bursars did not attend at the commencement of the session, they were deprived of their bursaries. Those students who did not attend the first year's classes were examined before being admitted to the more advanced ones. An assistant was given to the grammarian to help him with the work of the grammar school. Every Sunday, the grammarian assembled his own students, and questioned them on the sermon which they had just heard.

But the political troubles of the time interfered with these arrangements. The presbyterian party came into power, and a second "purging" of the college took place. The Royal Commission had visited the college in April, 1638. In July of the same year, there arrived a body of leading Covenanters, including Montrose and Alexander Henderson, who was afterwards to have the famous discussion with King Charles at Newcastle. The academical and ecclesiastical authorities of Aberdeen wished to hold a conference on the subjects under dispute, but this was refused.

Montrose and his friends retired without having effected anything beyond receiving the signature to the Covenant of William Guild, one of the Aberdeen ministers, whom Gordon, who tells the story in his "Scots Affairs," speaks of as "a man of little learning." In November of the same year, the famous "Glasgow Assembly" was held. The college was still loyalist and Episcopalian, for, in the following December, the Senatus severely reprimanded the grammarian, John Lundie, for remaining in the Assembly "efter his majesties commissioner in assemblie and his majesties proclamatioun at the croce of Glasgow hed discharged the said assemblie and all the procedour thereof." Lundie had asked a visitation of Assembly for the college.

The crisis came in 1639. In the early part of the year, Montrose marched with his army to Aberdeen, and forcibly converted it to Covenanting principles. In April, the King's College authorities were summoned to meet a committee in Greyfriars Church, but they did not appear, and no more was heard of the summons. In accordance with the edict of last Assembly, Bishop Bellenden was deposed from his office, and the University lost its Chancellor. A Commission of Assembly came to King's College in May and deposed Principal Leslie, and Alexander Scroggie, a regent "who was fled of set

purpoiss" from the meeting. The sub-principal, two regents, the grammarian, the cantor, the sacrist appeared, along with the canonist and the mediciner. "They all," says Spalding in his "History of the Troubles in Scotland," "subscrivit the Covenant in this committee." The submission of the cantor did not save him, for he was "dischargeit as ane unprofitabill member." The canonist was also dismissed, but a subsequent Assembly gave him leave "to teiche *de matrimonio*, *testamentis*, and *teyndis*."

These proceedings, however, were only preliminary. It was announced that, on the 15th May, the whole college would be summoned and sit in order. Only one person attended, for, says Spalding—"Their wes no studentes in the college at this tyme, becauss thay had all fled befoir the incuming of the army." The matriculation lists show that eleven students had entered in October, 1638. In the beginning of the year, the Senatus, fearing something of this kind, had dismissed the students, but things settled down in the meanwhile, and they "reconvein schortlie thair scolleris, and ilk man fell to his owne studdie and charge calmlie and quietlie." (Spalding I., 140.)

About Michaelmas, teaching was resumed, although no principal had been appointed. Leslie had returned to Aberdeen in August, and

had taken up residence within the college, but made no attempt to interfere with its management. In April, 1640, the canonist was dismissed, and his office abolished; he was, however, appointed civilist. In July, the Assembly met in Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen, and again passed sentence of deposition on Principal Leslie, who now left Aberdeen, and was received into the household of the Marquis of Huntly. Professor John Forbes, who had been away when Leslie was deposed in 1639, was dealt with by this Assembly. An effort seems to have been made to induce him to change sides. The Covenanting writer, Baillie, says:—"Dr Forbes's ingenuitie pleased us so well, that we have given him yet tyme for advysement." Sentence was, therefore, deferred. In the month of August, William Guild was made principal in room of Leslie. In April, 1641, Dr Forbes was finally deposed, because he "refuisit to subscrive and sueir our covenant." About the same time, the revenues of the See of Aberdeen were divided between King's and Marischal Colleges in the proportion of two to one. The Episcopal residence was given to the Principal of King's College to be used as a manse.

We have now come to the end of the second period of the history of the university. The first epoch closes with the deposition of Anderson in 1569, the second with

that of Leslie in 1639. During the remaining portion of its history, with the exception of the interval between the Restoration and the Revolution, the administration of the university has been associated with the Presbyterian form of Church government. For some time, the General Assembly guided academic affairs; but the control of the universities was finally taken in hand by Parliament itself.

CHAPTER XII.

THE "ABERDEEN DOCTORS." KING CHARLES'S UNIVERSITY. THE COLLEGE UNDER PRINCIPAL GUILD.

Around Bishop Patrick Forbes there gathered a crowd of poets and scholars, who made the name of Aberdeen famous in every part of the learned world. Even before this time King's College had produced a great writer in the person of Bishop John Leslie. Bishop Patrick Forbes, his brother, and his son, Principal William Leslie, Dr James Sibbald, and Dr Alexander Scroggie now formed the contribution of the older college to the list of great theologians, who were known as the "Aberdeen doctors." Of Principal (afterwards Bishop) William Forbes and Dr Robert Barron, we shall speak in connection with Marischal College.

The foremost place is usually given to John Forbes, the son of the Bishop of Aberdeen. He was educated at King's College, and proceeded thence to Heidelberg and Sedan. On his return to Aberdeen he became, at the early age of twenty-six, the first professor of divinity in King's College. After his deposition, in 1641, he retired to Holland, but was allowed to

return in 1646, and spent the remainder of his days on the family estate at Corse. A short time before he died he asked the permission of the Presbytery of Aberdeen to be laid, after death, in his father's cathedral church; but the request was refused. He died on the 29th April, 1648.

Forbes wrote two political works, both appealing for peace—"Irenicum amatoribus veritatis et pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana," and "A peaceable warning to the subjects in Scotland." Both were printed by Raban, the famous Aberdeen printer—the former in 1629 and the latter in 1638. Archbishop Usher spoke of the "Irenicum" in terms of the highest commendation. To the volume entitled "Funerals of a Right Reverend Father in God, Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdeen," John Forbes contributed some Latin verses, a Latin sermon, and a dissertation "De Visione Beatifica." His inaugural theses on Freewill and the Sacraments were published at Edinburgh in 1620. In Holland, he wrote a portion of his *magnum opus*, the unfinished "Instructiones Historico-Theologicae," which was abridged by Arnoldus Mantanus in 1663, and to it was prefixed the laudatory judgment of many great Continental theologians. In later days, Bishop Burnet of Salisbury wrote of it as "a work which, if he had finished it, and had been suffered to enjoy the privacies of his retirement and study to

give us the second volume, had been the greatest treasure of theological learning that, perhaps, the world has yet received."

John Forbes, the brother of the bishop, was minister at Alford, and is spoken of as "a pious and learned man, famous by his writings abroad and at home." Unlike the rest of his name, he espoused the Presbyterian cause, and was Moderator of the Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1605. For this, he was imprisoned and banished, "and," says Wodrow, "dyed minister of Delf, in Holland." Dr Sibbald was minister of the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen, and Dr Scroggie of Oldmachar. Both received the Doctorate of Divinity from King's College — Scroggie in 1627, and Sibbald in the following year. They were deposed along with the University officials in 1639. Gordon, in his "Scots Affairs" refers favourably to them.

Even more remarkable than the rise of these learned Divines, was the outburst of poetry which characterised the period. The Latin poetry of Aberdeen is inseparably associated with the great name of Arthur Johnston. Tradition has it that he was educated at Marischal College, and, as his brother, William, was so closely connected with that University, it will be better to give an account of him in a later chapter.

Of his contemporary, David Wedderburn, whose name has already occurred, something may be said here.

Wedderburn was born at Aberdeen, and passed his life there. We do not know at which university he studied. In 1602, immediately after graduating, he was appointed master of the Grammar School in conjunction with Thomas Reid, afterwards secretary to James VI. He taught in both colleges, supplying a vacancy in the principalship of Marischal College in 1614, and being humanist at King's College in 1619. He retained his position in the Grammar School till 1640, when he was pensioned by the Town Council. He died in 1646. His chief claim to fame rests on his Latin poetry. He was the author of a large number of fugitive pieces, a list of which is given by Joseph Robertson in his "Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff." Wedderburn was a grammarian as well as a poet. He published "A Short Introduction to Grammar," and "Institutiones Grammaticae," the latter of which was printed by Raban in 1633. His last work of this nature was entitled "Vocabula, cum aliis Latinae linguae subsidiis." We know from the Town Council Register that it was in use in the Grammar School in 1700. After Wedderburn's death, his brother, Alexander, published an edition of Persius from a manuscript which David Wedderburn

had left. It was printed by Daniel Elzevir at Amsterdam in 1664. Wedderburn was styled by his old schoolmate, Dempster, as "utriusque linguae doctissimus." Vossius called him "homo doctissimus et nostri etiam amicus," and he was an intimate friend of Arthur Johnston.

John and David Leech were also closely connected with King's College. We know almost nothing of the personal history of John. He graduated at King's College in 1614, and seems to have been in France about 1620. He was a voluminous author, his most famous work being his "Epigrams." He also wrote a Latin grammar. David Leech had a very chequered career. He entered King's College in 1620, and graduated in 1624. His name may be seen carved in various places on the oak screen in the College Chapel. He became a regent in 1627, and subprincipal in 1632. In accordance with the method of Bishop Patrick Forbes, whereby the regents were, after a term of service, appointed to a ministerial charge—an attempt to revive Elphinstone's provision regarding the regents—Leech became, in 1638, minister of Ellon. He at first declined to take the Covenant, but "gave obedience to the kirk" in 1640. He left in 1648, went with the Scottish army to England, acted as chaplain to Charles II., while the young monarch was with the Scots, and became

minister of Kemnay in 1650. He received the doctorate of divinity from his Alma Mater in 1653. In the same year he was deposed "for neglecting his charge." We do not know when he died. He was the author of various works, including "Parerga," a volume of Latin poetry, which should not be confused with the "Parerga" of Arthur Johnston.

The works of another Latin poet likewise deserve mention here. John Johnston, the author of "Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum," and "Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica lectissimi," was, it is said, educated at King's College in the sixteenth century. He studied also at Geneva, and, on his return, became a colleague of Andrew Melville in St Andrews, occupying the Chair of Divinity from 1593 to his death in 1611. Besides the "Inscriptiones" and the "Heroes," which are both in elegiac verse, he wrote a prose work on the consolations of Christianity, and some sacred poems. He was a member of the Crimond family, and thus related to Arthur Johnston.

But the day of the "Aberdeen Doctors" was over. Their work was done. Of them Gordon, in the "Scots Affairs," after describing the purging of the college, says:—"Thus the Assembly's errand was thoroughly done; thes eminent divynes of Aberdeen, either deada, deposed, or banished, in whom fell mor learning

than wes left behynde in all Scotlande besydes at that tyme. Nor has that cittye, nor any cittye in Scotland, ever since seen so many learned divynes and scollers at one tyme together as wer immediately befor this in Aberdeene. From that tyme fordwards learning beganne to be discountenanced; and such as wer knowing in antiquitie and in the wryttings of the fathers wer had in suspitione as men who smelled of Poperye."

With this digression we again take up the thread of our narrative. By 1641, the college was under Presbyterian management. In the preceding year Principal Guild had been appointed, and he held for three years the highest authority in the university, for no one was chosen to succeed Bishop Bellenden in the chancellorship till 1643. Two years previously, there had occurred the first attempt to unite the universities of Aberdeen. On the 17th November, 1641, an Act of the Scots Parliament was passed "to uneit and erect the tue colledgeis of Aberdene, viz., the old colledge thairof and the new, callit Marischellis Colledge, in ane joynt universitie to be callit in all tyme cumming King Charles' universitie." The colleges were to remain separate, and the rights of patronage were preserved to each as formerly. At whose instigation this was done is unknown. But it certainly originated with

the Presbyterian party, for the Act is conjoined with a grant of the rents of the bishopric of Aberdeen to the colleges.

This union continued for twenty years in the Statute Book, but was never really in operation, owing to the opposition of Marischal College. In January, 1643, a meeting of the united university was summoned for the purpose of electing a chancellor. The Marischal College members did not attend. The King's College dignitaries made choice of the unfortunate George Gordon, the second Marquis of Huntly. At a collegiate visitation, held in the end of the year, a letter was read from the Marischal College principal, Dr Dun, explaining the absence of himself and his colleagues. The reason assigned was "that they war not as yitt resolvit with thair patronis [the Marischal family] concerning the unioun of the colledgis, and of certain uther doubtis." In January, 1650, we find Principal Moir, who had succeeded Dun, present at the university meeting along with Principal Guild, of King's College, "and the remanent masteris of the universitie." The last clause seems to imply that other Marischal College members were present. Principal Moir was also present at a meeting in March of the same year.

The union of the universities is assumed in certain documents of this period. An Act of a Commission, of date 1642,

for making uniform the discipline of the universities reads as if it contemplated only one university in Aberdeen, and an ordinance "for the better support of the universities of Scotland," issued by Cromwell in 1654, speaks of the University of Aberdeen as embracing the two colleges. But the union had no effect upon the history of the universities. Possibly the chief reason for the opposition of Marischal College lay in the fact that, in accordance with the scheme, King's College received two-thirds of the revenues of the bishopric, and otherwise had the pre-eminence.

The "Universitas Carolina," after the Restoration, fell under the General Act Rescissory, passed by the Scots Parliament in 1661, annulling all Acts since 1633. Even after this, however, the title continued to be used; and, so late as the year 1714, in the graduation theses of Marischal College, dedicated to the last Earl Marischal, the style is "Collegium Marischallanum Universitatis Carolinae." In the next extant theses, those of 1721, it has changed to "Academia Nova Abredonensis."

In 1642 a commission, appointed, apparently, by the Assembly, met at St Andrews, and enacted "that in all the philosophie colledges of the said universities there be a uniforme course of doctrine, governament, and discipline, and that none admitt any students coming from one

college to another without a testimoniall from the college from whence they came." This was the first attempt to carry out the important principle of uniformity in the universities, which had been recognised to some extent in the first books of discipline, and by Andrew Melville. A commission from the Assembly met in 1647, and allowed the professor of divinity at King's College to take his place in meetings along with the other members.

In the same year each university appointed a representative to meet at Edinburgh and arrange a uniform course of study. We possess, in connection with this, a document of great value—the report of the college authorities on the subjects taught in Aberdeen during the time of Principal Guild. We shall quote it as it stands:—"Courses taught yeirly in the King's College of Aberdine:—

"The colledge sitteth downe in the beginning of October, and for the space of a moneth till the studentis be weill convened, both masters and schollaris are exercised with repetitiones and examinationis, quhich being done, the courses are begun about the first or second day of November.

"1. To the first classe is taught Clenard, Antesignanus; the greatest part of the New Testament; Basilius Magnus his epistle; ane oration of Isocrates; ane other of Demosthenes; a buik of Homer; Phocyllides, some of Nonni paraphrasis.

"2. To the second classe, Rami Dialectica; Vossii retorica; some elements of arithmetick; Porphyrie; Aristotill his categories, de interpretatione, and prior analyticks, both text and questiones.

"3. To the third classe, the rest of the logicks, twa first books of the ethicks, five chapteris of the third, with a compend of the particular writtis; the first fyve books of the generall phisicks, with some elements of geometrie.

"4. To the fourt classe, the bookes de coelo de ortu et interitu, de anima, the meteoris; sphera Jo. de Sacro bosco, with some beginningis of geography and insight in the globs and mappes.

"This to be understood, ordinarily, and in peaceable tymes."

In Aberdeen, then, Aristotle was still supreme in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is not surprising to find his ethical and logical works in vogue, but what is to be made of the Physics? It is scarcely credible that at this date any body of teachers could recommend to their pupils the physics of Aristotle. The advance of knowledge made this barely possible even in the preceding century. The explanation may lie in the practice of dictating, which was still in force. The teacher could make what selections he chose, and add what later information he happened to possess.

This custom of dictation was prohibited by the commissioners of whom we are speaking.

Reference is made to "the unprofitable and noxious paines in writeing," and it is "recommendit . . . that the Regentes spend not too much time in dyteing of thair notts; . . . that everie student have the texte of Aristotill in Greek, and that the Regent first analyse the text *viva voce*." If this provision was carried out, the Physics of Aristotle must have ceased to be taught, as physics.

We are able to compare this course of study with the courses in the other universities. In the earlier list, Hebrew is mentioned as one of the subjects of the first year, but, otherwise, the subjects are similar to those we have quoted. In St Andrews, Hebrew is mentioned in the list of subjects for 1647; and in both St Andrews and Edinburgh, anatomy was taught. Prosody received attention in Edinburgh, but there alone.

From a list of "laws" promulgated by Principal Guild on his accession to office, we learn that the session began in October and ended in July. We may pass over the regulations as to the class work in the College, since we shall see presently how a student's day was spent about 1655, when the routine was much the same. Among other matters, however, we notice that the bursars were appointed censors, and reported cases of misdemeanour to the authorities. They read prayers, and said grace

at meal times, in turns; and in the afternoon or evening passages from the Scriptures and from historical writings were read by one of them. They wore a white leather belt to distinguish them from other students.

It was always difficult to prevail upon the students to live within the college buildings. Again and again we find complaints of their neglecting to do so. At this date some of the students were allowed to reside outside the walls, but they were subject to discipline along with the rest, and they returned to the college to supper every evening at eight o'clock, and studied till the gates were closed at ten.

Every student had to profess the Reformed Faith, and all attended religious services. On Sundays, service was held in St Machar's Cathedral, where the students went in a body. Principal Guild made use of the College Chapel for preaching purposes, but his action did not meet with the approval of the Presbyterians, who "thought it very strange." In addition to attendance in church, the students had religious instruction within the college. The great text book was the Catecheseos Palatinae, which was divided into three portions—De hominis miseria; de Liberatione hominis a miseria; and de Gratitudine.

CHAPTER XIII.

PRINCIPAL ROW : THE RESTORATION : THE HEBREW CHAIR.

Dr Guild did not long remain Principal of the University. Eleven years after his appointment, he suffered the fate of his predecessor. He had been converted to Covenanting views in somewhat suspicious circumstances, and, during the Civil War, he evidently took the side of the King. The Assembly of 1649 sent a commission to Aberdeen "to expel the malignants." This body deposed Principal Guild, Alexander Middleton, the sub-principal, and two of the regents—Patrick Gordon and George Chalmers. We are informed by Thomas Middleton, who wrote an appendix on the "Universitie of Aberdene," to the edition of Spottiswood published in London in 1677—the oldest detailed account of the university—that the Assembly's Commissioners were unable to agree on a successor to Guild, and, accordingly, reinstated him temporarily in his office. But the Assembly itself was, during the Commonwealth, subordinate to the English Parliament, which appointed Commissioners to examine into the condition of the Scottish universities. Aberdeen was visited in Sep-

tember, 1652, by Colonels Fenwick and Desborough, and Judges Moseley, Owen, and Smith, who had just been at St Andrews upon a similar errand. They ejected Dr Guild, and chose for his successor John Row, one of the ministers of Aberdeen.

Row was the second son of John Row, minister of Carnock, and author of "The History of the Kirk of Scotland, from 1558 to 1637." He was born, at Carnock, about the end of the sixteenth century, and was educated at St Andrews, where he graduated in 1617. He was master, first of the Grammar School of Kirkcaldy, and, afterwards, of the Grammar School of Perth. In 1641, he became minister of the third charge of Aberdeen. Mr David Laing, who edited the "History" for the Wodrow Society, tells us that it was through the influence of the well-known Andrew Cant that Row was elected to Aberdeen.

His preferment to the principalship of King's College was due both to his learning and to the enthusiasm with which he had espoused the cause of the then successful party. Indeed, he was at this time suspected of leanings towards the Independents, and was "dealt with" for separating himself "from the discipline and government" of the Presbyterian Church. After the Restoration, he was, in turn, deposed, and attempted to earn his living by teaching in New Aberdeen. He subsequently removed to

Kinellar, where he resided with his son-in-law, John Mercer, who was minister of the parish. There he died; but the date of his death is unknown. We know that he was alive in 1668.

John Row was the author of some important writings. Besides bringing his father's "History" up to 1639, he published several works of his own. While at Perth, he prepared a "Hebrew Grammar," which was favourably received by the Faculty of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, and won the approval of Alexander Henderson and Samuel Rutherford. The grammar was published at Glasgow in 1644, along with a Hebrew dictionary or vocabulary. Not only did the General Assembly of 1646 pass an Act recommending the work, but the Town Council of Aberdeen gave him four hundred merks Scots, "considering the panes taken be Mr John Row in teeching the Hebrew tongue, and for setting forth ane Hebrew Dictioner, and dedicating the same to the counsell." He also wrote a "Praxis praeceptorum Hebraicae Grammaticae," which contained Hebrew renderings of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Decalogue. This seems to have existed only in manuscript. At the Restoration, he made an effort to obtain Royal favour by addressing to Charles II. a congratulatory poem, entitled "Eucharistia Basilike." It refers to the monarch in terms of

the grossest flattery, and to Cromwell as a "cruel vile worm." When we remember what Row owed to Cromwell, we must acknowledge that his last literary production is the work of a mere time-server.

About the time of Row's appointment as principal, Cromwell granted the revenues of the bishopric of Aberdeen to the two colleges in the proportion in which they had been given by King Charles. Towards the end of his tenure of office, Row raised subscriptions for building the square tower in the north-east corner of the quadrangle. The Lord Protector's lieutenant in Scotland, General Monk, made a contribution to the Extension Fund.

The administration of Principal Row was firm and energetic. In 1653, he drew up a code of laws which guided the college for the next eight years. From it we see how a student's day was filled up at this date. After breakfast, morning prayers were read at six o'clock in summer and half an hour later in winter. Immediately thereafter, the students proceeded to their respective classes, and "post nominis Divini invocationem," repeated the lessons prescribed the day before. At ten o'clock, they were assembled for the calling of the catalogue, and portions of the Scriptures were read at this hour. At eleven o'clock, the lectures delivered in the earlier part of the day were revised

by the students, their teachers being present to clear up any knotty points. Absence from this "exercise," which lasted an hour, was justified only by an exceptionally good excuse.

The dinner hour, it would appear, was noon. An ingenious code of Latin rules was prepared, dealing with behaviour at meal times. It is not adapted for quotation, but it gives us a vivid picture of the undergraduate manners of the day. The students are, for example, warned not to throw bones at each other, but to place them on their plates, or on the floor. During dinner, selections from secular history were read, and, after the conclusion of the meal, passages of Scripture.

The afternoons were differently occupied on different days. The roll was again called at two o'clock; and, at that hour on Wednesdays, the principal gave a Hebrew discourse, and a theological one on Fridays, an account of which was required of the students on Saturday evenings. Three times a week, excursions were made to the Links, for purposes of recreation. At five o'clock, the classes were again assembled for lessons, and, at six, came evening prayers, followed by the reading of the Bible and an explanation of the passages by the principal. Supper was served at eight o'clock, and, after supper, metrical psalms were sung—as also was the case after dinner. Before retiring for the night, the students spent another hour in study.

Principal Row adhered to the system of "regenting," and one of his rules reads,—"Each teacher shall cover the whole four years' course; for so neither shall the students change their preceptors every year, nor shall the professors undertake only one art or science, but all of them." The subjects of study specifically mentioned at the time are Latin, Greek, Hebrew, logic, and mathematics. Arithmetic was taught in the first year, geometry in the second, chronology and optics in the third, and geography and astronomy in the fourth. French was permitted for conversation, in addition to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

Bursars were, as usual, subjected to special discipline. They were distinguished from the other students by wearing a black gown, instead of a red one. The white leather belt, which under Principal Guild served merely to distinguish bursars, had now become a badge of disgrace, and was used as a punishment.

With the Restoration, came more changes in the university. On the 22nd February, 1661, the Scots Parliament discussed the condition of the Universities of Aberdeen. It found that "dureing these troubles, diverse abuses have creept into the universities, and upon pretence of former visitation diverse honest and able masters and others have been thrust out of their places, and others placed therin. . . . The fundations violated, the youth trained up in

principles of disloyaltie and shisme, discipline and order hath been neglected, and many other abuses to the prejudice of religion, the King's maiesties interest and interest of the universitie." A Commission was, therefore, appointed to investigate the conduct of affairs since 1648, "and according as they shall find just to remove such as hes been imposed or put into honest men's places." It was by this Commission that Row was deposed in 1661. He was succeeded by William Rait, minister of Brechin, who had been a regent in 1641. Principal Rait held office for only one year, and returned to Brechin at the end of that time. Alexander Middleton, who had been deposed along with Dr Guild in 1649, was then appointed to the office, which he held till 1684.

After the execution of the Marquis of Huntly in 1649, no chancellor was elected till 1660, when the choice of the college fell upon John, second Earl of Lauderdale. The re-establishment of Episcopacy in the following year revived the rule that the chancellorship should be held by the bishop of the diocese, as had formerly been the case. Lauderdale probably resigned, and Bishop David Mitchell became Chancellor in 1662. On his death, in the following year, Alexander Burnet became bishop, but was transferred to Glasgow in 1664. His successor was Bishop Patrick Scougal, who remained in the See till his death in 1682.

The most important event of college history in the time of Principal Alexander Middleton was the institution of a Chair of Oriental Languages in 1673. Hebrew had been taught since the Reformation in all the Scottish universities. In Glasgow, the Assembly's Commission of 1642 conjoined the subject of Hebrew with chronology and controversial theology, and transferred them to a separate professor. The late Principal Sir Alex. Grant has described, in "The Story of the University of Edinburgh," the institution, probably through Alexander Henderson, of a Chair of Oriental Languages in Edinburgh in 1642. On the 22nd August, 1673, "the masters and members (of King's College), taking into ther serious consideration the great loss and prejudice quhich the students and Church of God does sustain thorow wanting of teaching and instructing the youth in the Hebrew and other orientall tongues, does unanimously think fit, and by their presents orders, and ordaines that in tyme comeing ther be ane profession of the said orientall tongues in the said colledge." This step was taken on the advice of Bishop Scougal. A later professor, Thomas Gordon, in his "Collections on King's College" (MS. in Aberdeen University Library), gives some account of the first Professor of Hebrew. No special funds were available for the chair. The Humanist was appointed to teach the subject.

He held the two offices conjointly, and received an additional income of three hundred marks out of the General University Fund. The humanist at the time was Patrick Gordon. He had been a regent from 1640 to 1649, and was deposed along with Principal Guild. In 1661, he became civilist, and, in 1669, humanist. "Having acquired the Hebrew language from a Jew that happened to come to the country," says Thomas Gordon, "the college gave him a salary, with the title of professor of Hebrew, in order to induce him to teach the students that language, which he continued to do, along with the humanity, till his death." When Patrick Gordon died in 1693, the duties of the Professor of Hebrew were assigned to a separate chair. This had now become possible through some grants which were made by King William III. to the university.

Several visitations took place while Alexander Middleton was principal. On January 16th, 1663-4, Charles II. appointed a Commission "for visitation of colleges and universities." A committee of this body met at Aberdeen in September, 1664. The necessity for the offices of canonist and civilist was considered. The question of the latter was referred to the commission itself, and that body did not think it advisable to discontinue the teaching of law. The sub-commission, on its own responsibility,

abolished the office of canonist, which had been in abeyance since its previous abolition by the 1639 commission of the Assembly. We find, however, in 1681 a Robert Forbes styled canonist, and, in 1684, Bishop Haliburton ratified "the agreement which had been made some years agoe in favours of Mr Robert Forbes, canonist, by the speciall advyce of some of the Bishops of Scotland, viz., that the said Mr Robert should all the time of his being canonist enjoy all the privileges and emoluments of a regent." This points to an attempt, on the part of the hierarchy of Scotland, to revive the office. The attempt was unsuccessful. Forbes died in 1687; and the triumph of Presbyterianism, after the Revolution, effectually prevented further action in this direction. The canonist is, henceforth, never mentioned in the records.

The Sub-Commission renewed the rule that the regents should hold office for only six years—a rule which had been originally made by Elphinstone, and revived by Bishop Patrick Forbes. Power of dispensation was given to the chancellor and the rector. The injunction shows how little the modern conception of a professor was understood. The session was fixed to begin at Michaelmas, and to end on the 20th July, the magistrands being permitted to disperse on the 1st May.

In 1669, the two colleges were visited in

accordance with an edict of the Privy Council. This Commission decided that the precedence belonged to King's College. It ordered the King's College authorities to elect a rector, and, if they failed to do so, the chancellor was to nominate one. The practice also of conversing in Latin was again to be enforced.

Both colleges were, at this time, lax in the matter of graduation. It had become customary for the regents to confer the degrees privately and irresponsibly, in spite of the fact that the conferment of degrees lay with the chancellor, as it does to the present day. This commission "speciallie ordered that there be no privat laureatione in aither of the two colledges, without the consent of the earle Marischall, rector, principall, and regentes of his colledge ; and in the King's Colledge no privat laureatione, without consent of the lord bishops, rector, principall, and regentes."

In 1670, an Act of Parliament confirmed all grants that had been made to King's College, except the rents of the bishopric of Aberdeen, which, of course, were now used for the maintenance of the bishop. About this time, however, the two universities received the stipends of vacant parishes in the dioceses of Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney. They were divided in the proportion of eight-thirteenths to King's and five-thirteenths to Marischal College.

