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UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (RESEARCH)

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY AND WORLD WAR I

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" A CHARACTER OF ITS OWN[1] "

Sir Donald MacAlister,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor.

The University,
March 1922.

[1] Quote taken from the introduction to the third and last Glasgow University Roll of Honour 1914 - 1919, issued by the University Court of the University of Glasgow, printed at the University Press by Robert Maclehose & Company ., publishers to the University of Glasgow.

Principal Sir Donald Mac Alister of Tarbert, Bt.

D. J. Medley

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INTRODUCTION

I originally started this piece of work for my own interest. Having taken over command of the Glasgow University Officers Training Corps (O.T.C.) I was struck first by the huge number of officer cadets on my nominal role (approx 600) but also by the small number of those who were turning up for training (approx 30-40). I was also perplexed as to why, with a student population at Glasgow University of 16,000 and in Glasgow as a whole of 40,000, I had problems recruiting up to my establishment. When I came across the Glasgow University Rolls of Honour for the First Wold War they also surprised me not only in their accuracy but also because of the huge numbers involved. I wondered what had driven Glasgow University to make such a sacrifice. There didn't seem to be a great military tradition at Glasgow and the numbers joining the O.T.C. and being retained did not seem to correspond with this.

During my research looking into the nature of Glasgow students and their reasons and motivation for military service I found the Glasgow student not to have changed greatly over the years from that described by professors early in the 20th Century. It was while talking to Professor Hew Strachan about my research that he suggested I should formalize my research and undertake a Master of Philosophy.

The work has been a great eye opener to me. Since I embarked on the MPhil in 1999 I have only spent two of the five years in the UK. I have lived in Germany and Italy, done a sixth month operational tour in Afghanistan and two in Sierra Leone, and have worked for shorter periods of up to two months in Turkey, Norway, and Ukraine. I have negotiated peace deals with the drunk and drugged Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone and fought the Taliban in Afghanistan. The Army has demanded most of my time but everywhere I have gone I have carried my work with me. Sometimes it has been left untouched for months, it always having been difficult to find time to work. I have had to devote more time to the work than if I been settled in one place. Each time coming back to the work has necessitated reading back in and refreshing myself. Much of the time I have given to the work is time I would have spent with my family. It is for this reason I was determined to finish and have something to show for the sacrifice.

I wish to thank all those who have helped me to achieve this. First Professor Hew Strachan who encouraged me to start and more importantly to finish! His postcards arriving wherever I have been in the world have reminded me of my commitment. He has always dealt with my sporadic and infrequent work in a prompt manner and without irritation. I must thank Professors Richard Trainor and Forbes Munro for giving me early drafts of their chapters for the book, University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870, and Professor Michael Moss, who introduced me to the Glasgow University Archive. I must thank all the staff of the Glasgow University Archive where I spent many happy and interesting hours before deploying

to the maelstrom of Sierra Leone at war.

I owe a great debt to my wife and daughter who have suffered my absence due not only to the Army but also to this work. I feel my finished product is a sad reflection and in no way represents the amount of time I have spent on it. My lasting impression is that those that have the opportunity to be full time students do not understand or appreciate the wonderful opportunity that they have been given. I envy them and understand much better than before the importance of our academic community and their contribution to the good of the lives of others, especially those lucky enough to be students at Glasgow University.

In 1915 Captain Alan R. Haig-Brown wrote a book entitled The O.T.C. and the Great War[1]. In the book Haig-Brown listed members of the O.T.C. who had been gazetted as officers from 1908 to 1914, from 1914 to 1915 and those ex-members of the O.T.C. who had been killed up to March 1915, i.e. the first seven months of the First World War. What is immediately apparent from the figures is that Glasgow University's war losses were greater from the other ancient Scottish universities or regional universities elsewhere in Britain, and was on a par with Oxford and Cambridge.

In March 1922 the Court of the University of Glasgow issued the Glasgow University Roll of Honour 1914-1919. The bound book, printed at the University Press by Robert Maclehose and Company Limited for Maclehose, Jackson and Company, Publishers to the University of Glasgow, was the third and final Roll of Honour for

the First World War. The first issue had been produced in 1915 and was funded personally by the Principal, Sir Donald MacAlister, with much of the work being done by the Military Education Committee (MEC) and the O.T.C. Sir Donald MacAlister presented the book to the University "in testimony of her sons' loyal response to the call of King and Country". The second issue released in July 1916 was also presented by the Principal with much of the work having been done once again by Professor Dudley Medley, the MEC Convenor, and Captain James Hendry, the Adjutant of the O.T.C.

It was only in the third issue in 1922 that Sir Donald MacAlister chose to write a Preface to the Roll. "The experience of Glasgow" he wrote, " was similar to that of other national universities, though owing to its situation, circumstances, and special modes of activity, it had in some respects a character of its own." This dissertation sets out to discover that 'character', in the period leading up to and during the First World War. How was Glasgow University similar to other universities? How was Glasgow different, and by how much? Did Glasgow fit the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge or of a regional university? What were the situation, circumstances and special modes of activity which gave it that character of its own and how did its contribution and sacrifice in the First World War compare to the National experience.

There is a project by Glasgow University's Archive Services to launch a Roll of Honour web site later this year (Nov 2006). The web site will be designed to be an on-line memorial to those who served and died from Glasgow University but will

concentrate on historical data such as biographies, providing information on those who served and died, rather than discovering the character of Glasgow's response to the War.

Few histories of the University have been published. The most comprehensive and most recent, University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870[2] was written by Professors Moss, Munro, Forbes and Trainor and published in 2000. Prior to that publication the other histories of the University were, A History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1509[3] by J Coutts published in 1909, which obviously did not cover the First World War period. The University of Glasgow 1451-1951[4] by J.D. Mackie and The University of Glasgow 1451-1996[5] by M. Moss and A.L. Brown, and in 1952 the Students' Fifth Centenary Committee published The Five-Hundred (500) year book to commemorate the fifth century of the University of Glasgow. 1451-1951[6] Apart from these works there is an anonymously written history in the Archive entitled and the other The curious Diversity, Glasgow University on Gilmorehill.[7] which deals mainly with anecdotes about the University. These histories cover the War period in varying detail, but what none of these publications does is to analyze the war record of Glasgow University in terms of service and sacrifice and put it in any sort of comparative framework either nationally or with other universities. It is in this way that this research seeks to fill a gap in our knowledge.

The war record of Glasgow University and of its Memorial Chapel includes not only graduates and undergraduates, academic and administrative staff, but also numbers of

young men from elsewhere who were commissioned by the O.T.C. when it became a Training Battalion. So the thesis includes not only those who chose Glasgow as their temporary home for academic reasons, but also those who were sent to it through no choice of their own.

One of the main difficulties others have had in answering the kind of questions I seek to answer for other institutions has been that reliable estimates of records of service and of those killed have not been available. However, the meticulously prepared Glasgow University Rolls of Honour listed not only those who gave up their lives, but also all those who served with the Forces of the Crown. The care taken during the compilation of the Rolls of Honour has ensured records of unusual accuracy. The accurate records of the university can be put into a comparative framework using the work done by J. M. Winter in his book, The Great War and the British People.

[1] Captain Alan R. Haig-Brown, The O.T.C. and the Great War, (London, Country Life, 1915).

[2] Moss, Michael, Munro, J. Forbes and Trainor, Richard H. *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 2000).

[3] Coutts, J., *A History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1509* (Glasgow,1909).

[4] Mackie, J.D., *The University of Glasgow 1451-1951* (Glasgow, Jackson Son & Co, 1954).

[5] Moss, M. & Brown, A.L., *The University of Glasgow 1451-1996* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 1996).

[6] Hamilton I.R. (Ed).,*The Five-Hundred (500) year book to commemorate the fifth century of the University of Glasgow. 1451-1951* (Glasgow, The Students' Fifth Centenary Committee c1952).

[7] Anonymous, *The Curious Diversity, Glasgow University on Gilmorehill* (University of Glasgow, 1970).

CHAPTER ONE

THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT AT GLASGOW UNIVERSITY BEFORE 1908

I am in the O.T.C.,
And of course, you should be in it,
Germans ne'er will frighten me,
I am in the O.T.C.
We will give them fighting free
Any time they would begin it.
I am in the O.T.C.
And, of course you should be in it.

(Glasgow University Magazine, Volume 22, Number 1, 27 October 1909).

Glasgow University has a long history of association with the military which can be traced back to the seventeenth century. This chapter looks at the origins of the volunteer movement and addresses the situation in Glasgow University prior to the establishment of the O.T.C. in 1908. The staff and students of the university had throughout the history of the University understood their national obligations and reacted positively in times of national crisis, but initial enthusiasm never lasted long and formations of armed student bodies were usually short lived. The experience of Glasgow was similar to that of other regional universities who also had problems

maintaining forces for any length of time; it was only Oxford, Cambridge and London universities, with far greater numbers, which were able to sustain units longer. The Glasgow University military tradition was not a natural one, although its members were periodically obliged to answer the call to arms. In comparison with what was to come there was little military activity prior to 1908.

The earliest recorded reference to military matters at Glasgow University was in 1532 when strict regulations were passed that prohibited students at the university from carrying weapons:

> It was ordained that no student whatever his rank or distinction should carry arms, a sword, dagger, or other offensive weapon except in cases where the Regents allowed. Anyone offending against this rule rendered himself liable to expulsion and forfeit of the weapon unless he corrected himself to the satisfaction of the Regents.[1]

Over the next two hundred years military activity was confined to various professors of the University accepting commissions in local regiments. For example in 1641, James Dalrymple, later Lord Stair, sat his trials for the post of Regent Professor wearing the uniform of an officer in Glencairn's Regiment.[2] At their own expense professors undertook to raise troops to meet the Jacobite threat in 1708, 1715 and again in 1745.[3] On 10 June 1803 when Napoleon threatened to invade the country the University agreed to guarantee a sum of £50 to fund officers of volunteer forces from the University in case the government allowance proved inadequate. Later, on the 16 August 1803, the students proposed that they should be formed into a volunteer corps for service in any part of Great Britain in case of actual invasion, or the appearance of

an enemy off the coast.[4] The University, while commending the sentiments of the students, explained that it was necessary to have two companies of 60 men to form a corps acceptable to the government. As it was vacation time they agreed to present the students' offer to the government but said that the establishment of the Corps would have to wait until term time when numbers of volunteers could be verified. The University met the requirement of 60 men initially needed but had to keep the list open until a total of 120 men, made up from students, members of the university staff and others who had been students within the last five years, had been enrolled. Despite the enthusiasm of the students it had been difficult to raise the manpower to meet their aspirations and it had only been possible by recruiting from university staff and from those who had left the University having completed their studies.

It was not until 1859 that any continuity in the history of university volunteers was really established. The University joined in the national enthusiasm for the volunteer movement in 1859, which turned Lanarkshire into a hotbed of volunteering, and raised a company for the First Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers, but within ten years the company had been disbanded. The volunteer Corps had been formed in response to the ambition of French imperialism under Napoleon III. In the words of H. Cunningham " Victorian Britain was afflicted by a chronic anxiety about invasion"[5] and mass meetings were held all over the country to protest against the insufficiency of national defences. Offers to form volunteer Corps began to pour in to the government. The Poet Laureate, Lord Tennyson, voiced the national feeling in an ode published in The Times of 9 May 1859, a verse of which ran:

There is a sound of thunder afar,
Storm in the south that darkens the day!
Storm of battle and thunder of war!
Well if it do not roll our way.
Storm, storm, Rifleman storm!
Ready, be ready against the storm!
Rifleman, Rifleman, Rifleman storm.[6]

Glasgow was very quick to take action and the Glasgow Volunteer Rifle Corps was immediately raised. Advertisements were placed in The Glasgow Herald and the city was divided into three recruiting sections, the western section, the north-eastern section, and the southern section. The western section had the first corps to be set up. At the same time professors, graduates, and students of Glasgow University were anxious to do their duty and the following article appeared in The Glasgow Herald:

> We observed that the meeting at the College [University] for the purpose of organising a Corps of riflemen amongst the present and former members of our university is to take place today at 1 o'clock. It is hoped that the movement may be successful and the University of Glasgow may not lag behind those of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, in providing the training and the use of arms, which ought to form part of the education of every free man.[7]

The meeting to form the university corps was chaired by the head of the University, the Principal, the Very Reverend Thomas Barclay, and was held in the Common Hall of the Old College Building in High Street. Principal Barclay was also anxious that Glasgow would not fall behind the other ancient universities and informed the meeting that the cost of the uniform would not exceed £4 and that he understood Edinburgh University's uniform had only cost about £3.10/-. He also informed the

meeting that every other university, which had a considerable number of students, had already taken steps towards the formation of a Corps and he thought it would not be creditable if the ancient and celebrated University of Glasgow lagged behind.[8] The Principal also suggested at the meeting that the company of volunteer riflemen should be called the Glasgow University Rifle Volunteers. The Lord Lieutenant sanctioned the Glasgow University Rifle Volunteers, as K (University) Company 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers on 22 July 1859, and on 25 July the officers were appointed, with Professor Macquorn Rankine as the Company Commander.[9]

In February 1860 the Lord Lieutenant of Glasgow applied to Professor William Thomson, later Lord Kelvin, to take on the captaincy of another Volunteer Rifle Corps entitled "The 77th City Rifle Guard ". Professor Thomson suggested that the new Corps should be named "The Second University Corps" but it was agreed that, as the Company had really no claim to the name other than that the Professor was to command it, it would simply retain the title by which it was already known. [10] Despite the name of Second University Corps suggested by Professor Thomson not being sanctioned, it was decided that the two Corps might work in unison. They were both allowed to drill on the College Green, their rifles were stored in the same building, and all Company notices were posted on the door of the Natural Philosophy classroom which belonged to Professor Thomson. The connection became so close that the 77th came to be known as the Second University Corps. The 77th also enjoyed all the privileges that the Senate had conferred on the First University Corps. The Corps for many years was never at full strength, yet it always had a decent number on the

nominal roll and Professor Thomson provided it with sufficient leadership to carry it forward.

Later in 1860 it was decided that the Companies or Corps should be formed into Battalions under a Battalion Commander. K Company Corps joined with the First Western and fourteen other Companies to form The First Regiment, The First Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers. The regiment was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Islay Campbell. As sixteen companies were reckoned too many to form just one Battalion, it was agreed to form two. The 1st Western Corps took the premier position in the First Battalion and the University Corps took the lead in the Second Battalion. Also in late 1860 the Senate decided to take on the services of a Sergeant Major and offer a course of drill instruction free of charge to students who were keen to undertake it. It can only be assumed that the idea behind this was to give the students a feel for the military without them actually having to join the Volunteers, in the hope that some of them would find it to their liking and eventually join. [11] To add further confusion to the name of the Corps, the Secretary of State for War decided that, as the Western Corps had asked permission to form before the University corps, the University Corps would be known as 2nd in the county of Lanark. Having been beaten to the post by the 1st Western Corps, the University Corps was named the 2nd (University) Corps. [12]

On formation the numbers in the corps were around 60 but, although at the start everything went well for the University Company, the numbers did not increase as had

been anticipated. [13] By November only 70 had joined and although a proposal was made to form another Company, it did not seem to go any further, for by the end of December the Company only numbered 82 men, when the aim had been to recruit at least 120.[14] On 23 February 1863 Professor Thomson was gazetted Captain [confirmed substantive in his rank] and took over Command of the University Company which had become 'K' Company of the First Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers. Captain Thomson immediately set about recruiting and notices appeared all over the university encouraging students to register, but it would seem either that the £2 cost of uniform put many of the students off joining the Corps or that this was thought to be the reason that they were put off. Towards the end of the year Captain Thomson thought that the issue of a Government Grant would resolve this and on 13 November 1863 the following notice was posted on the College notice boards:

> The expense attendant upon becoming a volunteer which has hitherto formed a barrier to many is now removed by Government Grant to which each man becomes entitled on making himself effective by proficiency and drill. It is therefore hoped that with the honour of Alma Mater the University Rifle Company will this session receive a large accession to its ranks and being the oldest become also the most effective in Lanarkshire.

Glasgow's financial disincentive was shared by the University of St Andrews. St Andrews, the third oldest university in the country and the oldest in Scotland, held a public meeting on 5 December 1859 to launch a volunteer movement. The students of St Andrews were enthusiastic about the volunteer movement and at the meeting approximately sixty volunteered to join the new volunteer movement.[15] The problem was that the students did not have enough money to support the cost of uniform, rifles

and equipment. In 1860 the University Senate was approached but it was near the end of the academic year and the Senate postponed giving an answer. The delay was understood as a courteous refusal and the student body shelved the whole idea.[16] In 1882, after a particularly successful lecture by Sir Peter Scott Lang on " Our Adventures at the autumn manoeuvres of 1872", the students again expressed a strong desire to have a volunteer Corps and later in 1882 a volunteer Artillery Battery was formed.[17] It was much less expensive to run an Artillery Battery than a Rifle Company because the Government would supply the equipment. The Battery survived with good numbers until 1908 when the O.T.C. was launched and St Andrews formed a contingent at once.[18]

At Glasgow too there was great difficulty maintaining the strength of the company and its numbers became very low. Towards the end of 1869 'K' (University Company) of the Lanarkshire Volunteers was dissolved and the remaining 31 members of the company went, on transfer, to 'Q' Company. With the move of the University from the High Street to Gilmorehill in 1870 the connection between the University and the Lanark Rifle Volunteers continued but became even less intimate. In 1878 K Company was re-formed in an effort to recruit for the forthcoming Royal Review. [19] The Company at once became K (University Company). Over the next few years both K Company and Q Company claimed, within the light of the 1870 amalgamation, that they should have the honour of being called "The University Company", but neither was given that honour. In 1900 volunteers from the First Lanarkshire Rifle

Volunteers formed two composite companies to reinforce the Highland Light Infantry Regular Battalions going to the South African War and some student members of K and Q Company joined them. Separately with various different units many medical students served in hospitals at Kroonstad and elsewhere in South Africa. [20]

Glasgow's position in struggling to recruit volunteers was different to Oxford, Cambridge and some other regional universities, many of which not only raised University Companies but succeeded in sending them overseas and in one case saw them awarded a Battle Honour. For example, the South African War of 1899-1902 saw volunteers from London University joining those from older universities, although only Cambridge was awarded a battle honour.[21] At Manchester and Salford University (which was one university at this time) in 1898 a volunteer Rifle Company was raised from undergraduates as part of the 2nd Volunteer Battalion of the Manchester Regiment. After the Boer War, the Company was renamed first as the Manchester University Company and then as N Company of the 2nd Volunteer Battalion of the Manchester Regiment.[22] In 1859 volunteers from Durham University paraded with the 1st Newcastle on Tyne Rifle Volunteer Corps and the local 4th Durham Rifle Volunteer Corps until the formation of the O.T.C. in 1908.[23] At Aberdeen University, the first formed University unit was a Battery of 1st Aberdeen Volunteers Royal Artillery, raised in 1883 and officered by professors. In March 1895 the university battery was absorbed into the 1st Heavy Battery. Both Durham and Aberdeen units sent their military companies overseas. In 1897 an Aberdeen University detachment of the 1st Battalion, the Gordon Highlanders was recruited and

in 1898 the detachment became U [University] Company.[24]

The Oxford University Volunteers were first formed in 1642 during the civil war as an armed bodyguard for King Charles I. At the time the capital was the city of Oxford. Although the Corps was disbanded after the Civil War it gives credence to Oxford University's claim to have the longest military history of any university. During the Monmouth rebellion in 1685 the University again formed a company of scholars. The company played a leading role in the preparation of defences for Oxford. In 1799 the University raised a unit for the Napoleonic wars. In 1859 the Oxford University Rifle Volunteer Corps was formed. Eventually renamed the 1st Battalion Oxford Rifle Volunteer Corps in 1881 it became1st Volunteer Battalion, Oxfordshire Light Infantry, the name which remained until the formation of the O.T.C. in 1908. The Volunteer Corps was very popular and at no time did the number of volunteers fall below 180 members. By the time the First World War started, volunteering had become so popular that there was a cavalry squadron, a field artillery section and a signals service unit.[25]

The Sheffield University O.T.C. originated with the formation of the Universal and Professional company entitled G Company of the 4th West Riding Royal Engineers (WRRE) on 13 March 1900. Of the total strength of the Company thirty of the eighty were university students.[26] Cambridge University was also well established by the time of the formation of the O.T.C. in 1908. The Cambridge University Volunteers were formed in 1804 but then lapsed and there was no continuity in service in

Cambridge until 1859-60 when the Cambridge University Rifle Volunteers (C.U.R.V.) were formed. The C.U.R.V. took part at the Easter Review at Dover in 1886. They later became the 4th (Cambridge University) Volunteer Battalion of the Suffolk Regiment. A section of the C.U.R.V. went on active service in South Africa in 1900 and the organisation thrived until 1 September 1908, when the Cambridge University Rifle Volunteers were disbanded and the O.T.C. came into existence. The Cambridge University O.T.C. had revised conditions of service and consisted of a battalion of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, a battery of artillery, medical and engineer units. In 1908 all members of the former C.U.R.V. re-enrolled into the new Cambridge University Officers Training Corps (C.U.O.T.C.).[27]

The experience of these other universities clearly shows that they did not have the same difficulty in recruiting for military units that Glasgow University had. It seems that it was not necessary at other universities to exert the same sort of pressure that was required at Glasgow university to recruit the numbers required to fill military units in time of need. It appears that Glasgow University's response to the call to arms was much less a response to duty than to the pressure of coercion or attraction that a militarily inclined and enthusiastic member of staff could generate.