In 1672, the Privy Council made an order relating to all the five universities. It had become usual for private tutors to lecture on university subjects. They thus drew from the colleges a large number of students, who did not wish to be subjected to the severity of college discipline. The council forbade "all persons whatsomever who are not publicklie authorized or allowed, conform to the act of parliament, to gather together any number of scholars and to teach them philosophie or the Greek language,' and ordered them to desist, under pain of rebellion. This restriction exhibits a state of feeling widely different from what one would find to-day. The council also made a rule that students passing from one university to another should not be received "without a sufficient testimoniall under the hands of the masters of that college from whence they came, or at leist under the hand of the principall regent or master under whose speciall charge they were." A further clause refers to degrees—"and siklyk that degrees be not conferred upon any students who have come from other colleges without sufficient testimonials in manner foresaid in favoure of the persones to be graduat." From the proximity of the two universities of Aberdeen, and from the relation in which they stood to each other, it will be evident that the two last-mentioned orders of the Council were specially

framed to suit the circumstances of Aberdeen. St Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh were too far apart to have such intercourse as would call for the interference of the Privy Council.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Commission of 1690: Endowments: Civilists.

In 1684, Principal Alexander Middleton resigned. Attached to his resignation was the condition that, if the office should again become vacant during his lifetime, he "should have free regress both to the said office and all the benefits and emoluments thereof during all the days of his life." He died two years after his retirement. His successor was his son, George Middleton, who had filled the positions of regent and sub-principal. The new principal gave his inaugural lecture in theology on the 19th January, 1685, the subject being "De Concordantia et Reconciliabilitate Christianae Religionis cum vera et certa Ratione."

Three years later came the Revolution of 1688, and in 1690 Presbytery was re-established by law. These events could not fail to affect the college. Bishop Patrick Scougal had died in 1682, and the occupant of the See of Aberdeen at the Revolution was George Haliburton. He was deposed in 1688, and the college lost its last episcopal chancellor. In such confusion were affairs at the time that no successor was

appointed till 1700. Principal Middleton took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and the only member of the college deposed at this crisis was, as we shall see, James Garden, the professor of divinity.

Between the Revolution and the end of the seventeenth century, considerable attention was paid to the universities by the civil authorities. In 1690, a Parliamentary Commission was appointed to visit the Scottish Universities. The Commissioners met at Edinburgh on the 27th September, and issued an ordinance to the effect that all regents, except "principalls, professors of divinity, and other professors in the said universities," should thenceforth receive their appointment after examination. The wording may be quoted as showing the peculiar nature of the contest. They order that "in all time coming no regent or master of a class (albeit they have ane presentation therto) be admitted or receaved in any universitie or colledge within this kingdome, without an previous tryall and program to be affixt upon the gates of the university or colledge into which he is to be received, inviting all persons to be present and dispute for the place; and in case at the day affixt any person compear and offer to dispute with the person swa presented upon any problematicall subject, it is hereby

declared that he shall be holden and obleist to dispute with any person swa offering to compete, and also that he undergo ane tryall by examination or otherways." In making their decision the judges were "to consider not only the abilities and learning of the said parties, but also their piety, good life, and conversation, their prudence, fitness for the place, affection for the government of Church and State now established, and their other good qualifications complexedly; and the partie most worthie is to be preferred to the said place." We know of several competitions which were held in accordance with this rule. In 1709, there were two candidates for a vacant regency, and they each wrote a thesis upon a topic which they drew by lot. Next day, each defended his own thesis and impugned his opponent's. The subjects were,—"De natura et causis gravitatis," and "De aestu maris reciproco." Four years later there were four competitors, and their theses dealt with the following questions:— "De rerum possibilitate et impossibilitate;" "De prima morum regula;" "De principiis corporum;" and "De origine fontium fluviorum."

The commission appointed four committees or sub-commissions to visit the different university seats. Each body of visitors made various internal reforms, but the main object of the Government was to secure that "no Master or Professor in

any College or School shall be allowed to continue in the exercise of his Function, but such as do Acknowledge and Profess, and shall Subscribe the Confession of Faith . . . and also, shall Swear the Oath of Allegiance to their Majesties." An Act of Parliament to this effect had been passed on the 4th July, 1690, and in the list of instructions given by the General Commission for the guidance of the committees, special stress is laid upon "the Carriage of the Masters since the late Happy Revolutions."

The proceedings of these committees caused most excitement at Edinburgh, where the Principal, Alexander Monro, and the Professor of Divinity, John Strachan, were deposed. In connection with the incident, there was published, in 1691, a pamphlet, entitled "Presbyterian Inquisition," which gives an interesting account of university affairs in Scotland after the Revolution.

The Aberdeen Committee met at King's College on the 15th October, 1690. The members present were the Earl Marischal, Viscount Arbuthnott, Lord Elphinstone, the Master of Forbes, and the Laird of Brodie. Professor Garden declined to acknowledge their jurisdiction, appealed to the General Commission, and, meanwhile, refused to sign the Confession of Faith, or take the oath of allegiance. His appeal was sustained, and he was left undisturbed for

some time. The principal took the oath and signed the Confession, after having made a feeble protest, that, while he was "not desyreous to take any ingadgements of that nature, yett he, being called to it by authoritie, and free in his conscience to doe it, was willing to take them." The events in 1715 afterwards showed that Middleton's loyalty to the Revolution settlement was not of the most robust type. All the other members also signed the Confession, and took the oath. The committee closed their work by inquiring into the management and teaching in the college and found everything satisfactory.

The General Commission continued sitting for some years longer, and made a number of important enactments. In 1695, they exempted from the ordeal of a competitive examination regents who were being transferred from one college to another, and ruled that no regent should be under the age of twenty-one. They fixed the length of the session at eight months (from the beginning of November to the end of June), and prescribed preliminary and degree examinations, and also examinations for each class at the beginning and the end of the session. The teachers were obliged to prepare a programme of the session's work for approval by the principal or by the dean of faculty. The masters were to wear black gowns and the students

red ones; "and in regaird the wearing of gounes has never been in custome in the Colledge of Edinburgh, the Commission doth therefor recomend to the masters of that college to endeavour to bring the custome of wearing gounes there in practice." Gowns were never in vogue at Edinburgh, and at the present time the students in Arts in that university are alone in not wearing them. A practice which is still observed was enforced by this Commission, although it may have existed earlier. It was determined that "at the yearly laureations in the respective colledges, there be honourable mention made of their founders and benefactors by publict recitall."

A provision made in 1695 tends to lower one's opinion of the wisdom of the Commission. The Commissioners of the four universities had designed, in 1647, a "cursus philosophicus," dividing philosophical subjects among the four universities, and advising "that St Andrews take the metaphysics, Glasgow the logics, Aberdeen the ethics and mathematics, and Edinburgh the physics." This idea was now revived. It was proposed to abolish "the ordinary custome of dictating and writing of notes in the classes," by printing a complete system of philosophy. Each university was to take its share in the preparation of this "cursus," which was to be approved by "a

generall meeting of the haill colledges by their delegates," and finally ratified by the commission itself. A year was allowed for the whole of this procedure. The subjects were thus divided—"That the logicks and generall metaphysicks be composed by the two colledges of St Andrews, and the generall and speciall aethicks by the college of Glasgow; the generall and speciall physicks by the two colledges of Aberdeen; and the pnewmaticks or speciall metaphysicks by the colledge of Edinburgh." The universities were to be in communication with each other during the progress of the work, and every member was to do his share under pain of dismissal.

The King's College authorities cordially approved of what seems to modern readers an absurd proposal, and set to work to make ready their portion of the "cursus," which was taken to Edinburgh in 1696. The scheme met with considerable opposition, and a meeting was held a year afterwards to consider the improvements suggested by the different universities. Finally, in 1700, the various principals animadverted upon it, and in course of time it became forgotten. In the same year, Aber deen asked and received the sum of £125 sterling, or 1500 pounds Scots, for its expenses in the matter. Most of these "courses" were printed. In 1706, Government was due both

King's and Marischal Colleges sums of money for printing expenses. The late Professor Veitch, writing in "Mind" (Vol. II., No. 1), referred thus to the treatises:—"Two . . . at least were printed in London in 1701. The one prepared by Edinburgh is entitled 'An Introduction to Metaphysicks' (pp. 56); the other by St Andrews, 'An Introduction to Logicks' (pp. 56)." None of the University libraries contains printed copies; but they must be in existence somewhere. The MSS. of the Aberdeen ones, it may be added, are preserved—the King's MS. in Edinburgh University Library, and the Marischal MS. in the Register House.

Another sub-commission visited Aberdeen in 1696, and inquired into the question of the Nova Fundatio, without, however, coming, as far as we know, to any conclusion about it. Professor Garden was summoned to appear before them. He "acknowledged that he owed it only to the clemency and myldnes of the government that he was continued so long in his place, but he was not as yet clear to take the oathes; and being interrogat if he had or was willing to subscryve the confession of faith, he answered he had not nor was not willing to signe the said confessione in the terms of the act of parliament." Garden's case was settled by the General Commission in November of the same year, and he was deprived of his chair.

In 1700, the Commission made a regulation which paved the way for the present method of teaching by "professors." Another century had to pass before the ancient practice of "regenting" was abandoned in King's College. But the year 1700 is a landmark in this connexion. On the 16th August of that year "the Commissioners . . . taking to their consideration that it would conduce much to the better learning, and for the improvement of the study of the Greek tongue, that the teacher of the same in the first of the four classes in use for Greek and philosophy in each university and college were fixed, and not ambulatory as he now is; do therefore appoint and ordain that hereafter the said teacher of the Greek tongue be fixed, and continue still to teach the same in the said first class to all that shall come to learn under him from year to year, as constant master of the said Greek language . . ; so that . . . he is to teach only the Greek grammar and proper Greek authors, without teaching so much as any Structura Syllogismi, or anything else belonging to the course of philosophy, which is only to be commenced the next year thereafter." Greek was made compulsory for first year's students, and no one was permitted to attend any of the philosophy classes without having first studied Greek. In accordance with the ordinance,

Alexander Fraser was, in the following month, elected Professor of Greek in King's College, and the office was held by a regent up to 1860. Although Marischal College was afterwards to adopt the professoriate system earlier than King's, it did not obey this ordinance till 1717, and in September, 1701, the Senatus of King's College asserted that the masters of Marischal College were spreading a report that the new arrangement as to Greek had been given up, and made a declaration that such was not the case.

From a document, sent by the King's College masters to this Commission, we are able to elicit some interesting facts. The commissioners had issued a sort of draft ordinance, or set of ordinances, and the Senatus made some recommendations upon them. It had been proposed to teach logic and metaphysics separately, and the remarks of the Senatus are so instructive that we quote them—"The designe of it [the Commission's suggestion] probably is that thes two sciences be taught in different tractats ; and this is our practise, and wee approve of it. But if the meaning be that thes two sciences be sett wholly asunder, wee do not see how it can well be done, seeing the nature of the things they traite of, and the custom of teaching in all schooles have so knit (and as it were incorporated) them together that it

is hardly possible to sett them intirely assunder without mutilating them both. For wee think that genuine metaphysicks have only two parts—namely, the predicaments and the transcendentalls; and the predicaments, being a part of, must be common to both logicks and metaphysicks. And the doctrine of transcendentalls is absolutely necessary to the right understanding of the generall axiomes, terms, and notiones, which the overture proposes to be taught in and with the logicks."

The university received some valuable endowments during the closing years of the century. Dr Alexander Adam of Anstruther Wester, in 1691, and James Fullerton of Halstead, Essex, in 1692-3, left foundations which to this day provide valuable bursaries and scholarships. In 1695, King William granted three hundred pounds sterling yearly out of the rents of the bishoprics of Scotland. Out of this sum, forty pounds was to be used for founding theological bursaries, and the remainder was, in the first place, to be applied for the payment of debts which the university had incurred. When this had been done, one hundred pounds was to go towards the institution of a new Divinity Chair, and the remaining hundred and sixty pounds to the maintenance of eight bursars in theology. But this

arrangement was not fully carried out, and in 1698 King William granted a fresh charter making a new allocation of the hundred pounds set aside for the salary of a new professor of divinity. The idea of a new Divinity Chair was given up, and a third of the sum was to be added to the emoluments of the existing Chair of Divinity, and the remainder to that of Oriental Languages.

Several distinguished men held the office of civilist about this time. It had become customary to give the appointment to eminent lawyers. The duties were nominal, and the income represented a substantial, if not a large, sum. In 1673, the civilist was Mr George Nicolson of Cluny, afterwards Sir George Nicolson, and finally Lord Kemnay. He resigned on being appointed "one of the senators of the College of Justice," and the masters did not select any one in his place. The patronage, therefore, fell to the chancellor, Bishop Haliburton, who, in 1684, appointed James Scougal, son of the late bishop. Scougal actually taught in the college. His inaugural lecture, "De ratione docendi et discendi juris," was delivered on the 19th November, 1684. He afterwards became Lord Whithill. The negligence of succeeding civilists, however, was so marked that, in 1724, the Senatus decreed that the holder of that

office was "to be obliged to actuall residence and to teach the said Civill Law during the sessions of the said colledge in such place as shall be agreed to by the principall and master." The effort to remedy matters was, however, ineffectual. Even at the union of the colleges in 1860, the duties of Professor of Law were for the most part performed by a substitute.

CHAPTER XV.

The Beginning of the Eighteenth Century: Dr James Fraser: The Gregories.

At King's College in the beginning of 1700 there was neither chancellor nor rector. No minutes of Senatus are extant. The buildings were dilapidated. There is no list of entrants from 1679 to 1717 except those of 1686. The records of graduations are wanting for six years between 1694 and 1704. In some respects, this was due to the unsettled political state of the country; but the college authorities cannot be exonerated from blame.

Now, however, a vigorous effort was made to improve the state of the college. At a senatus meeting on the 15th January, 1700, the masters resolved that "the want of a constant clerke and consequently of a record of what passed in college meetings was a great disadvantage on a great many accounts." To remedy this, it was agreed that one of the masters should undertake the duty for a year, another succeeding him at the end of that time, unless the first wished to remain in office. Nine years afterwards, a notary public was appointed for the purpose.

There are, nevertheless, breaks in the senatus minutes even after this date. There are no minutes from 1706 to 1709, or from 1714 to 1716.

At the same meeting another important improvement was effected. "The detriment redoundeing to the society for want of a chancelour having in two former meetings been well weighed and considered," they now proceeded to elect a successor to Bishop Haliburton, who had been deposed in 1688. It was decided to ask John, eleventh Earl of Errol, to become Chancellor of the University. His consent was announced at a meeting of the 5th February, and he held the office till his death, in 1704. The chancellor had always been more than merely the titular head of the university. The Bishops of Aberdeen had watched over its interests, and taken a prominent part in its government. The Senatus, therefore, when they elected a chancellor, did not regard him as a mere figurehead, but constantly asked his advice, and relied upon his judgment. Over and over again, in the course of the eighteenth century, the chancellor was arbitrator in the never-ending professorial quarrels, and his decision was accepted as final. He was consulted on the occurrence of a vacancy in a regency, and, on more than one occasion, the patronage was invested in him. His sanction was asked if a class was to be

graduated before the customary time. King's College thus owes a great deal to its chancellors.

The students' apartments on the south side of the quadrangle, which had been built by Bishop Dunbar, were in an almost ruinous state, and many efforts were made to rebuild them. But so poor was the college that the humanist had to repair his manse at his own expense, and wait till the finances would admit of the refunding of the money.

An attempt was also made at this time to reform the college discipline. On the 12th February, at a senatus meeting, "a representation being made of the many abuses of which the bursars are guilty, particularly in not weareing their gownes, and keepeing public prayers," it was "ordered that all the bursars be called before the principal" on the following day, reproved for their misconduct, and warned that some improvement was necessary. Two of the complaints made constantly recur in the senatus minutes. The students had a repugnance to wearing the prescribed college costume—probably because it was prescribed. Many were also in the habit of allowing some weeks of the session to elapse before commencing attendance in the classes. In spite, however, of the present effort to bring about better discipline, we read a few years later of exactly the same neglect on the part of the students.

In 1703 the Senatus tried to institute a Chair of Mathematics. On May 4th "the principall and remanent masters, takeing to their serious consideration how much it may be for the advancement of learneing and interest of the said university that the mathematicks should be professed and taught therein," resolved to make a temporary arrangement with a mathematical lecturer until a proper salary could be procured. They therefore appointed Thomas Bower, agreeing that he was to "be made free of the College Table during the winter session," and receive two hundred merks "out of the College Revenues in case onely that it appears after cleareing the yeirly Procuration Accounts that the ballance can beare the same and not otherwise." Bower also received a sum of money from the Town Council of Aberdeen in virtue of an inconvenience to which he had been subjected in connection with a vacancy in the Marischal College Mathematical Chair. Gordon tells us that Bower was admitted as a professor in 1707, but there is no minute of this. "The mathematical class," adds Gordon, "having turned to little account after a few years' trial, Dr Bower returned to London and abandoned his charge, at first without formally resigning it. But afterwards he resigned it anno 1717." No successor was appointed for fifteen years.

In 1704, the chancellor died, and was succeeded by his son Charles, twelfth Earl of Errol. In 1705, the office of rector, which had been vacant since 1698, was filled up. On the 12th February, "a proposall was made for haveing a rector, and it's recommended to the masters to think of a fitt persone for that office against next meeting." On April 9th a letter was read from the chancellor impressing on the Senatus the advisability of choosing a rector, and, on June 18th, David Forbes of Lesly was elected.

A riot took place among the students in 1705. Their sympathy had been enlisted in behalf of some prisoner, and they broke open "the Tolboothe door" and rescued him by making a hole in the roof of the room in which he was confined, and thereby letting him escape. For this, two students, Thomas Reid and Patrick Grant were fined fifty merks each.

A specimen of amateur academic journalism of the period has been by chance preserved. It consists of a single sheet of manuscript, which had been circulated among the students, and is evidently incomplete. The weaknesses of the professors are shown up in very bad verse, and, as might be expected of that day, with little regard to courtesy. One such effusion is entitled "Description of the useless, needless, headless, defective, elective, Masters of the K: Colledge of Abd., 1709."

Professor Bower is made to speak of

> Wondrous things don by me,
> Who weel can count both 2 and three,
> Likewise I can count 3 and four—
> All this is done by Thomas Bower.

The first line is several times put into the mouth of the professor of mathematics, who was not a *persona grata* with the poet. Dr Patrick Urquhart, the mediciner, is treated more gently in "The Student's Liturgy"—

> From ane old Physick doctor that cairs not for pelf,
> Thinks every man honest just like himself,
> Libera nos, Domine.

One of the masters had taken, we are told, "the poems very ill, and made ane overture to the Prinll. that the Rimer's ears should be croped," and a third poem accordingly relates how

> Draco Drummond's very Cruell,
> In blood he writs his Laws,
> Our Rimer's ears he thinks to stive all,
> Without any further pause.

In 1711 the monotony of the senatus meetings was broken by one of a series of squabbles which engaged the attention of the governing body throughout the rest of the century. A vacancy occurred in a regency, and there were four candidates — William Simsone, John Gordon, Alexander Burnett and John Munro. After a competition, the Senatus met on March

17th, and the votes of the seven electors (principal, sub-principal, humanist, mediciner, civilist, and two regents) were thus divided—four for Simsone and three for Burnet. The principal, who warmly espoused the cause of Simsone, thereupon declared him duly elected. The Professors of Oriental Languages and Mathematics, however, appeared at the meeting, "without being called," and "would needs give their votes in favour of Mr Burnet," along with whom they entered the room and began "with great rudeness to interrupt the proceedings." The principal denied the right of the two professors to vote, on the ground that they were not named in the original foundation, and administered the oath to Simsone, who taught for the next session. The Hebrew and mathematical professors took the case before the Court of Session, which, in interlocutors of the 9th November, 21st December, and 23rd January, decreed that they had the right of voting. The Principal gave notice of appeal to the House of Lords, but the question does not seem to have been carried to that tribunal. In obedience to the Court of Session, the Principal admitted Burnet on the 22nd March, 1712, Simsone having obtained the schoolmastership of Dalkeith.

In 1714, Queen Anne died. She had been a benefactor of the college, having granted, on

the 31st May, 1713, "the yearly sum of two hundred and ten pounds sterling to the University of Aberdeen, to be divided between the Marischal and King's Colleges, and the principals, professors of divinity, and other professors thereof." The money was distributed between the two colleges in equal proportions. At the death of Queen Anne the name of Stewart disappeared from the roll of British sovereigns. Since the founding of King's College there had been nine monarchs of the ancient Royal House of Scotland. All these, with one exception, had aided Elphinstone's University. That exception was James VII., whose short reign was so much occupied with political turmoil and excitement as to leave but little room for the encouragement of learning and the Arts. It was appropriate that the descendants of the Stewart who gave his name to the college should maintain a warm interest in its welfare.

With the accession of the first George came the Rebellion of 1715. The minutes and list of entrants of that year are wanting, and we are unable to tell exactly what happened. Probably the course of study in session 1715-16 was considerably disturbed. The Senatus met in April, 1716. The hopes of the supporters of the Stewarts had by that time been shattered, and the masters proceeded to punish the students concerned in the insurrection.

Eight students were expelled for "forcing the drummer of Old Aberdeen to make a proclamation on the first Thursday of February last, desiring all persons to come and see the Duke of Brunswick br____effigy, and for drinking the health of the Pretender, under the title of King James the Eighth, at a bonfire lit by them at the college gate, in which they burned a picture on paper, which they called the Duke of Brunswick." One of them, Robert Warrander, had also made a speech in the Public School, "making evil reflections on the king and his generals and praising the Pretender." The sacrist, John Hay, was dismissed at the same time.

But the Rebellion had more important effects still. A Royal Commission was appointed to visit the Universities of Aberdeen. It deposed Principal George Middleton, the civilist, John Gordon, and two of the regents, James Urquhart and Richard Gordon, who all had Jacobite leanings. Middleton did not attend the meetings of Senatus between the year 1715 and his deposition, two years later. He excused himself from the meeting held in April, 1716, on the ground of "necessary business." He kept, for all that, his rooms in the college, and the authorities had great difficulty in obtaining possession of them. He was succeeded by George Chalmers, who had been minister at Kilwinning.

The records of the commission which deposed Middleton have not been traced. The College possessed a copy, which, as we know from a senatus minute of 1763, was at that date accessible to all the members. In April, 1786, Principal John Chalmers was asked to produce them, but "declared that he had them not, that he had not seen them for many years, but that he knew where they were." They do not seem to have been actually produced in 1786, and Chalmers was accused of destroying them. It is much to be regretted that this document has disappeared.

In 1720, an arrangement was made for delivering public lectures in presence of the assembled college. "It was unanimously resolved that in time coming, at least for this session of the college, the masters should have each of them by turns a publick discourse relating to their own business before the whole college, so as there may be one discourse every fortnight." The principal gave the first of these, his subject being "De Sanctimonia." The Professor of Divinity followed with a sermon, "De Peccato Originali," the Humanist lectured "De Grammatica," and the Professor of Greek "De Graecarum Literarum Utilitate et Preparatia."

About this time the dilapidated part of the college was restored by a munificent benefactor —Dr James Fraser, of Chelsea. His gifts to

the university will be described when we speak of the buildings. He was the son of Alexander Fraser, minister of Petty. He entered King's College in 1660, and graduated in due course. Having been tutor to the Duke of St Albans, he was, through his influence, made secretary of Chelsea Hospital. He presented books to the library in 1675, but his more important gifts were made about half a century later. In 1718, Principal Chalmers was sent to London to represent to the King the state of the college and "the ruinous condition of the fabrick," and to ask assistance. Chalmers was away for a year, and so far impressed the Treasury with the necessity for some pecuniary help that a commission was appointed to consider estimates for repairs. While in London the principal saw Fraser, and interested him in the needs of his Alma Mater. Fraser sent some books with the principal, and himself inspected the college in 1723 while on his way to Morayshire to pay a visit to a married daughter. It was after this that he gave his donations.

The senatus minutes here testify to the gratitude of the masters to Dr Fraser. On March 29, 1725, they conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D., "in consideration not only of his own merit, but also as an expression of their gratitude for his generous benefactions to the college." The professor of

Greek, John Ker, prepared a poem entitled "Donaides," and written in Fraser's honour, which was published by the college. At the same time it was agreed "to have a marble stone prepared for Mr Fraser above-mentioned his coat of arms to be put up in a proper place of the fabrick." In the following year they asked "the principal to write to his correspondent in London to wait upon Dr Fraser to signifie the masters' inclination of haveing his picture drawn in the most respectfull maner. . . . . and that the doctor might name the painter." In answer to this, Dr Fraser had his portrait painted at his own expense, and presented to the college, where it still remains. Again, in 1728, they sent congratulations to Dr Fraser on the attainment of his eighty-third birthday, and resolved "that for the future on the 28th of September the masters of the college should meet, and remember their so great benefactor with due honour and gratitude."

Dr Fraser died in 1731. By his will, he left money for bursaries, for the maintenance of a librarian, and for the purchase of mathematical instruments. After his death, another poem in his honour was written by Professor Ker. It is entitled "Frasereides," and was published in 1732. Two inscriptions relating to Fraser's benefactions may yet be seen at King's College.

One of these, on the walls of the chapel, runs thus :—"Vir nunquam sine laude nominandus Jacobus Fraser, J.U.D., unicus musarum fautor almam suam matrem Aberdonensem aevi injurias partim labantem partim jacentem, solus fere, respexit, erexit, provexit."

During nearly forty successive years after 1725, the office of mediciner was held by members of the family of Gregory, a name which will always be associated with the progress of medical science in the north. The first of the race to bear office in King's College was Dr James Gregory, who became mediciner in December, 1725. His father was James Gregory, a graduate of Marischal College and professor of mathematics, first at St Andrews and afterwards at Edinburgh, while his mother was also connected with Aberdeen, being Mary Jamesone, the daughter of the "Scottish Vandyck." The chair of medicine was vacated in 1731 by the death of James Gregory. He was succeeded by his son, also James Gregory, who held the post till he died, in 1755, when the appointment was given to his more distinguished brother, John. As a youth, John Gregory had come under the influence of his famous relative, Thomas Reid, and of his elder brother, James. He studied medicine at Edinburgh and Leyden, and, in 1746, received the degree of M.D., from King's College, his *Alma Mater*. For

three years thereafter he was a regent in the college, and then practised as a physician in Aberdeen and in London till the death of his brother. He acted as mediciner in the university till 1764, when he went to Edinburgh. Two years later he received a medical professorship there. He died in 1773. He wrote several treatises on medicine, including "Elements of the Practice of Physic," published in 1772. His best known works are his "Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World" and "A Father's Legacy to his Daughters." John Gregory was an intimate friend of Lord Monboddo, Hume, Blair, and Beattie. The last named thus refers to him in the closing stanza of "The Minstrel":—

> Art thou, my Gregory, for ever fled?
> And am I left to unavailing woe?
> When fortune's storms assail this weary head,
> Where cares long since have shed untimely snow,
> Ah, now for comfort whither shall I go?
> No more thy soothing voice my anguish cheers;
> Thy placid eyes with smiles no longer glow,
> My hopes to cherish, and allay my fears.
> 'Tis meet that I should mourn:—flow forth afresh my tears.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REGULATIONS OF 1753: THE STUDENTS' FOOD: THE ABOLITION OF REGENTING.

The sole source of information regarding the state of the College towards the middle and the end of the eighteenth century is to be found in the Minutes of Senatus. These are incomplete and unsatisfactory, so that it is difficult to give a connected account of the history of the University during this period.

In 1732, a second Professor of Mathematics was appointed; but the effort to establish a chair did not meet with success, and when the holder of the office, Alexander Rait, was elected to a vacant regency in 1734, the project of having a Mathematical Professor was abandoned. Rait was a regent until his death in 1751, when his place was filled by Thomas Reid, the founder of the Scottish School of Philosophy, who taught at Aberdeen up to 1764, when he was transferred to Glasgow.

The Grammar School at the gate of the college has already been mentioned. In 1742, the building was declared to be falling to pieces, and the Humanist was *ex gratia* accommodated in some disused rooms "on the west side looking to the street," which had

formerly belonged to the Principal. Towards the end of the century, the Town Council of Old Aberdeen proposed to co-operate with the University in rebuilding the school; but by that time the Humanist had ceased to be a mere teacher of Grammar. In 1753, it was agreed that he should "give over the teaching the elements of Latin, in the way of a grammar school," and devote his attention to the reading of the classical authors, as was done in St Andrews and in Glasgow. The University thus ceased to be interested in the School, and the Council's proposal was not carried out.

The Rebellion of 1745 had little effect upon the college. The minutes contain no reference to the political situation of that year, beyond that, in 1746, it was resolved "to pursue William Moir of Lonmay for the Cess and levy money which he exacted from the College for the service of the Rebels."

Principal George Chalmers died in 1746, and was succeeded by John Chalmers, who had been a regent since 1742. He held office till his death in 1800. Seven years after his accession, the Senatus drew up an "abstract of some statutes and orders of King's College in Old Aberdeen," which was printed and circulated in the north, as well as embodied in the Minute Book. It enables us to understand the state of things in the middle of the century.

The length of the session was increased—the classes assembling on the first Monday of October and dispersing in May. To meet the increased expenditure which thus devolved upon the students, the smaller bursaries were amalgamated. This necessitated the omission of the bursary competition at the beginning of session 1754-55. The measure was not passed without opposition, and, in 1759, an unsuccessful effort was made to repeal the statute. Opinion of counsel was taken as to the legality of uniting the smaller bursaries, and also as to whether such matters of discipline ought to be in the hands of the whole Senatus, or in those of the Principal and Regents alone. The last mentioned officials were strongly in favour of lengthening the session and uniting the small bursaries. On the 6th April, 1760, the statute in question was rescinded—whether in deference to legal advice or not, we cannot say.

The progress of the bursars was not satisfactory, and they were warned that "the masters have unanimously resolved to deprive every bursar, who does not make some tolerable proficiency in his studies, and to execute this resolution at the beginning of each session." A similar rule had been made in 1720, when it was decreed "that all the bursars should be examined yearly at the end of each session, as well as at the beginning thereof."

The students, in spite of a senatus edict of

1724, had again lapsed into the habit of living outside the College, and one of the 1753 regulations laid down "that for the future all the students shall lodge in rooms within the College and eat at the College Table during the whole session." Two servants were appointed "to serve the students in their rooms, make their beds, wipe their shoes, fetch them water, carry their linen to and from washing." These were paid by the students, who could not, without special permission, employ private servants.

The following rule gives an idea of the arrangement of classes:—"The Professor of Greek and three Professors of Philosophy shall give three Hours to their Pupils on each Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, two Hours on each Tuesday and Thursday, and one Hour on Sunday evening during the session. The Professor of Humanity, besides teaching a Humanity Class, as is done in other Universities, shall give an Hour in his profession each Tuesday and Thursday *gratis*, for the benefit of all the Students." Private classes were taught by visiting masters, that the Students might "have the benefit of those Parts of Education which are not commonly reckoned Academical, such as Dancing, Writing, Book-keeping, French, &c."

The most important rule dealt with the question of "regenting." The King's College attitude was largely due to the views of Thomas

Reid, who was a strong advocate of the older system. The beginning of the eighteenth century had seen regenting abolished in the two Southern Universities—in Edinburgh, by the Town Council, in 1708; and, in Glasgow, by a Royal visitation, in 1727. St Andrews had organized a professoriate in 1747, and the change was made in Marischal College in 1753. But the King's College authorities retained the old system. They defend their action in an interesting paragraph:—"Every Professor of Philosophy in this University is also Tutor to those who study under him, has the whole Direction of their studies, the Training of their Minds, and the Oversight of their Manners; and it seems to be generally agreed that it must be detrimental to a Student to change his Tutor every Session. . . And though it be allowed that a Professor who has only one Branch of Philosophy for his Province may have more leisure to make improvements in it for the Benefit of the learned world; yet it does not seem at all extravagant to suppose that a Professor ought to be sufficiently qualified to teach all that his Pupils can learn in Philosophy in the course of three Sessions." On these grounds, no alteration was made at King's College till the close of the century.

A final regulation tells us that "the Professors of Philosophy, with the Concurrence of

the other Masters, have unanimously agreed to employ much less time than has been usually done in Universities, in the Logic and Metaphysics of the Schoolmen, . . . and to employ themselves chiefly in teaching those parts of Philosophy which may qualify Men for the more useful and important Offices of Society." A further clause bears evidence of the hand of Reid :—"They have likewise unanimously agreed that those Parts of Philosophy which are conversant about objects of Sense ought, in the order of teaching, to precede those which have the mind and its faculties for their object." The first year was, therefore, devoted to Greek; the second to Greek, Mathematics, Natural History, Geography, and Civil History; the third to Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and the fourth to "the Philosophy of the Human Mind and the Sciences that depend upon it."

It will be observed that, in this list, there is no mention of Latin. We find, in 1760, the principal complaining that the humanist was not performing his duties satisfactorily. The students objected to being required to attend the humanity class; and an appeal was taken, in 1762, to the chancellor, Lord Deskford. He decided that the Senatus had power to render attendance compulsory and to fix a fee. The humanist then taught criticism in his Latin class, taking as text-books the *Ars Poetica* and the *De Oratore*.

In a supplementary code of rules, published in 1754, the phrase already quoted "the Philosophy of the Human Mind and the Sciences that depend upon it" was explained—evidently by Reid. The words ran:—"By the Philosophy of the Mind is understood an Account of the Constitution of the Human Mind and of all its Powers and Faculties, whether Sensitive, Intellectual, or Moral; the Improvements these are capable of, and the Means of their Improvement; of the Mutual Influences of Body and Mind on each other; and of the Knowledge we may acquire of other Minds, and particularly of the Supreme Mind. And the Sciences Depending on the Philosophy of the Mind are understood to be Logic, Rhetoric, the Laws of Nature and Nations, Oeconomicks, the fine Arts, and Natural Religion."

In 1763, some students complained to the Rector, Mr George Middleton of Seaton, that the food at the college table was not sufficient. In connection with this, we may take the opportunity of saying something regarding the provisions supplied to the students. A set of accounts for 1579 ("Liber Rationum Collegii Aberdonensis") shows what was the students' usual fare at that date. We find mention made of "quhyte breid, ait breid, best aill, secunde aill, beif, muton, smal fische, buttyre, eggis, partans, beir, vinager, and

peittis." Another list is of the date 1628. It includes, besides the above-mentioned articles, "spyse, saiffron, salt beif, a guiss, hennis, fresh hadocks, hard hadocks, milk, ches, and skait." In a similar document, dated 1650, there occur also "a salmond, fresh whittings, plumdames, and lambes." During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were two college tables. Those who could afford to pay an additional fee sat at the first table, and the poorer students at the second. The difference between the two bills of fare is exemplified in a senatus minute of 1753. The second table supper consisted of "sowens or bread with ale or milk," while those at the first table had "eggs, or sowens, or roots, or pancakes, or bread and butter, or ox cheek, or Finnan haddocks and ale."

It was the students sitting at the second table that complained in 1763. On the 28th March, a letter was read to the Senatus from the rector, to the effect that some students had asserted that there was "irregularity and scarcity of food at the College Table." The masters were annoyed that the students had not laid their case before their own regents. They asked particulars, and wrote to St Andrews for a copy of their bill of fare. The St Andrews reply was considered on the 6th June, and the senatus decided that at that university the board was

not so good as at Aberdeen, although a higher charge was made. They proceeded, accordingly, to give the students a lesson by altering the viands for worse instead of for better, on the ground that Aberdeen could not afford to keep a more expensive table than St Andrews. The roast beef which had hitherto been placed on the dinner table on Saturdays was replaced by boiled beef and broth, "which is better for the students and easier for the Oeconomist." The students, the Senatus argued, were not so well fed at home, and "were never so healthy as last winter, except those who took measles."

The meals were thus arranged at this time. Breakfast and supper each consisted of "half a scone of oat bread with a mutchkin of milk at each diet." Before this, ale had been given at both diets. The "menu" for dinner was slightly more varied. Every day, except Fridays, the students had a third of a scone of oat bread and a mutchkin of ale, along with, on Sundays, eggs, potatoes, and bread and butter; on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays, beef and broth; and, on Thursdays, "boiled turnips, chopped with butter and milk." On Fridays, fresh fish was supplied, and, along with that, half a scone of oatbread and a mutchkin and a half of ale. By the beginning of the following session, however, the indignation of the Senatus had some-

what abated, and, on the 1st November, 1763, they resolved that "the students at the second table be served in good oat bread without any stint, and that, on the 'maugre' days, the Oeconomist endeavour to introduce as much variety of Vegetable Diet as he can."

Two matters of importance demand notice between this period and the end of the century. The degree of M.D. had hitherto been given on the recommendation of doctors of note; but, in 1789, the Mediciner, Dr William Chalmers, set an examination paper to a candidate for the degree. This appears to be the first degree paper in Medicine set in the college, and may be quoted:—

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

(2) In how far may Acrimony be considered as existing in the system, and what are its effects?

(3) In what proportion of our present diseases may Debility be supposed to take place, and how may it be effectually obviated?

(4) What are the advantages resulting from the Brownonian doctrine?"

Dr Chalmers endeavoured to revive the teaching of medicine in the university. At the beginning of session 1792-93, he made arrangements for teaching anatomy and physiology.

The lectures were to be delivered weekly, and the fee was fixed at a guinea. It was hoped that, in course of time, a museum might be equipped. The Senatus sanctioned Chalmers's proposals on the 24th November, 1792. But within three weeks the energetic professor of medicine died. After his premature removal, the scheme collapsed. His successor, Sir Alex. Bannerman, does not seem to have taught at all.

In the course of the last decade of the century, the system of "regenting" was finally abolished. On the 3rd March, 1792, one of the regents, Dr James Dunbar, moved "that a day be appointed for reviewing the present course of academical education and for considering the expediency of fixing the Semi, Tertian, and Magistrand Classes so that each of the Professors of Philosophy may have a Distinct Province assigned him in the regular plan of academical education." The sub-principal, Professor Thomas Gordon, and Mr Dunbar were appointed a committee to investigate the matter.

No reference to the subject occurs in the minutes till the 21st March, 1798, when the Senatus, "resuming the consideration of a motion made 3rd March, 1792, relative to the Mathematical and Philosophical courses of education in this University, ordain that for the ensuing session the Sub-Principal shall teach the

Semi Class, Mr Scott the Tertian, and Dr Jack the Magistrand Classes, and recommend to them to concert among themselves the extent of the course in the Semi Class in particular." This was done during session 1798-99, and towards the close of it, on the 16th March, 1799, the senatus considered that their experiment was satisfactory, and "did with the express consent of the Sub-Principal and three Regents finally determine that the Semi, Tertian, and Magistrand Classes shall be fixed. The Sub-principal to teach the Semi Class, Mr Scott the Tertian, and Dr Jack the Magistrand during their incumbencies." The Bajans were taught by the professor of Greek, and received instructions in Latin from the humanist. The Semi subjects were lower mathematics and Greek; the Tertian, higher mathematics and natural philosophy, except astronomy; and the Magistrand, astronomy and "the abstract sciences." The name "regent" continued in use, however, after the professorial system was adopted; but it disappeared at the union in 1860, as also did the title of Sub-Principal.

CHAPTER XVII.

King's College from 1800 to 1830.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the energies of the Senatus were mainly employed in raising funds for the building of the west front of the college, and in extending the scope of the curriculum. New rules were made for conferring the degree in Arts. Up to 1800 the rules regarding bursars were much more strict than those which had reference to their fellow-students; but, on the 7th November of that year, it was agreed "that no student shall be entitled to the degree of A.M. until he has completed the regular philosophical course of this university in the same manner as at present exacted of bursars, unless it shall appear to a committee of the society appointed for the purpose, that any particular branch of education contained in the aforesaid course has been previously acquired at some other university or respectable seminary." Seventeen years later, an important step was taken in the establishment of a class in Chemistry and Natural History. The teaching of these subjects was assigned to the Humanist, the Rev. Patrick Forbes, who had just been

appointed to succeed the well-known William Ogilvie, of Pittensear, the author of the "Essay on the Right of Property in Land." The students attended the class in their second year.

In 1817, a series of new regulations was adopted by the Senatus for the conferment of degrees in Medicine. Before this, such degrees had been given on the recommendation of some physician of eminence. On the 14th December, 1801, it had been determined that a candidate for the degree of M.D. "must oblidge himself that he is not nor will be concerned in the sale of quack medicines of any description." The Senatus now required much more than guarantees of this nature. They demanded "an account of the classical, literary, and scientifical education of the candidate; of the courses of lectures he has attended on the various branches of medical science' . . . ; and of such public examinations he may have undergone." They also insisted on details as to practice, and on a candidate laying "before the Senatus the annexed form of certificate filled up and signed by at least two respectable physicians, regular graduates in medicine, known either personally or by reputation to some of the members of the university." This increased interest in the claims of medicine found a fitting sequel in the following year, when

the union of 1860 was, to some extent, anticipated by the joint action of the two universities in laying the foundation of the Aberdeen Medical School.

On the 11th April, 1818, "the Principal (of King's College) laid before the meeting a letter from the Principal and professors of Marischal College, signed by Dr Davidson, their clerk, requesting a joint meeting of the members of both colleges to consider the propriety of establishing a medical school at Aberdeen under the united patronage. The Senatus, having taken the above communication under consideration . . . agreed to the request, and authorized the Principal to concert with the Principal of Marischal College the time and place of meeting." A Joint Committee was appointed, and its report was adopted by both colleges. The articles of agreement are of sufficient importance to justify quotation :—

(1) The two universities to have equal power over the medical school.

(2) Courses of lectures to be given during the winter session on the following subjects :—Anatomy, animal economy, surgery, practice of physic, theory of physic, materia medica, clinical medicine, and midwifery, and a course of lectures on botany during the summer.

(3) Lecturers to be appointed or confirmed before the ensuing session.

(4) The nomination of lecturers to be alternate,

and the nominations of one university to be confirmed by the other.

(5) The already existing Marischal College lecturers in anatomy, surgery, and materia medica to be confirmed by King's College, and that body to have the first nomination of the other lecturers.

(6) The theory and practice of physics to be reserved, "in case the professors of medicine at either college should at any time wish to give courses of lectures."

(7) The lecturers to give regular courses.

(8) Appointments to be made within six months.

(9) Standing committees of both colleges to co-operate in organizing and managing the school.

(10) An equal number of classes to be taught at each college; the anatomy class to meet at Marischal as hitherto.

It is quite evident from these conditions that the movement was due to Marischal College, where medical subjects were taught, while nothing was being done at King's. The joint Medical School existed for over twenty years, and, during that time, placed the teaching of medicine in the north on an entirely new footing. The minutes of the Joint Committee have disappeared; but we know something of how the plan worked. In 1825 the colleges agreed to recommendations made by the committee to

the effect that every student who applied for the degree of M.D. should be twenty-five years of age, should possess the degree of M.A., should have attended classes in anatomy, surgery, chemistry, materia medica, theory and practice of physic, and botany, and should have been examined on "different branches of medical science, on the Greek and Latin languages, and on such other branches as they shall see proper." The result of these strict regulations was that only four degrees in medicine were given by King's College, and twenty-five by Marischal College, between 1826 and 1839.

The degrees of D.D., LL.D., and honorary M.A. received the attention of the Senatus in 1819. On the 30th January, rules were approved for the granting of all three. A candidate for the doctorate of divinity had "to transmit a statement of his literary and theological education, of the Church with which he holds communion, and of his works; with certificates from two D.D.'s of the Churches either of England or Scotland bearing evidence to the truth of the statements in his memorial." Objection was taken by some of the Senatus to the last clause on the ground that it indicated a want of liberality. The enactments regarding LL.D. and honorary M.A. were similar. "Every candidate to transmit a statement of his education and of his works, with

certificates from two LL.D.'s, bearing evidence to the truth of the statements contained in the memorial." The fees for all three degrees had been increased on the 9th January. At the same time, a new rule was made with refernce to ordinary graduation in Arts. On the 30th January the Senatus resolved that "no student shall be admitted to the degree of A.M. who has not given regular attendance during four sessions, one in the Greek, one in the Mathematical and Chemical and Natural History Classes, one in the Natural Philosophy, and one in the Moral Philosophy Class, and who during these sessions has not regularly attended the Greek and Humanity Classes." To encourage the students, prizes were now given in the various classes. The decision as to prizes rested with the students themselves. Each student had a vote, and the prize-lists were determined accordingly. The franchise was regarded as a great privilege. The Senatus occasionally deprived indolent or troublesome students of their suffrages. The only prize not awarded in accordance with this method was the Hutton Prize, founded in 1801. It was competed for by fourth year students, the subjects being prescribed by the principal and the professors of Greek, mathematics, and moral philosophy.

Between 1824 and 1827 an attempt was made to revive the teaching of law by the civilist,

medicine by the mediciner, and divinity by the principal. In 1824 the Chancellor, Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon, who had succeeded James, Lord Deskford, in 1793, wrote suggesting that all the professorships should be rendered efficient. The Senatus considered the letter on the 9th March, 1825. The minute runs—"The Senatus have no hesitation in declaring it to be in their opinion the duty of the person holding the office of Principal in this college to deliver lectures to the students in divinity, of the civilist to lecture on civil law, and of the mediciner to lecture on medical science." They deemed it necessary merely to suggest the propriety of performing the duties attached to their Chairs, and wrote to each of them on the subject.

On the 14th October, Dr Alexander Dauney intimated that he was willing to teach after a reasonable period for preparation, pleading also his age—he was in his seventy-seventh year. Dr James Bannerman, the mediciner, declined for the ensuing session, reserving the general question, but expressing the opinion that the students would not attend the King's College classes and give up the attractions of the Infirmary in Aberdeen. He added that he would be ready to commence lecturing "as soon as may offer the most distant chance of benefit by lectures, either to medical science or to

King's College." The Senatus considered the delay justifiable.

The Principal had approved of the chancellor's proposal, as far as it concerned the mediciner and the civilist. But, when the argument was extended to his own case, he did not see matters in quite the same light. He wrote to the chancellor, the rector, and the assessors (appointed by the Senatus for elective and certain other purposes):—"My Lords and gentlemen,—You have been told, and on the credit of a college meeting (9th March, 1825), had reason to believe that 'it is the duty of the person holding the office of principal in the college to deliver lectures to the students in divinity.' I pledge myself to prove to you on the contrary from the plain and unequivocal words of the college charter, and from the invariable practice of this and every other university, that the principal is officially exempted from every duty of the kind." This contention he supported by quotations from the charters of Elphinstone and Dunbar. He held that these documents looked upon the Principal's teaching as "not a duty but a privilege," and that "fears were entertained of men undertaking not too little duty, but too much." He complained that his income was only about £210 and his expenditure never less than £500, and offered to teach Church History if he received an additional yearly sum of £300.

This letter was, answered in a lengthy document, and a committee was appointed to investigate.

On January 21st, 1826, this committee recommended that the Principal should lecture three hours a week on church history, the civilist once a week for the coming session, and more frequently afterwards, and the mediciner on the theory of medicine, the details to be arranged by himself.

These recommendations were never carried out. Principal Jack paid no heed to the committee's report, and never lectured at all. The story goes that he claimed that, if by the charter he was compelled to teach, he was also, by the charter, permitted to choose an hour, and, accordingly, named an hour which would interfere with the work of his colleagues, and thus escaped the distasteful duty. On October 6th, Bannerman wrote that the state of his health prevented him from teaching, and on October 11th, refused to recommend a substitute. Dauney agreed to teach, and actually delivered eight or nine introductory lectures during the months of January, February, and March, 1827. He then discontinued lecturing, on the ground of ill-health.

In 1826, a Parliamentary Commission was appointed to visit the Scottish universities. On the 7th October, 1831, the House of Commons

ordered the report to be printed. The statement regarding King's College opens with a description of its mode of government—by chancellor, rector, and senatus. The four assessors of the rector, who represented the four visitors of Dunbar's charter, were, like the chancellor and the rector, elected by the Senatus Academicus. "The Rector and his Assessors," says the commission, "constitute a Court, and have frequently exercised control over the University. They form also a Court of Appeal, to which sentences of the Senatus may be submitted, and their sentence may be further reviewed by the Chancellor." The curriculum, as given in a return made by the Senatus to the commission, was as follows:—"The regular Course of Study at said College comprises a period of four sessions, during which the following order of attendance is prescribed to all Bursars:—

During Session 1st—Attendance is required in the First Greek and First Humanity Classes.

Session 2nd—On the Mathematical, Chemistry, and Natural History, Second Greek, and Second Humanity Classes.

Session 3rd—On the Natural Philosophy, Second Greek, and Second Humanity Classes.

Session 4th—On the Logic and Moral Philosophy, Second Greek, and Second Humanity Classes.

To students not holding Bursaries, the order of attendance on the above classes is optional; although that now specified is observed, with very few exceptions." In the junior Latin class Horace was read, "the principal thing kept in view" being prosody. The senior class read Cicero, Suetonius, Tacitus, Juvenal, Lucretius, and Lucan, and studied grammar and chronology. The professor of Greek began at the alphabet, using Moore's Grammar and Dalzell's Collectanea Minora, and reading a book of Homer in the junior class. In the senior class Dalzell's Collectanea Majora was the text-book, and Xenophon, Herodotus, Thucydides, and the poets were read. The Humanist, as professor of chemistry, taught chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; the Professor of mathematics, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, plane trigonometry, and mensuration; and the Professor of natural philosophy lectured upon "General Physics, Dynamics, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Optics, Electricity, Magnetism, and Astronomy (Galvanism being treated by the Professor of Chemistry.)"

The work of the moral philosophy class was thus described:—"After some introductory lectures upon the nature of the subjects to be

treated, upon the philosophy of Bacon as applied to the science of mind, and upon the difficulties to be encountered in the prosecution of mental science, the Professor adverts to the intellectual, active, and moral powers; to the doctrines of Natural Theology and the Immortality of the Soul; to the different classes of duties, and to jurisprudence; delivering during the last month in the afternoons ten to twelve lectures on Political Economy, a short course of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres having been previously given."

Graduation was not, in those days, a very difficult matter. Students underwent "a particular examination by the Professor of Natural Philosophy" upon mathematics and natural philosophy. "There is no instance," say the Commissioners, "of any one being rejected or prevented from taking the Degree in consequence of this examination."

In their report the Commission recognise "the diligence and fidelity by which the different Professors are in general distinguished," and make several suggestions for improving the curriculum. The most important of these will be afterwards referred to; it deals with the union of the two colleges. The Commissioners wish longer time to be devoted to the teaching of the junior Latin class—two hours a day instead of two hours a week. They doubted the necessity

of attendance for these sessions upon the senior Latin class. As to the junior Greek class they considered that "it would be of vast importance for exalting the standard of Grecian Literature in Scotland that this class should start from a much more advanced point." In connection with moral philosophy, they remarked that "Rhetoric and the more Elementary Logic should be assigned to a separate Professor, and the subjects are so important that a new endowment would be requisite." The method of giving prizes was condemned, although some of the professors had given evidence in its favour. Lastly, the commissioners said, "It is further necessary that a different system should be adopted in regard to the mode of conferring Degrees in Arts. . . . While the Degree should be given with the honours to those who are eminently distinguished, it should, however painful the effort, be withheld from such as cannot answer the questions put to them, or perform extemporaneously the exercise prescribed."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CLOSING YEARS OF UNIVERSITY AND KING'S COLLEGE.

The suggestions embodied in the commissioners' report were gradually carried into effect by the Senatus. In 1833, the old method of assigning the prizes was abandoned and examinations were substituted. Some other changes were also made. The senatus minute of 3rd November, 1834, gives the minimum required for graduation examinations, which had been recommended in the report:—

"Latin.—Horace, Odes, two books; Virgil, Eneid, two first books; Cicero, Tusculan Questions, first book.

Greek.—Xenophon, Anabasis, first book; New Testament, two gospels; Homer, two books.

Mathematics.—Euclid, first six books; Plane Trigonometry. In Algebra, Simple and Quadratic Equations.

Chemistry.—Leading doctrines of Chemistry and Geology, as taught in the class.

Natural Philosophy.—Leading doctrines of Natural Philosophy, as taught in the class, or Playfair's Outlines.

Moral Philosophy.—Leading doctrines of Moral Philosophy as taught in the class, or Stewart's Outlines."

One third of the marks obtained a pass. A student who obtained more than a third in the majority of the subjects had a clause added to his diploma, and one who did so in all the examinations graduated "with highest distinction."

In 1836, the Economus received notice to quit the college. We do not know precisely when the students ceased to reside within the walls. There had always been a temptation to live in the greater freedom of the town, and a private letter of Thomas Reid, dated September 4th, 1755, speaks of a time when "the students were scattered over the town in private quarters, and might dispose of themselves as they pleased, but at school hours." The regulations of 1753, however, had, as we have seen, made residence compulsory, and it continued to be so till about the end of the century. But, by 1805, the rule of Reid's time had fallen into partial neglect, for, on the 13th March of that year, the Senatus "resolved that no indulgence as to attendance be allowed to students that may live in the New Town." A return made by the Senatus to the Commission of 1826 shows that no students lived in the college at that date, and the resolution regarding the Econo-

men, says that "for several years past there has been no demand for a publick table." The abandonment of the old custom seems to have been a gradual process, and to have taken place during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The restraint of collegiate residence had become exceedingly irksome. Thomas Reid, in the letter already quoted, says that the students "are seen nine or ten times throughout the day statedly by me or other of the masters, at publick prayers, school hours, meals, and in their rooms, besides occasional visits." One cannot be surprised that this supervision was not acceptable to the students. The same letter furnishes some information regarding the students' rooms :—"The rent of the room is from seven to twenty shillings in the session. There is no furniture in their rooms but bedstead, table, chimney, grate, and fender. The rest, viz., feather bed, bedclothes, chairs, tongs, and bed-hangings, if they choose any, they must buy or hire for the session. . . . They provide fire and candle and washing to themselves." The office of Economist, it may be added, had been, for many years, held by a woman.

The Senatus, on the 29th April, 1836, warned Bannerman, the mediciner, that if he did not teach or appoint a substitute, a lecturer would be appointed and paid out of the emoluments of the chair. The Professor of Medicine declined to

comply with the request of his colleagues, but their threat went no further. Three years afterwards came the end of the joint Medical School. The minute of the King's College Senatus of 11th April, 1839, records that since "Marischal College is laying aside the rules" for the conferment of M.D. degree, and otherwise infringing the agreement, "the Senatus of the University and King's College unanimously resolve that all connection with the Marischal College in reference to the Medical School shall cease from and after the close of the present session during the present month; and that arrangements be made, with all convenient speed, for re-organising a Medical School exclusively in connection with this University." This resolution was communicated to Marischal College, whose Senatus raised no objection.

Bannerman had died in 1838, and, on the 19th February, 1839, William Gregory had been appointed to the vacant office, so that now the King's College Medical School was not hampered by an inactive professor of medicine. William Gregory was a grandson of the John Gregory who was mediciner at King's College from 1755 to 1764. He was born and educated at Edinburgh, where his father was then professor of medicine. After teaching at Glasgow and at Dublin, he received the appointment at Aberdeen, where he remained till 1844. In that year he was elected professor of chemistry in

Edinburgh. He died in 1858. Gregory did valuable work in the department of chemical research. His best-known writings are "Outlines of Chemistry" and the "Handbooks" of Organic and Inorganic Chemistry.

While at Aberdeen, William Gregory performed his duties with zeal. The date of his appointment almost coincided, as we have seen, with the abolition of the Joint Medical School, and it was chiefly to him that the King's College authorities looked for aid in their new enterprise. On May 7th, 1839, a Medical Committee was appointed. It consisted of Professors Hugh Macpherson, Tulloch, and Fleming, with Gregory as convener. The list of medical classes, as advertised in the "Aberdeen Journal" of 23rd October, 1839, comprises Materia Medica (taught by Gregory), Institutes of Medicine, Botany, Chemistry, Surgery, Midwifery, Anatomy, and Medical Jurisprudence. A house was purchased in Kingsland Place, Broadford, Aberdeen, and fitted up as a medical school. The school attracted a fair amount of students, and, in 1849 an attempt was made, but without success, to induce Government to found a number of new chairs. When Gregory left in 1844 his successor, Dr Andrew Fyfe, was elected as a professor of chemistry, and continued to teach chemistry till the union.

The commission of 1826 had suggested some changes in the teaching of Latin. The commissioners considered that the time of teaching in the junior class, two hours a week, should be increased, and that attendance upon the senior class should be required for only one session, instead of three. The latter clause applied also to Greek. On October 5th, 1832, the Humanist, Patrick Forbes, had given notice of a motion that the junior humanity class should meet oftener than twice a week. There the matter rested till 1840, when Principal Jack, on June 5th, re-opened the question. On October 5th, it was arranged that the Humanist should meet his first class five days a week, for an hour and a quarter every day. Seven years passed before effect was given to the other recommendation of the commission. After a long discussion it was at last agreed that the senior Greek class should be attended by second year students, and the senior Latin class during one of the three last sessions. An optional third class in Greek was at the same time announced.

In 1854, a final effort was made to conjoin teaching in divinity with the functions of the principal. Dr Jack died on the 9th February, 1854. The Senatus did not immediately proceed to an election, but named a committee to report on the duties of the office. It was decided that the principal should "be required

to lecture in such branch of Divinity as may be deemed most expedient by the Senatus." The Chancellor agreed to the resolution of Senatus, and, on the 1st October, 1855, appointed, as principal, the Rev. Peter Colin Campbell, who had been, during the preceding year, professor of Greek. A condition attached to the appointment was that he should deliver theological lectures. It was arranged that Principal Campbell should teach Church history, but the Synod of Aberdeen raised some formal objections, and, with the sanction of the chancellor, the lectures were deferred. On the 14th November, 1857, consideration of the question was, meanwhile, suspended, in view of the approaching union with Marischal College.