The desperate shortage of officers during the South African War added a new impetus to the volunteer effort in Glasgow in the post-war years. As a result of the amalgamations, and the loss of any reference within the Company names of the Lanarkshire Rifles to the University company, so few university members were left by

1903 that a new initiative was launched to re-establish a university company. The initiative was started with a detailed advertisement in the Glasgow University Magazine. The article is useful for our purposes because it not only shows succinctly the shortage of university volunteers but also addresses the reasons why the staff believed that students were not joining and tried to address them; issues such as finance, the weather, interference with classes and proximity to the university were all hinted at as being relevant factors. The article read as follows:

FORMATION OF THE 'VARSITY VOLUNTEER COMPANY

The following are interesting: - [these words are part of the quotation]

1. The Company revives the old 2nd or University Corps of Lanarkshire Volunteers, raised by Professors and Students at the inception of the volunteer movement in 1859. It was first formed as K Company, 1st LRV., but was subsequently merged into Q Company, 1st LRV., raised in 1860 as the 77th Corps or City Rifle Guard. The first Captain of K (University) Company was Professor J.W. Macquorne Rankine, while Lord Kelvin, then Professor William Thomson, was the first Captain of Q (2nd University) Company.

2. The Regiment to which it belongs (the "Greys") is the senior one in Lanarkshire.

3. The drill hall is in West Princes Street, adjoining Blythswood Square, within a few minutes walk of the university. There is a Morris Tube Range there. [A Morris tube range was an indoor shooting range that contained any ricochets or stray bullets within a concrete tube.]

4. Recruit and some of the Company Drills are held under cover, and are therefore independent of the weather.

5. Drills are arranged to suit the hours of classes, and so as not to interfere with work.

6. There will be great facilities for rifle shooting at Darnley range, the most extensive and best equipped range in Scotland, and prizes to a considerable amount will be offered yearly by the company, in addition to which members may compete for the Regimental prizes, as well as at all open

meetings for Volunteers. There will be special recruit prizes. Members will be eligible to shoot in the Scottish Inter-University Rifle March.

7. The Captain of the Company will be an experienced Officer, a past member of the University, and two Subalterns will be nominated from the present students, or, if preferred, one or both may also be officers of some standing.

8. The Non-Commissioned Officers will be appointed from present students, 1 Colour Sergeant, 4 Sergeants, 1 Lance Corporal 4 Corporals, and 4 Lance Corporals.[28]

Paragraph six and seven of the notice even indicated that those who expressed an interest at the initial meeting would have some say in the officer composition of the company. A measure of the success of this latest attempt to revive the University Company was revealed some six months later in early 1904 when the Glasgow University Magazine reported:

We hear that some enthusiastic members of the University Company of the 1st LRV have already begun to get their kits cleaned up preparatory to going to camp. The camp this year will be at Gailes and commences on 15 July. Some of the Company rejoiced when they learned that their lodging place in the Fair Week was to be " Doon the watter", and not, as was the original intention, at Stobs.

To such as are not possessed of much martial ardour, the prospect of eight days under canvas, with broken sleep and an unsatisfactory (to those who have been accustomed to the Union Dinner at 9d) cuisine, does not specially appeal. We have been told however that Gailes is not Stobs, and that instead of a week's hard work among the eastern hills, camp will this year be a pleasant holiday, mitigated by bananas and evening cruises. So, at least, we have been told by a member to whom we offered our sympathies. For his sake we hope 'tis so.

K" Company is fortunate in its officers. Major Nelson and Lieutenant Morrison are doing all in their power for the success of the company. While the material which they have to work is good, so far as it goes, it might be very much better and go a great deal further. Fifty men out of something like fifteen

> hundred hardly represent the patriotism of the Glasgow student. At least we hope not, but the old complaint must still be made that patriotism, especially such patriotism as expresses itself towards his University, is not one of the transcendent virtues of Glasgow.[29]

Things were to get worse, despite the best efforts of the staff to make life in the Company as attractive, interesting and comfortable as possible. Despite a strength on paper of 108, by 1905 only a handful of the Company were turning up for training. At the end of 1905 the Glasgow University Magazine once again turned its attention to the falling attendance of the Company:

> 1st LANARK UNIVERSITY COMPANY
>
> March Out
>
> Whether it was that important engagements came in the way, or that the hearts of many quailed at the bare thought, in these days of halfpenny cars, of a twelve mile march, I know not; but our march out last Saturday, was not so well attended as might have been.
>
> However, about a score of old campaigners, with two or three recruits, under the command of Lt Morrison and two officers from other companies, entrained at Charing Cross [a Glasgow railway station] for what turned out to be a most successful and enjoyable afternoon.[30]

By the end of January 1906 the University Company was having severe problems not only recruiting but also retaining members. After the Annual Church Parade and Route March there followed in the Glasgow University Magazine a scathing editorial regarding the number from the University Company who had turned out for the Parade:

> The imposing architecture of the Bute Hall illumined by that thick light that breathes the very atmosphere of dead generations, looming down upon the eager, struggling mass of brightly, though not vulgarly caparisoned soldiers, the protectors and the saviours of our country.

> The preacher standing there, his reverend head bowed beneath the blast or, should we say, draught, that, coming from the Randolph Hall, sweeps along the aisles, in his eyes a great gladness that, whereas in his land only some three hundred present themselves to give ear to his discourse, here is there a vast army so mighty in its numbers that the old historic structure totters and rocks upon its foundations.
>
> The hour approaches; with a mighty heave-ho the massive doors slide forward, and the chamber is hermetically sealed. There is no light, there is no warmth, and there is no comfort, only the draught is left. The proud optic of the Divine sweeps the sea of upturned, ghastly faces. He notes their uniforms; they are all in mufti, but no, there are in the front bench, almost imperceptible without the use of field glasses, there are a small colony of beings in uniform, even the members of the volunteer "K" Company in all its strength. The preacher gives out his text; we don't remember what it was, though we were told it was something about soldiers turning out to the last man, a truly fine conception, we admit.
>
> "E.L.G.", "Ichabod", and "One Who Did", we are much obliged to you for your letters. If we had only received one of them, we should have printed it, but having got all three, we thought it better to speak on the subject ourselves, since three letters would have taken too much space, and there would have been no apparent reason for choosing one of them rather than the others. We absolutely agree with you, as you agree with one another.
>
> Unless some very satisfactory explanation is forthcoming, the thing was a disgrace, and an insult to all those who bear upon their shoulders the management and the responsibility of the volunteer company. It was an insult to the preacher and to Colonel McFarlane and the officers.
>
> Above all, it was an insult to the Army, in so far as it is represented by the University Company, in that it made it a sheer laughing-stock to the many outsiders who turned up to witness the military ardour of our Alma Mater.[31]

The Glasgow University Magazine's article was justified. Out of a Company of 125, only 21 had turned out to Parade and of these only 16 were present students. In order to stop the rot that had set in with the declining numbers, the Company started training with other organisations and in 1906 exercised with the Glasgow High School Cadet Force and then with the Edinburgh University Cadet Corps. At the start of 1906 a recruiting article appeared in the Glasgow University Magazine:

> All students desiring to join the University Company should do so at once in order to qualify to attend Camp. The second recruit squad for which already 10 names have been received is starting at the end of this month Full particulars can be had personally or by letter from Lieutenant J.L. Morrison or John Mowatt at the university.[32]

Later that month some of the members of the Company took part in a weekend camp with the Edinburgh University Corps. Again, under the Command of Lieutenant Morrison and, again, short of numbers. [33] Once again the Glasgow University Magazine asked:

> How was it that Edinburgh could support two full Companies and have an attendance of about 200 at the Spring March while Glasgow could only show 60 on their roll and had to put up with an average attendance of 20 at our Marches.

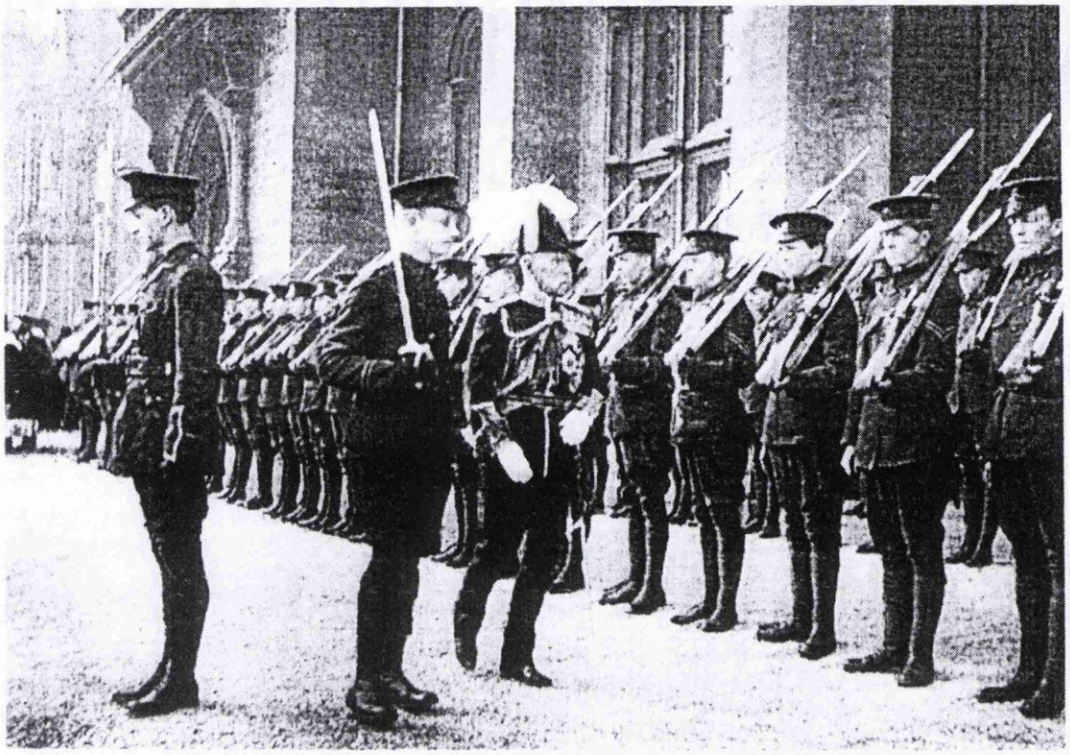
The editor then went on to make an appeal for recruits to join the new recruit squad, which started that week, writing: " All from the Company who attended that weekend admired the efficiency of the Edinburgh men and came away with the intention of making immediate and radical changes in their organisation." [34] The strength of the Company at the end of 1907 was only 107; it was felt that this was due to the uncertainty of the impending changes that were about to take place with the formation of the Territorial Force. Under these changes, the First Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers were converted to the Fifth Battalion, The Scottish Rifles. Those members of K University Company who were not students amalgamated with the members of D Company to become Fourth Company, 5th Scottish Rifles; K or University Company members who were students became members of the Senior Division of the Officers'

Training Corps.

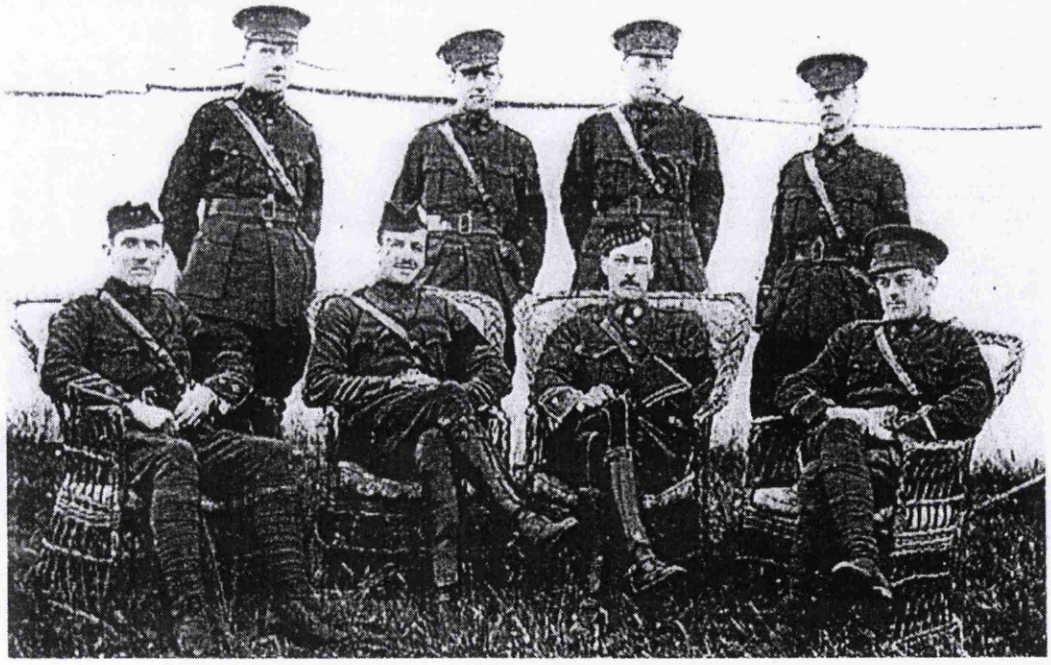
Although Glasgow University had been involved in military matters since 1532, the majority of that involvement was confined to Professors who were volunteering or raising troops in order to increase their personal standing in local life. Students responded only in times of emergency. Student involvement outside times of national emergency depended on enormous pressure from the press, the Principal or the Professors. Although Scotland's response to the volunteer movement was greater than England's, and although Lanarkshire produced the largest number of units of any county, this enthusiasm was not reflected at Glasgow University. The members of the University who pushed volunteering were some of the most prominent academics of their day, but they were unable to ensure that volunteering at Glasgow flourished as it did in other universities. It was never the students that were keen or encouraged participation in military activities. Indeed had they been so interested they might have joined the regular military rather than go to university in the first place. Even when money was thought to be the cause of the limited response and a grant was made to offset costs, numbers did not rise. It can be concluded that Glasgow University's military leaning was forced rather than natural.

[1] Coutts, J., *A History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1509* (Glasgow,1909), p. 7.
[2] *The Military Traditions of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, The Halberd Press, 1966), p. 32.
[3] College Minutes 28 November 1745, p.199, Glasgow University Archive no. 26648.
[4] Minutes of Faculty, Volume 81, Records of Glasgow College, 16 August 1803, p. 232.
[5] Cunningham, H., *The Volunteer Force* (Croom Helm Ltd, 1975), p.5.
[6] *The Times* May 9 1859.
[7] *Glasgow Herald* 13 July 1859, p.2.
[8] *Glasgow Herald* 14 July 1859, p.3.
[9] Howie, D., *History of the First Lanark Rifle Volunteers* (London & Glasgow, 1887), p. 31.
[10] Grierson, J. M., *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force 1859-1908* (Edinburgh & London, 1909), p. 224.
[11] Minutes of Senate 14 December 1860, Glasgow University Archive.
[12] Howie, D., *History of First Lanark Rifle Volunteers* (London & Glasgow, 1887), p. 44.
[13] Op. Cit. p. 55.
[14] Op. Cit. p. 71.
[15] Blair, J.S.G., *University of St Andrews O.T.C: A History* (Scottish Academic Press, 1982), p. 4.
[16] Op. Cit., p.5.
[17] Op. Cit., p.10.
[18] Op. Cit., p.33.
[19] Grierson, J. M., *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force 1859-1908* (Edinburgh & London 1909), p. 225.
[20] Mackie, J. D., *The Royal Highland Fusiliers, The Military Traditions of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, The Halberd Press, 1966), p. 33.
[21] Anonymous, *History of the University of London Officers' Training Corps* (London U.O.T.C., Undated). No page numbering.
[22] Hawkins, H., *A short history of Manchester and Salford Universities Officers Training Corps,* 1999. No page numbering.
[23] Anonymous, *History of Northumbrian Universities Officers' Training Corps* (Northumbrian Universities O.T.C, Undated). No page numbering.
[24] Anonymous, *Aberdeen University History of the O.T.C.* (Undated). No page numbering.
[25] Anonymous, *Oxford University Officers' Training Corps: A Short History* (Undated).
[26] Anonymous, *A Brief History of University of Sheffield Officers' Training Corps* (Undated). No page numbering.
[27] Strachan, H., *History of The Cambridge University Officers Training Corps* (Tunbridge Wells, Midas Books., 1976).
[28] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 15, Number 8, p. 136.
[29] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 16, Number 6, pp. 65, 66.
[30] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 17, Number 13, p. 209.
[31] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 18, Number 12, p. 355.

[32] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 19, Number 2, p. 27.
[33] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 19, Number 5, p. 95.
[34] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 19, Number 6, p. 120.



Inspection of G.U.O.T.C. by Lord Roberts at Gilmorehill, 1913



ORIGINAL OFFICERS OF THE CORPS

Back row (l to r) – 2nd Lieut. MacFeat: Capt. Cathcart; 2nd Lieut. Martin; 2nd Lieut. Bowman. Front row – Capt. Ashby Brown; Major MacAlister; Capt A.N. E. Brown, H.L.I. (Adjutant); Lieut. Agar.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FORMATION OF THE GLASGOW UNIVERSITY OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS

But stay! The Muse has brought
O such a funny thought.
Imagine it, our gallant little band
The staunch and ever ready O.T.C.,
Fighting and falling for its native land,
An interesting spectacle it would be.

(Glasgow University Magazine, Special O.T.C. number, 1911-1912.)

The reforms of Richard Burdon Haldane, War Minister from 1905 to 1912, marked a new departure for Glasgow University. When Haldane was reorganising the armed forces he found a special place for the university student. Having turned the Volunteers into a Territorial Army and the Militia into a Special Reserve, he asked the universities for officers and founded in each university an O.T.C., to be supervised by a Military Education Committee (MEC) and financed by the War Office. Glasgow had the right individuals to respond positively to Haldane's reforms and in particular to the spirit of the O.T.C.. For Glasgow the creation of the O.T.C. meant an opportunity for the undergraduate to serve not as a soldier, as in the past in the volunteers, but as an officer. The University's aspirations to have a military unit, for it to be attractive to students who would see themselves as potential officers, and for it

to be funded by the War Office at no expense to the student were a dream come true.

Haldane had studied at Gottingen University where he specialized in German philosophy. He therefore had a very good insight into German thinking. He had used this knowledge to further his legal career, in which the German philosophical methods he had learnt were valuable in reducing problems to fundamental principles. More important though was his understanding of Germany when the Liberal government became increasingly persuaded that it was preparing for aggression. Haldane had not been at the War Office long before Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, wrote to him on 8 January 1906:

> Persistent reports and little indications keep reaching me that Germany means to attack France in the spring. A situation might arise presently in which popular feeling might compel the Government to go to the help of France and you might suddenly be asked what you could do. Fisher [First Sea Lord] says that he is ready by which I take it he means that his ships are so placed that he can drive the German fleet off the sea and into shelter at any time. I don't want to give any definite answer in a hurry but I think you should be preparing one.[1]

Haldane's reforms were driven by the general needs of imperial defence. He aimed to use the reforms to reduce the Army Estimates. There was a need to fund the Navy properly for the defence of the UK, but there was also the need to address the speed of mobilization for the Army and provide for a continental Expeditionary Force. Haldane knew that, with the amount of political opposition he faced, there was only one way that he could succeed with reforms and that was to cut expenditure and therefore placate the many members of his own Liberal party that were anti-Army.

Haldane was not alone in his desire to reform the Army and he had powerful allies including the King, Sir William Nicolson, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir Charles Douglas, Adjutant General, and General Spencer Ewart, the Director of Military Operations. To help him Haldane had Viscount Esher, Colonel G F Ellison as his Private Military Secretary, Sir Charles Harris, who looked after financial affairs, and critically General Sir Douglas Haig, Director Army Staff Duties. These men were to turn Haldane's reforms into practical realities.

Haldane had at his disposal a regular army of a quarter of a million men, the Yeomanry and Volunteers who outnumbered the Regular Army, and the Militia of about 100,000 men. The Regular Army was without any adequate reserves, the Yeomanry and Volunteers were without any organisation, and the Militia was not available for foreign service. The strategy at the time was dominated by "the blue water school", which believed that the defence of Great Britain was primarily a Royal Navy responsibility and that the task of the Army was to provide an Expeditionary Force. The force was to be as large and efficient as possible and be able to secure the channel ports in France to prevent their occupation by a foreign force. The Royal Navy was also thinking about landings in the Baltic. The problem was that when Haldane took office the British Army's mobilisation plan was unworkable. Of all the troops available, only three infantry divisions and a cavalry division could be mobilised and the Army could not guarantee the effective deployment overseas of even one of these.[2]

Haldane was not daunted by the enormity of his task and he had been enthused by the young officers he had encountered. In his first speech to the House of Commons, he declared:

> "The men one comes across, the new school of young officers entitled to the appellation of men of science just as much as engineers or chemists, were to me a revelation. A new school of officers has arisen since the South African War, a thinking school of officers who desire to see the full efficiency which comes from new organisation and no surplus energy running to waste."