The power of electing the rector was given to the graduates in 1856. By the original charters, that official was elected by the *Procuratores Nationum*, who represented the students, either alone or in conjunction with the other members of the university. The students in time lost their rights, and, in 1763, it was decided that "in all time coming the annual election of a rector shall proceed without *Procuratores Nationum* chosen to join in the said election." The electors were, thenceforward, assessors appointed by the Senatus. In 1801, Professor Ogilvie protested that recent elections were not valid, and "that therefore the present

mode of election ought to be annulled, and that the genuine constitution of the university, to which alone the provisions of the foundation charter of King's College refer, or can be applied, ought to be restored." Ogilvie insisted that rectors chosen in accordance with the current mode could not rightly possess "essential powers and privileges which Bishop Elphinston meant to entrust only to a constitutional rector chosen by the whole body of the Suppositi, as in Paris." This was an assertion of the students' right to a vote, but it passed apparently unheeded. In 1834, the students themselves made an attempt to assert their right. They asked permission from the Senatus to consult the charter and other documents, for the purpose of showing that they were "entitled to certain rights and privileges, such as the power of electing the Lord Rector." The Senatus, on the 25th March, partially granted their request, and appointed two of the professors to decide what records should be exhibited. The students, however, stopped at this point.

On the other hand, in 1856, the graduates claimed the right of voting. The Commission of 1826 had proposed to give both graduates and students a vote, but their suggestions were not enforced by Parliament. A conference of Senatus and graduates took place on the 6th April, 1856, and it was agreed that "the Lord Rector . . . . should be chosen by the

Masters of Arts of the University (not holding mere honorary degrees), and that the Senatus should confirm the election so made" ("Officers and Graduates of King's College," p. 21). The first election under the new system was held on the 15th October, 1856, when the Earl of Ellesmere was chosen. Lord Ellesmere died on the 18th February following, and a second election was thus necessitated. John Inglis, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, and Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, was the successful candidate. He was the last Rector of University and King's College. The voting on the first of these two occasions was by nations, but not on the second.

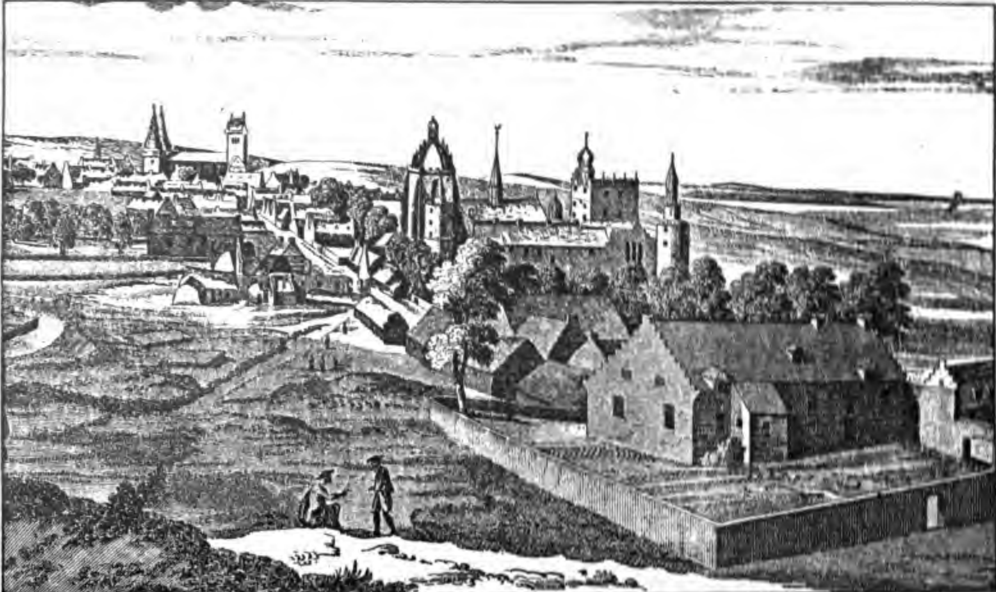
It remains to give an account of some new endowments, given to the college since the donation made by Queen Anne, in 1713. A large number of gifts were made within this period, but only a few of them deserve special mention. Some valuable bursaries were left by Sir Alexander Falconer of Glen Farquhar in 1716, by Dr James Fraser of Chelsea in 1730, and by Dr Alexander Moir of St Croix in 1783. The Murray Sunday Lectures were founded in 1793. Dr Alexander Murray, of Philadelphia, who had been educated at King's College, and was a cousin of Principal Chalmers, left his property to the Senatus "for the encouragement in the first

place of a clergyman to preach a course of lectures in their college church on Sunday mornings in the time of their winter sessions, on such subjects as they think fittest to tincture their students with just and liberal notions of pure undefiled religion and virtue, without descending to party distinctions and controversy." In Murray's own college days, the students had marched in a body to St Machar's Cathedral, where a gallery was reserved for their use, and so the testator adds—"This donation is also intended to remove in some measure the uncommon grievance and indecorum of their processions to their parish church in an inclement and dangerous season." The money became legally available on the death of Mrs Murray in 1811, but some delays were experienced in obtaining it, owing to difficulties with the United States. The General Assembly of 1821 sanctioned the arrangement, on condition that the lecturers should be licentiates of the Established Church, and the College Chapel was renovated and fitted for the reception of the students. It was at this time that Bishop Stewart's pulpit was given to the college by the authorities of the Cathedral, the College, in return, giving up the gallery in the Cathedral.

In 1801, the valuable Hutton foundation was left by George Hutton, of Deptford; and in 1809, the Stuart bursaries were bequeathed by the Rev. James Stuart of South Carolina. In

1815, the Murtle Lectures on "Practical Religion" were founded; and in 1838, John Simpson, of Worcester, left funds for the institution of six bursaries, and of prizes of £60 each, for excellence in Greek and in mathematics.

We have now told the story of King's College up to the date of the union of the Universities of Aberdeen. The commissioners appointed by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858 united the two institutions under the title of the University of Aberdeen. From and after the 15th September, 1860, the University and King's College ceased to exist as a separate corporation.



OLD ABERDEEN, SHOWING KING'S COLLEGE AND THE SNOW CHURCH.

(*Reduced from Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ."*)

CHAPTER XIX.

The College Buildings at Old Aberdeen.

There's an old university town
  Between the Don and the Dee,
Looking over the grey sand-dunes,
  Looking out on the cold North Sea.

But, though it looks out on the cold North Sea, the quaint old town nestles pleasantly among green trees in the sweet summer time. As you walk through its leafy streets then, "Heaven's breath smells wooingly." There is a restful repose upon everything. And over all into the clear air rise the twin towers of St Machar and the picturesque crown of King's, with its impressive memories of the past. Thackeray, in a letter to Lady Jane Ogilvy, wrote of it thus :—"I had a delightful tour in the north, was charmed with Inverness, and fell in love with Old Aberdeen, an elderly, decayed, mouldering old beauty, who lives quietly on the seashore near her grand new granite sister of a city."

Nature and art have combined to render King's College one of those buildings that once seen are never forgotten. Four hundred years have given it "that golden stain of time" wherein, according to Mr Ruskin, "we are to

look for the real light and colour and preciousness of architecture." As a great public institution, it has helped in no small degree to make the history of our country what it is. To many, it is rendered sacred by the associations that cluster round an Alma Mater. Her sons "take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." But, apart from these considerations, the time-honoured buildings of King's College have of themselves a claim upon our attention. Their story is an interesting one. Men so widely different as Bishop Elphinstone and General Monk have helped to rear them. Here we find some memorial of a bishop, and there we come upon the track of a presbyter. Different portions belong to four different centuries.

On the north side of the quadrangle stands the chapel with its crown tower. Alongside of the west door of the chapel, fronting the exterior, is the following inscription: — Per serenissimum illustrissimum et invictissimum J. IV. R. quarto nonas Aprilis anno millesimo et quingentesimo hoc insigne collegium latomi inceperunt edificare. This portion of the building was, therefore, begun in April, 1500. Externally, its most striking feature is the crown. We do not know by whom it was originally built. Possibly its designer was one of the family of

Franche, three generations of whom were connected with architecture in Scotland. There are two other ancient crowned towers in Great Britain—one in Newcastle and the other in Edinburgh. A fourth, now destroyed, stood in Linlithgow. But the crown at King's College has generally been awarded the palm for majestic beauty. A seventeenth century chronicler speaks of it as "a most curious and statlie work of heuin and corned stones, representing to the view of all beholders a brave portrait of the royall diademe." Billings, writing in 1852, says :—"The lantern of crossed rib arches springing from a tower, which the northern architects seem to have derived from edifices in the style and character of the tower of Antwerp Cathedral, is here exhibited in more marked and stern simplicity than either at Newcastle or Edinburgh, where the specimens partake more of the spiral character. The royal crown perched on the meeting keystones adjusts an imitation of reality with great felicity to the tone of Gothic architecture." The crown is not, however, exactly as it was in the days of Bishop Elphinstone. A violent gale blew it down on the 7th February, 1633. "This goodlie ornament," says Spalding, "haveing stood since the dayes of that glorious King, James IV., was by ane extraordinar tempest of stormie wind blowne down; quherby both the roofes of

tymber and lead, and other adjacent workes, wer pitifullie cruschied." The mason or builder at its second construction was George Thomson, whose name is carved upon the keystone on the west side of the great arch of the crown. It was "re-edefeit and biggit up little inferior to the first." Gordon, in his "Description of Aberdeen," tells us that the rebuilding of it was owing to the efforts of Bishop Patrick Forbes, and to the mediciner of the time, Dr William Gordon, whose portrait, by Jamesone, is still in the college.

The graceful spire in the centre of the chapel roof is associated with the name of King Charles I., whose cipher may be seen upon it. It is marked in Gordon's map of Aberdeen, which was prepared about 1662. We have evidence that it required repair in 1638; and, altogether, the probability is that it is of the same date as the chapel. The reference to Charles would seem to indicate merely that some alterations were made in his time. His name appears also in the lead of the roof, which we know to be older than the seventeenth century. There was originally a small tower also at the east end of the chapel, and traces of a staircase may still be seen upon the wall.

The west and north sides of the chapel have suffered little, if any, change, save from time and weather. The west window has been pre-

served. It is a window of four lights, with rich cusped tracery, rare in Scotland. The centre mullion bisects the arch, running straight up to the top, and producing an unusual effect. Traces of time are more evident on the east and south sides of the chapel. The east window over the high altar has disappeared. The visitation in Principal David Rait's time ordered "that the east window of the said kirk sould be takin doune within sex fuittis to the soil, and fullit with glass." We possess no proof that this was carried out, and, in 1658, a building called the "Timber Muses" was built against the east end, shutting up the window. The chapel terminates in a triangular apse, with N.E. and S.E. windows. The former of these, according to Orem, was closed in 1715. It was re-opened in 1823.

Bishop Stewart built out from the south side of the chapel a library and jewel-house, which projected into the Quadrangle. It had become decayed by the eighteenth century, and was replaced in 1725 by a building erected out of the funds supplied by Dr Fraser. This second library was destroyed by fire somewhere about the year 1773. Strangely enough, neither in the senatus minutes nor in the "Aberdeen Journal" of the period do we find any reference to the disaster. Much of our knowledge of the event is derived from some recollections of

Professor Norman Macpherson, given in his "Notes on the Chapel, Crown, and other Ancient Buildings of King's College, Aberdeen," published in 1890. After the destruction of Dr Fraser's library, the south side of the chapel was encased in granite, a striking contrast to the freestone of the ancient building. Various coats of arms were, at the same time, transferred from other portions of the college, and built into this granite covering.

The interior of the chapel has been subjected to various processes of destruction and restoration. It was magnificently equipped by Bishop Elphinstone. An inventory of 1542 shows that it was rich in things requisite for the ornate ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. But the most notable of its furnishings was the oak screen, the delicate carving of which has been universally admired. It still remains, having escaped the storms of Reformation and Covenant. Within the chapel are the pulpits of Bishops William Stewart and Patrick Forbes. The black marble tombstone of the founder, robbed of the effigy which adorned it, "upheld by thretteine statues of brasse," stands immediately below the chancel steps. On the tombstone, it was for long customary to lay the bodies of dead professors during the night preceding their interment. The chapel suffered little at

the Reformation, but much during the troubles of the seventeenth century. In 1640, the General Assembly, which met at Aberdeen, ordered a representation of the Virgin on the organ case to be removed. They described it as "a pourtraicte of some woman, nobody could tell who," and considered that it was "a thing very intollerable in the church of a College." Two years later, Principal Guild, says Gordon in his "Scots Affairs," "causit tak doune the organ case quhilk wes of fyne wanescot, and had stand within the kirk since the Reformation."

The nave or ante-chapel has a separate history. It was used for services by Principal Guild, but only for a short time. When the library was destroyed by fire, the books were placed in the ante-chapel, which was fitted up to receive them. Some astounding proposals were made at this date. An architect's plan is in existence showing a porter's lodge built on the south side of the crown tower, to match the west end of the chapel. The absolute disregard of æsthetic considerations which prevailed may be seen from a senatus minute of 6th May, 1773. The whole discussion about the buildings arose from the necessity of adapting the ante-chapel to its use as a library. Two proposals were made. The first of these suggested the division of the ante-chapel into two storeys, by placing a floor on the level of the west window. The lower portion was to contain three classrooms,

and the upper the library: "the schools to be lighted from the North, and the walls must be slapped for three windows and for a door to the South." There was to be "no access to the Library but by an outer stair in the College Court." The second plan, which was ultimately adopted as the less expensive, contemplated the conversion of the ante-chapel into a library, with a gallery running round the wall. It was decided that "two vents . . . carried up in the two corners" with "chimney tops to terminate in something like the eminences presently on the side walls" would "look better than one vent carried up in the middle of the partition . . . which must terminate in a chimney head in the Roof hard by the spire." It was only on the ground of economy that the porter's lodge was not built, and the ante-chapel rendered hideous by doors and windows. Poverty for once was a great mercy, averting a terrible mutilation of the ancient building. The east end, however, was fitted with benches about 1824, when the Murray lectures began. When the present library was built, the books were removed and the chapel was restored in 1870. There was a further restoration in 1892.

On the east side of the quadrangle, stood, in Elphinstone's time, the "Great Hall," with the Public School underneath. It was re-

moved in 1860. Extending backward from the hall was the "economy" or kitchen, occupying the site of the present library. In the north-east corner of the quadrangle, there stands a square tower, which has come to be known as Cromwell's Tower. It was built about 1658. We possess the "names of those benefactors of the King's College and Universitie of Aberdene who bestowed twentie poundes Scottish money, or above, toward the raiseing of the new building, reared up at the north-east corner of the said college, undertaken by the present incumbents, Januarie second day, and founded Aprile seventh day, in the yeare 1658." From the list we see that Principal Row, the professors, the graduates, and the students subscribed liberally to the fund, as did also the ministers of most of the surrounding parishes. Even the sacrist, John Ross, gave twenty-two pounds Scots. The university authorities were assisted by some of the military officers then in Scotland. Cromwell's Scottish lieutenant, General Monk, contributed "one hundredth and twentie pounds Scottis." Monk's secretary, William Clark, Major John Hill, Major Garden of Troup, Colonel Fitch, and Captain Lawrie, were among the soldiers who followed the example of "The Lord General George Moncke." Among other notable donors were Lord Lorne and Lord Elphinstone. The building was not finished at the Restora-

tion, and the Episcopalian clergy helped to complete the work begun by their opponents.

The south side of the quadrangle was, as we have seen, erected by Bishop Dunbar. It consisted of dormitories, and terminated at each end in a round tower. The East Tower is still standing, and is known as the Ivy Tower. Dunbar's buildings were replaced by those of Dr James Fraser, erected about 1725. These dormitories were also demolished in 1860. A unique feature of the quadrangle was the Piazza, which ran along the south side, in front of Dr Fraser's buildings, and gave something of a cloistered appearance to the place.

In 1824-5, the west front of the college was erected at a cost of £7000, of which £2000 had been given from the Privy Purse. It was designed by Archibald Simpson, a well-known Aberdeen architect. But the building undoubtedly interferes with the effect of the south buttresses of the crown tower, and, though the work of a clever artist, fails to harmonise with the Gothic of Elphinstone's Chapel. It contains at the present time the Senatus Room and the Archæological Museum.

When the students ceased to live within the college, the ground floor of Dr Fraser's buildings was converted into classrooms. At this point we may appropriately introduce, from the recollection of Principal Sir William D. Geddes, a statement of the arrangement of

the classrooms at King's College for some time before the union. About 1840, the mathematical classroom was situated in the first floor of the square tower, the divinity in the second, and the natural philosophy in the third and highest. Greek was taught in a room at the east end of the Fraser building, the door opening from the piazza. Two other classrooms opened from the piazza—the moral philosophy from the middle, and the chemistry from the west end. The moral philosophy room served also for humanity, and Hebrew was occasionally taught in it. The chemistry room was situated in the new west front. Afterwards, on the death of Professor Mearns, the divinity room was assigned to the professor of humanity, and Professor Robert Macpherson, Dr Mearns's successor, taught in the chapel.

The rest of the south block, built by Dr Fraser, was unoccupied, except that one of the regents had a manse in the west portion, and the professor of Hebrew had rooms in the upper floor. The east attic was known as the Lobby, and used as a place for dancing. A Christmas dance was for years a recognised institution. A number of the rooms stood quite empty.

At the union, when these buildings were destroyed to give place to the present south side, special temporary arrangements were made. The old hall, on the first floor, became the Humanity classroom, and the old public school,

on the basement floor, the Greek. The latter was also used for English. The new Logic class was accommodated in the vacant humanity room in the tower, and there the first incumbent of the chair, Professor Bain, delivered his introductory lecture. Chemistry was now taught in Marischal College, and thus a classroom was left free for moral philosophy.

Additions were made to King's College in 1860 and 1870. After the union, a set of classrooms (Greek, Humanity, Mathematical, and Logic) were built on the south side of the quadrangle, and the Natural Philosophy and two Divinity ones on the east. In 1870, the present spacious library was erected. It was completed fifteen years later by the Melvin transept, in which is a stained glass window in memory of Dr James Melvin—the famous rector of the Aberdeen Grammar School. One of the two Divinity classrooms was, in 1894, converted into a students' reading room in connection with the library.

Of the internal fittings, in the olden time, we know something from the Register of 1542. It speaks of five great bells in the crown tower, called Trinitas, Maria, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, of five small bells with iron hammers for striking the hours, and of two bells for daily use. The inscriptions on the five large bells are given by Orem. They were :—

Trinitas — "Trinitate sacra fiat haec campana beata."

Maria—"Protege, precor, pia, quos convoco, Sancta Maria."

Michael—"En annuncio vobis novum gaudium, quod erit omni populo."

Gabriel—"Vocor Gabriel; Cantate Domino canticum novum bene. Psallite ei vociferatione."

Raphael — "Cantate Domino canticum novum bene. Psallite ei in vociferatione."

The senatus minutes show that on the 2nd September, 1700, a French founder, M. Gelly, proposed to re-cast the bells, which had, apparently, been damaged by that date. He was to receive all the metal, and "out of two parts of the said metall, to cast for the college use five or six goode and sufficient musicall bells," of specified size, demanding "for his owne proper charges and expences . . . the remaineing third part of the metall." The Senatus agreed to his proposal, "having sufficient information of the said Mr Gelly his capacity and skill in this art, and that it were not possible to get the said bells re-casten so easily elsewhere." On the 13th October, 1702, the Senatus ordered the new bells to be tried. They seem to have given satisfaction, for no objection is mentioned. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the college architect forbade their use on the ground of their being too large to be rung with

safety, and when the west front was built, they were sold to raise funds for the extension. There is preserved in the museum at King's College another bell known as "Clatter Vengeance," which hung originally in the small tower at the east end of the chapel. It bears an inscription with the date 1660. "Clatter Vengeance" was so called because it summoned the students to their morning hour of lessons before breakfast. Previous to the visitation of cholera in 1832, the classes met at eight o'clock. After the epidemic, more rational hours were, by advice of the doctors, adopted.

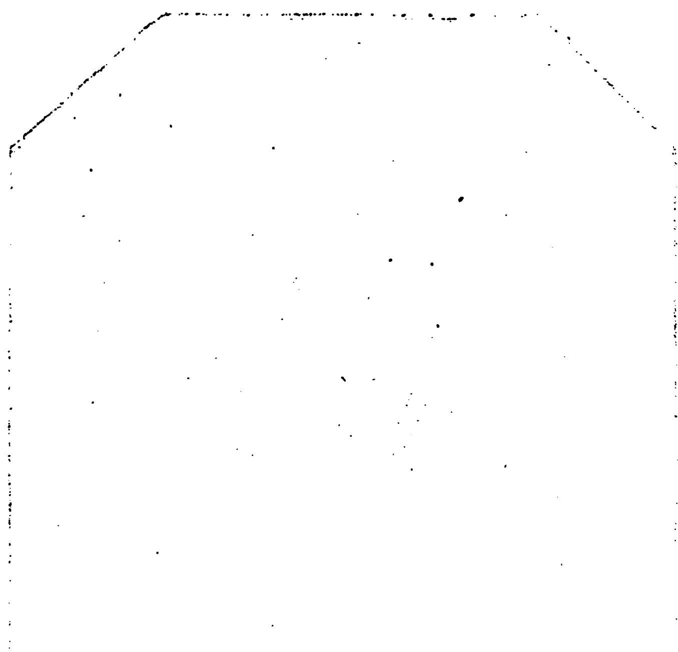
The document of 1542 describes also the furniture of the dormitories. The different apartments were named after the planets and constellations—Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury, Venus, the Ram, the Bull, and so forth. The beds were of oak or fir, and there were oak cupboards and tables. The principal's bed was "of aik, sylit and hung about with iii cortanis, reid worsat and grein." He had "ane fedder bed," "ane lang seitt and ane faorme of aik," and "ane hingand chandelar off brass, with the ymage of Our Lady and sex flouris." In the kitchen were branders and spits, "pottis, great and small, with ane great beif pott," pans, plates, dishes, "ane bakein buird," and "ane lok and ane key to the kitche dur."

The most important of the extra-mural build-

ings was the Snow Kirk, St Mary ad Nives. Orem tells us that, when Principal Guild took up his duties, in 1640, "he entered George Ronald, mason, to the Snow Kirk, to cast down the walls thereof, and caused transport the stones to build the college-yard dykes, and to employ the hewn-work to the decayed chamber windows within the said college, whereat many people in the Old Town murmured, because of old it was their parish church, and many of their friends and ancestors lay interred in it." The only known representation of the Snow Kirk is to be found in Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ" (Lond., 1693). The manses built by Elphinstone have all vanished, although their sites are still occupied by houses in the possession of the college. The house on the site of the grammarian's manse is now attached to the chair of humanity. Outside it, there is a remnant of an old gateway, with the Elphinstone shield and a mitre, "from which," says Professor Norman Macpherson, "the old manse of the grammarian derived its popular name of 'The Sign of the Mitre.'" The mediciner's manse, built for Dr Gregory about 1842, was thereafter occupied by Dr Andrew Fyfe, and was, by an ordinance of the Commission of 1858, appropriated to the Chair of Biblical Criticism. The canonist's, replaced by a new building about 1860, is now occupied by the professor of Church

History. It was long the residence of the sub-principal. Two manses, now the Greek and mathematical, were built about 1773.

In the Senatus Room, there hangs a picture of King's College about 1670. It shows the chapel and crown tower and Dunbar's buildings. The crown does not receive justice in the painting. The earliest picture of the college is to be seen in the Spalding Club edition of Gordon's "Description of both towns of Aberdeen." The date of the picture is 1662. Other early representations are to be found in Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ," already mentioned; in Cordiner's "Romantic Ruins and Remarkable Prospects of North Britain" (Lond. 1795); and in Wilson's "Delineation of Aberdeen" (Abd. 1822). The illustration in the present volume is reduced from the "Prospect of Old Aberdeen," in Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ." The picture shows the Chapel and Crown Tower, and the little Tower, now demolished, at the east end of the Chapel. It also shows Cromwell's Tower, and Dunbar's Buildings, with the Snow Kirk in the foreground.



THE EARL MARISCHAL.

CHAPTER XX.

The Earl Marischal and his Charter.

We again ascend the stream of time to trace the history of Marischal College. Younger than her rival sister by almost a century, she has not had so chequered a career, and her story in some respects is wanting in equal elements of interest. Still she has been a great educative force, a notable "nursing mother." Many of her Alumni have distinguished themselves in very varied fields—in literature, in science, in philosophy, and as men of affairs. Some of them stand in the front rank of fame.

It is not too much to say that Marischal College owed its origin to the failure of the Melville party to introduce the Nova Fundatio into King's College. George Keith, fifth Earl Marischal, was the friend and associate of the Melvilles, and warmly supported their educational programme. But the founder of Marischal College was more than a follower of Andrew Melville. He was, besides, a man of intellectual and administrative ability, and, in the course of his busy life, occupied various responsible positions in connection with both the State and the Church. He

came of an illustrious race. He was descended from the Keith who commanded the Scottish cavalry at Bannockburn, and who fell at Durham fighting by the side of the Bruce's son. His father was William, Lord Keith, Master of Marischal. His grandfather, William, fourth Earl Marischal, was a man of note, who took an important part in the politics of his day, and attached himself to the Reformers, although he belonged to the moderate section of the Protestants.

George Keith was born about the year 1553. He studied at King's College, and proceeded thence to Geneva, where he was a pupil of the famous scholar Theodore Beza, who, it is recorded, was much impressed with the ability of the young Scotchman. When Keith was about twenty-seven years of age he lost his father, and a year later his grandfather, succeeding, on the death of the latter in 1581, to the title and estates. In 1582, he was a member of a commission appointed by the General Assembly to seek out those "suspected of papistrie." In the same year he became a Privy Councillor. From that time till 1589 the Earl was constantly embroiled in the political feuds of the day, his chief foe being the Earl of Huntly, to whose religious views the Protestant Earl Marischal was keenly opposed.

In 1589, King James VI. married the

Princess Anne of Denmark, and the Earl was sent to convoy the bride to her future home. Stress of weather prevented his performing his mission, and King James had himself to proceed to Denmark. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland tells that the king granted the earl the Abbacy of Deer, "in perpetual monument of the said service."

It was in 1593 that the earl founded the University in New Aberdeen, a work on which his fame now chiefly depends. Some stormy years followed. In October of the year in which he established his college, he was appointed one of the commission to take measures against the noblemen who still adhered to the Roman Catholic Church. He was, in 1604, a member of the Joint Scottish and English Commission for settling matters connected with the union of the two countries. Thereafter he served in various capacities, becoming, in 1609, Royal Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. He lived for some years in retirement, and died at Dunnottar Castle on 2nd April, 1623. The college lamented his death in an "Oratio Funebris," prepared by William Ogston, the professor of moral philosophy, and in the "Lachrymae Academiae Marischallanae." Justice has usually been done by biographers and historians to the memory of the earl. His

eminent political talent, his love of learning, and his pure personal character place him high in the roll of Scottish statesmen.

The foundation charter of Marischal College is dated 2nd April, 1593. The original of it has not been preserved, but there are several copies. It is printed by Mr Anderson in the first volume of his "Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis" (New Spalding Club, 1889), and our quotations are made from his English rendering of it. The document sets forth the advantages of learning, which, "in the northern parts of this kingdom of Scotland, is generally deficient." The earl goes on to say that "we . . . desire to found at Aberdeen (called New, to distinguish it from Old Aberdeen) . . . a public 'Gymnasium,' in the buildings formerly belonging to the Franciscans, . . . where young men may be thoroughly trained and instructed, both in the other humane arts, and also in Philosophy and a purer piety, under the charge of competent and learned teachers, to whom shall be given from our endowment such salaries as may be required."

The endowment in question is—"All and whole the manse and offices, glebes, yards, cloisters, church, and wells that formerly belonged to the Franciscan Friars, commonly called the Gray Friars of Aberdeen, as they are

bounded and marked off by walls lying on the east side of the street called the Braid Gate; all and sundry the lands, crofts, roods, rigs, orchards, barns, dovecots, tenements, houses, buildings, yards, acres, annual rents, feu-duties, kilns, offices, and others whatsoever, belonging to the Preaching and the Carmelite Friars of Aberdeen, commonly called the Black and the White Friars; and the estates and lands belonging to us in Bervy, once the Chaplainry of Bervy, and also the Chaplainry of Cowy, commonly called St Mary's, belonging to us, . . . to be held, and had from [of] us and our successors, Earls Marischal, in pure and perpetual alms, rendering therefor only the offering of pious prayers." The property of the Black and White Friars had been granted to the earl by King James VI., in a charter under the great seal, of date 26th September, 1592. The Town Council of Aberdeen, on the 24th September, 1593, "voitit thocht guid and expedient, that the gray freiris place thairof hous bigingis kirk and yaird of the samen salbe resignit in favoris of ane Nobill and potent Lord George erll Merschell, Lord Keith and Altrie To be giffin be the said erll to be ane college."

The regulations for the administration of the university as an educational institution show, as one would expect, traces of the influence of Melville, and may be compared with the new foundations of King's College, of St Andrews,

and of Glasgow, and with the charter granted by King James VI. to the University of Edinburgh, printed in Bower's "History of the University of Edinburgh" (Edinburgh: 1817). Provision was made for a principal, three regents, six alumni or bursars, a steward and a cook—all to "live in a collegiate manner, that is, having his meals and sleeping within the walls of the Academia."