On 12 July 1906 Haldane outlined his reforms to the House of Commons detailing how he would address the shortage of officers upon which the success of his reforms depended.[3] His proposals included the creation of a General Staff, the inauguration of a Territorial Army and the formation of an OTC. A confidential letter from the War Office concerning the proposed OTC, signed by Sir Edward Ward and dated 25 January 1907, was given to the Senate of Glasgow University.[4] On 7 February 1907 the Senate considered the War Office request that they:

> Express their opinion upon the practicability and the desirability of establishing at their several centres, schools of military instruction as units of an Officers' Training Corps.[5]

The War Office Committee for the provision of a Reserve of Officers had invited all twenty two Universities of Great Britain and Ireland to consider the proposal. The Senate appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Professor Dudley Medley the professor of history, to consider the matter.[6] Conferences were held with the Captains of Cadet Corps, i.e. those corps organised in private schools, and the

commanding officers of the local volunteer units. When the War Office was about to issue the regulations for the formation of the O.T.C. it was decided that the findings of the Committee would be discussed by the university Senate at a meeting in 1908.

Meanwhile the Medley committee found that Haldane's proposals for the new Territorial Army would have a negative effect on the members of the University who served as volunteers and play into the hands of those who supported the formation of an O.T.C. As we have seen, up to 1908 members of the University had been members of K Company of the 1st Lanarkshire Regiment Volunteers (1st LRV) and, like all the other Universities in Scotland, their aspiration was to have a special University Company. They wanted a University Company in the Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers, not to be members of another company. Under the new Reserve Forces Act the sixteen companies of the 1st LRV were to be reduced to eight and K Company, the University company, was to merge with D Company. If this merger went ahead it would mean not only less places for students who wanted to serve, but also that the aspiration of a separate University Company would become even less likely. The new Territorial Army required that volunteers re-enrol, and, with their aspirations dashed few students or staff would want to do so. So when the idea of an "Officers' Training Corps" was put to the students they were delighted. Captain Alan Haig-Brown, author of The O.T.C. and The Great War, wrote in 1916 that the suggestion in the name of:

> The Officers Training Corps, that there really was a need for officers, and that every member was to be trained to fit himself as a leader of men and as an important and desired servant of the Empire, was sufficient and more than sufficient to arouse both the undergraduate and the schoolboy mind.[7]

Haldane was also convinced that young men could be persuaded to prefer rifle shooting to football, and he spent the next year touring schools and universities persuading them to do so.[8] It seems that the scheme was well supported at Glasgow University by "a numerous and (what is more important) influential body of the students."[9] The War Office was to make sure that the Corps could operate at no cost to the University with generous grants for the maintenance of the scheme. The income of the O.T.C. was to be completely dependent upon its efficiency. The scheme from the War Office was really quite simple. The War Office would provide an Adjutant and Sergeant Instructors, one per 100 men. Money for the O.T.C. would be paid dependent upon the number of cadets who were deemed to be efficient each year. In order to satisfy the requirements to become efficient, members of the O.T.C. had to attend at least 15 parades a year, to undergo the prescribed training in shooting, and to attend camp for not less than eight days. The O.T.C. would receive £2 annually for each efficient cadet. In addition it was to receive a half capitation grant for every efficient cadet above the number for which the annual grant was last paid. Contingents were also entitled to draw a greatcoat allowance of £1 per person, and a payment of 3/- a day for each of the members of the O.T.C. who attended annual camp. The only equipment necessary, which would anyway be provided by the War Office, was uniforms and rifles.[10]

Issues which could involve financial implications for Glasgow University were decided upon by the University Court in Camera. When the findings of Professor Medley's Committee were put before the University Court in Camera in April 1908, it

was decided that, as no question of finance appeared to be involved, it should effectively leave the decision to the Senate.[11] It was also noted by the Senate on 1 April 1908 that "Cadets of the Officers Training Corps will not have any legal liability for service."[12] The irony of this last statement would not become apparent until some eight years later when the First World War started. Once the Senate had heard Professor Medley's committee's findings, they made the following recommendations:

> 1. That a joint committee of Court and Senate be appointed to deal with the question of the formation and management of the University Unit of the Officers' Training Corps.
>
> 2. That the Committee consists of two members appointed by the Court, four members appointed by the Senate, ex-officio the Officers commanding companies when formed and lecturers in military subjects when appointed; and that the Committee have power to co-opt in addition not more than two Officers of experience.
>
> 3. That the Committee [MEC] as the "officially recognised Committee" be empowered to conduct all correspondence with the War Office and to arrange for the receipt and administration of any grants that may be made by the War Office for the purposes of the Committee, with the proviso that no expense to the University be incurred without the express authority of the Court on the recommendation of the Finance Committee.[13]

At the same Senate meeting at which Professor Medley's Committee's findings were heard, the Principal explained that the report had already been before the Court and that in accordance with the second recommendation they had appointed Professor Gray and Dr John Hutchison to be members of the Committee.[14] The Senate appointed the Principal and Professors Medley, Latta, and Kerr to be members, with the post of Convenor (Chairman) bestowed upon Professor Medley. To understand

why the War Office's proposal to start an O.T.C. at Glasgow University was so warmly met by the staff, it is necessary to look at who was involved with the management of the University and who either volunteered or was chosen to serve on the MEC.

The most prominent supporter of the O.T.C. was the Principal, Donald MacAlister. The MacAlisters came from a family that were landless and poor but traced their origins back to a landed clan, the chief of which was hereditary Keeper or Constable of the Castle of Tarbert, Loch Fyne, a title first given by Robert the Bruce.[15] MacAlister was born in Perth in 1854, and he was educated first in Aberdeen and then in Liverpool where his father was an agent for a well-known publisher. In 1872 he entered for the Oxford Senior Local Examination, and although he was taken ill during the course of it, came first in England. After sitting and gaining, simultaneously, exhibitions to London, Oxford and Cambridge Universities, he decided to go to Cambridge: "I tossed up, and it came down heads, for Cambridge."[16]

All MacAlister's expenses at Cambridge were met out of the exhibitions and scholarships that he gained. He wanted to join the Boat Club and more importantly the Volunteers, but he could not afford them. He wrote to his parents:

> I have not joined either volunteers or boats. I find them both will cost a deal of money. All the old 'men' urge me to do so, as a means of getting to know fellows, and of relaxation. [17]

Apart from being financially stretched he was very hard on himself. He showed

enormous self-discipline and, despite much illness, he was successful at everything he did. His only surviving diary even records his 'time wasted'. It reads:

> Missed Smith's lecture, and read Alice in Wonderland instead of working. (Very ingenious: but what a waste of ability!). [18]

MacAlister's life at Cambridge was also filled with "things of the Spirit";[19] he was a regular Church attendee (Presbyterian) and very familiar with the Bible which he could later read in a dozen languages.[20] MacAlister gained first place in the Tripos Examination in 1877 and became the Senior Wrangler, so achieving his first ambition.[21]

From Cambridge he went to Harrow for a term, to teach before returning to Cambridge. At Harrow he was known as "a disciplinarian" and had also started to write various papers "not so much for self as to make some reputation." [22] After two terms at Cambridge, MacAlister went to St Bartholomew's Hospital in London for two years, returning to Cambridge to complete his MB.[23] MacAlister then left for Leipzig University where he worked under Professor Ludwig. This was to be the first of his visits to Germany, which became more frequent as he got older, when every holiday was preceded by a visit to a Spa town in either Germany or France on account of his increasingly bad rheumatism.[24]

By the time he returned from Leipzig MacAlister was a fluent German speaker and set

about the translation of Professor Ziegler's textbook of "Pathological Anatomy."[25] During the first ten years of MacAlister's further education, he had worked tirelessly. He had become known not only for his achievements in the academic world but also as an editor, translator and contributor to the British Medical Journal, the Dublin Journal of Medical Science and The Practitioner. His wife wrote of him:

> Few men I think worked harder than Donald during the ten years that followed his father's death although he was severely handicapped for the struggle having constantly to contend with indifferent health. The severe headaches and the rheumatic pains of his youth still troubled him from time to time. Twice, during the ten years, he was laid low with rheumatic fever; yet, through all, his indomitable courage and will sustained him; and, whether he were ill or well, he would accomplish whatever he had undertaken to do.[26]

When he was thirty, in 1884, MacAlister passed his MD. He was a lecturer and tutor at St John's College, Cambridge, and in 1889 he was made the Cambridge representative on the General Medical Council.[27] MacAlister was to serve for forty-four years on the council and was President for twenty-seven years. MacAlister married in 1895 and spent the next ten years in Cambridge with his wife Edith, who was daughter of another Professor MacAlister, Professor of Anatomy at the University. He was Senior Tutor at St John's College, and by all accounts a good and conscientious tutor who always put the welfare of his students first. According to Lady MacAlister:

> Donald had a deep sense of responsibility with regard to his pupils, and he knew that different men needed different treatment. To those who were in trouble of any kind he was a second father; to those who were sick he visited, treated, and watched over; he gave help and encouragement when they were required, but he could be very stern when the need arose, and with slackers

and idlers he had small patience.[28]

During his time as Senior Tutor of St John's, MacAlister felt that it was his duty to get to know all his students and to have all the Freshmen to his house to eat at least once in their first term. This required the MacAlisters to have at least six students to both lunch and dinner every Sunday between October and December each year. They found these meals very hard work as the students were "bored" and saw the parties as a "boring duty, a necessary evil to be endured as patiently as may be."[29]

In 1902 MacAlister, with a group of other professors, conceived the idea of an Appointments Board at Cambridge. The purpose of the Board was to set up a close liaison between the University and commerce and industry, with the ultimate aim of placing the right graduate in the right job, making the arrangement of mutual interest to both the University and businesses. MacAlister had thought of the scheme after being told by employers that, despite their best efforts in training their own men, they still "found the need of a class of men corresponding to the commissioned officers of the Army, over and above those promoted from the ranks."

In 1904 at the age of 50 MacAlister had come to the end of his energy, and his wife noted, 'handicapped as he was by delicate health and by frequent pain, he had long been feeling the strain of his constant work and the need for a period of rest.'[30] The plan was to resign from most of his offices in Cambridge, settle down to writing the biography of Professor John Couch Adams, and completely free himself from all responsibilities in order to spend a year traveling around the world with his wife. He

hoped to visit India, China, Japan, and Samoa. But these hopes were never to come to fruition. In November MacAlister was elected as President of the General Medical Council in succession to Sir William Turner who had retired. His election had been proposed by Sir Patrick Herron Watson, who said of him:

> He is one who we all know has well merited the regard, esteem and affection, of every member of the Council. He is a man marked out as possessing qualities of no ordinary character, high moral power, and absolute self-restraint in the conduct of all he had to do. I can hardly conceive anyone at the Board of the Council or elsewhere who will meet our requirements better than Dr. MacAlister.[31]

MacAlister was elected unanimously to the Chair, which he was to occupy for the next twenty-seven years. The election, of course, and his acceptance of the Chair with his inimitable sense of duty meant that the MacAlisters had to postpone their "Wanderjahr", hoping that they would be able to make their travel later, perhaps in 1907.[32]

The MacAlisters were not to know at the time that they were never to achieve their ambition. In March 1907, following the death of The Very Reverend Robert Herbert Storrie DD, Principal of Glasgow University, the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, offered the Principalship of Glasgow University to MacAlister. Although greatly honoured MacAlister was of a mind to decline. He did not want the job, it didn't fit in with his plans, it would be against the advice of his doctors, and he felt that he had established himself and his family fully in Cambridge. However, again his sense of duty required him to go to London to meet with the Prime Minister

and the Secretary for Scotland. He explained to them his reasons for not wanting to accept their offer, telling them of his ignorance of the Scottish Universities, of Glasgow, and of conditions generally north of the border. He spoke of Cambridge and his desire to stay there. The Prime Minister's reply to him was:

> I know them both and I love them both but with a difference. Cambridge is bright but Glasgow is warm.[33]

In the end it was made clear to MacAlister that it was considered his duty to go to Glasgow. When he returned to Cambridge to talk to his wife, he said, "Yes it is settled we must go to Glasgow, they seem to think I ought to go but I have only undertaken to stay there for seven years and no longer. I am afraid that this means that we won't get round the world this year. Our travels must be put off again for a while."[34] It is unlikely that MacAlister would have gone to any other university or would have moved from Cambridge to go anywhere other than Scotland. In the last twelve years he had refused the Principalships of the Universities of Montreal, Toronto, and London. The MacAlisters were never to get their year off for travel, for when the seven years were up, the country was at war and it would not have been possible for MacAlister to think of deserting his post at that time.

MacAlister was formally installed as Principal of the University of Glasgow at a meeting of the Senate on 21 February 1907.[35] The press in Glasgow had been speculating wildly over who would fill the vacant position of Principal. When the announcement was made official in February 1907, MacAlister was welcomed and

widely approved. Only the Glasgow Herald warned that "Our columns offer an accumulating body of evidence, firstly, that certain reforms are imperatively demanded; and, secondly, that under the present constitution of the Universities, some of them are hardly likely to be secured. It will thus be evident that the office of Principal of a Scottish University in transition times is no sinecure, and that its occupant must look forward to a period of hard and anxious work." But it was also felt that:

> He is a man of great force of character, and remarkable breadth of culture and variety of acquirement in all departments of knowledge. It is felt that Dr MacAlister has peculiar qualifications for the position.[36]

At the close of 1908 MacAlister was Knighted by the King.[37] Principal MacAlister was keen right from the start of his term of office to "extend the facilities for the social and athletic life of the students."[38] Principal MacAlister was also interested in the establishment of the Officers Training Corps and in 1911 he said, "it has passed beyond the stage of experiment and is now playing an important part in the academic life of our best and keenest students."[39]

Of the other members of Senate chosen to serve on the Military Education Committee, it was the Convenor, Professor Medley, who was to have the greatest influence over the O.T.C. and military matters at the University.[40] Professor Medley, like Principal MacAlister, came from an Oxbridge background and it may be this that caused their aspirations for the students at Glasgow to be so similar. Professor Dudley Julius Medley MA was born in London on 31 March 1861. He was the son of an Engineer

General, Lieutenant-General J.G. Medley, and his mother too was the offspring of an Army officer, Brigadier-General J. Steel. Medley was educated at a military school, Wellington College, where he won the Prince Consort's Gold Medal. He was a senior prefect and also a member of the cricket team. From Wellington, Medley went to Keble College, Oxford, where he attained first class honours in Modern History in 1883. From 1884 to 1887 he was a Lecturer and from 1887 to 1899 a Tutor. He was an Examiner in the Honours School of Modern History at Oxford from 1897 to 1899 and of the Cambridge Historical Tripos in 1904 and 1905.[41] He was appointed to the Chair of History in Glasgow University in 1899.

Professor Medley found Glasgow very different from Oxford. He could not understand why there was little or no contact outside the lecture theatre between students and staff. He immediately set about starting organisations which would bring the two together. His history society met at his house where the students greatly appreciated being welcomed, and as Medley wrote "The personal touch which we gave to it was different from anything else at the University."[42] Despite not liking the lack of contact that arose from a non-collegiate system, Professor Medley recognised that it kept the fees so low that a university education was brought within the means of even the poorest.[43] Everything that Professor Medley did at Glasgow reflected his opinion of the student. 'An Oxford man going to work in a Scottish University', he observed, 'has to adapt himself not only to a different system, but also to a different type of student."[44] Like Principal MacAlister, Medley was determined to do his best to improve the lot of the student and it is important to note that for them

both their immediate focus was on organisations that would bring a more communal life to Glasgow. With this in mind Medley became the Honorary President of the University Athletic Club.[45]

The Military Education Committee and the Officers Training Corps became a major part of Medley's life from February 1907, when he was asked to report on the War Office's O.T.C. proposal. He was deeply involved with the formation and early organisation of the Corps and held the post of Convenor of the University MEC until his retirement in 1931.[46] So passionate about the O.T.C. was Medley that he was described as "bellicose" by those at the university that found his military interest excessive.[47] In his memoirs Medley writes, "I now turn to speak of the Glasgow University contingent of the O.T.C. which next to the work of my classes was the chief interest and pride of my University life."[48]

Meanwhile, a letter from the Secretary of the local Territorial Force (T.F.) dated 13 June 1910 announced that the Army Council had decided that the new T.F. Association would come into office on 30 September 1910. The Association asked for a representative member from the University for the approval of the Army Council. The University Court agreed to submit Medley as their nominee. Medley was later approved and became a regular attendee at the Association meetings.[49] As Medley was also Convenor of the MEC, he was for many years repeatedly nominated and chosen as the representative of the university. Membership of the Association gave him a certain public position in the city and the opportunity to meet businessmen

from whom were drawn the commanding officers of the territorial battalions.

The similarities between Medley and MacAlister were pronounced. Both were driven ambitious men, both had had the Oxbridge ethos inculcated in them and both brought the ideals of a collegiate university with its preference for community living with them to Glasgow. Both linked the university to the wider world, had the student at the heart of their ambitions, and had a strong sense of public service and duty to the Empire. In politics too there were similarities between their backgrounds and their attitudes as to how they thought they should behave? Their political sympathies would also have made them favourable to Haldane's proposals. At Oxford Medley's sympathies had been on the Liberal side and in an Oxford election he had voted for the Liberal candidate. However, on coming to Glasgow, Medley felt that, although other members of the staff belonged to political parties, it was wiser for a professor of history not to be personally associated with active politics.[50] MacAlister too, in his days at Cambridge, was an ardent Liberal and a fervent admirer of Gladstone. He had been asked to stand for Cambridge as a Liberal and he was also asked to stand for other constituencies. He had always declined these offers because he had so much work on his hands; also he had no strong political ambitions and would certainly not have wanted to sacrifice his academic and medical career for a political one. At the time, of course, there was also no assured income for a Member of Parliament and so it would have been beyond his means. During his Cambridge life he spoke twice on behalf of the Liberal Party but later, when he became Principal of Glasgow, his wife wrote:

> very few people had any clear idea what his political opinions were for all that he had been appointed when a Liberal Prime Minister was in office. Donald held that a Principal of the University where all sorts and conditions of opinion are held has no more right officially to identify himself with any political party than a Minister of a congregation. His private politics are his own affair but as Principal he should have none. [51]

The third member of the four members of the Senate on the MEC was Professor Graham Kerr. Professor John Graham Kerr was born in Hertfordshire on 18 September 1869. He was educated at Edinburgh University and spent many years in the wilds of South America, most of his time with an Argentine military expedition exploring the River Pilcomeo. In 1892 he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, where he took First Class Honours in the Natural Science Tripos, and in 1897, after spending more time in South America studying Zoology, he was appointed University Demonstrator in Animal Morphology at Cambridge. In 1898 he was elected a Fellow of Christ's College, having won the Walsian Gold Medal, and in 1902 and 1903 he was Examiner in Zoo-zoology, in the University of Glasgow.

Professor Kerr was very active in politics and was a member of the Conservative Party. Although not an MP before the First World War, he did become one after it.[52] Obviously Kerr's time spent with the military had whetted his appetite for military pursuits and he claims to have invented dazzle painting of warships, a coupling of his extensive knowledge of Zoology and his study of animals camouflaging themselves in the wild. There is extensive correspondence between Kerr and the Admiralty on the subject of dazzle camouflage, although the papers do reflect a dispute over his

claim.[53] During the First World War Kerr was also extremely keen on securing a commission in the Army, but a letter from Army Headquarters in Scotland from Captain A.N.E. Brown, a former Adjutant of the O.T.C., states that he could not think of any suitable job for Kerr in the Army but would keep his letter in mind.[54] He was later to be awarded a commission in the O.T.C. after the Principal made a request to the War Office.[55] So Kerr, like MacAlister and Medley, was another Oxbridge man with a deep interest in the military.

The fourth member of the Senate to serve on the MEC was Professor Robert Latta, MA, DPhil. He was eldest son of Alex Latta, Solicitor, and the Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow University. Professor Latta was born in Edinburgh on the 15 June 1865, and was educated at the Royal High School, Edinburgh and Edinburgh University. He graduated in 1886 with First Class Honours in Philosophy and secured his doctorate in 1897. After posts at St Andrews University and University College Dundee, he took up the Professorship of Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen in 1900. In 1902 he was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy at Glasgow University. Although Professor Latta shared a similar educational background to the others he was possessed of little or no military experience or background, Latta was Chairman of the College Division of the Liberal Association and also published works that had been translated from German, so obviously had an intimate knowledge not only of the German language but also the German people. His most important publication was Liebnitz's The Monadology and other Philosophical Writings, which he translated, with an introduction and notes. Professor

Latta was married to the daughter of a Professor from Glasgow University.[56]

When the University Court had approved the recommendations in Medley's Report on the formation of the OTC, it had appointed Dr Hutchison and Professor Gray as their representatives on the MEC. Their appointments were conditional on Professor Medley's Report being approved by the Senate.[57] John Hutchison, MA, LLD was the Rector of Glasgow High School. He was born in Glasgow in 1842, went to Hutcheson's School and entered Glasgow University in 1859. For a time he studied Divinity but eventually turned to teaching. He was appointed in 1866 to the Town Council, took up a post in the Classical Department of the High School, and in 1904, having been Head of Classics, became Rector of the School. He had spent most of his time studying History and Theology, and interestingly he too published a translation, with many notes and appendices, of a work on the German Universities by Professor Conrad of Halle. He served as an Examiner in Classics at Glasgow University and Glasgow University rewarded him for his translation of Professor Conrad's work with an LLD. It is not clear what his political bent was and he had no military contact at all prior to being on the Military Education Committee. [58]

The second member of the University Court to be appointed to the Military Education Committee was Professor Andrew Gray, LLD, FRS. Gray held the Chair of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University. He had been born at Lochgelly, Fife, in 1847, and educated at home, after which he entered Glasgow University, where he earned the Eglinton Fellowship in Mathematics in 1876, and after making a good impression on

Sir William Thomson, later Lord Kelvin, became his Private Secretary and Assistant until 1880. In 1884 he spent five years as the Professor of Physics in the University College of North Wales before returning to Glasgow. During his career Professor Gray was the author of various works on physics. [59] Gray seems to have had no military background or experience at all, although he was secretary to Lord Kelvin who was the first commander (as Professor William Thomson) of the Second Company of the First Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers. Gray would have seen much of the volunteers at the time as their drills were conducted in the College grounds and a room in the tower was used as their armoury. [60] It may well have been this that persuaded the Principal to appoint Professor Gray who appears to have been the most reluctant member of the MEC In 1913, he no longer represented the Court on the MEC and wrote to the Court asking to leave the Army Commissions Nomination Board.[61] When Gray retired from the MEC, the member of the University Court elected to take his place was Colonel Alexander Brown Grant VD, MVO, DL.[62]

Colonel Grant was the Honorary Colonel of the late Lanarkshire Volunteer Artillery. He was born in Irvine in 1840, the son of Captain Grant, and was educated at Irvine Academy. He was a manufacturer in Glasgow and had joined the Volunteers on their inception in 1859. In 1889 he had commanded the Lanarkshire Volunteer Artillery and spent much time persuading the War Office to increase the establishment of artillery in the Glasgow area from 1300 to 1600. He eventually achieved this ambition and it became the largest Volunteer Artillery Corps in the United Kingdom, with ten batteries armed with forty light guns. Obviously Grant's long experience and

knowledge of the volunteer movement proved very useful to the Army Council and Haldane persuaded the Army Council to extend Grant's command until 31 March 1908, so he had been in command for a total of nine years. Grant had travelled extensively in South Africa and the West Indies, had two sons in his own regiment, and in 1908 had been made Deputy Lieutenant of the County of the City of Glasgow. A more appropriate man to replace Professor Gray as a Court representative could not have been found.

Apart from the members of the Senate and the Court, the MEC was also allowed to co-opt military members, commanding officers of local Territorial Regiments or Commanders of the Highland Light Infantry Brigade, together with the Adjutant and some of the officers of the O.T.C. contingent. Despite continuous change among members of the MEC was at all times under the supervision of Principal MacAlister who attended all meetings, unless he was sick or travelling, and Professor Medley who considered himself to be the Commanding Officer of the Officer Training Corps. As Medley explained:

> We had no Commanding Officer of the contingent. There was no one more senior than the Adjutant was and he consulted me on everything except purely military points. In fact one of the Adjutants roundly declared that he considered me to be his Commanding Officer![63]

A meeting was held in the Bute Hall on 7 November 1908, at which Haldane inaugurated the Officers Training Corps.[64] The Secretary of State was accompanied by General Sir Archibald Murray, then Director of Military Training at the War

Office, subsequently Chief of the Imperial General Staff in France 1915 and GOC in Egypt 1916-1917. He was also accompanied by Captain, later Sir, John Burnet Stewart, afterwards GOC Southern Command, Salisbury, but at the time in immediate charge of the O.T.C. at the War Office. The meeting in Bute Hall was attended by many of the officers and commanding officers of the Territorial battalions in the Glasgow area, and also by the Students Representative Council and many of the students. Principal MacAlister was in the Chair. General Murray and Mr Haldane spoke, and Professor Medley proposed a vote of thanks, which was seconded by the President of the Students Representative Council. Haldane was subject to several interruptions by female students, as the suffragette movement was in full swing,[65] but overall the day was considered a tremendous success especially by MacAlister and Medley for whom the O.T.C. fitted exactly into the pattern which they wished to establish for Glasgow University.

The first meeting of the MEC took place on Monday 12 May 1908. It was decided at the meeting that an application should be made to the Army Council for £400 a year for a Military Lecturer under the O.T.C. scheme. The responsibility was given to the Principal, Colonels Hendry and Morrison, and Medley to take the necessary steps to secure the Military Lecturer.[66] At the next meeting there was news from the War Office that they never contemplated the appointment of a permanent Military Lecturer at the universities and so the resolutions taken up at the last meeting were not been acted on. Medley, as the Convenor, was asked by the Committee to write to the Army Council expressing the disappointment of the Committee that the idea of a Military

Lectureship had been completely set aside and pointing out the great use of such a Lectureship in such a centre as Glasgow.[67] In fact the War Office's withdrawal of the idea for a Military Lecturer only served to strengthen the position of Medley, as he would have no competition for the leadership of military matters. The other immediate concern of the MEC was accommodation. It was quite clear that there was to be no money from the War Office for building an O.T.C. premises so the Committee looked round the University with a view to finding somewhere of sufficient size within the campus. It was eventually found in the Chemistry Buildings and, subject to arrangements approved by Professor Ferguson of the Chemistry Department, the use was agreed at the University Court.[68]

As Convenor of the MEC, Medley immediately began the promotion of the new organisation. In November 1908 he heralded the start of the O.T.C. in the Glasgow University Magazine:

> The appeal can be made on national grounds; it is the manifest duty of the educated young men to set an example to the country in the matter of self-sacrifice in the Public Service.

Medley not only reminded them of their duty but also appealed to their sense of fun:

> There will be camaraderie about the whole thing which will make it singularly attractive", ending with a challenge to join: "Will Glasgow University and the city alike realise the call for National Service that is being made to her?[69]

Medley also compared Glasgow's performance to others:

> We have undertaken to raise one infantry company of three officers and 100 men. But Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh number their corps by hundreds, the population of Edinburgh is about 1/3 that of Glasgow; it is absurd to think that, out of a million people there are only one hundred men of education and position willing to give up a small portion of their time to national service. We must not rest until the O.T.C. has reached a total of three hundred, at the least a complete battalion.

At the MEC meeting in January 1909 Medley informed the meeting that Captain A.N.E. Brown, 1st Highland Light Infantry, would be appointed by the War Office as Adjutant, Glasgow University contingent O.T.C., and that Lieutenant William G. MacAlister (no relation to the Principal) had agreed to become the first commanding officer of the infantry company on promotion to the rank of Captain. The proposal was agreed and it was put forward to the University Court, which accorded them the status of Officials of the University.[70] By now Medley was well entrenched, happy that the Adjutant was a Regular soldier and that the commanding officer of the Infantry Company was to be a member of the University staff junior to him. The organisation of the new Corps suffered a setback in early 1909, when Medley became extremely ill, and by the beginning of July, he had to request leave of absence from the University Court until at least January 1910 on account of his health.[71] In Medley's absence Professor Graham Kerr acted as the Interim Convener.[72]

Medley returned to work in good health in November 1910. At his first MEC meeting he thanked Professor Graham Kerr who had acted as Interim Convener, and immediately set about the task of finding a new headquarters for the O.T.C. which was fully up to strength and had outgrown its present accommodation. The O.T.C.

now numbered three companies of infantry and one of engineers, almost 300 cadets, out of a male student body of 2108[73], a most impressive achievement. Medley applied to the University Court for a site within the University grounds on which a building suitable for a permanent headquarters for the Officer Training Corps could be erected. The reasons given were that the present headquarters in the Chemistry Buildings were unsuitable and inconvenient. The Court remitted the application to a committee formed of the Lord Provost, Dr Lorimer, and Professor Bower. After inspecting the grounds the Lord Provost's committee resolved to recommend that a site should be granted alongside the Chemistry Buildings in University Avenue. The Court agreed, subject to satisfactory plans of the building being submitted.[74]

At the MEC meeting in May, Medley reported that he had applied to the University Court for a loan and the Court was willing to lend to the Committee a sum of £1,000 at 4% per annum. The Committee agreed that the Building Sub-Committee should take the necessary steps to apply to the War Office for the remainder of the money to carry out the erection of the new headquarters.[75] Plans were submitted to the Court for the proposed HQ of the O.T.C. in March.[76] In May Professor Medley requested that the Court should allow building work to begin and that Mr Stitt, the Master of Works at the University, might be permitted to act as Clerk of Works on the building.[77] It was remitted to the Principal and Dr Murray to authorise the commencement of the building operation once they were satisfied that an arrangement had been made with the War Office for the rest of money. The Court also agreed that Mr Stitt should act as Clerk of Works.[78] On 27 June Stitt reported that the erection of

the new HQ was being proceeded with as agreed and that water would be piped from the University at £3 per annum.[79] The next day the Principal and Dr Murray reported that the O.T.C. had made a satisfactory arrangement with the War Office for the loan of the remainder of the money for the building of the headquarters and that the University advance of £1,000 could therefore be paid.[80]

So with a loan partly from the University Court and partly from the War Office to be paid out of annual grants for efficiency, the headquarters building was started. The architect was a member of the Corps, Cadet Sinclair of the firm of H.D. Barclay from Glasgow. The work was finished on 12 January 1912 and the building was opened by the Chancellor of the University, the Earl of Rosebery, who, despite being given extensive notes on the O.T.C., once he saw the press ignored everything and made his own speech, including the warning, "Armaments, never forget this, must depend upon your policy". General Spens, Commanding the Lowland Division, and Major E.B. Ashmore, who was, at the time, in charge of O.T.Cs at the War Office, also attended the opening. By all accounts it was a very successful day.[81]

The success of the O.T.C. must have been a surprise to even its originators. In the old days the volunteer detachments had only the prospect of an invasion of the United Kingdom as their stimulus, a prospect which could seem remote in the minds of most Britons, let alone the minds of university students. Even if periodic invasion panics produced some response, more significant was the remoteness of Glasgow from a likely landing point. As Medley recognised, other factors had to operate:

> The thought for students that they could join the Officers Training Corps and in a short time would be fit as a leader of men and as an important and desired servant of the Empire was sufficient and more than sufficient to arouse both the undergraduate and the schoolboy mind.[82]

The O.T.C. was not only open to undergraduates of Glasgow University but also to "gentlemen desiring to enrol who are not members of the University."[83] It was left to the sub-committee of the MEC, consisting of the Convener, the Commanding Officer, and the Adjutant, to pass or reject applications without further reference to the Committee. With reference to the age at which applicants should be allowed to enrol, the MEC decided it would accept nobody under the age of 17 unless he were either a student of the University or had already been a member of a school Cadet Corps.[84] The MEC also decided that applicants over the age of 30 would not be enrolled into the O.T.C..[85] John Reith, later Lord Reith, was one such extra-mural cadet, as Medley described them.[86] After leaving the Glasgow Academy where he had been a member of the Cadet Corps, Reith joined the ranks of the Glasgow University Company of the First Lancashire Rifle Volunteers (1st LRV) which in 1908 became the Officers Training Corps.

I was one of the first three to be made Sergeant and I had two most happy years in the O.T.C.. There was something to this. It was supposed to take one to field rank in the Regulars without further examinations in military law, army organisation and tactics, and we had to put a battalion of regulars through Ceremonial and Open Drill Order. I thought I would have been content to stay indefinitely as a Sergeant in the O.T.C. An Officer's Mess had no attraction for me but it was inevitable.[87]

Reith claimed that he had been looking forward to war though he could not think where the idea originated. Maybe from lead soldiers, tales of fighting, Boys Brigade,

Cadet Corps, or the Officer Training Corps. He was not quite sure. Reith, like many of the extra-mural cadets, came from the Glasgow Technical College, with which Principal MacAlister had a plan of affiliation which was sanctioned by the Privy Council in May 1911 and approved by His Majesty in March 1913. The agreement had left the administrative and financial powers of the two governing bodies untouched but enabled students of the Royal Technical College to obtain Glasgow University Degrees in Applied Science, Architecture, and Pharmacy.[88]

The social profile of the officer cadets are dealt with more fully in Chapter 3 but, as far as the numbers were concerned, Medley and the Adjutant, Captain Brown, had no problem securing 115 cadets by 9 March 1909.[89] By June 1909 the numbers wanting to join the Corps had grown to such an extent that it justified the War Office being asked to sanction a third company for the Corps, which it duly did,[90] and by February 1910 permission was sought for an engineer sub-unit of company size and this too was sanctioned by the War Office.[91] To increase the income of the Corps and also its prestige, the MEC decided to accept Honorary Members of the Corps as well, and in 1910 Lord Newlands, who had applied and been accepted as an Honorary Member, agreed to give an annual subscription of 20 Guineas to the funds of the Corps.[92] By this time the number of officers in the Corps had grown so much that the MEC decided that in the future officers receiving commissions should only become members of the MEC if they were specially co-opted.[93] Later it was decided that only the Commanding Officer, Company Commanders, and the Adjutant of the Corps would serve on the MEC.[94] By January 1911 there were 268 members of the Corps

and, by May 1912, 362, divided into three companies of infantry and one company of engineers. In May 1913 190 new recruits enrolled, 64 of whom were non-members or extra-mural cadets of the University. Given the huge number, the War Office was ready to create a fourth company but the Committee decided that it was not wise at this time.[95] Medley, who would not have wanted a battalion commander appointed by the War Office rather than by the Senate, may have engineered this. By February 1914 there were 370 members of the Corps from a male student body of 1835, but from the formation of the O.T.C. in 1908 to August 1914 only 84 members had been gazetted into the Army Reserve as officers.[96]

As far as cadet finances were concerned, the cadets were given their uniform, although they were not paid for training and on occasions were asked to contribute towards Corps funds for various activities. The Royal Review in Windsor in 1911 required the cadets to pay for their train fare from London to Windsor, although the War Office paid for the Glasgow to London leg because the Corps was to have its annual camp at Shorncliffe in Kent. The Corps also sought to levy a fine on cadets who did not gain efficiency because they caused the Corps a £2 reduction in the War Office grant. Non-efficient cadets were written to, to ask for the £2, and if it was not forthcoming the matter was put in the hands of a solicitor.[97] There was also the annual route march, which was a day out for the cadets for which they were required to produce 5/.[98]

In October 1909 an article in the Glasgow University Magazine advertised that the

aim of the O.T.C. was to train officers for the Special Reserve of Officers and Commissions in the TA. It detailed the arrangement whereby cadets who became efficient would train with a regular unit and then in war serve with that unit. It encouraged boys to join by telling them that those with no certificate of efficiency would have to train for 12 full months in a unit, but with Certificate A the time would be only 8 months and with Certificate B only 4 months. The money too was tempting for the less well-off Glasgow undergraduate: £40 outfit allowance, £20 a year retaining pay, a full £50 gratuity on serving in time of war, with £35 for a cadet with Certificate B. The article also challenged the Glasgow student to join as quickly as possible in order not to let Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, who had only to transfer their volunteers to their O.T.C.s, embarrass Glasgow with greater numbers. [99]The challenge of course was unfair because, as we have seen, some other universities already had University Rifle Volunteers with long histories. What was left of the Glasgow University participation in the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers was so small as to be meaningless.

We can conclude that Haldane's reforms as minister for war led to the revival of military activity at Glasgow University as the University embraced the idea of an O.T.C. The O.T.C. enthusiasts in Glasgow were driven by an Oxbridge idea of University life. The main thrust was provided by Medley from Oxford, supported by Principal MacAlister from Cambridge. Principal MacAlister was motivated by a quite extraordinary sense of duty that was evident in everything he did. The combination of his intelligence, capacity for hard work and sense of duty were well illustrated by his

acceptance of the Principalship of Glasgow University at the very time when he was about to retire from Cambridge due to ill health. He was unable to decline the offer not because he wanted the kudos or power but because he was unable to shirk what he considered to be his duty when he was asked by the Prime Minister. Medley was driven by a desire, like that of the Principal, to see the same collegiate spirit in the university. Son of a senior army officer and having been educated at Wellington and Oxford, he wanted Glasgow to become what he knew. The other members of the Military Education Committee too were either Oxbridge or military men.

The erection of the O.T.C. building on the university campus was an important achievement for two reasons. Firstly, it showed the commitment of the Military Education Committee and the Principal, who was prepared to commit the funds to the project, sure that its success would bring in the money to replace the loan. Secondly Medley must have calculated that the closer the building was to the University the more likely he was to get students to join and to maintain the effort to attend the Corps. The opening of membership of the O.T.C. to any suitable young man who wanted to join must have been another measure to ensure that recruiting would be successful and that the corps would not suffer the demise of the various volunteer companies in the past. Even if a cadet was to leave the O.T.C. he would be pursued for his financial contribution, with the university using lawyers if necessary to secure the debt. It must be concluded that through judicious management the O.T.C. was a success before the war, even if the number of officers commissioned between 1908 and 1914 was only 84.

There were strong indications from the War Office that war might be coming. As early as May 1913 the MEC received a letter from the War Office saying that on mobilisation being ordered, the Adjutant and the Permanent Staff must rejoin their Regular Units. It warned that substitutes should be found so that the contingent could be carried on during a period of war.[100] Despite this, and despite the intimate knowledge of Germany and its affairs by those who had been educated in Germany and were fluent in the German language, such as MacAlister and others in the University, there is little or no evidence to indicate that there was any war enthusiasm at Glasgow University, nor is there any evidence that Glasgow University took seriously the imminence of the war. Indeed on the outbreak of the First World War Principal MacAlister was once again in Germany at Badoldsburg on a cure.[101] By the time war was declared Glasgow University O.T.C. had commissioned 84 officers into the Special or General Reserve but this was to be a drop in the ocean of what was to come.[102] Then the O.T.C. became a focus for all the military aspirations of the Glasgow University community.

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CHAPTER THREE

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS

For educated blood can stand a spill
And if a cheeky German force comes
Knocking hereabout
We'll send them home a-feeling rather ill.

(Glasgow University Magazine, Volume 22, Number 18, 5 May 1910.)

To understand Glasgow universities response to the War and to seek to establish whether or not it did have a special character it is necessary to examine the history of the University and the nature of its staff and students. The officer corps of the Army at the time of the First world War was elitist and drew its officers almost exclusively from the Public schools. Consequently to examine the social status of the Glasgow student is also important to see how they fitted in to officer recruitment and the possibility of service. To gauge the attitude of the students and staff to the outbreak of the War and their response it is also necessary to discover their status to see if they were motivated by a sense of duty, coerced into service or a mixture of both.

The history of Glasgow University illustrates how, as an ancient University, it fitted into the national and regional picture. In 1451 Bishop William Turnbull applied to Pope Nicholas V for authority to establish a school of higher learning in the See of

Glasgow. A Papal Bull recognising the proposed new institution added it to the great series of universities which had been established between 1140 and 1170, including Bologna, Paris, and Oxford. Glasgow was to enjoy the same organisation and privileges as the University of Bologna which had been Pope Nicholas V's own university. In principle the university was to be run by a Rector elected by the students but, in fact, another Papal Bull appointed Bishop Turnbull in the See of Glasgow to carry out the duties of Rector personally and without election. Turnbull died in 1454 shortly after his appointment and his successor did not carry on his and during the next 100 years only the Faculty of Art was established with buildings and financial endowments. In 1468 the property was extended further with gifts from former students and endowments from Mary, Queen of Scots and the Town Council.[1]

Despite the Reformation the University thrived and gradually developed an independence common to all the ancient Scottish universities. The Masters who taught arts subjects were known as Regents and the new constitution converted the post of Principal Regent into that of Principal of the University. Largely through the work of Principal Andrew Melville, by 1580 the university was completely revitalised and had gained enormous dignity and prestige. Between 1635 and 1658 an expensive and architecturally pleasing new college was opened on Glasgow High Street. It consisted of inner and outer courtyards and quadrangles and the range of buildings which separated the two courts were crowned by tall graceful steeples. The most important aspect of the university which had so far linked it to the other ancient universities was that it was traditional for the students to live within the college. It

was not until early in the 18th century that all the accommodation came to be required for lecture room purposes. As a result the university lost its collegiate, residential and socialising status which was thought to be so essential some three centuries later by Medley and MacAlister. It was from this point that the development of the university was more akin to the other regional universities than to the ancient collegiate universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[2]

Fitz Ringer divided the stages of university development into phases. During the first phase before 1860 the universities conducted the traditional task of serving the older, landed, and professional elite. In the second phase, beginning around 1860, the universities adapted to the needs of industrial society, by training the growing professions. Between 1860 and 1930 there was, according to Ringer, a seismic shift during which small, homogeneous, elite and pre-professional universities turned into large, diversified middle-class and professional systems of higher learning.[3]

Apart from Oxford and Cambridge there were four other ancient universities all of which were in Scotland, which, having embarked early on industrialisation and having a large urban bourgeoisie, had the strongest university system outside England.[4] Among the traditional and wealthy elite where career choices were not an immediate priority, universities confirmed the power of birth and capital and added a cultural polish, but were not themselves what formed the elite. Anderson has argued that the curriculum based on ideas of culture and liberal education failed to serve the direct needs of the economy and encouraged the middle class to identify themselves with

aristocratic ideals. In this two British peculiarities were relevant. First, the dominance of Oxford and Cambridge and the privileged position of the English public schools created an impression of elite education and those lucky enough to enjoy the elite education secured elite positions generally.[5] By elite Anderson means not just the governing elite, or the top decision makers in the various areas of national life, but all those who occupied positions of relative wealth and influence whether in the professions, the public service, or business. The admission of new social groups to higher education represents, he argues, "a widening of elite recruitment". In Glasgow, however, the University had, for some time, been pursuing a rather different ideal. Unlike Oxford and Cambridge the Scottish universities combined a general education with vocational preparation for the professions, the civil service or business. [6]So at Glasgow the elite tended to be the sons of local merchants and tradesmen, with most students coming from the intermediate class between skilled non-manual and higher professional and managerial. Still very few students came from semi-skilled and unskilled backgrounds. Table 3.1 shows the social origins of the students at Glasgow University in 1910.