The principal had conjoined with his office a professorship. In addition to the general management of the college, over all the members of which he had jurisdiction, he was to teach Scripture, Hebrew, and Syriac. "He shall also," it is added, "(after the eight acroamatic books which the third Regent will explain) set forth all the rest of Physiology from the Greek text of Aristotle, to which he shall add a short explanation of Anatomy. He shall also expound Geography, History, and the outlines of astronomy." The subjects of the highest Regent embraced arithmetic, geometry, Cicero's "De Officiis," "selections from Aristotle's books of Ethics and Politics from the Greek text . . . and . . . the acroamatic books of Aristotle's 'Organum Physicum.'" The duties of the other Regents are thus described :—The second "shall teach the "Organum Logicum" and a system of rules of invention and judgment from the best authors

of both languages, and shall exercise the youths both in writing and public speaking." The third "shall profess instruction in Greek, explaining also the easiest authors of both languages, and shall accustom the students, by frequent written exercises, for the first six months to compose in Latin, and during the rest that follow to write Greek, to which he shall add a short compendium of local invention and judgment."

There is nothing remarkable about the list of subjects here. The ethics of Aristotle provided against the neglect of philosophy, but the curriculum is quite a post-Reformation one. There was one marked step in advance, inasmuch as it was contemplated that each Regent should lecture on definite topics, although the old title was maintained. The apportioning of the subjects shows this, but a succeeding paragraph is even more explicit :—"It is our desire that the teachers of our Academia shall not shift about to new professorships, but shall work in the same professorship, that the youths who ascend step by step may have a teacher worthy of their studies and talents." The last clause indicates that the earl had grasped a higher ideal of education, and possessed a nobler conception of learning than most of his contemporaries. The Marischal College regents continued to teach separate subjects in the manner of professors till

session 1642-43. Various proofs of this are in existence. The names of the regents, given in connection with graduations, do not occur in cycles, as is the case under the "regenting" system. Further, in the "Lachrymae Academiae Marischallanae" (1623), we find professors of Greek, Logic, and Natural Philosophy; and in the "Funerals" of Bishop Patrick Forbes (1635) John Rae subscribes his "Epicedium" as professor of moral philosophy in Marischal College. The drudgery of the old "regenting" system was, for some obscure reason, introduced in 1642, a year after it had been revived in King's College.

In addition to the principal and the regents, some of the students, the steward, and the cook were to reside within the college. Six bursaries were provided, to be awarded after a competition, but the earl and his successors to have the power of nominating bursars. Special duties are prescribed for the bursars. They "are to wear white gowns, girt with a white leather belt four fingers broad; and it shall be their duty week about at five o'clock to go round the apartments of all sleeping within the Academia, to awaken the students for their work, and to bring light in winter and also not to decline other lighter duties in the dining hall or at supper time, particularly in placing the dishes on the table and in supplying water." Students who were not bursars might live either in the college or out-

side it. The curriculum was a four years one, and all the students were under strict discipline. On working days they were to attend lectures, and, on Sundays, the reading of the Greek New Testament. St Luke's Gospel is prescribed for the first class, the Acts of the Apostles for the second, the Epistle to the Romans for the third, and the Epistle to the Hebrews for the fourth. Examinations were to take place at entrance, at graduation, and at the beginning of each year. The students were to be "diligent in their studies and pure in their morals." They were to pay due reverence to their teachers, and to speak in Latin or Greek, and were specially forbidden "to possess any arms either of offence or defence." As to non-residents, the Charter says—"Those living without the Academia shall never be found without it, except at the hours appointed for meals; if they sleep without, they must enter exactly at six o'clock in the morning, and not go out before nine o'clock; and when they return from breakfast before ten o'clock, it shall not be lawful for them to go out before twelve o'clock; and they must remain within till six in the evening, unless leave of play be given to all; and when having entered together, they are taken out into the fields and brought back by the teacher that has this duty for the week, they shall not extend their time of play beyond two hours from the time when

they leave the Academia, in order that they may more seasonably return to their lessons."

The steward was "to be an honest and industrious man." He was "regularly to provide the Academia, according to the will of the teachers, with all the necessaries of life, purchasing articles for the maintenance of the Academia, to distribute the income and revenues derived by the College among the principal, the three teachers, and, indeed, all the persons in the foundation, and to make these payments regularly in good faith." A weekly account was to be rendered by him to the principal and the regents. The duty of the cook was "to prepare the food and cultivate the garden of the Gymnasium."

The head of the university was the chancellor, associated with whom were the rector and the Dean of Faculty. They were to inspect the college "in the first days of October, February, and June—to the end that if anything either in doctrine or discipline have been neglected or corrupted it may, by their advice, be amended and corrected." It devolved upon them especially to see that the members were loyal to the Protestant Church and free from "the darkness of Popery." The Dean of Faculty was also to preside at examinations and graduations.

The following are the rules for elections:— "The election and admission of all shall be as

follows: — The nomination of all the teachers, or presentation as it is called, whenever a place is vacant by death, dismissal, or resignation, shall be in the hands of Earl Marischal, the Founder, and of his heirs; but the examination and admission shall be in the hands of the following persons, or of a majority thereof, namely, the Chancellor of the Academia, if he be a minister of the Gospel, the Rector, the Dean of Faculty, the Principal of the old Academia, the Minister of New Aberdeen, the Ministers of the Gospel in Fetteresso and Deer. And if a Principal is to be elected for this new Academia, the three Regents of the Academia shall have a single conjoint vote; but in the election of the Regents the Principal shall have a vote." The method of election of the Chancellor is not mentioned. That office was held by the Earls Marischal up to the year 1716.

The rector, "a grave, godly man, a lover of law and justice, and well skilled therein . . . shall be elected," says the charter, "by all the supposts [members] of the academia divided into four nations, in such wise that the Diocese of Aberdeen, on account of the greater number, be divided into two nations, Mar and Buchan, the Garioch being included in Mar, and the rest, as far as the river Deveron, belonging to Buchan. The remainder of the kingdom north

of the Grampians shall be comprehended under the name of the Moray nation; all to the south of the Grampians shall be known as the Angus nation. Procurators, chosen one by each of the nations, shall elect the Rector and his Assessors."

The Dean of Faculty was to be chosen "by the Rector, Chancellor, Principal, the three teachers, and the Minister of New Aberdeen, provided that the Principal, with the Minister of the new town, shall be always present at his election." The steward was to be elected by the chancellor, rector, principal, dean of faculty, minister of New Aberdeen, and regents. Power of expelling any of the members was vested in the principal, after consultation with the other authorities.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Charter. The University of Fraserburgh. The Chairs of Mathematics and Divinity. Humanity Lectures.

A few points in the charter have yet to be noticed. Celibacy was not enjoined upon the regents, although "if any of the persons on the foundation be married, we forbid his wife, daughters, or maidservant to dwell, or in any way stay or spend the night within the walls of the Academia." But, in practice, the regents were required to be unmarried, as we know from a deed of presentation, dated 1626, preserved in the university. In that document it is made a condition that the regent "remaine a single persone and nowayes marie nor tak ane wyff so long as he remaines in the said office of ane regent q^rin if he sall happin to failzie in mariing a wyff, in that case ipso facto immeatlie eftir his mariage he sall tyne and amit his said office of regentshipe and whole benefit thairof." No master was allowed to hold "any other public office without the walls."

A paragraph at the end of the charter bears witness to the administrative power of the founder. "We forbid," he says, "any perpetual leasing out of land or feus, whether

on pretext of augmentation or improvement, or for any other reason, or under any name whatsoever." Unfortunately this wise provision was not adhered to. Within five years, a perpetual feu was granted.

It will be observed that, in the charter, the institution founded by the earl is called a "Gymnasium," an "Academia," and a "Collegium." The word "Universitas" occurs only once. To this fact reference will afterwards be made when we come to discuss the relations between the two universities. Possibly the phraseology is to be explained on the ground that the Earl was departing from the old conception of a university, which was naturally associated with Roman Catholicism. The Earl was an ardent Protestant, and he may have wished to accentuate the difference between education before and after the Reformation.

On the 25th April, 1593, the General Assembly, sitting at Dundee, sanctioned the charter, "having employit certaine of the godly and best learned Brether of thair number, to the sighting, and considering of this Fundatione and erection following thair judgement and approbation heirof." On the 21st July it was ratified by Parliament. No new buildings were erected for academic purposes. The Greyfriars monastery was used as the college.

The foundation of a university in New

Aberdeen was not the only attempt to establish, under Protestant auspices, a seat of learning in the north of Scotland. In 1592, Sir Alexander Fraser erected a university in Fraserburgh. He obtained from James VI. a grant of the lands of Philorth for the purpose of building a college. The same deed—which, by the way, changed the name of the town from "Faithlie" to "the Burgh and Port of Fraser"—conferred on the proposed university of Fraserburgh all the usual powers and privileges. On the 16th December, 1597, the Scots Parliament gave some church lands to Sir Alexander Fraser. The Act tells that he "his begwn to edifie and big up collegis, quhilkis nocht only will tend to the great decoirement of the cuntrey, but also to the advancement of the loist and tint yuthe in bringing thame up in leirning and vertew." In 1597, a vacancy occurred in the Church of Fraserburgh, and Fraser, the patron, conjoined with that office the principalship of the university, an arrangement which was sanctioned by the General Assembly in March, 1600. The principal was Charles Ferme, whose biography has been written by Wodrow. Ferme taught till 1605, when he was imprisoned for attending the Aberdeen Assembly of that year. With him perished the University of Fraserburgh.

But Fraserburgh has a further connection with our story. In 1647, when the plague was raging in Aberdeen, King's College retreated to Fraserburgh, and for one session the classes were conducted there. It is possible that Sir Alexander Fraser's University Buildings were used at that time. A portion of them we know to have been standing in 1793. While King's College was at Fraserburgh, Marischal College was at Peterhead.

The first principal of Marischal College was Robert Howie. He was one of the ministers of Aberdeen when, in 1594, the earl placed him at the head of the university. He remained in Aberdeen for about three years, being transferred to St Andrews, where he finally became principal of St Mary's College. Howie's life is described by Wodrow in his "Biographical Collections," but little information is available regarding him. Gilbert Gray was appointed, in 1598, to fill his place in Aberdeen. Principal Gray continued in office till he died in 1614.

Between the founding of the college and the death of Principal Gray, there were some important changes. In 1596, new bursaries for youths of the name of Leslie were instituted by James Leslie of Durno, who for this purpose and also to "augment the insufficient rental of the

College," granted "the Brewcroft of Miltoun in the Garioch." In 1606, Patrick Jack, dyer, conferred upon the college two feu-duties. Five years later, Professor John Johnston, of St Mary's College, St Andrews, an account of whom was given in an earlier chapter, left a bursary for a student of divinity in Marischal College. But the bequest of Dr Duncan Liddell, in 1613, caused the first serious modification of the Foundation Charter.

Duncan Liddell, mathematician and physician, was born in Aberdeen about 1551. He received but little education in his native town, and, in 1579, went abroad to make his way in the world. He proceeded to Frankfurt, where he was fortunate enough to meet with John Craig, a Scotsman, who was professor of mathematics and logic in the University of Frankfurt. Craig, who was himself a scholar of note, was much interested in his young countryman, who, after attending lectures in Frankfurt, went to Breslau with letters of introduction from Craig. On his return from Breslau, he taught privately in Frankfurt, and then left it for Rostock, where he introduced, we are told, the Copernican theory. In 1591, he became professor of mathematics in the recently-founded University of Helmstadt, where he remained till 1607, returning, after further travel, to his native land. He died at Aberdeen on the 17th December, 1613, and was

buried in the Church of St Nicholas. Liddell was the author of several works, including "Disputationum Medicinalium" (1605), "Ars Medica, succincte et perspicue explicata" (1608), and "De Febribus" (1610). The first of these was printed at Helmstadt, and dedicated to John Craig. The two latter were issued at Hamburg, and bore dedications to King James VI. and Henry Prince of Wales respectively.

Dr Liddell's first benefaction to Marischal College was made in 1612. By a deed, executed at Edinburgh on the 12th July of that year, he bequeathed the lands of Pitmedden, near Aberdeen, to the two universities for the maintenance of six bursars, each for six years. During the first four they were to study, and the remaining two were to be occupied in teaching mathematics. He also provided funds for a prize in Latin or Greek verse. On the 9th December, 1613, he crowned his benefactions by endowing a chair of mathematics in Marischal College, making it a condition that monuments to his memory should be erected both at Aberdeen and at Pitmedden. Some difficulty was experienced in the appointment of a sufficiently able mathematician, and it was not till 1626 that William Johnston, a brother of Arthur Johnston, became the first professor of mathematics in Marischal College and University.

On Principal Gilbert Gray's death in Decem-

ber, 1614, a new appointment was not immediately made, and the Town Council nominated David Wedderburn as interim principal. In 1615, Andrew Aidie was made principal. He became involved in difficulties with the Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Forbes, and resigned in 1619.

In the same year, the commissioners, who were sent by the king at the request of Bishop Patrick Forbes, convened at Marischal College, but were refused entry, and read their commission "at the yett of the said colledge." Principal Aidie asserted that "he wes reddie and glaid that the visitatioun suld proceid, provyding the commissioneris wald warrand him of danger from his petroun my lord Marschall, wha had inhibite him ather to compeir or answer. An attempt was made to get the sanction of the earl, but he persisted in his refusal.

During Aidie's incumbency the funds of the college were increased by a bequest from Dr James Cargill, the earliest of Aberdeen botanists. Cargill founded four bursaries.

Between 1617 and 1628, the Chair of Divinity was founded. Patrick Copland, "Preacher to the Navy and Fleet of the East India Company," granted on the 27th January, 1616-7, the sum of two thousand merks for the salary of a lecturer in divinity, with the provision that, if the Earl Marischal should institute a chair,

the trustees of the Copland Bequest should be free to divert the money to other purposes. In 1622, and again in 1628, the gift was repeated. In 1617, the Town Council gave a grant to amplify the salary of the lectureship, Dr Copland having at that date given only the first of his three endowments. It had been Copland's intention at the outset to found bursaries; and, on the 2nd May, 1615, he wrote to his intimate friend, David Wedderburn, indicating his purpose. It was then represented to him that the college needed the money for other uses, and, after some negotiations, he agreed to the suggestion, "understanding that the greatest want now in their colledge is a reader of divinity." Copland gives the following reason for his benefactions:—"Forasmekle as I being a borne citizen of the burgh of Abirdeen within the kingdom of Scotland, and being brought up from my childhood in their grammar school and Colledge untill I passed my course in Philosophie, I acknowledge myself hereby bound and obliged to benefite their communwealth and to advance their Schooles and College so farre as lyes in my possibility."

The first to enjoy the income of the Copland endowment was one of the most famous of the "Aberdeen doctors," William Forbes. He was the son of Thomas Forbes, a citizen of Aberdeen, and was born in 1585. On his father's

side, he was connected with the family of Corse, while his mother, Janet Cargill, was the sister of the founder of the Cargill bursaries. William Forbes was educated at Marischal College, where his attainments attracted the attention of Principal Gray, through whom he was made professor of logic on the expiry of his course in arts. He taught for four years, defending Aristotle from the attacks of Petrus Ramus. He then studied in Germany, acquiring a wide and accurate knowledge of patristic literature, and a close acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue. On his return to Britain, he was offered the Chair of Hebrew at Oxford, but the state of his health necessitated residence in the north. He was successively minister at Alford, at Monymusk, and at Aberdeen.

In 1617, he undertook the duties of lecturer in divinity in Marischal College, and on the resignation of Principal Aidie in 1619, an effort was made to induce him to accept the principalship of the university. There were obstacles in the way. It was desirable that he should continue in his ministerial office and also in his capacity of divinity lecturer. But it was impossible for him to do so, and at the same time to comply with the regulation of the charter regarding the teaching of arts subjects. The Town Council met the difficulty by altering the arrangement of the charter. They think "it

meit and expedient that Mr willeam forbes Doctor in divinitie and ane of the ordinar ministeris of this burght salbe earnestlie delt with to accept upoun him to be Primar of the said college With this alwayis conditioun that he continew in his ministerie in teacheing twa sermonis everie weik as he dois presentlie ffor quhais better furtherance and help for that ministratioun thinkis it meit that thair sall be a fourt regent provyidit to teiche the hie class to disburdine the Primar altogider thairoff As lykwayis that the said Mr willeam salbe free and disburdenit off maeking all extraordinar mareagis and baptismes that ar not celebrat immediatlie efter sermone quhilkis salbe suppliet be his twa collegis Mr James Ros and Mr archibald blackburne Swa that the said Mr willeam forbes sall have onlie the cair and charge of the discipline of the college and teacheing of theologie thairin and na farder." Dr Forbes accepted the appointment on these conditions, but, in the following year, "be resone of the weyiht and burdenis of his chairge in the ministrie . . . dimittit his office of principalitie in the handis of the Earle Marshall, patrone of the said college."

In 1622, Dr Forbes accepted a ministerial charge in Edinburgh. The Presbyterian party was in the ascendant, and, in 1626, Forbes returned to Aberdeen, the strong-

hold of the Episcopalians, to whom he adhered. There he resided till 1633, when he preached before King Charles I. in Edinburgh, and was made by him the first bishop of the newly erected see. He died on the 11th April, 1634.

Forbes was a man of great learning. Bishop Burnet calls him a "grave and eminent divine." Garden, in his *Life* of John Forbes of Corse, says of Bishop William Forbes :—"He was a person who might be numbered with the best primitive Christian fathers, for his sanctity of life, humility of mind, gravity, modesty, temperance, . . . and all Christian virtues." During his lifetime he published no work, but, in 1658, Bishop Sydserf edited "Considerationes modestae et pacificae Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum et Christo Mediatore, Eucharistia," by the deceased Bishop of Edinburgh. The title of his book indicates the trend of Forbes's thought. Like Professor John Forbes, of King's College, he aimed at the blessing of the peacemaker. As was natural, his views did not meet with universal approbation. Row, in his "History," wrote of him :—"If Mr Forbes had left in legacy a confession of his faith, ye would have seen a strange and miscellaneous farrago and hotch-potch of Popery, Arminianisme, Lutheranisme, and what not ;" and Bishop Burnet

considered him "too favourable to many of the corruptions of the Church of Rome." But at the present day his name stands high among the famous men connected with the Earl Marischal's University.

In the year in which Forbes became Principal, another alteration was made in the college curriculum. On the 10th February, 1620, the Town Council appointed David Wedderburn to teach humanity in the college, combining the duty with his rectorship of the Grammar School of Aberdeen. He undertook "so lang as his health and habilitie will permitt to teache ane lessoun of humanitie aines everie weeke in tyme comeing within the college of this burght. . . . And thairwith to compose in latine, both in prose and verse, quhatsumevir purpose or theme concerning the common effairis of the Toune, ather at hame or afield, as he salbe requyred be any of the magistrattis or clerk in tyme comeing." On the 16th February, the Council "ordanis the ane weik rethorick to be teachit and the uther weik humanitie out of sic select authoris as salbe injoyned." This attempt to conjoin the rectorship of the Grammar School with the offices of Marischal College humanist and Poet Laureate of Aberdeen was unsuccessful. On the 20th October, 1624, the Council restricted Wedderburn to his Grammar School

duties, "haveand considderatioune that the humanitie lessone that has beine teached these few yeiris bygaine in the college of this burghe be Mr David Wedderburne, maister of the townes grammer schole hes beine verie hurtfull and prejudiciall to the said grammer schole."

CHAPTER XXII.

MORE "ABERDEEN DOCTORS." THE FIRE AT MARISCHAL COLLEGE. FROM THE COVENANT TO THE RESTORATION.

We have now reached the period of the "Aberdeen Doctors," and proceed to an account of those of them that were connected with Marischal College. Of Principal William Forbes we have already spoken. Another notable Marischal College theologian was Dr Robert Baron. He belonged to the family of Barron of Kinnaird, in Fifeshire. The date of his birth is uncertain. He was educated at the University of St Andrews, where his brother, John, afterwards became principal of St Salvator's College. In 1618, he succeeded Patrick Forbes in the pastorate of Keith, and was transferred thence to Aberdeen in 1624. In 1625, he was appointed Professor of Divinity in Marischal College. He was the first to hold the professorship, Principal Forbes having been only a lecturer. Baron did not resign his ministerial charge, but agreed "to teich and dytt tuo lessones everie weik to the studentis. . . . and be Godes grace to compleitt and perfytt the holie course in

Divinitie in thrie yeires and how soon his first thrie yeires course shall have ane end . . . in all tyme thairefter dureing his lyfetyme to preeche in the pulpites of the said burght anes everie weik." Baron took a prominent part in opposing the Covenant, and, when the Presbyterians became dominant in the north, he fled to Berwick, where he died in 1639. Friend and foe joined in praising his memory. Bishop Sydserf called him "vir in omni Scholastica Theologia et omni literatura versatissimus." Middleton, in the appendix to Spottiswood, wrote of him as "a person of incomparable worth and learning." Gordon of Rothiemay said of him:—"So innocently lived and dyed hee, that such as . . . hated him, do now reverence his memorye and admire his works." Principal Baillie of Glasgow, the Presbyterian writer, thus referred to his death:—"My heart was only sore for good Dr Barron . . . . so meeke and learned a person."

The Spalding Club edition of Gordon's "Scots Affairs" contains a complete list of Baron's writings. Chief among them were "Disputatio de Authoritate S. Scripturae, seu de Formali Objecto Fidei" (1627), and "Disputatio Theologica" (1633). His sermon on the death of Bishop Patrick Forbes was printed in the "Funerals." In 1657, an edition of his works was issued under the title "Rob. Baronii, Theologi ac Philosophi celeberrimi Metaphysica

Generalis." Some of Baron's MSS. are preserved in the Library of the University of Aberdeen.

We pass now to the Latin poets. The earliest of these was Thomas Cargill, who wrote in honour of the foundation of Marischal College; his poem is known to us only from a quotation in the "Oratio Funebris." But the most famous of Aberdeen Latin poets was Arthur Johnston. Born in 1587, a member of a well-known Aberdeenshire family, the Johnstons of Caskieben, he was, in all probability, educated at Aberdeen, although, as to that, we cannot be absolutely certain. He travelled and studied medicine on the Continent, receiving, in 1610, the degree of doctor of medicine from the University of Padua. He resided for twenty years in France, where he composed much of his poetry. Returning to Scotland in 1632, he prepared, by desire of Archbishop Laud, his version of the Psalter, which was published at Aberdeen in 1637. He wrote also elegies and epigrams, and a collection of short poems called "Musae Aulicae." Among Scottish authors, he divides with Buchanan the supremacy in Latin verse. His eminence was recognised in his own country, and, in 1637, he became rector of King's College and physician in ordinary to Charles I. He died at Oxford in 1641, and was buried there—hence the lament,

Scotia moesta, dole, tanti viduata sepulcro

> Vatis; is Angligenis contigit altus honos—

which his earliest biographer translates:—

> Bereft of thy son's tomb, sad Scotia weep:
> England's the place where his loved ashes sleep.

William Johnston, the younger brother of Arthur, was closely connected with Marischal College. Tradition makes both the brothers students of the younger university. After teaching philosophy in the University of Sedan, Johnston became, in 1626, professor of mathematics in Marischal College. He contributed poems to the "Funerals" of Bishop Patrick Forbes and to a treatise by Dr Baron. He died in 1640. Gordon, in narrating the circumstances of his death, speaks of him as "weall seen both in the mathematics and the medicine."

A very prolific writer was Alexander Ross. He was a native of Aberdeen, was at the head of a school in Southampton, and became chaplain to King Charles I. He died in 1654, and, by his will, left money for founding two bursaries in Marischal College, at present consolidated into one bursary of £20 annually. He is now best known by the reference to him in "Hudibras," the second canto of which opens thus—

> There was an ancient sage philosopher
> That had read Alexander Ross over.

One of the most famous of his books, which passed through numerous editions, was

"A View of all Religions in the World." Among Ross's many writings were some Latin poems. He must be distinguished from Alexander Ross, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, with whom he has frequently been confounded.

We return to the history of the college. When Principal William Forbes demitted his office in 1621, the Earl Marischal, "be advyse of the Magistratis and Counsall . . . preferrit Mr Patrick dun Doctour in phisick to the said vacant place." The arrangement that had been made with Forbes was maintained, as far as the retention of a fourth regent was concerned. Principal Dun was the author of a treatise on medicine and of some Latin poetry. He was a physician of repute, and, when he took office, it was agreed "quhen he salbe burdenit be nobill men in the cuntrie in tyme of their seiknes to repair towardis thame as phisiciane, That he may lesumlie do the same without imputatioun of offence or bruck of dewtie on his pairt."

In 1623, the sixth Earl Marischal issued a Charter ratifying his father's provisions, but recalling the grants of the Chaplainries of Bervie and Cowie.

The erection of the gateway which formed the entrance to Marischal College up to the year 1893, dates from 1623. When Greyfriars Church was built by Bishop Dunbar, it was open to the street, but, in 1552, permission was given to

erect booths of such a height as to avoid any interference with the access of light to the church. This restriction, however, did not prevent the building of substantial houses, and, by 1623, the church and college were completely hidden from the street. On 11th June, 1623, the Town Council agreed to a proposal made by William Guild, then minister at King-Edward, afterwards at Aberdeen, and Principal of King's College from 1640 to 1649. Guild offered to "mortifie and dedicat frielie to the toune" a house in front of the college, on condition that the council would "mack a fair and commodious entrie to the College." The agreement was not actually carried out till 1633. In 1639, the Council ordered the burgh arms to be put on the gateway. These were afterwards replaced by the arms of the Earl Marischal.

The chief benefactors of this period were Dr Thomas Reid, Latin secretary to King James VI., of whom we shall speak when treating of the library; Alexander Irving of Drum, who instituted valuable bursaries; William Jamesone, writer, Edinburgh, who bequeathed mathematical instruments and books; and Dr Alexander Reid, of London, who made several donations. In 1633, the council gave the college a house to be used for dormitories, the college, in exchange, giving up all claim to Greyfriars Church.

On the 27th September, 1639, part of the

buildings was destroyed by fire. Spalding tells us that "upon Fridday, the 27th of September, on the nicht, the eist quarter of the Colledge Marshall suddantlie took fyre (none knowing the manner how). The people gatheris, but culd not get it quenshit, whill it burnt to nocht." Gordon, in his "Scots Affairs," gives some interesting details. "This," he says, "fell out September twenty-seventh, and was not tackne notice of, it fyring in the night time, till a barke, lying in the roade, gave allarum to the cittizens, whoise mariners came ashore, and together with the calme night (for it was extremely calme) were very helpfull for to quensh that flamme before a quarter of the aedifice was burnt; which was all the losse, except of some few bookes either embeasled or purloynd, or, by the trepidatione of the crowding multitude, throwne into a deepe well which stands in the colledge yard (or courte); which bookes the magistrattes of the cittye had givne order to carrye out of the librarye, which was next to the burning, and, had it once takne fyre, would have defaced the best library that ever the north pairtes of Scotland saw." Three years later, the college was rebuilt. The Town Council gave a grant, and Principal Dun, the professor of mathematics, and Mr (afterwards Principal) William Moir gave handsome subscriptions.

Neither Spalding nor Gordon refers to Marischal College as influenced by the controversy of the period, till the year 1640. When Montrose and Alexander Henderson visited Aberdeen in 1638, Dr Robert Baron was among those who challenged them to a doctrinal discussion. In 1639, the Commission of Assembly which met at King's College, and deposed Principal Leslie, does not seem to have interfered with Marischal College, probably because the Earl Marischal had, in the beginning of the year, formally joined the Covenanting party. "Marshall," says Spalding, "declairit him self cleirlie to be ane covenanter, quhilk wes doubtful befoir."

In the spring of 1640, when the ministers of the Diocese of Aberdeen met in Aberdeen, all the regents of Marischal College subscribed the Covenant except one. The incident is narrated in the "Scots Affairs." "Mr William Blackhall, one of the regents of the new colledge of Aberdene . . . asked a tyme to advyse upon his subscriptione ; but the result was that he tooke so great scandall at the Covenant, that shortly after he betooke himself to a voluntary exyle, and forsooke Scotland, and turnd Papist, rendring himself relligiouse, and never returned agane to his native countrey to this houer." Spalding, however, gives a different account. He tells us that "Mr Williame Blakhall, ane of the regentis of

Colledge Marschall, a prompt scoller, bred, borne, and brocht up in Aberdene, and never yit out of the countrie, refuisit to subscrive the countrie covenant, as the rest did, quhairupone he was deposit of his regency; thairefter he leivit simply in sober maner within the toune"—a reference, evidently, to the affair of 1640. But Spalding adds that "About the 24 of February (1642) . . . he is callit in suspitioun of poperie, he is convenit befoir the Sessioun of Abirdene, and at last brocht befoir the presbiterie. . . . He is accusit of what religioun he wes of, and of what kirk he wes. Efter sum answeris, at last he planelie and avouitlie declairit he was ane Romane Catholik, and wold byd be the samen, to the astoneishment of the haill heiraris, being of ane uther professioun, as appeirit, and so pertlie (now in tyme of the hottest persecution of papistis heir in this land) to manifest himself so. Aluaies, efter sum dealling with him by the ministrie and brethren, at last he is excommunicat . . . . upone the 20 of Marche, syne leavis the countrie."

In July, 1640, when the Assembly met in Greyfriars Church, "the principalls and members of both Colledges of Aberdeen" were summoned before that Court. The Marischal College professors seem to have been thoroughly in sympathy with the party in power. Robert Baron and

William Forbes were both dead, and with them the Episcopalian party in the college ceased to exist. Thus the University founded by Bishop Elphinstone suffered with the Episcopalian side, while that which was established by so vehement a Scottish reformer as the sixth Earl Marischal shared the fortunes of the advocates of Presbytery.