The relationship between Glasgow University and elite formations within Britain was more complex than that of the ancient universities in England. The appeal of Oxford and Cambridge, like the English public schools, extended to the Scottish aristocracy and to the wealthiest of the Scottish middle classes, so that they too sent their sons south to join the elite. To this extent there was a single British elite. But most of the local middle classes felt a dual allegiance. While identifying politically with Britain

and having no desire for separation, they also valued their local cultural identity and supported the schools and the universities on their doorstep. So Glasgow, like the other Scottish universities, was never as overshadowed by Oxbridge as the new English regional universities, and Glasgow itself established a dominance in training the professional and business leaders of the region which was never quite achieved by the English civic universities. Medley wrote that:

> The universities have remained popular institutions in a land where education has always been held in esteem, not only for its own sake but also as a means of worldly advancement. The absence of a collegiate system has kept the fees so low as to bring a university education within the means of the poorest.[7]

The staple clientele included the children of clergymen, solicitors, army officers, civil servants, professors, and other modest professionals, along with a wealthier element from the country gentry, business, and the middle class.[8] In his book of Glasgow anecdotes published in 1913, Malloch wrote: "Few Universities present more varied types of student humanity than that of Glasgow. There one may behold the sons of wealthy merchants of Glasgow, and likewise the sons of the people. Raw Highlanders from Mull and Skye rub shoulders with medical students from London".[9] But this social inclusiveness should not be overstated. While it was possible for the sons of small farmers, shopkeepers, or artisans, to reach the university and become ministers or school masters, the opportunities for the children of factory workers, miners, or rural labourers, were far more restricted.

The University of Glasgow's suburban character also contributed to making it much

more socially diverse. Fees were relatively low, there was no residential requirement, and the university ethos stressed egality and hard work rather than aristocratic dissipation. Bursaries for poorer students were widely available. It was not until McAllister and Medley started to have influence on the university at Glasgow that the liberal ideal, which stressed the moral side of education for which the socialising experience of residence was thought indispensable, began to take form.[10] Professors at Glasgow who came from Oxbridge at times wrote disparagingly of Glasgow students. Medley provided us with a rather pompous view of the social origins of his students:

> The students of a Scottish University are drawn from a different social stratum to that which chiefly supplies Oxford and Cambridge. They belong almost entirely to the petit bourgeoisie or to the working classes, and the vast majority have been educated in schools under Public Authorities and they are on their way to some definite occupation. The greater number of those in the Arts Faculty are intending to be Elementary Teachers. These were the most difficult to handle, self-centred and self-assertive with no social sense. The University meant nothing to them except a series of classes. Such loyalties as they had were outside the University.[11]

Medley goes on to explain that his aim was to rescue the best of these from the rest and to steer them into some honours group, association, or organisation, where they would make good. Initially Medley did this by pointing them towards the athletic club where he was described as "the doyen of emeriti". [12] He ran the athletics club from shortly after his arrival in Glasgow in 1899 until the formation of the OTC in 1909. Then he directed his enthusiasm into a military channel in his capacity as Chairman of the MEC where he did his utmost "by pen and voice, to maintain the highest standards." He constantly compared Glasgow achievements with those of

Oxford and Cambridge and tried to instil into students the conception of loyalty to the university, which would make them realise that "during their stay at the university, their main duty lay towards it and towards no other institution."[13] Moreover, he was concerned to develop closer student-teacher relationships:

> It was very difficult to bridge over the deep ditch dug by former generations between the Professors and the students. It was not due to a difference of social class in the two categories, for among my colleagues were men from the humblest spheres, one the son of a village boot maker, another a stonemason's boy. Perhaps it was largely self-protective on the part of teachers uncertain of their social position, perhaps it was the effect of a great institution on students many of whom came from country villages and very meagre surroundings. A student would hardly dare to speak to a Professor, and his quaking voice and moist hand were often eloquent of his embarrassment. Graduates complained to me that they went through their classes without ever getting a single friendly word from any of their teachers. From the very first I set myself to remedy this as far as possible.[14]

Dr. O.H. Mavor, later to become well-known as James Bridie, the famous author and playwright, also attempted to characterise the Glasgow undergraduate in The 500 Year Book. Mavor was associated with the university between 1904 and 1920. He took a very active role as the Glasgow University Magazine cartoonist and some - time editor. The magazine was particularly important over the period. Along with the union, which had been founded in 1885, the Glasgow University Magazine was established as the student newspaper in 1889. Although its title was suggestive of an official publication of the University, it was a publication representing the undergraduates, their voice and their awareness of their corporate existence. Mavor described students as "a privileged class" but he meant privileged only in that they were a minority in their opportunities:

> so long as matriculation fees were paid, anybody could linger at the university for as long as he liked. We had drunkards in their 50s, we had foreigners of every shape and hue, we had rich men's sons and poor men's sons, we had fully developed madmen and embryo saints, we had runneosque[sic] horse players and gamblers, many of them veterans of the South African war. We had poets and peasants, we had even a scholar or two, we had rabbleasians[sic] and prigues[sic], we had dirty men and clean men, we have even some women students who were known in those days as lady students and very circumspect and ladylike they were.

Mavor goes on to describe a plethora of different types of people all behaving in different ways, and tries to do everything but stereotype the Glasgow undergraduate. He seemed to be avoiding the question that he was supposed to be answering: who was the Glasgow undergraduate?, : "I do not seem to be able to distil the essence of the Glasgow undergraduate,' he wrote, 'I am, as you have already gathered, playing for time.' However, he did make reference to the financial state of Glasgow undergraduates when he observed "I think that the main characteristic of the Glasgow undergraduate was that he quickly found his own feet and learned to stand on them. A Scottish University is not a welfare state." He also said something about the social skills of the Glasgow undergraduate: "we have few traditions and almost no conventions, in the event we do not turn out a very polished article but the article is usually highly individual. We can only send our scholars to one or other of the finishing schools in the south, they are not finished, the jagged cutting edges are seldom smoothed off."[15] Mavor concluded:

> Glasgow College [University] has never imposed a type on its alumni, their only head mark is having no head mark, their manners are all sorts from good to terrible, their idiosyncrasies their own. This resistance to environment

> perhaps puts the Glasgow student outside the common stream of culture, indeed he is often very ignorant of what is going on among the thinking portion of population, it also makes him impossible to describe, to assess, to evaluate, to classify. Thank God for that, I shall no more attempt it.[16]

Despite the diverse makeup of the student body the prime academic positions in the ancient universities in Scotland still went to what could be described as members of the national elite. They were primarily Scottish born academics who had been educated at Oxford or Cambridge, and when they came to Scottish universities the Professors recruited from Oxbridge brought their ideals and prejudices with them, Medley and MacAlister being prime examples. These professors encouraged the development of halls of residence and tutorial systems. Student life took on a new corporate form inspired by the collegiate ideal. [17] And so it was not only that MacAlister from Cambridge recruited Medley from Oxford to be the Professor of History but also that Medley recruited McCann from Oxford to be his Assistant.

Few Regular Army officers were drawn from the ranks of Glasgow graduates. First, as we have seen, the university itself was set up for a different purpose from Oxford and Cambridge, and, secondly, it was in any case rare for those destined for the Army to go to university. [18] Given the ever-increasing number of English public school boys at Glasgow university, it was proposed to form a club entitled "The English Public Schools Club at Glasgow University" and an advertisement appeared in the Glasgow University Magazine in October 1913 as follows:

Proposed English Public Schools Club of Glasgow University. In view of the large and increasing number of English Public School men up at the Varsity, it has been

proposed to form a club for men from English public schools. Will all men now up whom have been at English schools, please communicate with Mr. A.B. Blake at the Union giving their present addresses and the names of their schools."

The Public Schools had consolidated their identity some 50 years earlier in 1860 when half a dozen headmasters of the leading independent schools decided that it would be a good thing to establish some sort of organisation through which they could meet on regular occasions to exchange views on education, discuss their problems, and debate various ways and means for expanding the scope of their teaching to embrace new aspects of scientific knowledge. So the Headmasters' Conference was established, and to describe itself as a public school a school would have to be a member of the Headmaster's Conference (HMC).[19] What the Army valued most about a public school education were the qualities of character, which the schools were thought to develop. The team games so prevalent in the public school system reflected these assumptions. Playing rugby and cricket, it was thought, developed not merely the physical attributes of health, strength, co-ordination, and quickness of eye, all essential military requirements, but also moral virtues like self-discipline, the submersion of the individual for the sake of the team, and the enhancement of team spirit, all qualities which could be transferred to regimental service. Above all, perhaps, the public schools inculcated loyalty. Loyalty, at a public school began with loyalty to the house, and rose through loyalty to the school, the country, to faith, and to leaders. Boys possessing such attitudes were readily welcomed as potential officers. [20] When R.C. Sheriff wrote his play Journey's End he was sometimes criticised because there was too much of the English public school about it. His answer was that:

> As a junior officer I lived among them, almost every young officer was a public school boy and if I had cut them out of Journey's End there wouldn't have been a play at all."[21]

Sheriff had himself gone to a grammar school of which he was very proud, and, indeed, before the war did not know what a public school was. The war came as a shock to him. He had left school and had started to work at a London office when he heard Kitchener's call for 100,000 men to volunteer to reinforce the hard pressed regular army in France. He was excited and enthusiastic. He thought it would be far more interesting to be an officer than in the ranks, as he thought an officer had to be a bit "above the others". As he had a sound education at a grammar school and was articulate he thought that he would be one of the suitable young men they were asking for. When he went to the recruiting office of his local county regiment the Adjutant asked him which school he had attended. When he said the name of his school, the Adjutant's face fell, he took up a printed list from the desk and searched through it. "I am sorry" he said "but I'm afraid it isn't a public school". Sheriff was mystified. Until that moment he had known nothing about these strange distinctions and told the Adjutant that his school, Queen Elizabeth's, was founded in 1567 and was a very old and good one, but the Adjutant was not impressed. He had lost interest in Sheriff and said, "I am sorry but our instructions are that all applicants for commissions must be selected from recognised public schools and yours is not among them". That was that and Sheriff went away and enlisted in the ranks, and "it was a long hard pull before I was at last accepted as an officer", and only then because the huge loss of officers in France had forced the authorities to lower their sights and accept young men outside the exclusive circle of public schools. [22] The point here is that, with few exceptions,

the Regular Army was still being officered from the elite who came through the public schools and Oxford and Cambridge, a national elite which to a certain extent excluded the Scottish elite except for those who partook of the English elitist opportunities. Indeed, it is clear that by the First World War the Glasgow University Appointments committee's major work-load was in providing local business employment for its graduates.[23]

Formidable financial obstacles reinforced the social exclusiveness of the officer class. It required some considerable initial expenditure, usually from parental resources, for a candidate to acquire the necessary public school education. Apart from a few special exceptions, the majority of candidates had to pay £100 per annum for their training at Sandhurst or Woolwich. Then depending upon his Regiment or Corps an officer frequently needed an allowance or private income over and above his pay to meet the obligations of sporting and social life. [24] Private means were virtually essential, as officers could not live on their pay. By 1914 the average officer in the Cameronians (Second Scottish Rifles), for example, required a private income of about £250 per annum, while the Coldstream Guards expected an income of £400 per annum. The Cavalry Regiments were even more expensive because the officers had to provide at least one charger as well as two hunters and three-polo ponies.[25]

Clearly those young men who were attracted by the English Public Schools Club at Glasgow University had every intention of joining the national elite on completion of their studies and would swell the numbers of those who obtained early commissions

after the start of the war. These boys would become officers, would fight and die during the war, and so would be on the Glasgow University Roll of Honour. They would also find their names on the Rolls of Honour of the English Public Schools and of their Regiments.

But these were exceptions among the student body. In August 1915 the minutes of the Senate of Glasgow University commented on the "small number of graduates at Glasgow University who held a commission in the Regular Army at the opening of the War."[26] To analyse why Glasgow University had not produced many officers for the regular army before the War we need to look more closely at the nature of the small peacetime professional army. The Regular Army was, in 1914, unrepresentative of society as a whole. Prior to the First World War the officer corps was still heavily dependent on its traditional sources of supply, the peerage, the gentry, the military families, and to a lesser extent the clergy and the professions, with only a small minority coming from business, commercial, and industrial families, which made up a large part of Glasgow University's intake.[27] Many of the regiments which might have been expected to have Scottish officers were, in fact, generally commanded by English or Anglo-Scots officers educated and domiciled south of the border. [28] Few Scottish officers educated in Scotland had led Scottish troops since the Battle of Waterloo and once military service was established in a family it was likely to be self-perpetuating. Lord Wavell for example, who had no Scottish connection, and had entered the Second Battalion the Black Watch in 1901, recalled that:

> I never felt any special inclination to a military career but it would have taken more independence of character than I possessed at the time to avoid it. Nearly all my relations were military. I had been brought up amongst soldiers and my father, while professing to give me complete liberty of choice, was determined that I should be a soldier. I had no particular bent towards any other profession and I took the line of least resistance. [29]

There was also the connection between the Army and the land, and those families who were landed considered a commission in the Army was the equivalent of a university education for a young man returning to the land. This was a far cry from Glasgow's suburban intake. So before the First World War the officer class was characterised by its social and financial exclusiveness and the overwhelming majority of candidates for a commission in the regular army were products of the English public schools.

Given their absence from the Regular Army, it was not until the Battle of Loos in September 1915 that the new armies, which included the Glasgow University graduates and undergraduates, saw their first action. The 52nd Lowland Territorial Division had proceeded to Gallipoli and Palestine but the 51st Highland Division had been in the Somme area and were joined by the 9th and the 15th Divisions. It was during this time that the different character of the officer corps of these Divisions was first noticed. The Army was familiar with seeing Scottish soldiers led by officers who were generally English or Anglo-Scots, who had been educated at English Public Schools, Oxbridge and domiciled in England, but it was apparent in 1915 that the newcomers, solicitors, bankers, farmers, school masters, shopkeepers, and undergraduates, came from small towns and country parishes in Scotland. John Buchan, himself a Glasgow graduate, wrote that "they came nearer than any other I

know to the description of middle-class Division. When they first landed in France I remember hearing the criticism that the men were extraordinarily good but that the officers were too nearly of the same class as the men. I fancy that that was true but both officers and men ended by being super excellent." [30]

Professor Archibald A Bowman provides evidence not only of Buchan's point about the middle class nature of these divisions, but also of the social tensions within the Glasgow middle class. Bowman, a graduate of Glasgow University, was commissioned into the Highland Light Infantry and taken prisoner at the battle of Lys in April 1918. During the war he wrote regularly to his wife. His letters reveal the abhorrence felt by the 'educated', such as himself, for the Glaswegian self-made men or their sons who were felt to have 'risen above their station'. In a letter home in 1917 he described some of the officers in his mess as " those ghastly Glasgow types who lived cheek by jowl with offspring from new money thrown into the same class by success rather than by birth."[31]

The best indication as to the social status of the Glasgow graduates and undergraduates who joined up at the beginning of the war is from their obituaries, which were published in the Roll of Honour 1915. Table 3.2 is a list of schools attended by the fallen from Glasgow University as at 1915. The table shows the fallen of all ranks, not just officers but over 80% were officers. Most were educated at non-fee paying schools but the individual schools that sent the most boys were private or fee paying, many of which already had a Junior Division of the O.T.C. Table 3.2 also

illustrates a further point. Despite the fact that the students and graduates of Glasgow University who were joining up did not form part of the national elite, they almost certainly formed part of a regional elite.

As far as the local Glasgow schools are concerned, the highest percentage of those serving came from the four schools in Glasgow, which had Junior Divisions of the Officer Training Corps. They were Glasgow Academy, Glasgow High School, and Kelvinside Academy, all fee-paying schools and Hillhead High School a non-fee paying school.

Kelvinside Academy was opened on Monday, 2 September 1878. [32]The school had been set up to provide a good education for the growing community along the Great Western Turnpike Road. [33] Although called Kelvinside Academy, the school was run by the Kelvinside Academy Limited.[34] The first prospectus contained the following paragraph: "While shareholders may confidently anticipate a satisfactory return on the capital invested, the promoters have mainly in view to provide an Academy so conducted as to afford a guarantee that sound education in its highest branches, shall be within the reach of all residing in the district" [35] What was not anticipated at the time was that the older Glasgow Academy, already a respected institution established over 30 years before, would move to a new site only a few hundred yards from the new Kelvinside Academy. In the event the new Glasgow Academy building opened on the same day as the very new Kelvinside Academy.[36]

Kelvinside Academy was to be private and fee paying, although there would be a reduction in fees for families with more than one pupil attending. The school, which was built to "supply education of the highest class to the large and increasing population in the western suburbs of Glasgow",[37] had elitist aspirations from the outset. Its prospectus declared that " A higher class, distinct from the rest of the school, will be formed for such pupils as intend going forward to the Civil Service Examination". This offer confirms that the much coveted entry into the Civil Service was not going to be an obstacle to the pupils of Kelvinside Academy who by their ability to pay fees and pass the Civil Service examination would set them apart as at least a local elite. [38] The Cadet Corps followed in 1893. An unsuccessful attempt to form a Corps had been made in 1890, but in 1893 the proposal that the Corps would wear the kilt rather than shorts ensured that the desired 50 minimum number was exceeded by three and the Corps was formed. The Corps had to be attached to a volunteer Battalion and the school Directors chose 4th Volunteer Battalion, Scottish Rifles. With the help of 4th VBSR, the Corps had uniform made and arranged training so that it could duly appear in the War Office List.[39] The Corps was not a serious military affair and " the whole exercise was treated by many as a picnic - as it often turned out to be".

The relatively affluent nature of Kelvinside Academy is well illustrated by Colin MacKay in his history of the school, Kelvinside Academy 1878-1978:

> Life for West End boys in those days was pretty comfortable. They lived in one of the most attractive and opulent suburbs of any city in Britain. The fact

> that their parents were able to buy houses there meant they were well off. Their nearest school was a happy small establishment providing a good liberal education, preparing them for professions, the Civil service, the Army, or their father's businesses".[40]

Proof that the school provided professionals for the Empire comes from the class Dinner lists from 1901 when the upper IV of 1891-92, by now about 25 years old, held their annual dinner in Ferguson's and Forrester's in Buchanan Street. Ten attended, the other ten sending apologies from South Africa, the Argentine, Bombay, Shanghai, Berlin and Montreal. The class division was already well established between the schools that fed the university from the West End and those that came from the South Side of Glasgow. Archibald Hamilton Charteris, an old Kelvinside boy who wrote half of the book Glasgow in 1901, described the difference between Kelvinside and South Side youth as follows:

> These are far asunder as the districts in which they live. They meet but never mingle, and continue through ignorance to regard each other with frank dislike. " Damn Snobs" says South Side, and Kelvinside retorts ith"poisonous bounders". Their interests in athletics differ. The Kelvinside is all for Rugby; South Side is divided between rugby and football. Also, they differ in their clothes, Kelvinside with the public schoolboy from England, the English model, living at its door is near perfection. South Side, it will tell you, is too curly in the brim of the hat, too daring in the cut of the waistcoat, too tight in the trousers. An inch less all round and South Side, it will continue, would have been the perfect gentleman. Once more they differ in amusements. South Side is the friend of Bars and Pantomimes and lighted streets; Kelvinside stays at home, or in each other's homes dancing or billiard playing and performing in fact (as it will tell you) the ordinary social duties of civilised man. And if after say an International football match Kelvinside should quit the West End for a night's adventure in the town, you will notice another difference. It goes not in single spies but in battalions which refuse to mix with outsiders, and knows nothing of the fortuitous comradeship that is born in cups. Yet after all, these differences serious as they are to the parties, are simplicity itself to explain. The South Side is nearer the soil, the product of perhaps a cruder wealth. Kelvinside is the South Side once removed. A little while and the

> father of your same poisonous bounder will be your neighbour in a Western Terrace. Yet a little while and his son may black ball you at his club.[41]

In academic work too the aspiration to enter the national elite was pursued and in 1904 the school exulted in the success of G H Crichton being awarded an open history exhibition at New College, Oxford. The school believed it was the first time that any boy coming straight from Glasgow had competed successfully for a scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge. In 1906 there were eight old Kelvinsiders at Oxford and six at Cambridge.[42]

In 1907 a Kelvinside Academical Indian Association was formed, having its first meeting at the end of December 1907 at the Bengal Club in Calcutta. In 1910 two old boys were elected as Members of Parliament. The staff too reflected the aspirations of the school. In 1913 the school welcomed a new Rector (headmaster), Douglas G Schulze. He came from an English public school, Uppingham, where he had been an assistant master and house tutor. He had been to school in Glasgow, at Glasgow Academy, and then to Fettes College in Edinburgh, before proceeding to Merton College, Oxford. He had also spent time as a teacher at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth.[43]

In 1908 the school Corps underwent a fundamental change when it signed up to Haldane's new Officers Training Corps scheme, and became the Kelvinside Academy Officers Training Corps. The Corps was to be no longer associated with the 4th VBSR and now " lost much of its picnic spirit".[44] In 1914 the Colour Sergeant from the

Corps, C/Sgt James Kelly, returned to the army to train new recruits for Kitchener's Army and boys from the OTC started to go straight to the Army. By the start of the First World War approximately 150 ex-Kelvinside Academy boys had joined the Regular Army, the Territorial Force, or the Special Reserve. As a result of such numbers being already part of the Services, Territorial or Regular, at the beginning of the War, the casualty list was heavy. By the end of the War 540 Kelvinside Academicals had served, of which 131 or 24% were killed. These statistics alone show the school to have performed as well or better than the English Public Schools. Table 3.3 shows the four main feeder schools for Glasgow University and the comparison of those fallen of all ranks with those who had served. The table also illustrates that the Glasgow schools were indeed performing as well as or better than the English public schools in terms of sacrifice, confirming their place amongst this elite group.