The attitude of Marischal College to King Charles's University has already been described. The union of 1641 had no influence upon the history of the university. The division of the rents of the bishopric of Aberdeen between the two colleges has also been mentioned.

In 1641, Sir Thomas Crombie of Kemnay founded eight bursaries. A Hebrew lectureship was instituted in 1642. "The Provost, Baillies, and Counsell thinks it meit and expedient that ane Ebro lesson be teachit weiklie in the colledge of this burgh till Lambes nixt and ordaines Patrik leslie provest and doctor Patrik dune principall of the said colledge to deal with Mr. John Row ane of the tounes ministers for that effect." The John Row in question was afterwards principal of King's College. On the 21st December of the following year "the counsell ordanes Mr. Robert moreson to set caution for his continuance with his charge in teaching the principalls of arithmetik within the colledge of this burgh till

Michaelmis nixt, and that he shall be ane ordinar hearer of all publict lessons and shall not mak defection from the religion presentlie profest."

When the commissioners representing the various universities met at Edinburgh in 1647, Marischal College submitted to that body the following report of the "Courses taught yearly in the Marishal College at Aberdeen":—

1. "Unto these of the first classe is taught Clenardus, Antesignanus his Grammar; for orations, twa of Demosthenes, ane of Isocrates; for poets, Phocyllides, and some portione of Homer, with the haill New Testament.

2. "Unto the second classe, a brieff compend of the Logickis, the text of Porphrie, and Aristotele's organon, accurately explained; the haill questiones ordinarly disputed to the end of the demonstrationes.

3. "To the thrid, the first twa bookis of Ethickis and the first fyve chapteris of the thrid, text and questiones, the first fyve books of acroamaticks, quaestiones de compositione continua, and some of the eight bookis.

4. To the fourt, the bookis de caelo, de generatione, the meteors, de anima, Joannes a Sacro bosco on the spheare, with some geometry."

The list bears a close resemblance to that sent up by King's College at the same time.

Principal William Moir succeeded Principal

Dun in 1649. In the first year of his term of office, the principal and regents appointed a lecturer in Humanity, giving up portions of their own emoluments for his remuneration. The class was taught in Greyfriars Church. On February 9th, 1653, the Senatus complained that "the maister of kirk wark hes takin the key of the kirk door from us and lockit all the doors swa that they have no accommodation for that class," and asked the Town Council "to let them have the use of the yll quhilk wes neirest adjacent to the said college, and to devyd the samen from the bodie of the said church that the said class may be keipit togidder and taught, and that the church receave no detrement by thair abod thair." The council "ryplie and at lenth advysit grantit the use of the said yll for the use of the said humanitie class during the counsellis pleasour allanerlie and ordanit the yll to be devydit from the church be ane tirles wall . . . the principall and regentis being alwayis answerable . . . that the kirk suffer no prejudice thairby." The first teacher under this arrangement was John Forbes, who appears as humanist in King's College in 1661. He was succeeded by a George Whyte, but the scheme was very soon given up, and the office of humanist lapsed for more than a century and a half. Professor Knight, in his MS. collections on Marischal College,

states that "there seems in 1698 to have been an attempt at a profession of humanity."

Marischal College was not much affected by either Commonwealth or Restoration. During the rule of Oliver Cromwell, there were passed the Acts which have already been mentioned in connection with King's College. Several endowments belong to this time. In 1655, Dr William Guild, the ex-Principal of King's College, left funds to Marischal College, and these gifts were afterwards increased by his widow, Catherine Rolland. In 1659-60, subscriptions "towards the building of a new Public School in Marischal College" were received from Oxford, Cambridge, and Eton. "Nicolas Locker, provost of the colledge of Eaton in England and John Oxenbridge, fellow of the said colledge" gave "ane hundreth auchtie fyve punds stirling, . . . Wm. Dillingam vice-chanceller of the universitie of Cambridge fourtie marks stirling," and "the universitie of Oxford fiftie three punds 9s 3d stirling."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Marischal College from 1680 to 1740.

Immediately after the Restoration, the Scots Parliament passed an important Act dealing with Marischal College. On the 20th March, 1661, it confirmed the earl's charter "and further of new Gives and dispones to the said Colledge Masters and members thairof all freedoms liberties priveledges and jurisdiction that to any frie Colledge within this Realme be law and practick is known to apperteane." This Act has a bearing upon a question which, as we shall see, led to a lawsuit—the dispute as to the scope of the Marischal College charter. The next twenty years have nothing of interest to record.

The Revolution had as little effect upon the University as the Restoration. All the members seem to have taken the oath of allegiance. The Principal at the time was Robert Paterson, who had been appointed in 1679. Before then, he had been a regent.

The legislation of the Commission of 1690 has already been detailed, and needs no further notice. We possess, however, one of the documents sent by Marischal College to that

body, giving an account of the curriculum of that date. It is interesting to compare it with the account of studies given in 1647.

(1) The first year students "are instructed in Philologie, Hebrew, Greek, and Latine, and the principles of Arithmetick; and when they have made some progress in those languages, towards the middle of the year, they declaime and make public orationes befor the masters and students upon some commendable subject both in Greek and Latine."

(2) Those of the second year "are instructed in Logick and the methods of reasoning, both conforme to the principle of old and new Philosophie, their severall penses and taskes are explained each morning by the master of this class and are examined each night, and in the forenoone ther are constant repetitions of what hath been formerly taught and examined. When they are for some pairt of this year advanced in their Logick they doe then dispute publickly and do emitt theses, and the disput is moderat by one of the professors. . . . They are likeways instructed in the principles of Geometrie, and have their publick declamations each week for that year and in the close of the week are examined of ane sacred lessone, and upon Sabath dayes after sermon do give ane account of God's Word preached unto them."

(3) Those of the third year, "are instructed in the Generall Physiologie and principles of

Natural Philosophie conform to the old and new Philosophie. Ther is taught to them ane idea of all the Hypotheses, both ancient and modern. . . . After the periode and close of the philosophick course they are by their respective masters informed in the principles of Morality and Aethicks."

(4) The fourth year students "are instructed in the knowledge of Metaphysicks and Speciall Phisiologie, are informed how to explain all the particular phenomena of nature . . . . . are instructed in the principles of Astronomie . . . . undergoe ane tryall and examen of their proficiency in all the four years' courses befor the Principall and Masters, and therafter doe emitt publick theses, which they defend in ane solemn maner in presence of all the Doctors, Professors, and learned men of the University. And thereafter, after they have solemnly bound themselves by oath to the Protestant Religione, and to be gratefull to their Alma Mater, they doe, conforme to their severall qualifications, receive the degree of Master of Arts."

Towards the end of the seventeenth century new buildings were erected in connection with the college. In 1682, the Senatus resolved that an effort should be made to rebuild part of the college, and commenced to collect subscriptions for the purpose. Most of

the university dignitaries and many private individuals contributed to the fund for "the New Work." In 1695, the Scots Parliament granted Marischal College, for building purposes, the vacant stipends of the churches of which the Earl Marischal had been patron. Before this, the local authorities had succeeded in making "a new addition to the said Colledge and by the charitable assistance of several Gentlemen in the Countrey and others the roof was finished without any former encouragement from the publick but the gift of two vacancies (which they had not as yet receaved)." It was greatly to the credit of the Senatus that they had accomplished so much, even although, as we know from their petition to Parliament, the "compleating" was "interrupted for want of mony," and they were somewhat in debt. "The building," says Professor Knight, "seems to have gone on as money and materials came in."

In 1698, the Convention of Royal Burghs met at Aberdeen, and the Senatus petitioned for a grant for the "Fabrick, which for want of money is like to be ruin'd before it can be perfected." The Commissioners gave twelve hundred pounds Scots. The Senatus entertained them at a banquet, and the college accounts show disbursements for "2 lib of cours biscat and six ounce of fyne biscat, 5 of rough almonds, 5 lib of raisans, 3 pints of claret

and ane choppin of [ail, a pint of Canary, 7 pints of aill, whit loafs; pips, tobaco, and candle."

An important point in connection with buildings erected at this date is that substantial aid was obtained from Scotsmen resident in the Baltic ports. In 1699, the Senatus appealed for funds "to all our Generous and Charitable Countrey-men within the Cityes of Dantzick and Konings-berg, and the Kingdom of Poland." The response made by the "Scot abroad" was prompt and liberal.

Professor Knight gives some interesting details regarding the buildings. "The interior finishings," he says, "were long postponed. The Hall, in particular, lay for many years without windows; several of these were erected and adorned by the graduates on leaving College. . . . No carts seem to have been employed. The sandstone came from Moray; the lime by sea."

On the 8th August, 1700, the ninth Earl Marischal endowed a Chair of Medicine within the university, "taking to our consideration the weill, utilite and profite of our said Colledge, and resolving to advance and promote the good thereof and to encourage the profession and teaching of all sciences therein." No mention is made of any emoluments attached to the chair, but, in 1712, there was assigned to its occupant part of Queen Anne's grant, which,

like that made by King William, has been mentioned in connection with King's College. The first professor of medicine was Dr Patrick Chalmers.

Among the benefactors of this period was a distinguished graduate of Marischal College—Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. Born at Edinburgh in 1643, he entered Marischal College in 1652 and graduated in 1657. After studying abroad, he became minister of Salton, in Haddingtonshire, and afterwards Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. In 1679, he published the first volume of his "History of the Reformation of the Church of England," a copy of which, along with the second volume, which appeared in 1681, he presented to Marischal College Library in 1683. Burnet was a warm supporter of Lord William Russell, whom he attended on the scaffold, thereby forfeiting the favour of Charles II. When James II. came to the throne, Burnet went to the Continent, where he met William of Orange, and accompanied him to England. He became chaplain to King William, and, finally, Bishop of Salisbury. He died in 1715. He had founded, in 1711, two Bursaries in Divinity and four in Arts.

A classmate of Gilbert Burnet was the famous James Gregory, the inventor of the reflecting telescope, and the father of the first

of the King's College Gregories. It may be interesting to print, as a biographical sketch, Professor Knight's MS. account of him :—"James Gregory, born 1638, son of John, minister of Drumoak, was educated at the Grammar School of Aberdeen and at Marischal College. Published in 1663 his "Optica Promota," in his twenty-fourth year, in London. Studied afterwards at Padua, where, in 1667, he published a work on the Quadrature of the Circle and Hyperbola. Next year he became F.R.S., and was chosen Professor of Mathematics at St Andrews. In 1669 he married Mary Jamieson, daughter of the painter. In 1674 he was made Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh, and much was expected from him ; but he died in 1675, a few days after becoming totally blind, which came on suddenly as he was observing the satellites of Jupiter."

The rebellion of 1715 had an important bearing on the story of Marischal College. The Chancellor, the tenth Earl Marischal, was concerned in the rising ; and, on the forfeiture of the title in 1716, the family of the founder ceased to be at the head of the college. The Commission of Visitation, which met in 1717 and deposed Principal Middleton of King's College, removed nearly all the Marischal College dignitaries. During sessions 1715-16 and 1716-17, the doors of the college had been

closed; and, when teaching was resumed at the beginning of session 1717-18, it was a new race of masters who were in office. Principal Paterson had died during the interval, but his colleagues, George Liddel, professor of mathematics; George Peacock, Alex. Moir, W. Smith, and W. Meston, regents; and Patrick Chalmers, professor of medicine, were deprived of their offices. Such patronage of chairs as had belonged to the Earl Marischal was assumed by Government.

Of these regents, William Meston is entitled to some further notice, both for his literary attainments and for his intimate connection with the last of the Marischal family. Meston was born in the parish of Midmar, and educated at Marischal College, where he graduated in 1698. In 1701, he was elected one of the masters of the Aberdeen Grammar School. He also was tutor to the tenth and last Earl Marischal and his younger brother James, afterwards the famous Marshal Keith. On the expiry of his tutorship, the Dowager Countess got him the place of regent in the college. But his tenure of that office was of the briefest. Like his patrons, he was a strong partisan of the Stuarts, and took part in the rising of 1715, acting as the Governor of Dunnottar Castle. He then went into hiding until the Act of Indemnity was passed, when he set up an

academy at Elgin, Turriff, Montrose, and Perth successively. He seems to have prospered in each instance at the outset, but he played the part of Yorick at the tables of the Jacobite lairds, and the convivial habits of the time ruined all his ventures. He died in poverty at Aberdeen in 1745. Meston had, in his day, a considerable reputation as a poet, but his poems are mostly now forgotten. His poem of the "Knight," a pasquinade upon Presbyterians, Hanoverians, and Whigs, is a very inferior imitation of Hudibras, and is marked by much coarseness of satire. "Old Mother Grim's Tales" has more merit. His Latin poetry, however, shows him in a better light as a scholar.

Thomas Blackwell, the Professor of Divinity, was, in 1717, made Principal, and held the two positions conjointly. In the same year the Senatus appointed one of the regents to the professorship of Greek, in accordance with the 1700 Act of the 1690 Commission. The change had been made in King's College in 1700.

In 1726, an effort was made "for setting on foot a compleat class of Experimentall Philosophy in the Marischall Colledge of Aberdeen." The Senatus wished to obtain "a Compleat *Sett* of Instruments necessary in *Astronomy Mechanicks, Opticks, Chymistry, Hydrostaticks,* and *Anatomy* . . . . the *Best Books* which treat of Natural and Experimental Philosophy,

and Models of the newest *Machines* in Husbandry." The cost was estimated at two hundred guineas. It was proposed that the various masters should deliver lectures on the subjects mentioned, and that "every Person who contributes upwards of *Three* Guineas shall have right for Himself and his Heirs to attend the said course in all time coming. Such as give *One* Guinea may attend during Life when they think fit." It was guaranteed that "in explaining the experiments, care will be taken to make every thing as plain and easy as possible, . . . so that even those who have not made progress in Mathematicks may understand some of the most usefull and pleasant Parts of Natural Philosophy, especially all sorts of Machines in Husbandry and Common Life." Appeals for help were made to the Commissioners of Supply for Aberdeenshire, and the Town Council of Aberdeen. Both of these bodies granted funds; but the project failed.

The Chair of Oriental Languages in Marischal College was instituted in 1727. By his will, Gilbert Ramsay, "Rector of the Parish of Christ Church in the Island of Barbadoes," bequeathed "the yearly rent Intrest or income of one thousand pounds sterling . . . . to be a constant standing yearly sallary for ever to a pious learned well qualified Professor of the Hebrew Arabick and Orientall Languages in the

Marischal Colledge of the . . . City of new Aberdeen for the advancement of true learning to the glory of God and good of his Church." He also founded bursaries in arts and divinity, and the patronage of both chair and bursaries was entrusted to Sir Alexander Ramsay of Balmain and his successors, by whom it was held till 1860. The first professor, James Donaldson, was appointed in 1732.

Additions to the buildings were made between 1737 and 1741. Of these, Professor Knight writes—"In 1738, when the funds of the college were in a state of great poverty, the Principal and Professors had the spirit to begin and carry on an extensive S. Wing to the building erected in the end of the former century—and by the same means, voluntary aid alone. The spirit shown in undertaking such a work in so poor a country as Scotland then was seems to have greatly benefited the seminary." Principal Blackwell prepared for publication an account of the "State of the Buildings of the University and Marischal College of Aberdeen." The Senatus "renounced a part of their *private Interest* yearly in the College Funds for promoting the Undertaking," and asked aid from the public to "preserve from ruin an University, from whence so many *accomplished Men* have gone forth as Ornaments to their Country, in every Age

since its Foundation." The Town Council, in 1737, granted "a year's income of the bursary funds under their charge towards the erection of new buildings," and some private patrons followed the example thus set. Subscriptions were obtained from residents in town and country, and from alumni generally. The buildings cost £700. Professor Knight informs us that "the architect employed was Mr William Adam, Edinburgh. . . . . The lower part of the building to be for schools, the upper for lodgings for the masters, but part of the third floor and the whole of the fourth for students. Adam mentions that the lodgings for the masters will be large enough, as by the foundation charter no women can be admitted into the college."

In regard to further endowments, we may mention that besides grants made by the Scots Parliament from bishops' rents and vacant stipends, gifts were received from various private benefactors. In 1677, James Milne, elder, a burgess of Aberdeen, left funds for the institution of two bursaries, and, in the same year, another bursary was founded by Robert Cumming, an Elgin merchant. In 1678, George Melville, minister of Alford, left money for the maintenance of bursars in both colleges. Other benefactors were Patrick Christie, William Main, and George Keith. The Turner foundation dates from 1688, and the Adam from 1691.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REGULATIONS OF 1753 AND 1765. THE HUME RECTORSHIP. THE COMMISSIONS OF 1826 AND 1837.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, some important changes were made in the teaching arrangements of Marischal College. On the 11th January, 1753, the Senatus sanctioned the abolition of the method of "regenting," which, although discouraged in the charter, had prevailed in the college for more than a century. The members "being persuaded, both from the consideration of the thing itself, and the almost universal practice of other universities, that it will be of great advantage both to the Masters and the Students, that each Professor should be fixed to a particular branch of philosophy,—They . . . unanimously agree, That Mr Francis Skene shall constantly teach the Semi Class, Mr William Duncan the Tertian, and Mr Alexander Gerard the Magistrand; . . . And they resolve to do their endeavours that the successors in office to each of these respectively shall, by their patents, be confirmed in that particular

branch in which their predecessors were fixed, whether natural and civil history, natural philosophy, or moral and rational philosophy." In 1733 and 1734, attempts had been made to effect this very alteration, but without result. At the same time, improvements were made in the order of the subjects taught. Hitherto, logic had held a place near the beginning of the curriculum, but the following course of study was now drawn up :—

First Year—Greek.

Second Year—Greek, Latin, history, natural and civil, "along with the elements of geography and chronology, on which civil history depends;" elementary mathematics.

Third Year—Mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, astronomy, magnetism, electricity, "and any others which further discoveries may add;" criticism and *Belles Lettres*, mathematics.

Fourth Year—"Pneumatology, or the natural philosophy of spirits, including the doctrine of the nature, faculties, and states of the human mind"; natural theology, moral philosophy, "containing ethics, jurisprudence, and politics, the study of these being accompanied with the perusal of some of the best of the ancient moralists"; logic, metaphysics.

Comparison of this curriculum with that of

1690 shows that the main change lay in postponing logic till after natural philosophy. This rearrangement was adopted by King's College about the same time; but there the regenting system was still maintained. In 1755, Marischal College published rules analogous to the King's College code of 1754, and embodying the recent changes. "A Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the reasons of it," was published in Aberdeen by James Chalmers, the founder of the "Aberdeen Journal." It is of interest to note that a German translation of it appeared at New Riza in 1770.

The "plan" was prepared by Professor Alexander Gerard, the author of the "Essay on Taste." It is largely apologetic in tone, and is an explanation of the new curriculum, which had probably aroused considerable comment. "The order," it says, "formerly observed in the College, was that followed by most of the ancient Philosophers, which was afterwards espoused by the Scholastics, and generally adopted by all the Universities in Europe; they began with Logic, then proceeded to Ontology, Pneumatics, Morals, Politics; and, last of all, taught Natural Philosophy. . . . But Philosophy has been since that time happily reformed, and is become an image, not of human phantasies and conceits, but of the reality of nature and truth of things. The

only basis of Philosophy is now acknowledged to be an accurate and extensive history of nature, exhibiting an exact view of the various phoenomena for which Philosophy is to account, and on which it is to found its reasonings. This being the reformed state of Philosophy, great inconveniences must be found in prosecuting the scholastic order of the sciences. . . . The world is now pretty well satisfied that the understanding cannot be aided in the discovery of truth, by a Logic like the Scholastic, founded on an arbitrary disposition of all things under certain general names, and consisting only of fine-spun observations concerning the combination of words in propositions, and of propositions in artificial syllogisms. This may assist one in disputing readily and artfully in defence of either truth or error ; but it can never contribute to promote knowledge, and guard us against mistakes."

Mathematics, the pamphlet goes on to say, is placed in the list of second year subjects, because it prepares the student "for understanding natural Philosophy, or the science of bodies." "Ethics, or moral Philosophy," it adds, "is founded as well as Logic on Pneumatics, and must therefore come after it. The constitution of man, and his several active powers must be explained, before his business, his duty, and his happiness can be discovered. Jurisprudence and Politics . . . cannot

with any propriety be introduced till Morals have first been studied." As to Ontology, it is considered to be "less necessary than formerly," and, indeed, scarcely worthy of study.

Although the buildings erected between 1737 and 1741 had been designed so as to provide accommodation for students, we know from another pamphlet of the time that, by the middle of the century, the students had entirely ceased to reside within the walls. The Senatus of King's College, in a memorial directed, in 1755, to the Earl of Findlater, stated that the students attending Marischal College "are allowed to board themselves at large" throughout the town.

The ancient custom of "disputation" was still maintained in connection with graduation ceremonies. A thesis on some particular subject was drawn up by the professor, and, after printing became common, was printed in pamphlet form. The students, on the graduation day, impugned and propugned the thesis, just as their predecessors in mediæval times had done. Many of these theses have been preserved. This practice prevailed in Marischal College till about 1765, when Professor James Beattie, the author of the "Minstrel" and the "Essay on Truth," introduced a system which may be best described in the words of Professor Knight :—"They (the degree examinations) consisted of a

series of Latin questions in Logic and Rhetoric. . . . . , The same set answered for all years; the Professor of Moral Philosophy dictating copies of both questions *and answers* to the candidates, hearing them recite by rote the answers, and then hearing them recite a second time in presence of the Faculty. . . . . The innovation of Dr Beattie was, doubtless, partly sanctioned by the still older custom of giving assistance to graduates in their themes and declamations; but it had long ere 1825 become a great nuisance and disgrace. And, as if to sanction such a fraud on the College and the public, the words of the diploma remained unaltered, 'ingenii sui ac eruditionis luculento specimine edito,' which became an obvious untruth." This arrangement continued in force till 1825.

About 1780, the Marischal College Observatory was instituted, largely through the exertions of Professor Patrick Copland, who held the chair of natural philosophy from 1780 to 1822, when he was succeeded by Dr Wm. Knight, from whose valuable MS. collections on Marischal College we have had frequent occasion to quote. In 1780, the Town Council granted twenty guineas for the purchase of instruments, and in 1781, a site on the Castlehill for an observatory, which was completed in October of the same year. This building was destroyed in 1795, to make room for a powder

magazine, erected by Government in connection with the barracks. The observatory was then transferred to Marischal College, where it was accommodated at the top of the north wing. Professor Copland privately collected a large number of astronomical instruments, which, on his death, were purchased by the college.

King George III., on a representation from the Senatus and the chancellor, Lord Auckland, granted to the college, in 1812, a yearly sum of £337, "for augmenting the salaries of the Principal and all the Professors." In 1819, a lectureship in Scots law and conveyancing was sanctioned by the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen, and a lecturer was then appointed. Marischal College had established lectureships on Anatomy in 1802, on Midwifery in 1811, on Surgery and on Materia Medica in 1819, so that, at the institution of the Joint Medical School in 1818, which has been already referred to, Marischal College had, besides its chair of Medicine, four lectureships. After the dissolution of the Joint School in 1839, the Marischal College subjects included Materia Medica, Physiology, Medical Jurisprudence, Comparative Anatomy, Midwifery, and Botany. Up to 1825, Marischal College had given the honorary degree of M.D. upon the recommendation of known doctors, but, on the 27th April of that year, regulations were made to the effect that personal examination would henceforth be a *sine qua non*.

There is little of importance in the history of the college to record till we come to the Hume Rectorship of 1825. But we may insert here an interesting prospectus of the class of history, which may be taken as a specimen of the lectures delivered during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1810, Professor Beattie, jun., who held the Chair of Civil and Natural History, died, and Mr (afterwards Professor) Knight was appointed to teach the class during the vacancy. The programme of his lectures has been preserved :—

"Introductory Lecture — Four Lectures on Poetry and Ancient and Modern Versification, Ten Lectures on Chronology and Geography and Progress of Discovery.

Introduction to General History—On Government—The British Constitution, &c.

History of the more ancient Nations, Egypt, &c.

History of Ancient Greece.

Literature — Eloquence — Fine Arts — Philosophy and Religion of the Greeks.

Rome, from its origin to Belisarius—Literature and Antiquities.

Natural History.

Introductory Lecture.

Lecture on Chemistry, introductory to Mineralogy.

Mineralogy.

Geology, and Meteorology, &c.

Botany, and Vegetable Physiology.
Zoology — Anatomy — Animal Physiology — History of Man and of the Animal Kingdom.
Concluding Lecture."

We have now come to the proceedings connected with the Hume rectorship in 1825. At Marischal College, the students had never lost the power of electing a rector, although, as Professor Davidson told the Commission of 1826, the actual choice rested for long with the Senatus. "The students," he said, "chose their Procurators; they came up to the Hall and sometimes said they had no person particularly to recommend, and they would take any person that the Professors chose; but within the last five or six years it has been very different." In 1823, Mr Joseph Hume, M.P., was a candidate for the rectorship, and received the vote of the Mar nation, the other three nations (Angus, Moray, and Buchan), voting for the Earl of Fife, who was accordingly elected. In the following year the contest was marked by much excitement, as the local papers of the time show, and, on March 1st, Hume became rector. He was re-elected in 1825.

Hume's period of office might have been quiet enough, had it not been for a change made by the Senatus in the system of graduation. Beattie's method had persisted up to this time, but, on the 7th March, 1825, the Senatus decided that the examinations must be real,

and not nominal; and appointed diets of examination for the current session, "due allowance being made for the short warning." On April 1st, thirty-three candidates appeared, and, of these, five were prohibited from graduating, on the ground that they "could not answer the simplest question." These unsuccessful candidates, although they had made no protest when the examinations were announced, felt themselves aggrieved.

It so happened that, at the same time, certain of the graduates of Marischal College had grievances against the Senatus. They desired more liberal access to the library, and asserted that they were "entitled to vote at the election of Chancellor and Rector." The rector was therefore approached by a committee of graduates and by Francis Henderson, one of the unsuccessful candidates for a degree. Hume decided to hold a Rectorial Court. This had not been done since 1738, nearly a century before.

The court met on the 14th November, 1825. Professors Hamilton, Kidd, Skene, Knight, and Cruickshank were present. John Duncan, who appeared for the graduates, spoke with moderation, saying that "neither he nor any of the graduates bore any other sentiments towards the professors than those of esteem and regard." The rector postponed his judgment on

the points raised by the graduates. Francis Henderson then supported his memorial to the rector, considering "the refusal of his degree as unjust," and bringing some trivial charges against the professors. The spokesman of the Senatus was Professor Knight, who said simply that "the Senatus had considered it necessary, both for the interest and respectability of the College, that the old plan of examination should be altered; and this they had done as gradually as possible," and that the questions put were so easy as completely to invalidate the claim to graduation of any one who failed to answer them. The rector, while approving of the new regulations, thought that Henderson had been hardly treated, and referred the matter to the Senatus, with a recommendation to leniency. Some minor matters were then discussed, Hume taking up the allegations which Henderson had made against the professors, and hearing evidence as to whether they were punctual in their attendance. Such was the Rectorial Court of 1825. It seems somewhat surprising that Hume should have thought it consistent with the dignity of his court to deal with any allegations brought by an unsuccessful student against his examiners. In March, 1826, there was a three-cornered contest. Mar voted for Hume, Angus for Lord Arbuthnott, and the other two nations for Sir James M'Grigor, a

distinguished graduate of the university, to whose memory an obelisk stands in Marischal College quadrangle. A Rectorial Court was held by Sir James M'Grigor in July, 1826.

The Parliamentary Commission which met in 1826 reports that "it is proper to bear testimony to the fidelity and zeal displayed by the professors who carry on the curriculum in Marischal College, and to the success which seems to have attended their exertions." While strongly recommending a union of the two universities, the Commissioners made several suggestions "upon the supposition that Marischal College remains an independent seminary." The curriculum in 1826 was substantially that which has been described at the beginning of the present chapter. They considered that "the mode of teaching Latin should be materially changed," and that a professorship was requisite. The attempts at instituting a Humanity Chair or lectureship, had, it will be remembered, met with no success, and Latin had been taught by one or other of the regents, in addition to the usual subjects of his course. Latterly, it had been part of the history course; but, just before the date of the commission, a lecturer (James Melvin, the rector of the Grammar School) had been appointed by the faculty. The class of civil and natural

history, taught in the second year, the Commissioners believed to be out of its proper place. They suggested that, instead of it, rhetoric should be taught, along with the elements of logic or "a general view of modern literature." They, still further, were of opinion that "to the professor of moral philosophy there is assigned a great deal more than can, in the time allotted, be satisfactorily performed ; the professor himself, most justly, stating in evidence, 'The subjects I am obliged to go over might furnish employment for three or four different professors, if fully discussed.'"

The report of the 1826 Commission was never incorporated in an Act of Parliament. The country was then in the heat of the contest which preceded the Reform Bill of 1832, and little attention was paid to details of university matters. Another Commission met in 1837, and, from the evidence laid before it, we see that not much had been done by Marischal College to carry out the suggestion of the earlier Commission. The principal change was the introduction of Latin as one of the subjects of the first year. Degree examinations were now held in Latin, Greek, Civil and Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy and Logic, and Mathematics, one day being devoted to each subject. The examiners were the various professors and the lecturer in Humanity: the Principal could ask supple-

mentary questions, if he so desired. The curriculum, as it appears in the Evidence of the Commission is :—

"First year—Greek, fifteen hours a week; Latin, six hours.

Second year—Greek, three hours; Latin, three hours; Civil and Natural History, fifteen hours; Mathematics, six hours.

Third year—Mathematics, six hours; Natural Philosophy, fifteen hours.

Fourth year—Moral Philosophy and Logic, fifteen hours."

There were also higher classes in Greek, Latin, and mathematics.

This curriculum continued to be in force till the provisions of the Act of 1858 came into operation.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Rebuilding of the College. Last Endowments. Distinguished Professors.

Among the *desiderata* mentioned by the Commission of 1826 had been a chair of Church History. This want was supplied by King William IV. in 1833. He instituted a professorship of Church History, endowing it with an income of £50 a year. By the deed of institution, the principal, Dr Daniel Dewar, was made Professor of Church History. There was inserted in the instrument a clause to the effect that "in the event of the Union or consolidation of the said Marischal College University with the University at King's College at Aberdeen, by virtue of any Act of Parliament to be hereafter passed, it shall not be competent to the said Doctor Daniel Dewar to found upon this appointment any objection, either to the said Union or the possible suppression of the Professorship hereby created."

Between 1836 and 1845, Marischal College was completely rebuilt. It had been evident for some considerable time that new buildings would have to be erected. Professor Knight tells us that "the great increase of the regular

classes from 1805 to 1815 rendered the necessity for new apartments for teaching obvious." In 1818, when the Barracks were offered for sale by Government, an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain the site for college buildings. King's College received, in 1824, a grant of £2000 for the west front; and this success inspired the Marischal College authorities with a hope that they also would receive help. The old buildings were condemned by two architects, Mr John Smith and Mr Archibald Simpson, and plans for a new erection were drawn up. Appeals were made to the Barons of the Scottish Exchequer, and to private individuals; but nothing was really done till 1834.

We have, in Dr Knight's MSS., a very minute record of these proceedings. On the 27th February, 1834, Mr Reid, the King's architect for Scotland, came to Aberdeen on a mission from the Treasury, "to draw plans and report." In the end, the Treasury gave £15,000, and, greatly to the delight of the Senatus, did not insist upon the adoption of the plan made by the King's architect, whose recent alteration at St Andrew's University had not increased his reputation. On August 15th, Archibald Simpson produced two designs—"a Gothic for the present site, a Grecian for the Belmont Street one. It was decided to rebuild on the old site, although,

in addition to the Belmont Street one, a third was proposed, S. of the Denburn bridge, extending to Crown Street." Professor Knight adds that "the greater space of the present area, the seclusion from noise, its being the ancient site of the College, above all, the fact that it was ours, and that the other would have to be purchased after interruptions and difficulties which might extend over many years, were arguments not to be overcome." Private subscriptions were invited, but little was done during the two following years, owing to a proposal for union with King's College.

The contracts for the work were not signed till September 9th, 1836, when the then existing buildings were given up to the contractor. The foundation stone was to be laid on Tuesday, 18th October, 1836, by James Blaikie, Provost of Aberdeen, who had taken much interest in the rebuilding, and had, along with Alexander Bannerman, the member of Parliament for the city of Aberdeen, been instrumental in obtaining the Treasury grant. The sudden death of the provost, on October 3rd, caused the postponement of the ceremony, and the stone was laid by the chancellor, the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, on 18th October, 1837. The last professor to reside within the college, Dr Glennie, removed in 1838. Dr Glennie held the chair of moral philosophy, having succeeded Dr

Beattie, "The Minstrel," whose niece he married. Professor Glennie was the father-in-law of Professor Knight. The buildings were completed in 1844. The total cost was about £30,000. The Government grant and accrued interest amounted to nearly £21,000, the progressive interest on bank account to about £1800, and over £8000 was privately subscribed. The city of Aberdeen gave £1050, the chancellor £500, the rector £100, and the principal and most of the professors £50 each. All the classes gave subscriptions, as did also the sacrist, while three students gave their bursaries.

The chair of Humanity was founded by Queen Victoria on the 1st May, 1839. The lectureship, which had been revived, as we have seen, was thus superseded. The first Professor of Humanity in Marischal College was John Stuart Blackie, who afterwards held the Greek chair at Edinburgh. Some difficulty arose, however, as to his signing the Confession of Faith, and Melvin conducted the class during session 1839-40. Professor Blackie was admitted by the Senatus on the 3rd July, 1841. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1853, obligation to sign the Confession was restricted to Professors of Theology and Principals. The latter were exempted by Acts of 1858 and 1859, and in 1889 religious tests were totally abolished, except for chairs of Divinity.

Queen Victoria instituted also two medical chairs in October, 1839—those of anatomy and surgery. The professors were at the same time appointed; Dr Allen Thomson became professor of anatomy, and Dr William Pirrie of surgery. In 1857, Dr Alexander Henderson of Caskieben left funds for the endowment of a chair of medical logic and medical jurisprudence. The Royal sanction was given in the same year, and Dr Francis Ogston, who was the holder of the lectureship on the subject, became professor.

Among a large number of valuable endowments, five deserve special mention here. In 1790, Sir Alexander Fordyce, who was rector of Marischal College in 1790 and 1791, bequeathed in his will a sum of money "to pay a Lecturer on Agricultural Chemistry and Natural History." Sir Alexander died in 1792, but the money did not become available till the death of a life-renter in 1836. William Boxill left, in 1846, funds for a mathematical bursary (now the Boxill Mathematical Prize). In 1850, the Town Council of Aberdeen agreed to give every year a "gold medal to the student in the Fourth Class of Marischal College on taking his degree, . . . who shall be reported by the Senatus of the college . . . as having made the greatest proficiency in the various branches of study."

An older institution in the college was the

competition for what was known as the "Silver Pen," the first prize in the Greek class. The Earl of Buchan presented, in 1769, a silver pen, shaped like a quill, to which hooks were attached for the reception of the medals. The winner received a book prize, and had his name placed on a silver medal which was preserved in the college. These medals are still in the University Library. The first to gain the "Pen" was James Hay Beattie, the eldest son of the author of "The Minstrel." In course of time, the medals ceased to be given, but the prize of the "Silver Pen" was awarded till the Union. A prize for Latin and Greek verse composition was instituted by Dr Alexander Kilgour. The donor had, while a student at Marischal College, been the holder of a Liddel Bursary, the aggregate of which along with interest, he presented to the college, desiring, "in gratitude to him (Dr Liddel), and to keep the name of a very learned man, and one of the most generous benefactors of Marischal College, before the students, that the prize be called 'The Liddel Prize or Medal.'"

Another endowment, which, although subsequent to the Union, may be classed, owing to its terms, with gifts to Marischal College, is the Wilson Travelling Scholarship and Museum. Dr Robert Wilson, besides gifts to the library, instituted a scholarship to be held for purposes of exploration, the course of travel being

accurately described. The museum was to be deposited in the Marischal College buildings. The original will was made in 1862. In a codicil, dated 1864, Dr Wilson added :—"I also declare that it is my intention that the route of my former travels shall not be gone over more than once by the graduate or graduates to be appointed under my said will; and when the said route is once traversed no more graduates shall be appointed, but the residue of my estate shall be applied for the other purposes mentioned in my will."

On the 15th September, 1860, Marischal College ceased to exist as a separate university. By the Universities Act of 1858, it was incorporated with King's College, "under the Style and Title of the University of Aberdeen."

We cannot close the story of Marischal College and University without a reference to the distinguished men that held office in it during the last century of its existence. In 1759, on the death of Principal Pollock, who had succeeded the younger Principal Blackwell in 1757, George Campbell became Principal of Marischal College.

George Campbell was the son of an Aberdeen minister, and was born in 1719. He was educated at the Grammar School of Aberdeen, and, in 1734, entered Marischal College, where he graduated in 1738. Among the students

who were attending the university at the time was James Burnett, afterwards Lord Monboddo. After some years in a law office in Edinburgh, Campbell proceeded to the divinity classes in Aberdeen, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1742. He was minister, first of the parish of Banchory-Ternan, and subsequently of one of the Aberdeen charges, continuing in his pastoral office after his appointment to the principalship. In 1771, the Town Council presented him to the chair of Divinity in Marischal College, which had been rendered vacant by the transference of Gerard to King's College. While connected with the college, Principal Campbell published his chief works—his "Dissertation on Miracles" (an answer to Hume) in 1762, his "Philosophy of Rhetoric" in 1776, and his "Translation of the Gospels" about seven years later. His "Lectures on Ecclesiastical History" did not appear till after his death, which occurred in April, 1796. He had resigned his university appointments in 1795, and was succeeded by William Laurence Brown, who had been Professor of Church History, Moral Philosophy, and the Law of Nature, in the University of Utrecht, and who was the author of the first prize essay on Theism under the Burnett Foundation. Principal Campbell was one of the most distinguished men of his day. His "Dissertation on Miracles" has been trans-

lated into French, German, and Dutch; and Hume, with the generosity which he frequently extended to his opponents, acknowledged, as he did also in the case of Reid, the ability of Campbell's treatment of the subject. Like Reid too, Campbell recognised the merits of their common antagonist, and referred to the apostle of scepticism in terms so eulogistic as to cause considerable comment at the time.

A year after Principal Campbell's appointment, James Beattie, the poet, became professor of moral philosophy in Marischal College. Beattie was born at Laurencekirk in 1735, and studied at Marischal College from 1749 to 1753, taking his degree in the latter year. He taught both in the parish school of Fordoun and in the Grammar School of Aberdeen, before receiving his preferment to the moral philosophy chair in 1760. About the same time he published a volume of poems, a second edition of which appeared in 1766. The year 1770 saw his "Essay on Truth," and, in 1771, the first part of "The Minstrel" appeared, followed by the second in 1774. In 1773, Beattie received a pension from King George III., and, in the same year, the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. His brilliant son, James Hay Beattie, was associated with him in the chair, in 1787, but predeceased him, in

1790. His nephew, James Beattie, became Professor of Civil and Natural History in 1788. Beattie lost his second son in 1796, and he never recovered from the blow. He died in 1803. His biography, written by Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, was published in 1806. His portrait, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, was presented to the University of Aberdeen by his grandnieces, and is preserved in Marischal College.

Beattie was the friend of the most eminent literary men of his time, by whom he was held in the highest esteem. His fame was great as a metaphysician and a poet. But it is as a poet that we now think of him, and it is upon "The Minstrel" that his reputation chiefly rests. There is nothing of much note among his minor poems, with the exception of "The Hermit"—

> At the close of the day, when the hamlet is still,
> And mortals the sweets of forgetfulness prove—

a little piece that enjoys a lasting popularity.

In the year of Beattie's appointment, a regentship was given to George Skene. He was not the first of his name to hold office in Marischal College, Francis Skene having been made a regent in 1734. The Skenes were the friends and correspondents of Thomas Reid, himself a graduate of Marischal College. Along with him, they founded the Philosophical Society, which discussed Hume's

philosophy at its weekly meetings in the old Red Lion Inn. Of that Society Dr John Gregory, of King's College, and Principal Campbell and Dr Beattie, of Marischal College, were also notable members. Another frequenter of the "Wise Club" was Dr Alexander Gerard, who, in 1759, became professor of divinity in Marischal College, having been a regent since 1752. He acquired celebrity by his "Essay on Taste."

In 1775, Professor Copland, of whose work in connection with the Observatory we have already given some account, became professor of natural philosophy. Four years later, he received the better endowed chair of mathematics, his successor in the natural philosophy class being the famous Robert Hamilton, the author of the "Essay on the National Debt." As Hamilton felt himself deficient in the mechanical skill required for the experiments illustrative of his lectures, he and Copland exchanged chairs in 1780. Formal sanction, however, was not received till 1817. Among other able teachers may be mentioned Dr John Cruickshank, who became professor of mathematics in 1817; Dr William Knight, who succeeded Professor Copland in the natural philosophy chair in 1823, and Dr Thomas Clark, who, in 1833, was elected professor of chemistry.

Professor Knight was a remarkable man. A

native of Aberdeen, he was educated at Marischal College, where he took his degree. During session 1810-11 he filled a vacancy in the chair of civil and natural history, but did not receive the appointment to the chair. Thereafter, he conducted large private classes in botany in the Athenæum Buildings, and subsequently taught in Belfast. When Professor Copland resigned in 1822, Professor Knight was appointed to the natural philosophy chair, which he held till his death in 1844. Dr Knight was an energetic professor, and took a deep interest in college affairs. During his residence in Aberdeen he collected much valuable information on the history of Marischal College, contemplating the publication of a *Fasti* of Marischal College for the Spalding Club, similar to the King's College volume, edited by Mr Cosmo Innes. His death prevented his carrying out this project, but his MSS. are an important aid to the student of Marischal College history. His strong personality made a distinct impression on his students and on the university.

Two more recent names complete our list. In 1841, William MacGillivray became professor of natural history. He was the author of "A History of British Birds," and other zoological writings, and his posthumous book on the "Natural History of Deeside" was issued under the superintendence of the Prince Consort. In

1856, James Clerk Maxwell became professor of natural philosophy at Marischal College. His "Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism" and his other works on physical subjects placed him among the greatest scientists of the time. He afterwards held the chair of Experimental Physics at Cambridge.

CHAPTER XXVI.

*The Library.**

1. The Library at King's College, 1532—1860.

One of the charges brought against Principal Anderson by Protestant writers is that he destroyed the books which belonged to the library of King's College, to prevent their falling into the hands of the party opposed to him. A different account is, however, given by David Chalmers, in the book from which we have already quoted. Chalmers, who wrote with a strong bias in favour of the Roman Catholic Church, tells us that the books were destroyed by the victorious Protestants, who feared the arguments contained in the volumes, and wished to rid themselves of what they could not answer. In whatever circumstances they disappeared, we know that, before the Reformation, King's College possessed both manuscripts and printed books, which cannot now be traced.

The Library of the University of Aberdeen takes its origin from a gift made to King's College, in 1532, by Bishop William Stewart,

*See "Notes on the University Libraries," contributed to the "Calendar" of 1893-94 by Mr. P. J. Anderson.

the fourth chancellor of Elphinstone's university. The "Album Amicorum" of King's College tells us that, between 1532 and 1545, "Bishop William Stewart built the librarie hous, and with a number of bookes furnishit the same." The inventory prepared when James Strathauchin visited the college as rector, in 1542, gives us some information regarding these works. As was natural, they were mainly antiphonals, missals, and breviaries. Others dealt with legends of the saints and with the martyrology of the Church. There were two books for the use of young people, one volume of instructions for the organist, and one dictionary of Church terms ("Magnus liber, vocabule catholicon dictus"). A few books of pre-Reformation date are still preserved, including an ancient edition of De Lyra, and a copy of the Aurea Legenda, printed by Caxton.

The earliest mention of a Post-Reformation Library is in 1634, when Andrew Strachan, the clever young professor of divinity, who died in his twentieth year, "left and mortified his whole books to the library." Up to 1684, one or other of the regents acted as librarian; the first mention of such an official occurs in the senatus minutes of 1634, when Robert Ogilvie, regent, performed the duties. A Rectorial Court ordered, in 1637, the preparation of "ane perfyte and exact catalogue," and, in 1639, "that the

keeper of the Librarie in all tyme cumming sall make the librarie patent twyse in the week." With the exception of gifts from private donors, the sole revenue of the library was derived from graduation fees.

The first librarian was appointed on the 24th November, 1684. Bishop Patrick Scougal, and his son, Henry, Professor of Divinity in the college, had left a number of volumes to the library, on condition that the college should " entertain a Student of Divinity at the Colledge table during the sitting of the Colledge, who should be Bibliothecary, and should keep the doors of the Library patent two hours in the day for students of Divinity." In accordance with the terms of this will, George Seaton was appointed librarian. He was, it would appear, afterwards minister of Newmachar.

In 1709, Aberdeen, as one of " the four Universities of Scotland," received the Stationers' Hall privilege. The Act of Parliament (8th Anne, cap. 21) which dealt with the subject did not make provision for the existence of two separate institutions ··ch claiming to be " the University of Aberdeen." The Marischal College authorities made an effort to have the books equally divided, and, failing in this, they intercepted several volumes, and retained them in their own possession. The Senatus of King's College, in 1736, brought an action against Marischal College to have it d

clared that Marischal College was not one of "the four Universities of Scotland," and had no right to the Stationers' Hall books. Lord Ordinary Murkle on the 20th December, 1737, decided in favour of the petitioners. Marischal College appealed from this decision, and on the 1st July, 1738, it was decreed that King's College should have the custody of the books, but that the members of Marischal College should have access to them. This arrangement continued in force for about a century.

A catalogue of the library, prepared in 1717, is still preserved. It classifies the books thus:—

"Libri Theologici	611
Libri Episcopi	1124
Libri Medici	239
Libri Juridici	118
Libri Philosophici	333
Libri Historici et Grammatici ...	432"

The total is two thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven.

A list of rules, compiled in 1720, shows that the only readers were professors and students, and that the latter could borrow volumes only "upon a master's syngrapha," and after depositing the "money value of the book or one of equivalent value." Two regulations are rather curious. The exact amount of money to be paid as a library fee was left to the discretion of the student, and the limits

were fixed at a shilling and half-a-crown. The time required to become sufficiently acquainted with the contents of a book was estimated by the size of the volume, for students could retain an octavo for a week, a quarto for a fortnight, and a folio for a month.

The benefactions of Dr James Fraser, of Chelsea, were not confined to the erection of buildings. Besides many valuable gifts of books, he left, by his will, funds for the payment of a librarian, under an arrangement similar to that of Bishop Scougal. Up to this time, the librarian had usually been a student of divinity, although we find, in 1709, Alexander Gordon, the humanist, holding the position. By Dr Fraser's will, the librarianship was attached to the Fraser Divinity Bursary, and Fraser bursars discharged the duties of the office—although not quite continuously—till about the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

There is nothing of importance to record for a long period after this. The returns made to the Commission of 1826 show that one hundred and nineteen students, out of four hundred and thirty-eight, read in the Library; and that the number of volumes borrowed by these was six hundred and seventy-four. The numbers refer to session 1826-27.

In 1832, it was proposed to give, instead of the Stationers' Hall Privilege, an annual grant of

£450; but a Bill to this effect did not pass the House of Lords. Four years later, the privilege was abolished, and a compensation grant was given, equal to the average annual value of the books recently received. Unfortunately, the Senatus of King's College had been exceedingly lax in seeing that the publishers complied with the Act of Parliament. In 1835, indeed, an effort had been made to guard the rights of the university by the appointment of a London agent. The effect of this was that, when the college sent, in 1836, a memorial to the Treasury, the annual value of the books was stated to be now about £800. The average, however, which had been asked by the Commission, amounted only to the trivial sum of £397, which was further reduced to £320, the deduction representing the cost of carriage and binding, which had not been paid by the publishers.

After the passing of the Compensation Act, Marischal College claimed a portion of the grant, and the Treasury, while refusing to divide the fund, ordered the colleges to unite in purchasing the books, and maintained the old arrangement that both colleges should have access to the volumes. King's College did not dispute the latter clause, but declined to obey the former, and a long correspondence ensued, in the course of which the grant was for some time suspended. At last,

owing, perhaps, to the proposals regarding union, the matter was permitted to drop, and the books were purchased by King's College, without consultation with Marischal College, although both colleges participated in using them.

At the union there were forty-three thousand five hundred and thirty books in the Library of the University and King's College.

2. The Library at Marischal College, 1613-1860.

The founder of Marischal College Library was Dr Duncan Liddel. A reference in the Town Council Register for 1609 indicates that the Earl Marischal contemplated the institution of a library; but we have no evidence to show that he ever carried out his intention. Dr Liddel, in 1613, left not only his own collection of books to the college, but also a sum of money for purchasing new books. In 1614, the Town Council fitted up a library for the reception of Liddel's bequest, and, in 1621, added to the number of books by approving of the transfer of the library of Greyfriars Church to the College. The list of the church books, taken from the earliest Library Catalogue, has been printed in the Fasti Academiæ Mariscallanæ.

But the most outstanding name in the story

of Marischal College Library is that of Thomas Reid, Latin Secretary to King James VI., and related to the author of the "Inquiry into the Human Mind." Thomas Reid was the son of James Reid, minister of Banchory-Ternan, and a member of the family of Reid of Pitfoddels. He was a regent at Marischal College, in 1603, and thereafter studied abroad. When he returned to Britain, he became Latin secretary to King James, and translated into Latin some of that learned monarch's English works. He was himself the author of some Latin poetry. In 1624, he left to Marischal College his own library, and a sum of money to provide a salary for a librarian. Principal Blackwell, the elder, wrote of Reid's collection that it contained "the fairest and largest editions of all the classics that were printed from the time of Aldus Manutius until the year 1615, the Philosophers, Lawyers, Greek and Latin Fathers, with the works of the chief critics, Scaliger, Casaubon, Lambius, &c., that flourished in that period, and many valuable and curious MSS."

The first librarian of Marischal College was Principal Dun. There was a dispute with the Town Council as to the patronage of the office; and the council appointed the next three librarians. The second of these was David Gregory of Kinnairdie, brother of Professor James Gregory, of St Andrews and Edinburgh,

and uncle of the first King's College Gregory. Three of David Gregory's sons were professors, and there were descended from him no fewer than seven occupants of university chairs in Great Britain. In 1733, Thomas Reid, while a student of divinity, held the post of librarian. David Gregory was Reid's maternal grandfather.

A distinguished brother of Secretary Reid, Dr Alexander Reid, bequeathed in 1640, "books of divinity and philosophy" to the library. In 1673, the dispute as to patronage rose to a height. The Town Council and the college each appointed a librarian, and the question came before the Court of Session, in 1675. Decision was given in favour of the college, and the right of patronage was declared to be vested in "the Principal and Regents and the Master of the Grammar School." In 1754, it was agreed that the four regents should hold the librarianship in rotation for three years each. This arrangement continued till 1860.

The returns made to the commission of 1826 show that during session 1826-27 fourteen, out of four hundred and forty-three, students used the library, and that sixty-nine volumes were borrowed by these. Comparison with the King's College figures proves that the library was much more extensively used in Old Aberdeen.

In 1845, the library was injured by fire, but not to any great extent. In 1856, the library of Dr James Melvin was presented to the college by his sister, and in 1875 she left money for the purchase of additions to the Melvin collection. In 1857, Dr Alexander Henderson of Caskieben bequeathed his library to the college, as also did Sir John Forbes, M.D., London, in 1859.

The class libraries attached to the Greek, mathematical, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy classes were founded at King's College in 1828, and the Divinity Class Library, at Marischal College, in 1700. The Logic Library dates from 1860, and was organised by Professor Alexander Bain.

3. The Library of the University of Aberdeen.

By the Act of Union of 1858, the general library was located at King's College, and the office of librarian was conjoined with that of registrar. The first librarian was Mr John Fyfe, M.A., who had been librarian at King's College since 1857, and who, for several sessions, had acted as a substitute for Professor Hercules Scott, who then held the moral philosophy chair at King's College. A Library Committee was appointed by the Senatus in 1862. In the

same year the first printed catalogue was issued.

The books were transferred from the ante-chapel to the new library in 1870, and a complete author catalogue was prepared. The catalogue is still a testimony to the energy of the curator, Professor Geddes, and of Mr Fyfe, the librarian. In 1876, Mr Fyfe was appointed to the chair of moral philosophy, which he held till 1894. The university acknowledged the value of his services as librarian and professor by the conferment upon him, in 1895, of the honorary degree of LL.D.

A transept was added to the library, in 1885, for the reception of the Melvin books. A memorial window of four lights was placed in the transept, containing figures of two Latin poets, George Buchanan and Arthur Johnston, and of two grammarians, Thomas Ruddiman and Melvin himself. Four centuries are thus represented in the window.

In 1889, through the efforts of Principal Geddes and the librarian, Mr Robert Walker, M.A., who had succeeded Mr Fyfe, the compensation grant was doubled. In 1891, the constitution of the Library Committee was altered by the Universities Commission. The election of three members was placed in the power of the Court, while the Senatus was to appoint six. Professor Trail was chosen curator—the first under the new arrangement. In 1893, further changes were made. It had

become necessary to separate the offices of librarian and registrar, owing to the accumulation of work. Mr Walker preferred the registrarship, and in December, 1893, Mr P. J. Anderson, LL.B., who had already served the university in various capacities, was appointed librarian.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE TWO UNIVERSITIES: ATTEMPTS AT UNION.

It was only natural that there should be strained relations between two universities situated as were King's and Marischal Colleges. The older college resented the institution of the younger, and denied its *raison d'être*; and the dislike was fully reciprocated. The jealousy which subsisted between Old Town and New Town accentuated the feeling of rivalry; and further bitterness was engendered, as time went on, by a succession of trivial incidents, and by various serious disputes between the members of the two colleges.

We have documentary evidence of the existence of this feeling within about twenty years after the foundation of Marischal College. Mr Anderson has printed in the first volume of the "Fasti Academiæ Mariscallanæ" a paper which he found "inserted in the volume of 'College Rentals, 1593-1764.'" It is, he says, "undated, but from the reference to *three* Regents must be earlier than 1620." In the course of a criticism of the foundation charter, the writer of the MS. says,

referring to the vote given by the charter to the principal of King's College in the election of Marischal College officials :—"The Pl of the Aldtown is put in for on of the admitteris and yit will not acknawledge this College for schoole or College and whrfor should he have mor preheminence over us nor we have over him and his settis." The King's College principal, at this time, was David Rait, and the attitude which he and his colleagues evidently adopted towards Marischal College was not calculated to promote peace.

It is, perhaps, not entirely to the discredit of the students that they espoused, with more zeal than discretion, the causes of their respective colleges. So violent was their partisanship, that the Visitation of 1669 found it necessary to enact "that the studentes of the Kings colledge beheave themselves civillie and respectfullie towards the maisters of the colledge Marischall, ... and . . . . that the schollers of the Marischall colledge beheave themselves civillie and respectfullie towards the maisters of the Kings colledge." The same body of visitors was commissioned to "tack notice of the abuses that have creipt in the saides universitie and colledge, and particularlie the regents thereof (in tyme of vackatione), ther goeing throw the cuntrie and intysing the schollerес from the one colledge to the uther." The remedy adopted was to draw up a contract

between the two colleges, which was signed by the masters of both. The fact that such a contract was required, shows what was the state of affairs.

Both colleges were involved in a bitter and protracted dispute about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1743, there was a vacancy in the office of civilist in King's College. At the election, on the 8th June, two candidates were nominated—James Catanach, advocate in Aberdeen, and Charles Hamilton Gordon, an Edinburgh lawyer. The Senatus, by a majority of one, conferred the appointment on Catanach. The returning officer, Robert Paterson, commissary of Aberdeen, found a difficulty in admitting either candidate. According to the charter, the civilist had to possess a doctor's degree. Gordon had not this qualification; Catanach was an LL.D. of Marischal College. Gordon, however, claimed that Marischal College was not a university and could not confer degrees in any faculty except that of Arts; and that he himself had passed an examination equivalent to that necessary for a doctor's degree. Paterson took the case to the Lords of Session. They decided in favour of Gordon, but their judgment was reversed upon appeal to the House of Lords; and Catanach accordingly became Civilist.

Marischal College was thus deeply interested

in the Catanach case. The argument against its right to grant degrees in Law, Medicine, and Divinity lay in the fact that, in its charter, it is usually called "Academia" or "Collegium," and that no degree is mentioned except that of Master of Arts. While the Catanach case was before the House of Lords, the Senatus of Marischal College sent a memorial to their lordships. In this it was asserted that, by the charter, Marischal College had the powers of a university; that Acts of Parliament of 1593 and 1661 granted it "all fredomes, franchises, liberties, frie privilegis and jurisdictioun that to any frie college within this realme be law and practik is knawin to appertene"; that various sovereigns and Parliaments had treated it as a separate university; and that it had "enjoyed and exercised all the powers and privileges of a university, undisturbed and unquestioned, for upwards of 150 years."

In the heat of the controversy which preceded the fusion of 1860, the question of the rights of Marischal College was again raised. The Senatus of King's College issued, in 1850, a pamphlet, understood to be the work of Professor David Thomson, and entitled "*Has Marischal College, in New Aberdeen, the power of conferring Degrees in Divinity, Laws, and Medicine.*" To this Marischal College replied, in 1853, by publishing "*The Right of Marischal*

College and University, Aberdeen, to confer Degrees, not only in Arts, as admitted, but in Divinity, Laws, and Medicine Vindicated against the Attack of the responsible Administration of King's College and University, Old Aberdeen; and shown to have been affirmed more than a Hundred years ago, by the House of Lords, as the Supreme Court of Appeal, under the Instructions of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke?" The latter publication was written by "one of the Professors." We know that this was Professor Thomas Clark.