Named the Hillhead Public School, Hillhead was opened some seven years after the re-opening of Glasgow Academy in 1885. It is interesting that, despite the competition for pupils between Glasgow Academy and Kelvinside Academy, there was still a place for another large school in the West End. The difference of course was that Hillhead was erected for Govan Parish School Board and was to be a free school for the expanding burgh suburbs. By 1894 the school had 900 pupils and by 1910 1260. The school was funded by the Scottish Education Department and became extremely popular due to " its high reputation for advanced and scholarly teaching"[45] for both the rich and poor from the area. The school soon dropped the name Hillhead Public

School and by 1905 had become known as Hillhead High School. When the school opened, the first headmaster, Edward E MacDonald, knew that the reputation of the school would rest upon its academic side. Yet the inculcation of mere knowledge was never his ultimate goal: " he made the school a centre of learning; but he was still more intent on making it a building place of character, a training ground for his pupils to fit themselves for the duties, responsibilities and privileges of citizenship."[46] Though all the work was of a high standard, as was shown in the comparison with other schools' results in open competitive examinations, it was the brilliant teaching given in the modern languages department that first and most immediately brought Hillhead into the front rank of Scottish schools. As early as 1892 Hillhead pupils gained one fifth of the entire honours grade leaving certificates in modern languages awarded in Scotland.[47]

The early emphasis on work did not mean that MacDonald neglected other forms of education. Clubs and sports were developed at Hillhead. The school changed from playing football to rugby and a school orchestra was formed which gave successful concerts. A former pupils' club was formed in1902, with the aim of "promoting social intercourse among the members by holding an annual reunion dinner". In 1901 the school opened the Hillhead High School Athletic Club. In 1908 a literary and debating society was founded.[48]

The "most important club of all"[49]was the School Cadet Corps. Formed in 1901 with 62 members it was attached to the 6th (2nd volunteer Battalion) The Highland Light

Infantry, in which James A MacLean and some other members of staff held commissions. The janitor, Colour Sergeant William Walker, late The Northumberland Fusiliers, ran the cadets for twenty-seven consecutive years from 1888 to 1914. C/Sgt Walker was an expert in physical education and his work resulted in hundreds of pupils wanting to join the Cadets. His speciality was displays. The G O C Scottish Command and the Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, who regularly attended the displays, " saw nothing in Scotland in the early years to compare with them." [50]Originally the Corps wore a uniform influenced by the Boer War, with bush hat and breeches, but that soon gave way to the Mackenzie kilt of the HLI. In December 1910 the Corps was disbanded and re mustered as a company of the Officers Training Corps Junior Division.[51] By 1911 the OTC was well established and some members represented it at the Windsor Coronation Review. The Adjutant of the 6 HLI was in command and there was a strong pipes and drums band.

By June 1914 the school offered as good an education as its neighbours in the West End. Its academic achievements and its sporting and social activities were comparable. It drew from the same population and through the OTC manifested its sense of duty. Like Kelvinside and Glasgow Academies, Hillhead was as ready to take its part when the First World War came . The type of old boy who was to fight was typically depicted by the Form III sports champion on 6 June 1914: "Eric Gordon, an able scholar, a good musician, in character steel true, he was a versatile and talented athlete; he became a tennis champion, was a mainstay of cricket and water polo teams, and in view of contemporaries qualified to judge was a Scotland three-quarter in the

making". But that was not to be. He was killed in France in 1918. [52] The school provided so many officers during the First World War that the 17 HLI held a Hillhead dinner in Picardy just before the " big push " of July 1916, from where they sent a message of greeting and an autographed menu card to the school. Of the eighteen present at the dinner, nine were killed. During the war the school sent 923 old boys overseas of which 166 were killed. Despite the school being a state-funded school and some old boys having joined the ranks, table 3.3 shows that 18%of those serving died, putting the school well up with the English public schools which traditionally produced officers for the Army.[53]

Of the four main schools in Glasgow that produced undergraduates for Glasgow University the oldest was Glasgow High School. It had a continuous history since 1124. It originated in an educational establishment called the Seminary of Canons Regular, considered to be the precursor to the old grammar schools that functioned under the control of the Bishops. The school was known until 1834 as the Glasgow Grammar but this was then changed to The High School of Glasgow. In 1878 the school purchased a building in Elmbank Street, which was being vacated by Glasgow Academy which was moving to Kelvin Bridge. On 3 February 1902, the War Office sanctioned a Cadet Corps as a Cadet Company of the Lanarkshire Volunteers. In 1908 the Corps became part of the junior Division of the OTC.[54] Table 3.3 reveals that 21% of those who joined up from the High School were killed.

Foundered in 1845, The Glasgow Academy was the oldest fully independent school in

Glasgow, its pupils were drawn from the same stock as Glasgow High School and Kelvinside Academy and by the First World War the Academy had an Officers Training Corps that had been functioning since 1908. The Academy's old boys had not been prominent in the navy or army, although prior to 1914 it had produced General Sir Archibald Hunter, who was under the command of Kitchener in the Sudan, and also General Sir James Grierson who died on 17 August 1914. Despite not having produced a large number of Regular Old Boys before the War, the school Roll of Honour lists the names of 1469 Academicals who served. Of those who served 327 were killed. This percentage of 22.3 again puts the Academy up with the traditional English Public Schools.

Scotland had its own landed and professional elite, who in Glasgow staffed the local administrative and judicial institutions and ensured that Glasgow had its own independent cultural life.[55] Glasgow University had enormous dignity and prestige from the time of its foundation. Originally a collegiate university until the 18th century when accommodation became a premium, students had to live out and it began to have more in common with regional universities rather than the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Preparation of its students tended to be vocational rather than cultural and liberal. There were a share of students that were from the national elite and some from working class backgrounds, but the vast majority came from an intermediate class, with many belonging to a regional elite. It was difficult to stereotype the Glasgow University student. What further complicated any stereotyping was the arrival, just before the First World War, of some English

public schoolboys. A small percentage of Glasgow graduates clearly became part of a national elite but the majority formed a separate regional elite that also had its own distinct class structure. There was a clear division between this regional elite and those through birth who never found their way at all to Glasgow, as they followed the path of the national elite either directly to English public schools and then to Oxbridge or straight into the army. Many of those at Glasgow were just too poor to go directly to the Civil Service or the army, and attendance at Glasgow's top four schools did not qualify their boys to meet the army and the civil service requirements in education and social terms. These schools did however confirm a regional elite and played an important role in the formation of that elite. In their make-up, curriculum, and with their junior divisions of the Officers' Training Corps, they were fairly similar in their education to their English counterparts, the main difference being that, like Glasgow University, they too were not residential. Glasgow did not produce many officers for the regular army before the War but as soon as mass recruiting started an officer class from Glasgow was needed to furnish the New Armies. War service leads us to conclude that the sacrifice of these schools was the same or greater than that of their southern counterparts.

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IS
YOUR
NAME
on a
ROLL
of
HONOUR
?

CHAPTER FOUR

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT

The World is very evil
And full of joy to me.
Be sober and keep vigil
And join the O.T.C.

(Glasgow University Magazine, Volume 24, Number 5, 6 December 1911).

From the time of the formation of the O.T.C. until the start of the First World War there is evidence that amongst Glasgow academics the threat of German aggression was recognized but largely ignored, due to their prior association with, and reverence for that country. In contrast, the students strongly believed that war would come and supported the various calls for preparation. War enthusiasm and the reaction of the University authorities to the war meant that the pressure put on staff and students to join up left them little choice, ensuring that the University's response was similar to that of other regional universities and close to that of the Oxbridge elite. The University's contribution through the O.T.C. and Officer Cadet Battalions was proof of its collegiate nature. All that MacAlister and Medley wanted for Glasgow University had come to fruition in its contribution. The problem for MacAlister was to make sure the University survived the war. For Medley it was to make sure the

O.T.C. survived the war.

From 1908 to 1913 while Professor Medley and Principal MacAlister were engaged in establishing the O.T.C. in Glasgow University, the newly formed General Staff in the War Office were considering potential operations in Europe and trying to negate the fear of raids and invasions of the United Kingdom. Worried by the increasing military build-up in Germany the Committee of Imperial Defence conducted official inquiries into the danger of invasion in 1903, 1906 and 1914. The results of the third report were published on 15 April 1914. All three inquiries concluded that the minimum strength of a force for any successful invasion of the United Kingdom would be approximate 70,000 and that the Navy could easily interrupt such an invasion and prevent a landing in the United Kingdom.[1] The results gave credence to the Admiralty's claim that all the United Kingdom needed to ensure its defence was a fully funded Royal Navy. Others thought otherwise and warned frequently of the danger of invasion by Germany.

Given that Germany had provided such an intellectual contribution to the British educational establishment, it is not surprising that its views about Germany were strongly held. What is surprising is that there seems to have been a complete lack of desire by many academics to accept that war with Germany was likely, even if the timing was difficult to predict. We have already seen, while looking at the early career of McAlister, that the German university system and German scholarship occupied a position of special prestige amongst scholars worldwide before the First

translated into six languages. In Germany, too, historians were at work on a justification of official policy and in 1915 Deutschland und der Welt des Krieges was published. Like their German colleagues, the Oxford historians disclaimed any intention of writing propaganda. In fact as professional historians they claimed to be impartial: "We are not politicians and we belong to different schools of political thought. We have written this book to set forth the causes of the present war and the principles we believed to be at stake. We have some experience in the handling of historic evidence and we have endeavoured to treat the subject historically."[7]

It was not only at Oxbridge that historians started to write propaganda. Historians at some of the regional universities also joined in. In 1914 Ramsay Muir, Professor of Modern History at Manchester, published a similar study to Why We Are At War publishing Britain's Case Against Germany. With the customary disclaimer, "despite the difficulty of maintaining an attitude of aloofness and impartiality during the Great War, I have honestly tried to see the facts plainly and never to tamper with them, but there the resemblance ends", Muir's account was far more sensational.[8]

The academics' case revolved around "poor little Belgium" and Britain's obligation to France. Indeed, many agreed that the danger to France was sufficient reason to intervene. Ernest Barker, one of the authors of Why We Are At War, felt able, when away from his colleagues, to give free rein to his Francophilia and, in a 1915 pamphlet entitled Great Britain's Reasons for Going to War, he wrote that:

> France like England is a democracy, France is one of the greatest democracies of the world, she is one of the greatest treasure houses of European civilisation, she is one of the great seedbeds of liberal thoughts and ideas. Would England have been right to watch unconcerned, and without one proffer of any sort of aid, the crushing by military force of that democracy, the rifling of that treasure house, the trampling down of that seed bed? It is impossible to answer yes.[9]

At Glasgow both Medley and R.S. Rait, the Professor of Scottish History, wrote war propaganda. While Barker's pamphlet seems to have been written with a relatively unsophisticated audience in mind, the consequent dangers of over-simplification and distortion were well illustrated by R.S. Rait's, Why We Are Fighting Germany - A Village Lecture (1914). It claimed, amongst other things, that Britain was fighting to defend French colonies which were only a mere stepping stone to German possession of other colonies, namely British ones: "The Germans want to seize colonies, the French have colonies but not in very healthy climates. Great Britain has a great number of colonies and a large number of possessions scattered all over the world. Germany's real aim is to seize not French colonies and dependencies but British colonies and dependencies."[10] Rait argued that clearly the Germans wanted to pick their victims off one by one, France this year and Great Britain a few years later.

Medley believed that "the further back that we carry our historical studies in point of time, the greater will be the educational value of the training". In his book The War and the Races of Europe, he wrote that "the pre-war German societies which sought mutual good understanding with Britain were but a blind behind which she (Germany) developed her devilish plots." Yet he was also able to see that German naval building and its large army were partly the result of fear of encirclement.[11]

Ex-Glasgow academics at Princeton University in the USA were also involved in writing propaganda. University Lecturers, like A A Bowman and Professor Kemp Smith, who had moved from Glasgow University to Princeton before the war, wrote about the probability of war and when it was declared Bowman returned to Britain to join the forces and Kemp worked on propaganda in the USA from 1916-18.[11] Another ex-Glasgow University academic was J A Cramb who sometimes acted as a ghost writer to important senior military men, including Lord Roberts. It is difficult to estimate Cramb's influence before the outbreak of the war, but during the war he became one of the most widely quoted experts on Heinrich von Treitschke and Friedrich von Bernhardi. The cover of his posthumously published, Germany and England 1914, bore the words "Heinrich von Treitschke expounded Friedrich von Bernhardi explained." Cramb had travelled in Germany after taking a Classics Degree at Glasgow University in 1885. He had attended Treitschke's lectures in Berlin as well as studying in Bonn. After time teaching at Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, in 1887-1890, he went to Queen's College, London (a school rather than a university), where he taught history for the rest of his career. Cramb's inability to subscribe to Anglicanism had prevented his gaining a professorship at King's College, London. He was thus on the periphery of the university world, although he was a friend of Frederick York Power, Regus Professor of History at Oxford. In his association with Lord Roberts's campaign for compulsory military service and perhaps as a result of this, he lectured from 1910 onwards at the Staff College, Camberley, and at other military garrisons throughout Britain. Some of these lectures

formed the basis for his book, a strange rambling series of reflections on the dangers of pacifism and on the tragic conflict of Britain and Germany rather than a systematic exposition of Treitschke's ideas. The flavour of the book is caught by the last paragraph describing the inevitable future conflict:

> and one can imagine the ancient mighty deity of all the Teutonic kindred thrown above the clouds, looking serenely down upon that conflict, upon his favourite children locked in a death struggle, smiling upon the heroism of that struggle, the heroism of the children of Odium, the War God.[12]

Apart from the odd unfavourable comment historians found nothing to complain of in Cramb's mix of Treitschke and social Darwinism. However, there were few who shared his belief in the inevitability of war as much as Medley did. In his The War and the Races of Europe, he echoed Cramb's words on the impossibility of friendly rivalry, although laying the blame more at Germany's door. He wrote:

> A rapidly growing nation full of enterprise must need to find out therefore its energies or it will die of congestion but if it can find salvation only at our expense, we must protect ourselves or become mere satellites of the rising power. Germany believes that there is not room in the world for herself and us at the same time.[13]

No evidence remains that Glasgow University pursued an anti-war line. On the contrary, by October 1914 there were university staff on military service, having joined as other ranks, including clerks, assistant librarians, apprentice engineers, electricians, joiners, mechanics, painters, stokers, and watchmen.[14] Many students, professors and graduates had joined as officers In November 1914 leave of absence was granted for military service for Charles Martin, Lecturer in French, Dr W.E. Agar, Lecturer in zoology, Mr A.W. Gaum, Lecturer in Greek, Dr Hamilton Robertson,

Assistant in Surgery, Dr James W. Burton, Temporary Demonstrator in Anatomy, all of whom obtained commissions. In April 1915 Mr Montague Drummond, Lecturer in Botany, and Mr John M. Martin, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, also departed on military service. The infectiousness of military service continued unabated and in April 1915 the complete staff of the Engineering Department (including lecturers, assistants, demonstrators, and mechanics) decided to offer themselves to the military authorities in case their services might be of use in connection with the provision of ammunition for the war. The offer was approved by the Court who heard at the same time that the women students of Queen Margaret College had volunteered as nurses in the Western Infirmary. The Court was gratified to know that the women students were as ready as the men to offer themselves for the service of the country. In October 1915 Dr Adam Patrick, Professor of Medicine was asked to go to the Royal Army Medical Corps.[15] In November 1915 Mr T.B. Marley, Lecturer in English, Mr. Neil McArthur, Lecturer in Maths, Doctor A.M. Kennedy Assistant Professor of Medicine and Dr William McMurray, Assistant Professor of Surgery, all left to take up military service. Given the huge number from the university and O.T.C. who were serving, the Court had decided in June 1915 that the difference between army pay and allowances and the university salary of any lecturer or assistant on military service would be made up to an amount not exceeding one-half of the salary. The extent of the service of the staff at Glasgow University can be seen from Table 4.1, which shows the members of the university staff, both academic and administrative, who served and in which organisation they served. The table illustrates the depth and breadth of the contribution made by the staff, who served predominantly as officers.

As far as the students were concerned the Students Representative Council (SRC) was certainly aware of a growing threat of war. The Glasgow University Magazine included regular articles about the O.T.C. from November 1908, and from 1910 a cadet using the pseudonym Merwig started a regular column about the O.T.C.[16] As early as May 1910 he wrote a poem entitled "The O.T.C.", which illustrated awareness of the threat of invasion and how the student members of the O.T.C. would deal with it when it came:

> "For educated blood can stand a spill
> We'll send them home a feeling rather ill.[17]

Another figure who helped drum up support for the forthcoming showdown with Germany among the Glasgow student body was Lord Roberts of Kandahar. Roberts was born in India into an Anglo-Irish military family and was educated at Eton and Sandhurst. His service was primarily in the Indian Army where he was awarded the Victoria Cross during the Indian Mutiny. Roberts captured the imagination of the British public and became the idol of Victorian Britain when, in 1879 during the Afghan War, he marched from Kabul to relieve Kandahar. Successful in the Boer War, Roberts became Commander in Chief in South Africa and then the last Commander in Chief of the British Army in the UK until the post was abolished in 1904. He was a passionate advocate of compulsory military service and warned frequently of the danger of war with Germany in his role as a member of the National Service League. The National Service League was founded by George Sheen in 1906

to press for the introduction of universal military service in Britain. At its peak in 1912, it had more than 98,000 members.

When Daniel Macauley Stevenson, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, was invited to speak in the Students Union in 1912 he criticised the increasing warnings about war given by Field Marshal Lord Roberts of the National Service League. The Students' Union Board discussed the Provost's remarks and they unanimously passed a Resolution that "this meeting exceedingly regrets the remarks of the Right Honourable Lord Provost Stevenson about Lord Roberts".[18] Lord Roberts had been instrumental in getting the CID Inquiry re-opened after 1906, his object being to bring into existence some form of conscription by awakening the government and the public to what he considered to be the Admiralty's hollow claim that they could protect the United Kingdom against invasion and raids.[19]

When Lord Roberts visited Glasgow in May 1913 for the University to confer an Honorary LLD on him, the Lord Provost again spoke, commenting at an informal lunch: "I asked him [Lord Roberts] to do me the honour of luncheon here, because, for reasons which you know, I cannot attend the public meetings which he is to address on National Service. As Tennyson said of Gladstone 'I love the man but I hate his policy', and I felt very sore last autumn at his remarks about Germany".[20] Lord Roberts replied that he had not expected his health would be proposed by the Lord Provost and the Lord Provost was entitled, like everyone else, to his own opinions, but, with regard to Germany, Lord Robert's position was somewhat misunderstood.

He said he had the highest respect for Germany and the German people and had met the German Emperor and had attended him on his visit to Britain. He said he was a best friend of the German Emperor but he could not shut his eyes to the fact that prominent soldiers and even professors in Germany were speaking to the young as if a conflict with Britain was something to look forward to. His opinion was the United Kingdom ought to be getting ready.

When Lord Roberts spoke at the University the next day, while reviewing the O.T.C., he expressed not only his appreciation of being invited to Glasgow, but also praised the O.T.C. for choosing the motto " The British Empire expects Hard Work From All Her Sons, She Expects the Most From Those To Whom Most Has Been Given". Roberts went on to say "it is the Empire we have to think of. Maintenance of the Empire depends on the maintenance of this Nation and the maintenance of the nation depends on the manhood, one and all, high and low, doing their duty. The members of the Officers Training Corps were showing that spirit and doing all they could to make themselves efficient to do their duty for the nation in time of need" .[21] He tendered them his best thanks for what they were doing and congratulated them on it. Not long after Roberts visited, the student Editor of The Glasgow University Magazine started to bang the drum:

> If corporate life is to develop in this University, it must develop along the line of existing institutions. The traditions of that venerable Colossus on the Isis are as useless as the expedients of the University of Sierra Leone. Glasgow must be saved by Glasgow. There are three institutions peculiarly suitable, representing the undergraduate in his several capacities, as civvies, as student, as a soldier. These are the SRC [Student Representative Council], the Union,

> and the O.T.C.. The last of these is not our present concern. The O.T.C.'s business is to go on from strength to strength, needing neither ban nor blessing from us.[22]

Despite the way the University had been touched and the students and staff had reacted to the various international tensions before the War, when it came it was still a surprise to most.[23] War was declared on 4 August 1914 in the height of summer, when all the students were at home and the Professors were on leave.[24] The Senior Divisions of the O.T.C. had ended their camps some two weeks before the Declaration of War, and it was the turn of the Junior Division of the O.T.C.s from the Public Schools, who having broken up for the summer holidays later than the Universities, were enjoying their camps across the country. Reactions towards the declaration of war were mixed.[25] To some it came as a joy that at last they could put into action all the training and the military enthusiasm they had shown, while to others it disturbed the summer holidays for which other plans had been made. To yet others, who were already abroad on holiday, it came as an unexpected shock, because whatever had been known about the situation and relationship with Germany the prospect of imminent war was thought to be somewhat distant from the reality of life.

At the University the Senate met quickly to consider the possibility of holding a special final professional examination for candidates who wished to volunteer for active service and agreed to hold one as soon as possible.[26] The Principal, who was on holiday at a spa town in Germany, journeyed back quickly. The return was eventful: on the one hand the MacAlisters were treated as prisoners of war, and on the other hand with the respect worthy of their position and standing. The story of the

MacAlisters' journey was reported in The Glasgow Herald under the title "Tribute to German Kindness - Sir Donald MacAlister's Experiences." The explanation of Sir Donald's journey and his own account in the newspaper, where he praised the Germans for allowing his smooth and quick return to Glasgow, was immediately criticised by some. It took him and Lady MacAlister some time before the accusations of their being sympathetic to the Germans, and therefore the enemy, were dropped. [27] Surprisingly Professor Medley chose not to return immediately from his holiday as "there was nothing for me to do".[28]

Immediately the Principal returned to Glasgow, on 15 August 1914, he called a meeting of the Senate at which he proposed " a Resolution that undergraduate students who go on active service would have every consideration extended to them as far as ordinances permit in relation to attendance on courses of instruction and study in order that the graduation of the students would not be unduly delayed by reason of their absence on military duty". [29] The speed of the Senate in addressing the problem of qualifications for those who wished to volunteer immediately was only matched by the number of students, graduates, and staff from the university that immediately began to join up.

The students who returned to university in October 1914 found that some of their friends had joined up in the holidays and were undergoing military training. Recruiting was underway in Glasgow where it was obvious to all that this war was going to be much more serious than the Boer War had been. The University had

asked permission to have the students join as a formed body and some members of the O.T.C. had already been commissioned in September. In October 1914 "The most remarkable scene in the history of the Union took place in the Debating Hall". The university had allowed a recruiting drive to take place in the Student's Union, which resulted in about fourteen per cent of the matriculated student body signing up.[30] The scene is described best in the book Union Ygorra, which tells the story of the Glasgow university student over the last sixty years:

> Recruitment to the Cameron Highlanders was going on at the time and Lochiel addressed a meeting in the Union under the chairmanship of Sir Donald MacAlister. 'So impatient,' says the official history of the 6th Cameron Highlanders, 'were the men to wear the Cameron tartan that they intimated their desire to enlist immediately, and it was with difficulty that they were persuaded to keep their clothes on their bodies and wait until the morrow for medical examination.' Between 200 and 300 joined up the next day.

This rush to the colours was in great contrast to the experience of Francis MacCunn who, after attending an OTC recruiting meeting attended by 200 men earlier in 1914, wrote to his mother:

> Capt Hendry made a very good speech and so did Medley, but so far it has not yielded much in the way of recruits. I let them have it straight about doing the military training without ulterior intentions. I said if they took it up for amusement or interest in military matters or social reasons, well and good, but if they thought by doing so, they were serving the country, they were deceiving themselves and other people: it was pure hypocrisy.[31]

At the end of October 1914 the Principal reported that up to the 26th of that month 423 less men and 8 fewer women than in the last year had joined the university. Along with his report on the figures was a warning that departments were to keep

down expenses and make themselves as efficient as possible. The special exams took place and the university reported to the War Office that there were doctors newly qualified willing to make their services available should they be required. The War Office replied that they would be communicated with in due course.[32]

The first time that any pressure was officially put upon the student body to turn up for military training and to present themselves for military service was in December 1914 when Professor Munro Kerr in the Senate moved the following Motion: "That the Senatus (sic) of this University publicly announces its opinion that every British student except the physically unfit should undergo military training". He explained that in doing so he wished to initiate a discussion on the general subject. Various alternative proposals were made and eventually the Senate decided: "That in the opinion of the Senate the students in attendance upon the university should be invited to consider seriously the propriety of taking advantage of the opportunities offered for military training". The Senate finding was remitted to the Principal and to Professors Medley and Dickson to determine how effect could best be given to it, by appending a notice to the lists of students at present undergoing military training.[33] The purpose of the Senate through the recruiting was to encourage military service after graduation but there is evidence to suggest that the ruling divided the student body into those preparing immediately for war and those who concentrated on their studies.[34] Apart from this official pressure, psychological pressure abounded, with the recruiting efforts of the Parliamentary Recruiting Commission.

By November 1914 the Glasgow University Magazine began to lament "With so many of our number under arms and away from us, it would be foolish to pretend that the spirit of studentdom has remained unaltered". It complained that there were no male voices for the choral society, but at the same time it was supporting those who had gone and were shortly to go: "Surely in this war none can have cause for dissatisfaction or regret, except that they may bear no part in it, surely it is the glory of the whole nation that her sons have gone to battle and into battle with a song on their lips".[35]

At the time when the University Senate was putting more and more pressure on the undergraduates to join the O.T.C. for military service, the MEC Convener, Medley, was fighting a battle with the War Office, which, caught between the conflicting demands of training and active service, was trying to withdraw all but 40 of his rifles. Medley complained bitterly that, with a strength of 400-430, he could not possibly train with only 40 rifles.[36] Medley, moreover, was underestimating his numbers, and by 4 November 1914, 772 men were under training at the O.T.C., among whom were 23 members of the university staff. 296 of those were matriculated students, 16 from the technical college, and the others made up of either graduates or men sent by the War Office to the newly created Officers Training Battalion based on the O.T.C.. The Officer Training Battalions were set up for external officer cadets to be trained. Men already appointed to commissions were sent in batches of between 50 and 100.

In January 1915 the Senate passed a Motion to increase the MEC from two to three

members of the Court and four to six members of Senate as well as the co-opted military members. This reflected the size of the Corps at the time and the work that arose from the hugely increased numbers. In February 1915 the Principal announced to the Court how many members of Glasgow University and the O.T.C. were now serving with the Forces of the Crown.[37] There were 556 graduates including 36 members of the teaching staff. Students (i.e. those intending to finish their course) equalled 414. Alumni (attended classes but without the intention to graduate) numbered 53. Non graduate employees of the university amounted to 20 and non-matriculated cadets of the O.T.C. 212. This broke down into 967 commissioned officers, 59 non-commissioned officers, and 229 private soldiers.

The number of students from each university who had joined up by 1915 and who had been killed by that date is shown in Table 4.2. The table illustrates that Glasgow University was already fourth in the table of universities which were sending men to the forces, only behind Oxford, Cambridge and London. In relation to its size Glasgow was thus sending an enormous number of men to the Front. After students had joined up, with the enthusiasm of going on military service, and once they had arrived at either their training establishments or on the front and had time to reflect on what they had done, they would continually write to the University asking whether or not they could be given a degree, or whether or not the work that they had already done could be counted towards a degree.[38] Under pressure from the student body and the Senate, the Court in April 1915 "agreed to modify as it may deem expedient curriculum of study required by the ordinance for graduation of any faculty in the case

of any student who serves in the navy or army during the present war".[39] St Andrews, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh Universities had adopted the same motion.

By the beginning of 1915 it was becoming increasingly hard for students to resist the pressure to join the Forces and in May Mrundry Williamson, the Editor of the Glasgow University Magazine, captured the feeling:

> An ever-deepening sense of loneliness has been settling upon the University. The man in mufti has suffered unjust treatment and impertinent criticism, Youth's sweet-scented manuscript must close this time with much of it's scent fouled alas! With distant aura of powder and smoke. The seal of fate is about to be set. "Explicit" looms up before us like a nightmare, hideous and inexorable. And so, a trifle heavy of heart, but blessed with a thousand happy memories of the Grand Old Rag, retires from these pages.

On the reconstitution of the MEC to become six Senate members and three Court members in February 1915, Colonel A.B. Grant, Rector's Assessor and a member of the O.T.C., became a member of the MEC . The Senate members were Medley, Gray, Latta, Noel, Patten, Kerr, and Cormack, and from the Court the Principal, Col. Grant, and Dr Hutchison.[40] In October 1915 Dr Robert C. Gray, the Professor of Natural Philosophy, resigned to go to the Royal Navy. Professor J.D. Cormack also resigned to become Inspector of Contracts at Military Aeronautics in the Honorary Post of Lieutenant Colonel.

In the Autumn of 1915 some of the more prominent members of staff began to be killed at the front. Lieutenant Colonel J.C. Monteith was killed on 30 September 1915 by a sniper while leading his battalion, the 2nd Bedfords. The death of

Monteith was particularly close to home as he had been a student at the university, a member of the O.T.C. as a student, and then had returned as Adjutant of the Corps and an Honorary Member of staff until he was called away to his battalion at the outbreak of the War. According to Medley, Monteith was one "one of the small number of graduates of Glasgow University who had held a commission in the regular army at the opening of the War". [41]

Also killed was Captain Francis McCunn MA. B.Lit., Lecturer and Assistant in the Department of History; Son of a Glasgow University graduate, McCann had been educated at Rugby and Oxford. When he was recruited by Medley to become the assistant in the Department of History, he also joined the O.T.C. as an officer and had joined the 6th Cameron Highlanders on the outbreak of the war. At the battle of Loos he was, according to the Senate minutes "in Command of what may be called the University Company, he led his men with conspicuous gallantry on September the 26th 1915 and after rallying them three times in the face of an overwhelming force of the enemy was left mortally wounded on the field of battle among the greater part of his Company".[42]

The Company referred to was B Coy, the 6th Cameron Highlanders and was the Company in which the majority of those University undergraduates, graduates, and staff who served as "other ranks" had enlisted. Most undergraduates, graduates, and staff who joined the forces had gained a commission but due to the Lochiel's recruiting in the SRC many had joined the Cameron Highlanders as "other ranks".

One of the published histories of the University recorded:

> A year later on the bloody field of Loos only a remnant of that gallant Company answered the roll call at the end of the battle which had taken as heavy a toll of the flower of our Scottish youth as our country had paid since the days of Flodden, but they had written one of the most glorious pages in the annals of the University of Glasgow.[43]

The Military Service Acts in January and May 1916 introduced wartime conscription in Britain. Although there were at first some exemptions for students in the middle of their courses, it was not long before it became impossible for any fit young man to resist the call to arms. The significant numbers leaving for the War obviously had an effect on the University. Different parts were affected in different ways. Those which were most affected were the departments which lost the greatest number of senior staff to either military or government work. Engineering suffered considerably more than others when Professor J.D.Cormack left in October 1915 to take up the post of Inspector of Contracts at Military Aeronautics in the rank of Honorary Lieutenant Colonel. Professor Byles from Naval Architecture left, and his assistant, Mr A. Robb, himself left in the spring of 1916 to assist in the building of ships for the Mesopotamia campaign. Many of the engineering classes that were affected were arranged at the Royal Technical College. As well as engineering, languages were also hit when the two French Lecturers, Messieurs Martin and Kittoy, were both called up to serve in the French Army, although Kittoy returned to Glasgow having been wounded in 1917. Professor Sir Henry James spent much time away from the university recruiting for the services in Wales, at the behest of his friend the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, who was concerned about the threat of industrial action in

South Wales. Doctor J.D. Falconer of Geography, a Mineral Surveyor, was released by the university at the request of the Colonial Office to become Assistant District Commissioner in Nigeria. Professor Stevenson of Hebrew went to work for the Admiralty Intelligence Department. Professor S.H. James, of Social Economics, joined the Ministry of Munitions, and Professor Rait of Scottish History was sent to the War Trade Intelligence Department in 1916. A.H. Charteris, Lecturer in International Law, was sent to the Admiralty Prize Court in London. Some staff were to be double-hatted serving both the University and the War Office. Sir William McEwan, Professor of Surgery, was commissioned as Surgeon General for the Royal Navy in Scotland with the rank of Surgeon Rear Admiral, and as such took both civilian and military personnel as patients. He was a staunch supporter of, and a leader in the establishment of, the Princess Louise Hospital for Limbless Soldiers and Sailors at Erskine in Renfrewshire in 1916. The only member of staff not to be involved at all in war work was Professor Ludwig Becker, Professor of German and Director of the University Observatory. His treatment by the authorities belied the predominant themes of patriotism and service running through the University's contribution to the war effort at the time.[44] Due to his German origins he was interned with his family for the duration of the war, in Crieff in Perthshire.

With many staff away and those who had double-hatted roles working for the War Office, it was up to Principal McAlister to secure, along with the Royal Technical College in Glasgow and the other Scottish Universities, as normal an existence as could be operated during these difficult times. The Emergency Power Act of July

But the question as to what the present activities of the students ought to be is a much more difficult one. The view has been maintained that all student activities ought to be dropped; that those of us that are at the university are here for the patriotic purpose of keeping up the supply of doctors, engineers, teachers, ministers etc and that we should confine ourselves to that. Indeed, certain short-sighted people seem to regard the study of medicine as the only legitimate reason for the continuance of classes. We can only say again that such a view is not the view of the Public Authorities.

If, then, it is admitted that there is a demand for the continuance of all the branches of study which are at present being pursued at the university, we are able to state the general position more clearly. We have to judge any student activity that is proposed from the point of view of expediency. It is not a question of taste. By going about with dismal faces and refraining from all forms of amusement we should be in no way assisting the country or the students who are absent on service. For one thing, it is absolutely essential that we should maintain the traditions of the University as far as we can, so that the continuity may not be lost; so that, when peace comes, we may revert to our old life.

But there is a better reason than that for maintaining our traditions to the greatest possible extent. The present students ought to be enabled to obtain from their university career the greatest benefit that is compatible with public policy: it is their right. That is why it is desirable that the publication of the GUM should not cease. But, if it is to be continued, the whole body of students should associate themselves with it, and aid it to the best of their power. The only way in which any part of our social life can be maintained is that every student should interest himself in it. There are, of course, some purely sectional interests, such as are catered for by the various societies, and we are glad to see that so many of these societies are still in existence. But these sectional interests should by no means interfere with student life as a whole. And, for the most part, they do not: they rather reinforce it.
It is with regret though that we notice a "Services Club" has been formed. It does not, we maintain, represent any legitimate sectional interest. The men who have returned from service are now students, and, from the point of view of the university, are in exactly the same position as the other students. And it is gratifying to note that the majority of men who have been on service take this view of the matter. Recognising that all students have an equal interest in maintaining the traditions of the University, they have taken student life as they found it, and endeavoured to fall into their old ways. But there are a few who are trying to set up an artificial distinction. That this is their intention we know from their own words: they wish " to separate the sheep from the goats.[45]

Indicative of the maintenance of the traditions in the university was the continuation

of the O.T.C. As early as May 1913 the War Office had warned that, on mobilisation being ordered for a war, the Adjutant and Permanent Staff of Non-Commissioned Officers of the O.T.C. must re-join their regular units and that the Officers' Training Corps must find substitutes to ensure the contingent should be carried on during the period of war. The outbreak of the war brought to fruition all that Medley had been working for. The role the O.T.C. played in 1914-1915 was the role it had been set up for, which was to produce officers. But this role meant that to a certain extent it would be a self destructive organisation, for its main purpose was to train and commission officers for other units. When the war broke out the ranks of the O.T.C. were quickly filled to capacity of the establishment at 400 and the Corps also offered military training to any student beyond that number. 800 students over and above the 400 were either volunteered or volunteered themselves for this training, making the numbers even higher. In addition, when the universities were asked to form Officer Cadet Battalions for outsiders, Medley paid a visit to the War Office, in order to find out the conditions involved, and subsequently a Cadet Battalion was formed at Glasgow University.[46] So the O.T.C. functioned throughout the War, providing preliminary training for officer cadets who would go off somewhere else to Officer Cadet Battalions once enough wounded and invalided officers were available to start them all over the country[47]

Medley and the Adjutant of the O.T.C. kept themselves busy with other military work during slack periods. Early in the war Medley undertook, at the Principal's instigation, to compile a roll of service of members of the university. Issues were published in

1915, 1916 and 1919. Even after the war, when pacifist feeling was strong in Glasgow, Medley went ahead with building the O.T.C. back to its former glory, adding new units and officering it with former students and members who had distinguished themselves during the war. [48]

The Glasgow experience was in contrast to most O.T.C.s. At Cambridge, for example, by the start of the Lent Term 1916, only sixty cadets remained. A few weeks later forty of these were selected for Officer Cadet Battalions. The War Committee reported to the Senate that the Cambridge O.T.C.'s worth had come to a close: "Although the O.T.C. felt in 1916 that it had no further role to play, now that it had officered the New Army, and in so doing had left itself with virtually no members, it did not disappear. However contemporary reference to its existence during the years 1916-1918 does not survive in Cambridge despite the numerous documents concerning the Officer Cadet Battalions."[49] A similar story prevailed at London University. Its O.T.C. closed down in 1916 and was not reactivated until 1920.[50] In Oxford University too conditions changed: the Cavalry Squadron, Royal Field Artillery Section and Army Signal Service unit were temporarily suspended and membership of the Corps was restricted to those under 18 who would eventually go off to Officer Cadet Battalions.[51]

The statistics from the three Glasgow University Rolls of Honour, meticulously compiled by the officers of the O.T.C. under Medley's direction, can be put into a comparative framework to prove whether or not Glasgow University's response,

service and sacrifice was different to the national norm during the First World War. The statistics allow us to measure how Glasgow University was performing in both recruiting and service, and how many of those who served paid the ultimate price with their lives. To establish whether or not Glasgow was performing differently from the norm the Glasgow figures must be compared with the nationwide figures both in Scotland and in the rest of Great Britain.

The first full account of the structure of First World War deaths, as well as the differing death rates between arms or services and between officers and men, was provided by J.M. Winter's The Great War and the British People. It is useful for our purposes to compare Glasgow University's experience with some of the ideas proposed by J.M. Winter to gain a clearer picture of the nature of its service and the difference between Glasgow University's experience and that of the norm. J.M. Winter used the assumption that " if we accept the definition of those at risk as those in uniform then one in eight was killed."[52] We will use this ratio to compare the Glasgow University figures.

Before it is possible to understand the pattern of Glasgow University deaths, it is necessary to examine the pattern of service. Table 4.3 shows us the total number from the University who served and in which units or service they served in. The majority of Glasgow University members served in the Scottish infantry regiments, followed by the non-infantry, then the Royal Army Medical Corps, the English infantry, and lastly expeditionary or foreign forces. In Scottish infantry regiments 1,205 officers and 426

other ranks served, a total of 1631. The numbers killed were 413, a total of 25% or a ratio of one in four. In the English infantry regiments, 266 officers and 26 other ranks served, a total of 292. The numbers killed were 82, a total of 28% or a ratio of one in four. The reason why considerably more other ranks served in the Scottish infantry than the English infantry is because of the recruiting done by Lochiel in the Students' Union. The reason why the percentage killed in the English Infantry is higher than the Scottish Infantry is because, with greater numbers having joined the Scottish infantry, there was in the Scottish infantry a greater span of ranks, all of which, as we shall see later, had different life expectations. In the majority of English regiments, individuals who had joined and passed out of the officer cadet training unit run by Glasgow University O.T.C. went to their Regiments as officers in the rank of Lieutenant.

As far as the Royal Army Medical Corps is concerned, 870 officers and 73 other ranks served, a total of 943 The numbers killed were 67, a total of 7% or a ratio of one in fourteen. This is, however, not representative of the chances of a doctor being killed at the front, as the majority of doctors who joined the Royal Army Medical Corps were engaged on home service. Indeed, the job of Medical Officer for a regiment at the front was an extremely dangerous one and the first Victoria Cross awarded to a Royal Army Medical Corps doctor during the War was awarded to a Glasgow University graduate, Captain Harry Sherwood Ranken, who had himself served with the O.T.C. His citation read as follows:

> For tending the wounded in the trenches under rifle and shrapnel fire at Hautvesnes on 19th September and 20th September, 1914, continuing to attend to wounded after his thigh and leg had been shattered.[53]

There was a significant difference between death rates in different branches of the Army. Infantry were the most exposed. The infantry dominated Glasgow University service, accounting for 46% of Glasgow University members' Service. It is here also that we find the highest rates of death, with 70% of the University deaths. However even for a Corps like the Royal Army Medical Corps the rate of death, at 7%, was well above the Army average, appearing low only by comparison with the infantry. It is the percentage in the non-infantry group that does much to reduce the overall death rate of Glasgow University members. Among these figures are included the many units that were either not mobilised, such as Cadets, or units that were involved in the protection of the mainland who did not serve at the Front, such as the Garrison Artillery. So, although the Glasgow University ratio of those served to those killed overall was a ratio of one in six, if we take out the non-infantry group we get a ratio of one in five. Both figures are well above the national figures. The overall figure is also below the ratio of one in eight which Winter calculates for men under the age of 25 i.e. those in the group most likely to be killed.[54]

As far as age is concerned the contribution of Glasgow University to the war effort was spread across several generations, the oldest being James Clark at 55 years old. James Clark was born in 1859. He had been educated at Paisley Grammar School and attended Glasgow University in 1876-1881, gaining an MA. He then went on to Edinburgh University where he gained an LL.B. and D.L. He was a member of the Faculty of Advocates and became a QC in 1883. Chairman of the Edinburgh School Board and C.B., he was a member of the Royal Company of Archers. He was Lt Col

Commanding, the 9th (Dunbartonshire), Argyll and Southern Highlanders, a Service Battalion. Col Clark fell in action in France on 10 May 1915.[55] The youngest member, Arrol Wylie, a Lieutenant in the Royal Flying Corps, was born in 1900 and completed his training in the O.T.C. in 1917 before being killed in 1918, aged just 18.[56]

Service fell predominantly on the young both in relative and absolute terms. The members serving and having fallen by 1916 are presented at Table 4.4. The Table clearly shows that the burden of service was carried by the young and compares the age structure of the University deaths with those of the Army as a whole. The Glasgow University figures are well below those of the Army as a whole for the youngest age band. This is because students would be unlikely to come to the university before the age of 17 and could not be enlisted into the services before the age of 18. The figure for the 20-24 year band is naturally much higher than the national figure, as this age group includes the biggest catchment area for undergraduates. The figure is also higher than the national average for the 25-29 year age band but it then falls well below the national average for the 30-34 age group. The University figures are then consistently lower than the national average for all the other age groups, except for the 40-44 age group, which is accounted for by the number of doctors entering into either the Army or the Navy at the rank of Lieutenant Colonel or Lieutenant Commander and being either killed at the front or going down with their ships at sea.