We have already described the first attempt made to unite the universities of Aberdeen; and it is accordingly unnecessary to say here anything regarding the Caroline University. No further effort in this direction was made till 1747. In that year, St Salvator's College and St Leonard's College, in the University of St Andrews, were united by Act of Parliament, and this gave an impetus to the advocates of fusion in Aberdeen. The project failed, owing to the opposition of the Town Council of Aberdeen to any union which did not place the seat of the university in the New Town. On the 24th March, 1747, they passed a resolution "that the Town do make a point of it to have the seat of the University in this Town, otherways to oppose such an Union with the utmost vigour." A public meeting, convened by the

magistrates, was held on the following day, and a memorial was prepared setting forth the opinion of the town, and accusing the professors of both colleges of wishing for a union "of purpose to augment their own salaries."

In 1754, there was a prolonged discussion of the question. In November of that year, the members of both colleges came to terms regarding the union, reserving the location of classes, and asked the Duke of Argyll to help them in carrying out their scheme. The Earl of Findlater was chosen arbiter in reference to the seat of the university, and received memorials from both colleges. The Senatus of King's College argued that "the King's College in Old Aberdeen is the noblest and most commodious building for the purposes of education in Scotland, and is fitted up in a proper manner forthe accommodation of students living in a collegiate way," while the Town Council of Aberdeen again insisted on the protection of their interests. A sentence in the council's memorial to Lord Findlater is noteworthy, both as indicating the sort of argument that was used, and as showing how strong the Jacobite influence was in Aberdeen in 1755. "The inhabitants of Aberdeen," the memorialists say, "are so anxious about having the seat in the town of Aberdeen, that if it were to be otherwise, they would be provoked to set up private Academies for the convenience

of their children's education; and there is too great reason to fear such would be greatly disaffected to our happy establishment, both in church and state." Whether moved by political considerations or not, the Earl of Findlater decided that the united university should be situated in New Aberdeen; and the Senatus of King's College thereupon withdrew from the negotiations.

Twice again, in the course of the eighteenth century, plans for union were set on foot. In 1770, Professor Thomas Gordon, of King's College, from whose MS. collections on the college we have more than once quoted, drew up a statement of "Reasons and Proposals for an Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen." He contemplated the existence, in the united university, of a principal and eleven professors, their subjects being divinity, oriental languages, law, medicine, anatomy, mathematics, humanity, rhetoric and the belles lettres, Greek, "Pneumatics," moral philosophy and logic, natural and experimental philosophy, and natural history, geography, and chronology. This was a much more ambitious scheme than had been projected in 1754, when it was proposed "that the Professions in the United College be the same as in the King's College at present, with the addition only of a Professor of Mathematics." As to sites, it was arranged, in 1770, that medicine, anatomy, Greek,

mathematics, natural philosophy, and natural history should be taught at Marischal College, and the other subjects in Old Aberdeen, where the principal was to be located. This scheme was allowed to drop at an early stage.

After the lapse of fourteen years, the project was revived, and on a larger scale. It was now desired to have a principal and fifteen professors, and eight of these sixteen officials were to be at each college. These propositions gave rise to a long and violent controversy. The King's College Senatus was itself divided on the subject. Principal John Chalmers and six of the professors—caricatured by the union party as the "Sapient Septemviri"—were strongly opposed to a fusion. The champion of the other side in King's College was Professor William Ogilvie. Ogilvie published, in 1786, "Outlines of a Plan for Uniting the King's and Marischal Universities of Aberdeen, with a view to render the System of Education more complete." A large number of pamphlets appeared dealing with the question. They were afterwards collected and reprinted under the title of "A Complete Collection of the Papers Relating to the Union of the King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen" (Aberdeen: 1787). The "Aberdeen Journal" of the time contains numerous letters appearing over such signatures as "Margaret Marshall" and "Janet Elphinston." These letters were

included in the "Collection." Perhaps the most curious contribution was the following, signed "Tiresias," the writer of which was the Rev. John Skinner of Linshart, the author of *Tullochgorum*:—

A PROPHECY EXPLAINED.

"Dee and Don shall run in one,"
  So Thomas Rhymer told,
Tho' to this day believed by none
  That such a thing could hold:
But seeing what's a-doing now,
  The Scottish Merlin spoke
What faithless critics hitherto
  Have counted but a joke.
'Twas not that Don should run to Dee,
  Or Dee fall into Don,
But that their colleges should be
  United into one.
In honour, then, of Scotland's bard,
  Let King and Earl agree,
And Bishop Don submit, tho' hard,
  To join with Marischal Dee.
So shall the old prophetic dream
  Explain its mystic course,
And learning's long divided stream
  Shall run with double force."

Nothing came of the 1786 proposals beyond renewed jealousies and friction.

The Royal Commission of 1826 made a strong recommendation in favour of union. "After deliberate consideration," they wrote in their report, "we are decidedly of opinion that it is highly expedient that a union should take place." They considered that the seat

of the university should be at King's College, and that arts and divinity should be taught there, with medicine and law in New Aberdeen. They proposed that there should be four chairs in divinity, one in law, six in medicine, and seven in arts. To meet the expenses connected with the union, the Commissioners considered that "the large area now belonging to Marischal College, which is nearly in the centre of the Town of New Aberdeen, may be very advantageously disposed of." They were led to this conclusion by the "dilapidated condition of the buildings" at Marischal College, which are declared to be "too ruinous to admit of repair, without an expense equal to that of an entirely new edifice." No attempt was made to legislate upon the lines of the Commission's report; but the Marischal College authorities must have seen the absolute necessity of carrying out their building scheme.

In 1835, Mr (afterwards Sir Alexander) Bannerman, who represented in Parliament the City of Aberdeen, introduced into the House of Commons a "Bill for uniting King's College and University of Aberdeen, and Marischal College and University of Aberdeen into one University and College." Mr Bannerman proposed that the colleges should, during the lives of the incumbents, be kept separate, and that, accordingly, there should be, at first,

a double set of chairs in arts. When the union was complete, arts, medicine, and law were to be located at Marischal College, and divinity at King's College. There was much local opposition to the bill, especially from King's College. Professor Knight has preserved some interesting incidents of the time. On the 8th July, 1834, "both Aberdeens," he says, were "thoroughly inflamed," and he tells us that Principal Jack, of King's College, called, that day, on Professor Fleming, who occupied the King's College chair of natural philosophy, "and with his fist indented a mahogany table when speaking against Lord Melbourne." King's College used its Parliamentary influence against the scheme, which did not receive full support from Marischal College, and on the 20th July, Bannerman withdrew his bill. Writing to the "Times," however, on the 28th July, he said—"I beg to say that it is my intention next session of Parliament to persevere, with the approbation and support of His Majesty's Ministers, and endeavour to carry my measure for uniting the Aberdeen Universities." The agitation in Aberdeen did not die away on the withdrawal of the bill, and, in the course of the discussion, it was actually proposed to remove King's College to Inverness, on the ground that many of its students came from the Highlands. Next session Bannerman did not renew his bill, but the Lord Advocate drafted a new one, and

gave notice of it in the House. It never got beyond this stage, and Lord Melbourne, the Premier, brought forward a bill in the House of Lords. This was read a second time on June 14th, 1836, and went into Committee on June 28th, but in view of strong opposition it also was dropped.

The result of all this was that, in 1836, another Royal Commision was appointed. After hearing evidence, the commissioners avowed themselves in favour of a complete union of universities and colleges, but, in deference to local opinion, so far gave way as to recommend that there should be double chairs in the faculty of arts. Mainly through the opposition of King's College, Parliament did not give effect to the commissioners' report.

In 1854, King's College took action. The Senatus prepared, with the sanction of the chancellor, the Earl of Aberdeen, then Prime Minister, a plan of union which provided for a complete amalgamation of the faculties. The arts and divinity classes were to be at King's College, and those in medicine and law at Marischal College. Committees were appointed by both universities to consider the question. The King's College committee consisted of Professors Andrew Fyfe, Thomson, Ferguson, and Fuller, while Marischal College was represented by Principal Dewar, Professors Pirie, Macrobin, and

Gray, and Mr Thomson of Banchory, the Dean of Faculty. These gentlemen met as a joint committee. A majority of each Senatus was in favour of union, but the Marischal College minority was sufficiently powerful to bring about the abandonment of the project.

In 1856, another bill was introduced into Parliament — this time by Lord Advocate Moncrieff. It aimed at uniting the universities, but not at a complete fusion of the colleges. The faculties of law and medicine were to be at Marischal College, that of divinity at King's College, and a faculty of arts was to be at each. The bill was soon withdrawn, and the Commission of 1857 was appointed.

A fierce struggle followed. Many thought that fusion which did not fully unite the colleges was not worth having. But where was the Faculty of Arts to be? The citizens of Aberdeen were indignant at the suggestion of the removal of the familiar red gown of the arts student from the quadrangle of Marischal College. The graduates and alumni of King's College insisted on the conservation of the rights of their *Alma Mater*, the older and the wealthier of the two institutions.

The Commission met at Aberdeen on the 29th October, 1857, and concluded its meetings at Edinburgh on the 30th January, 1858. The members of the Com-

mission were Colonel Mure of Caldwell, Mr Stirling of Keir, M.P., and Mr Cosmo Innes, In their report, they recommended a union of the universities, and a partial union of the colleges. "We would suggest," they said, "that there should be one Faculty of Theology, one Faculty of Law, and one Faculty of Medicine in the University; and that the classes in the Faculty of Theology should be taught at King's College, the classes in the Faculties of Law and Medicine at Marischal College. That there should also be only one Faculty of Arts, but that in this Faculty separate classes of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics respectively should continue to be taught in each College." Two men who were largely influential in moulding the Commission were the rector and the sub-principal of King's College. The former was John Inglis, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, and Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh. The latter, Professor David Thomson,* occupied the chair of natural philosophy, and was a man of striking individuality, keenly interested in the prosperity of the University, and possessing a remarkable capacity for business.

*See "David Thomson, M.A., a Sketch of his Character and Career," by the Rev. Canon Low, St Columba's, Largs. (Aberdeen: 1894.)

The Commission of 1857 was not empowered to legislate; and, when its report was presented to Parliament, a new Commission was appointed, with instructions to unite the two universities, several points of detail being left to the judgment of the commissioners. This Commission was also authorised to revise the whole course of study in the Scottish universities. The commissioners did not completely accept the recommendations of their predecessors. They ordained—

"*Primo.* That there shall not be more than one Professorship in any one branch of instruction in the Faculty of Arts in the University of Aberdeen.

"*Secundo.* That the classes in the Faculty of Arts, with the exception of the class of Natural History and the classes in the Faculty of Divinity, in the University of Aberdeen, shall assemble and be taught in that portion of the University buildings, hitherto belonging to, and occupied by King's College with any additions that may be made thereto; and those in the faculties of Law and Medicine, and also the class of Natural History shall assemble, and be taught in that portion of the University buildings hitherto belonging to, and occupied by Marischal College with any addition that may be made thereto."

The decision arrived at was, doubtless, in some measure, due to the fact that the chairman of the Commission was John Inglis.

Thus ended the union controversy, which had unsettled Aberdeen almost continuously since 1826. The result did not, of course, please all who were interested, and local feeling was excessively bitter at the time. But well nigh forty years have gone, and most of the protagonists, on both sides, have one by one passed away. The feud between Old Town and New Town is of the things that have been, for both are now one city. Those who look upon the University of Aberdeen as their Alma Mater, now greatly outnumber those who own allegiance to either King's College or Marischal College. The ancient prophecy of the Rhymer, according to Skinner's interpretation, has been fulfilled.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

The Commission, in carrying out the details of their scheme of union, had to deal with the difficulty presented by the existence of a superabundance of officials. But the difficulty was skilfully overcome. The chancellorship was to be held jointly by the two chancellors—the Earl of Aberdeen and the Duke of Richmond. The rectorship was declared vacant, and, in 1860, the students made choice of Edward F. Maitland, Solicitor-General for Scotland, afterwards raised to the Bench as Lord Barcaple. The principal of Marischal College, Dr Daniel Dewar, was in failing health, and, accordingly, the King's College Principal, the Rev. Peter Colin Campbell, became the first Principal of the University of Aberdeen. As to the professorships, they were generally retained by the younger of the two professors, those who were thus compelled to retire receiving suitable compensation.

In the Faculty of Arts, the occupants of the King's College chairs of Greek, mathematics, and natural philosophy (Professors Geddes, Fuller, and Thomson), and the occupants

of the Marischal College chairs of humanity, moral philosophy, and natural history (Professors Maclure, Martin, and Nicol) were appointed to hold their respective chairs in the united university. Similarly, in the Faculty of Divinity, Professors Robert Macpherson and Andrew Scott, of King's College, retained their chairs, the title of Dr Macpherson's being changed from "Divinity" to "Systematic Theology." Professor Pirie, of Marischal College, became Professor of Church History in the university. All the other chairs were held by Marischal College professors, except those of law and chemistry

Six new chairs were instituted. One of these was the combined chair of logic and English, the first occupant of which was Professor Alexander Bain, the eminent mental philosopher, who was appointed in 1860. A chair of Biblical Criticism was added to the Faculty of Divinity, to which Professor William Milligan was appointed. The remaining four new chairs were attached to the Faculty of Medicine—physiology, midwifery, botany, and materia medica. They were held by Professors George Ogilvie-Forbes, Robert Dyce, George Dickie, and Alexander Harvey respectively.

The Commission of 1858 introduced the curricula in Arts and Medicine that continued in force till the ordinances of the Commissioners appointed by the Universities Act of 1889 came

into operation. The course for the Arts degree consisted of the following subjects:—Humanity, Greek, English, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, moral philosophy, and natural history. Degree examinations were required in the four departments of classics, mathematics, philosophy, and natural science. A new curriculum was also drawn up for Medicine, the subjects of examination mentioned in the Commissioners' ordinance being chemistry, botany, anatomy, zoology, physiology, surgery, materia medica, pathology, practice of medicine, midwifery, and medical jurisprudence.

Considerable changes, too, were made in the government of the university. Previously, the Senatus had possessed the entire administrative power, except for the interference of the Chancellor and the Rectorial Court. This was the case in St Andrews and in Glasgow, as well as in Aberdeen; in Edinburgh, the Town Council had more influence than the Senatus. "Under the Universities Act of 1858," to quote from the Commissioners' report, "the ordinary administration of the affairs of each of the universities is now vested in the Senatus Academicus. But the Act introduced into each University a new governing body, called the University Court, . . . ; providing that it shall be a court of appeal from the Senatus Academicus, that it shall possess a certain jurisdiction over individual Professors, that

it shall control the administration by the Senatus . . . of the property of the University or College, and that it shall exercise other powers."

The Commission ordained that the rector, elected by the students voting in "nations," should preside over the University Court, so that the new body represented the old Rectorial Court. The Act also introduced a General Council, consisting of the chancellor, members of Court and Senatus, graduates, and certain alumni of the university. To the Council the election of the chancellor was entrusted.

At the beginning of the first session of the united university, 1860-61, one of the chancellors, the Duke of Richmond, died. He was survived by the Earl of Aberdeen for scarcely two months. The present Duke of Richmond and Gordon was then elected by the General Council. The first break in the professoriate was caused by the death of Professor Andrew Fyfe in 1861. His successor was James S. Brazier, who had been Professor Thomas Clark's assistant at Marischal College.

In 1868, under the "Representation of the People (Scotland) Act," the members of the General Councils of the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen became entitled to elect a Parliamentary representative. The members elected have been Lord Advocate Moncrieff, Edward S. Gordon, Q.C., Lord Advocate Watson, and Dr James A. Campbell of Stracathro.

In 1869, Her Majesty Queen Victoria founded in the University three Balmoral bursaries in Arts, of the value of £30 each. In addition to these, over forty bursaries have been founded by private benefactors. The university has benefited also by the foundation of many valuable prizes and scholarships. Among these we may mention the Brown scholarships in divinity instituted in 1867; the Neil Arnott prize instituted in 1869; the Seafield gold medals (in commemoration of the Earl of Seafield's defence of the Redhythe Bursaries), in 1873; the Neil Arnott foundation for experimental physics (in memory of Neil Arnott, a distinguished graduate of Marischal College), and the Dr John Murray medal and scholarship, in 1876; the Shepherd gold medal, in 1879; the Stuart Hebrew prizes and the Jenkyns prize in classical philology, in 1880; the Keith gold medal, in 1881; the Jamieson gold medal and the Dr Black prize, in 1882; the Bain gold medal, in 1883; the Duthie and Fletcher scholarships and the Lyon gift, in 1885; the George Thompson fellowship in medicine, in 1886; the Struthers medal and prize and the Matthews Duncan gold medal, in 1891; the Collie and Lyon prizes and the Alexander Anderson scholarship, in 1893; and the Dr James Anderson gold medal, in 1895.

Principal Campbell died in 1876, and was

succeeded by Dr William R. Pirie, who had occupied the chair of Church History. A window in memory of Principal Campbell is in the University Chapel. Principal Pirie held the office till his death in 1885. A fund, as memorial of him, was instituted in 1886, for the purpose of affording aid to students falling ill during attendance upon classes. Professor Geddes was transferred from the Greek chair to the Principalship in 1886. He received the honour of knighthood in 1892.

Various changes have taken place in the different faculties, extending their scope and influence. In the Faculty of Arts, a new chair was founded in 1893. The subject of English and English literature was provided for in 1860, by attaching a class of English to the logic chair. The inconvenience thus caused was remedied by the institution of the Chalmers Chair of English Literature. Professor William Minto, who had succeeded Professor Bain in 1880, died in 1893, and two successors were appointed, the professorships of logic and metaphysics and of English literature being disassociated. Two lectureships may be referred to in this connection. Mr Burnett of Dens had, in 1784, bequeathed a sum of money for the giving, at intervals of forty years, of two prizes for essays upon Theism. In 1881, on the application of the Trustees, the Secretary of State converted the essay scheme into a

theistic lectureship in the University of Aberdeen. The lecturers have been Professor Sir George Stokes, LL.D., Professor Robertson Smith, LL.D., and the Rev. William L. Davidson, LL.D. In 1887, Adam Gifford, one of the senators of the College of Justice, Edinburgh, left funds for the endowment of lectureships in natural theology in all the Scottish universities. The Aberdeen Gifford lecturers have been Dr Edward B. Tylor, F.R.S., Principal Fairbairn, and Dr James Ward.

The greatest expansion, however, has been in the Faculty of Medicine. The reputation of the Aberdeen Medical School has been made since 1860, and its success has been in large measure due to the exertions of Professor Struthers, who occupied the chair of anatomy from 1863 to 1889. Considerable extensions, costing about £10,000, were made at Marischal College between 1868 and 1889, largely increasing the laboratory accommodation. A chair of pathological anatomy was founded by the late Sir Erasmus Wilson in 1882.

A Universities Commission, appointed by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889, introduced many important changes. The arts curriculum was revolutionised by their "Ordinance No. 11—General, No. 6," and many alterations were made upon the regulations for graduation in medicine, and also in science, a degree in which had been established in 1889. The administra-

tion of the university, except as regards teaching and discipline, was entrusted to the University Court, which was enlarged. The Commission made also a slight modification in the rules for the election of a rector. Under the ordinance of 1858, in the case of an equality of "nations," the chancellor had the casting vote. The Commission ordained that, should the "nations" be equal, the decision should be made in accordance with the absolute majority of votes.

The rectors since 1860 have been Lord Barcaple, Earl Russell, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Professor Huxley, Mr Forster, the Earl of Rosebery, Emeritus - Professor Bain, Mr Goschen, and the Marquis of Huntly. Of these, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Professor Bain, and Lord Huntly had the honour of re-election.

The Students' Representative Council was officially recognised by the Commission, and received a constitution and a *locus standi*.

A building extension scheme was commenced in 1891. Besides a Government grant of £40,000, liberal subscriptions were received from private individuals and those officially connected with the University. Chief among the private donors was Mr Charles Mitchell, of Newcastle, to whose munificence the University owes the Mitchell Hall and Tower and the Students' Union, in addition to other portions of the extension. Mr Mitchell's sudden death,

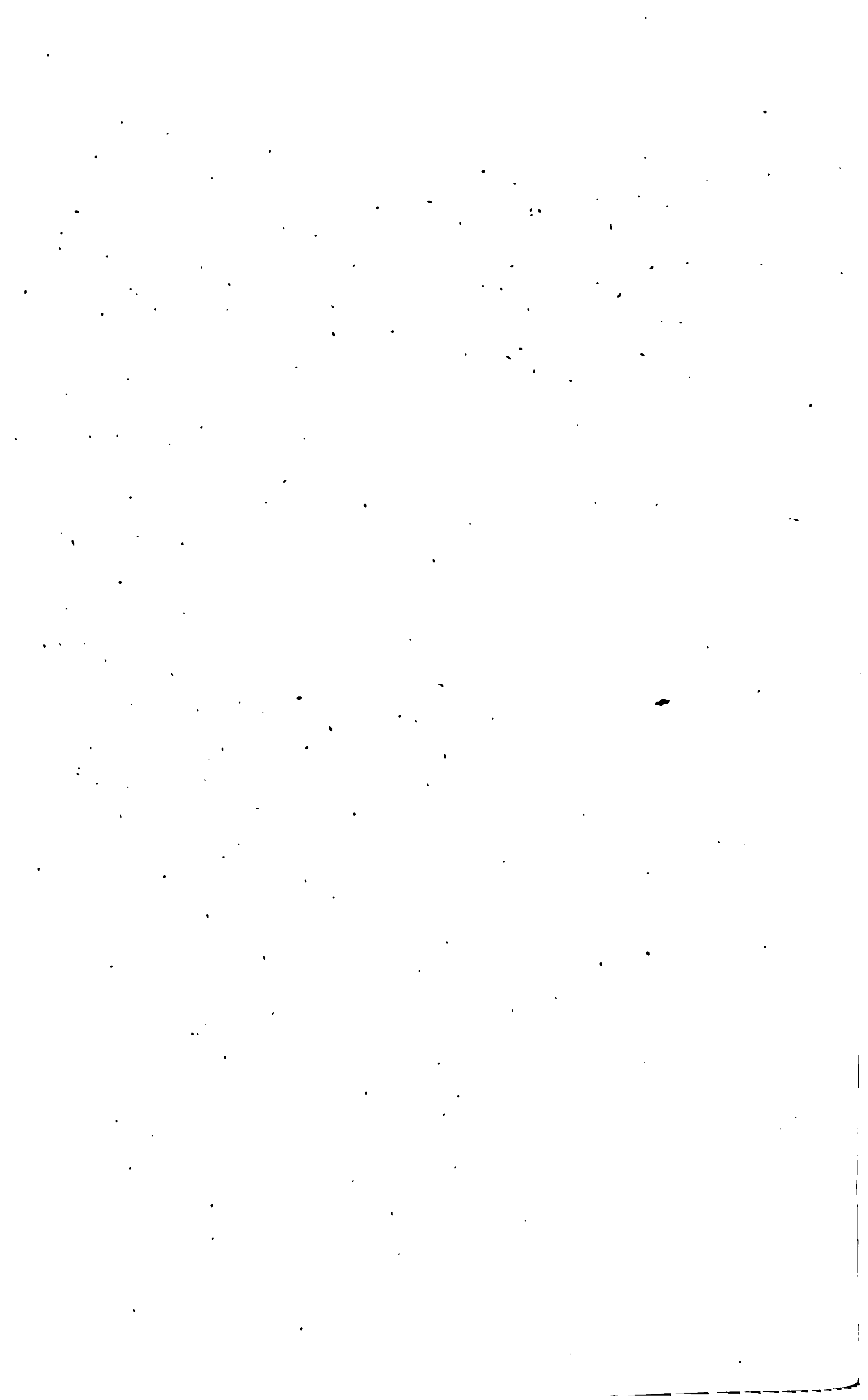
just before the inauguration ceremony, deprived the University of a loyal son and a most generous benefactor.

The University of Aberdeen has thus made great material progress since 1860. The number of its students has increased from an average of about six hundred to an average of about eight hundred. It has benefited financially by not less than three hundred thousand pounds. Far better equipped than at any previous period in the history of the two colleges, the united universities, it may be confidently asserted, will be able to meet the needs of the new age, and keep, at the same time, the honourable traditions of the past.

We have now finished the story of the Universities of Aberdeen. During the space of time traversed by that story the torch of learning has been kept burning within their walls. Scholar after scholar, in long succession, has passed under the shadow of the stately crown of the older college, or been nourished in the halls endowed by the accomplished and enlightened Earl Marischal. In that vanished throng there have been many striking figures. In the sixteenth century, we have Elphinstone the statesman, Boece the annalist, Vaus the scholar, and Leslie the historian; in the seventeenth, the "Aberdeen Doctors," Thomas Dempster, Gor-

don of Straloch, Bishop Burnet, the historians, Thomas Ruddiman the grammarian, and George Jameson the painter; in the eighteenth, Thomas Reid the philosopher, George Campbell the theologian, James Beattie and Skinner of Linshart, the poets, Tobias Smollett the novelist, Robert Hall the preacher, Lord Monboddo the lawyer, and Marshal Keith the soldier; and, in the nineteenth, John Hill Burton, James Melvin, John Stuart Blackie, William Robertson Smith, Sir Andrew Clark, Neil Arnott, James Clerk Maxwell, Sir James Outram, and Colonel Grant. These are but a few of the men whose names survive, although their voices are silent, and who were, in one way or another, connected with the Universities of Aberdeen.

But, though we may be justly proud of such names, there is even greater cause for pride in the knowledge that these universities have trained thousands of cultured and thoughtful men, who, in crowded towns or remote country parishes, or in lands far away from Don and Dee, have, humbly and unobtrusively, served their day and generation well, without expectation of honours or fame.



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Abbreviations :—K. C.—King's College.
M. C.—Marischal College.

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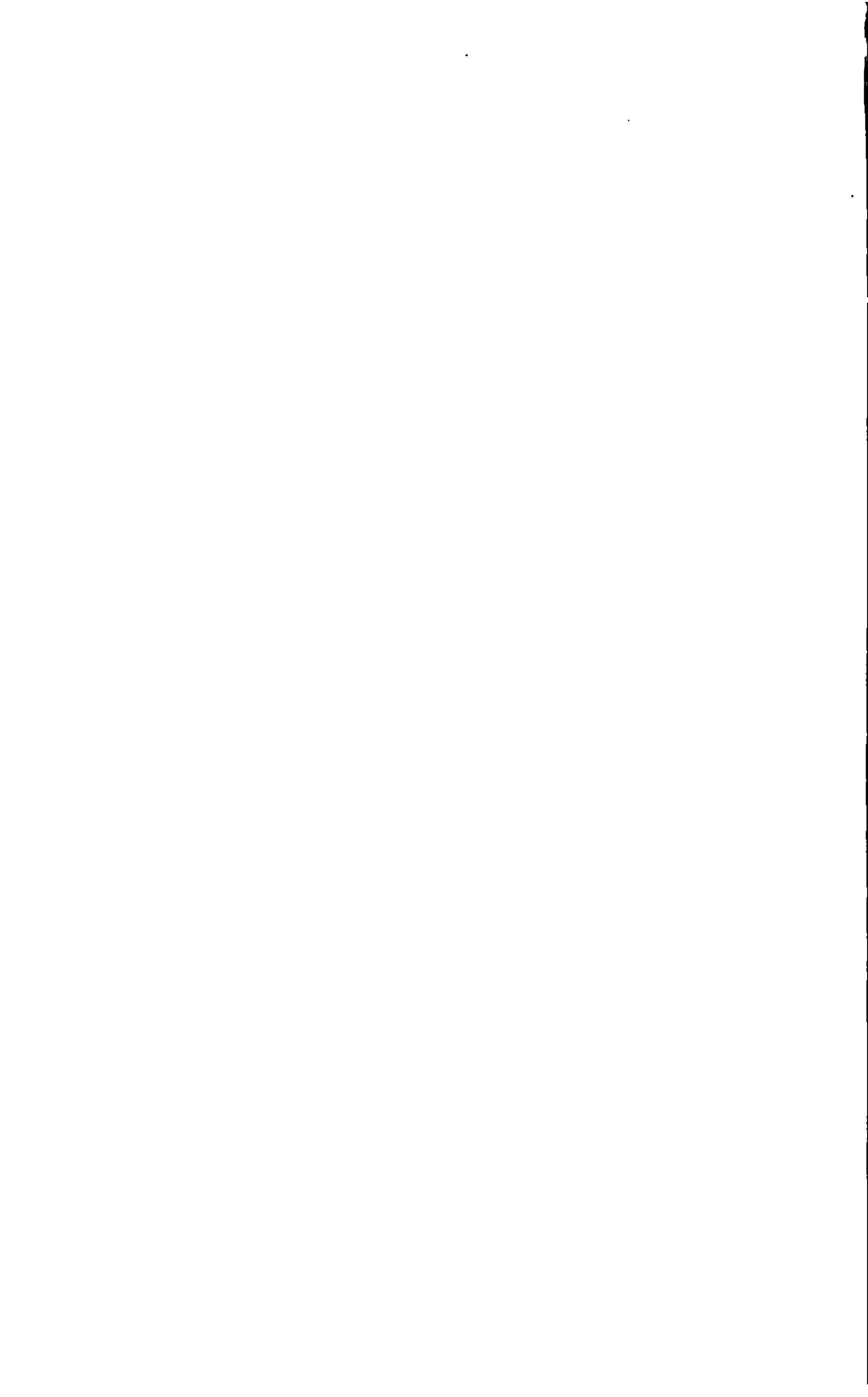

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