Death rates also differed vastly according to rank. Glasgow University service was concentrated in ranks where the death rate was significantly above the Army average. This is a result not only of Glasgow University members occupying what were traditionally assumed to be dangerous ranks, such as Lieutenant. One of the most memorable statements of the war was Robert Graves's claim that the life expectancy of a subaltern on the Western Front was about a fortnight but also of a high death rate was for Surgeon RN at 20%, very little below the average for officers as a whole. Table 4.5. shows the number of Glasgow University members serving at each rank, their service being dominated by four ranks, representing nearly 80% of all Glasgow University members who served. Among these that of Captain predominated. 30% of all Glasgow University members achieved this rank, while 43% rose no higher than either a Lieutenant or Second Lieutenant. Among the non commissioned ranks, Privates, the lowest rank made up 500 of the total serving. Those who never gained a commission were either from the university administrative staff who were less educated or were killed early in the war before they could be sent to an Officer Cadet Battalion for commissioning. The members of C (University Company) of the Cameron Highlanders at Loos were unlucky in this way because, had they survived longer, most of them they would almost certainly have been commissioned.

Glasgow University members served predominantly in the officer corps between the rank of Second Lieutenant and Lieutenant Colonel. The death rates for the main ranks are presented at Table 4.6. Among Glasgow University members the death rate for Second Lieutenants was 33.8% as opposed to 10% for Captains or 18.5% for

Privates. This last figure is interesting as it is almost twice the Army death rate for all soldiers. Thus while rank had very noticeable effect on rates of survival, even those Glasgow University members in safer ranks suffered very high casualties when compared with the Army as a whole.

This analysis of Glasgow University and its roll of honours of those who were killed allows us to draw some conclusions about the nature of Glasgow's contribution. Alyhough the figures keep being amended as new information comes to light we know that at least 4506 men and women from the University served and of those 761 were killed. Of those who served at least 75% were officers. The majority of those from Glasgow University who served did so predominantly in the Army and in the infantry at the front in France, where death rates were highest amongst Lieutenants. The effects of age, regiment or corps, and rank all affected their chances of survival. Most men were either lost early in the War when the casualty figures were the greatest or because they fought throughout the War and were therefore exposed to the dangers longer. The nature of trench warfare meant that the greatest number of deaths were in the infantry which was therefore the most dangerous branch. The more junior the individuals, both in terms of age and rank, the greater the death rate. All of these facts support Winter's notion that the causes of the slaughter of the social elites during the First World War were due to a predisposition to volunteering early on and so being exposed to enemy action longer; a preference for service in the Scottish infantry and therefore in France, where the casualties were highest; a tendency to serve at the front line; and a tendency to do so in the most vulnerable ranks. Glasgow University

provided more officers and men to the forces than any other university except Oxford and Cambridge in the first year of the war and by the end of the war when the national ratio of those killed to those served was one in eight at Glasgow University it was one in six.

[1] Gooch, John., *The Plans of War* (London, Routledge &Keegan Paul, 1974), p. 295.
[2] Op. Cit p.5.
[3] Wallace, Stuart. *War and the Image of Germany: British Academics 1914-1918* (Edinbugh, John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1988) p. 92. p.5.
[4] Ferguson, Niall., *The Pity of War* (London, The Penguin Press, 1998) p.11.
[5] Op. Cit. p.228.
[6] Wallace, Stuart. *War and the Image of Germany: British Academics 1914-1918* (Edinbugh, John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1988) p. 92.
[7] Op. Cit p.60
[8] Op. Cit p.61.
[9] Op. Cit p.62.
[10] Rait R.S. *Why We Are Fighting Germany* - A Village Lecture (1914).
[11] Medley "*Why Britain Fights*" (Glasgow, 1914), p. 6.
[12] Cramb
[13] *Europe and the Problem of Nationality,* Edinburgh Review. 221,1915. p.15.
[14]Glasgow University Court, 26 October 1914.
[15] Glasgow University Archives, Court Minutes, 7 October 1915.
[16] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Vol 22, No 17, 2 March 1910.
[17] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Vol 22, No 18, 5 May 1910.
[18] Oakley, C.A., *Union Ygorra* (Glasgow, Glasgow University Union 1950-1), p. 41.
[19] Gooch, John., *The Plans of War* (London, Routledge &Keegan Paul, 1974) p. 284.
[20] *Glasgow Herald*, 6 May 1913.
[21] Op. Cit.
[22]*Glasgow University Magazine*. Vol 25, No 18 May 15, 1913.
[23] Moss, Michael,. Monro, J. Forbes and Trainor, Richard H., *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.129.
[24]Glasgow University Archives DC 993 letter from War Office to MEC Convener dated 2nd May 1913.
[25] Glasgow University Archive DC 8/827,.Typescript of Prof D Medley. p.150.
[26] Glasgow University Archive, Minutes of Senate 9 August 1914.
[27] Glasgow University Archives, IP6/1/16.
[28]Glasgow University Archive DC 8/827,.Typescript of Prof D Medley. p.151.
[29] Glasgow University Senate, 15 August 1914.
[30] Moss, Michael,. Monro, J. Forbes and Trainor, Richard H., *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.130.
[31] Glasgow University Archive Special Collections, MS 532/12. It is not possible to establish the precise date of this quotation from the MacCunn collection.
[32] Letter from War Office, dated 8 October 1914 to Senate.
[33] Glasgow University Senate,9 December 1914 .
[34] Moss, Michael,. Monro, J. Forbes and Trainor, Richard H., *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.131.
[35] *Glasgow University Magazine*, November 11th 1914.
[36] Glasgow University Archives, MEC 30 October 1914.

[37] (CH/4/4/1).
[38] Glasgow University Archives, Senate 14 Jan and 4 Feb 1915.
[39] Glasgow University Archives, Court Minutes, April 1915.
[40] Glasgow University Archives, Court Minutes, 11 Feb 1915.
[41] Glasgow University Archive DC 8/827, Typescript of Prof D Medley. p 151.
[42]Glasgow University Archives, Senate Minutes, 11 October 1915.
[43] *The Curious Diversity: Glasgow University on Gilmorehill* (University of Glasgow 1917).
[44] Moss, Michael,. Monro, J. Forbes and Trainor, Richard H., *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.136.
[45] *Glasgow University Magazine*,
[46]Glasgow University Archive DC 8/827, Typescript of Prof D Medley, p. 151.
[47] Glasgow University Archive DC 8/827, Typescript of Prof D Medley, p. 152.
[48] Glasgow University Archive DC 8/827, Typescript of Prof D Medley, p. 155.
[49] Strachan, Hew., *History of the Cambridge University Officers Training Corps* (Tunbridge Wells, Midas Books., 1976).
[50] *London O.T.C. History* ,undated pamphlet.
[51] *Oxford O.T.C. History* ,undated pamphlet.
[52] Winter, Jay., *The Great War and the British People* (London, MacMillan, 1977), p. 72.
[53] *Glasgow University Roll of Honour 1914 - 1919.* Issued by the University Court of the University of Glasgow (Maclehose, Jackson and Co. Glasgow, 1922).
[54] Winter, Jay., *The Great War and the British People* (London, MacMillan), p.83
[55] *Members of the University of Glasgow and the University Contingent of the Officers' Training Corps now serving with the Forces of the Crown* (Glasgow, Glasgow University, 1916).p.10.
[56] *Glasgow University Roll of Honour 1914-19* (Glasgow, Glasgow University1922), p.197.

CHAPTER FIVE

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY THE "LOST GENERATION" AND REMEMBRANCE

"And we gave our blood, to the first drop, to the O.T.C."

(From the Glasgow University Magazine, Volume 26, Number 8, 17 December 1913)

To establish whether or not there was a "Lost Generation" at Glasgow, the numbers that died, the structure of the deaths and the decrease in numbers graduating from the University must all be established. The analysis of the rolls of honour in the last chapter can serve as a basis for investigating the nature of a 'lost generation'. First we must establish the meaning of this term and where it came from. Arthur Waugh, the father of Alec and Evelyn Waugh, directed for many years the publishing house, Chapman & Hall, which had first published the works of Charles Dickens.[1] In 1920 Douglas Jerrold, for many years a prominent London journalist, offered Chapman & Hall a novel with the title "The Lost Generation." This use of what has become a cliché is therefore earlier than that of Gertrude Stein who first employed it in reference to Hemingway and Scott Fitzgerald, and so it seems that the term "The Lost Generation" was in general currency earlier even than 1920.[2] Robert Wohl in his book "The Generation of 1914" attempts to describe the historical legend of The Lost

Generation in England:

> Once upon a time before the Great War there lived a generation of young men of unusual abilities, strong, brave, and beautiful, they combined great athletic prowess with deep classical learning. Poets at heart they loved the things of the mind for their own sake and were scornfully detached from the common struggle. Although stemming from all parts of England they were to be found above all at Oxford and Cambridge and in the case of the younger men at the better public schools. When the war broke out they volunteered for service in the fighting forces and did whatever they could to hasten their training and secure their transfer to the field of battle. Their main fear was that the war would end before they arrived at the front. Brought up to revere England and to do their duty, they embraced their country's cause and accepted light heartedly the likelihood of early death. Most of them were killed on the battlefields of Gallipoli, Ypres, Loos, the Somme, Passchendale, and Cambrai. Those who were not killed were mutilated in mind and body. They limped home in 1919 to find that their sacrifice had been in vain. The hard-faced, hard-hearted old men had come back and seized the levers of power, youth had been defeated by age. Civilisation had been dealt a fatal blow, few in number, tired and shell-shocked, disillusioned by what they found at home they sat by helplessly during the inter-war years and watched the old politicians flounder in incompetence and squander their victory. The peace was lost, English hegemony in the world was lost, the Empire was lost, even traditional English values were lost. As the English submitted to the tyranny of foreign models eventually a second war came to seal the disaster of the first, and England slipped pusillanimously into the category of a second rate power. All might have been different if only the splendid young men of 1914 had not given up their lives in the fields of Flanders and the beaches of Gallipoli.[3]

Seeking to answer the question of whether or not the persistent claim that Britain had lost an entire generation of young poets, philosophers, and politicians, was true, J.M. Winter attempted to quantify Wohl's description. He asked how many men were killed, what was their age distribution, and what was the social structure of war losses. Many of the statistics in this chapter seek to quantify, explain, qualify, and support whether or not this lost generation actually existed. Some argue that there was not one but a number of lost generations, each having been lost in a different way. The

generation that had no adult life before the war because they grew up during the war, was lost only in the respect that it never became a generation. Alec Waugh in The Promise of Greatness described a generation as being "formed when a group of young contemporaries on the brink of their careers meet and exchange ideas either on a college campus or in a sidewalk cafe."[4] Waugh goes on to say that he never experienced that, because by the time the war was over his career was launched and he was engaged to be married. For him, returning to Oxford seemed like putting back the clock. But only a small portion of that generation found itself in that position. Waugh goes on to say that Sir Maurice Bowra, for instance, who was an exact contemporary of Waugh and who in March 1918 was engaged in the same campaign around Arras, went up to Oxford and became one of the most significant figures in a significant generation. Waugh was sure that Sir Maurice Bowra did not think of himself as belonging to a lost generation and nor did Waugh himself. [5]

Much of what MacAlister and Medley had striven to achieve in the pre-war years dictated whether or not the sort of young man who fitted the description of one of the lost generation actually existed at Glasgow University. By the time the First World War had started, Medley had an efficient, thriving, and popular Officers Training Corps. Medley and MacAlister had also instituted athletics at Glasgow University, and MacAlister had plans for a chapel with community rooms underneath it where groups could meet to further social interaction, taking the style of the University closer to that of the great collegiate universities. The vehicle for the manifestation of literary or poetic genius at the University was the Glasgow University Magazine and it

was the Glasgow University Magazine that also followed the careers of the most notable undergraduates.

The undergraduates at Glasgow University that fitted the Oxbridge mould of the lost generation showed their prowess, not only intellectually, but also on the sports field, and were popular and followed by their contemporaries. All had their lives and some eventually their deaths chronicled in the Glasgow University Magazine. So although the University catered for a regional elite, within that regional elite a smaller elite group of individuals publicised and advertised each other's activities and prowess. A number who had come from the public schools, who were talented and articulate, had been born in the second half of the 1880s into the educated professional middle class and they fitted the image portrayed by Wohl. As Wohl says, " they got their ethics from G.E. Moore, their politics from the Webbs, their attitude towards relations between the sexes from Ibsen and George Bernard Shaw, their vision of the future from H.G. Wells, and their ideas from Roger Fry and E.M. Foster. They wanted to be modern, and to be socialist, indifferent if not hostile to religion, irreverent about conventions and traditions, and in favour of natural as opposed to formal manners."[6] These young men who were poetic and athletic were, as Virginia Woolf commented, " the type of English young manhood at its healthiest and most vigorous,"[7] but more importantly "they were also the type of person who would become a leader and who would leave his mark on public life."[8] So it was they and only they, who, when they died, had the opportunity to be glorified, and it was they who if there was a lost generation became the epitome of that generation. Despite the achievements of their

contemporaries they were allowed to give a lasting impression that a generation had been lost. They did exist at Glasgow but there were very few of them and, although they individually fitted the image of members of the "Lost Generation", there were not enough of them to be described as a "Lost Generation."

Throughout the whole war the Glasgow University Magazine only published three obituaries, those of James Mylles, William Maitland and Ian MacKay. Maitland was the Rupert Brooke and darling of Glasgow University. He fitted the image of Brooke as the young athletic Greek God type of young man personified in the famous bare-shouldered photograph by S. Schell, used for the front cover of the 1914 collection of Brooke's *Poems*. and as described by Virginia Woolf. Both Maitland and Mylles were medical students. William Ebenezer Maitland went to Glasgow High School and then up to university in 1908. He graduated in 1913, going as a house surgeon at the Royal and Western Infirmaries. He was a member of the Athletic Club and Captain of the Rugby First XV. He was in the O.T.C. 1909-1914 as a Second Lieutenant. Gazetted to the 3rd Seaforth Highlanders, he died of wounds received while attending a wounded man in the trenches on Christmas Eve 1914. James Robertson Jack Mylles attended to Shawlands Academy and Allen Glen's School. He went to Glasgow University in 1910 and got an MA in medicine. He was in the O.T.C. from 1911 to 1914 and was promoted to Sergeant. Gazetted as an officer in the 3rd Battalion, Highland Light Infantry, attached to the 1st Gordon Highlanders, he fell in action near Ypres on 30 December 1914. The obituaries of Maitland and Mylles in the Glasgow University Magazine were the only two accompanied by photographs throughout the

war. The third obituary to be published was that of Ian N. MacKay, who had been at three private schools, Cargilfield, Glasgow Academy and Fettes. He went to Glasgow University to study medicine and became another of the few favourites. His obituary in the Glasgow University Magazine had all the words which singled him out from the others:

> No doubt his skill on the rugby field was due to his early training in these centres [private schools]; and it was as an athlete that he first found his place amongst " the Great Ones". Endowed with exceptional strength, and with more than average speed, he proved a valuable acquisition to our university XV, and his unswerving loyalty to his Alma Mater was an example to many of his fellows. Within a forthright of the commencement of the War he had resolved to leave the medical faculty for the fighting line. Accordingly he enrolled as a Private with A Company of the Gordon Highlanders, and served with them in France until he was so suddenly stricken with his fatal illness. It may be regretted that he was denied the death that his open-air vigour would have desired; but as much as any others his life was given in his country's service and as freely was the sacrifice made. That he was so young, so strong, so full of promise, makes his death even more grievous fain would we believe that somehow good, will be the final goal of ill, but with the ill so close upon us it is hard to see the fair scene beyond. In days to come we may behold a clear vision; yet even then the memory must still remain. Him shall we number still with all the friends who gave their lives in service, our gallant comrades of the golden past."[9]

It is necessary to look at the number of graduates the University produced over the period to establish whether or not there was a lost generation of graduates or whether there was no significant and long term gap in the numbers educated at Glasgow. Table 5.1. shows that, although the numbers of students at the university were reduced during the war years, they were more than made up for in the years after the war. In the three academic years prior to the war the average number of students was 2164. During the war years the average was 1239, a drop of some 925 per year. In the next three years after the war the average number of male students was 2958, an increase of

794 per year over the three pre war years. This means that the average over the ten year period was 2038, and that only 126 fewer male students per year qualified over the ten years. This does not take into account women, whose numbers increased dramatically over the period of the war. In addition, the University made an extraordinary effort to take men back from the war in the years 1918-1921, an effort which stretched the university to bursting point; this would not have been done had there been no war at all, and it can therefore be concluded that Glasgow University probably produced more graduates over the ten year period from 1911 to 1921 than it would have done had there been no war.

In general Glasgow University students did not fit the Wohl desription of the lost generation. Clearly a few did likeMylles, Maitland and MacKay, the three celebrated medical students, but the majority did not conform to the stereotype. Clearly if the students at Glasgow University did not fit the Wohl definition then there must be other ways to judge if the University experienced a lost generation. Clearly, as we have seen, there was no lost generation in terms of graduates from Glasgow University, indeed the compensatory actions of the university to admit more women during the war and then providing an extended capacity after the war led to more Glasgow unieversity graduates gaduating over the ten year period 1914 to 1924 than would have been the case had there been no war. If the number of 700 dead from the University who lost their lives must have constituted some sort of lost generation , even if it did not conform to the Oxbridge poet/politician or effect the long term vitality of the University then it must have been in some other way. It could be that

these solidly middle class young men would have made an inportant contribution tothr regional elite as professional, business leaders or civil servants but this would be part of a wider study which would look at Glasgow as a whole including the Technical college and other academic institutions and not just the University. For the purposes of this study it can be concluded that Glasgow University did not have a lost generation in terms of either the popularly held view of that group or within the university community.

The War ended as suddenly as it had begun and this time it was Medley not MacAlister who was away from Glasgow. Medley, following the death of his son at the Front, had asked for leave of absence in September 1918 to go to France to teach troops in the "Big Educational Scheme" launched for soldiers at the front until the end of the war;[10] so he was not to be involved in the debate as to how best to commemorate the sacrifice of the dead at the University. There were mixed feelings of relief, celebration and a determination to secure as quick a return as possible to normal. The way to commemorate and remember the great loss of life which members of the University had suffered in common with the rest of the nation needed to be addressed. This was being considered long before the War was over. The requirement for memorials was confirmed in 1915 when the War Office decided not to repatriate the bodies of the dead on the grounds of expense and therefore to ban the private repatriation of bodies to ensure equity.[11] As early as January 1916 the Civic Arts Association had a conference on how best to ensure that the dead were suitably remembered and in July 1916 they organised "An Exhibition for War Memorials".[12]

The best way to commemorate and remember the dead became the subject of a great debate nationwide in Britain. The debate centered around the question of whether a memorial should be a monument to commemorate the dead or whether to build a utilitarian war memorial which would honour the dead by allowing the living to benefit, from the remembrance. On one hand it was believed that the memorial should provide some type of practical benefit like the Erskine Veterans Hospital or Glasgow Academy, both built as war memorials. On the other hand it was felt that these memorials should provide a site for reflection where the names of the dead would be displayed and would not be forgotten. The Glasgow University Magazine reported an SRC motion to the Senate that a war memorial was wanted by the students.[13] At the University there was little time for the debate and in December 1918 Principal MacAlister's first act following the close of hostilities was to propose to the court that:

> with a view to setting up an abiding memorial of the service and sacrifice of the members of the university who have given up their lives for the Country in the Great War, he had asked a few friends to join Lady MacAlister and himself in tendering to the University Court a sum amounting to some £14,000 and other valuable gifts, including the original bell of Greyfriars Church presented by Major John Garroway.[14]

The Glasgow University Magazine reported that the Court had decided that a joint committee would be set up to look at the issue of a suitable memorial.[15] The committee was established in February 1919, but after MacAlister's proposal this was really merely to pay lip service to what had already been ordained. As early as 1909

MacAlister had written in the Glasgow University Magazine:

> We wish students would look upon the weekly Chapel service more as part of their University life. Few go to it though more, perhaps, than a year or two ago, and fewer go regularly. Of course it would be better if we had a proper Chapel of convenient size, with some pretence at acoustics and used for nothing except religious services.[16]

In the words of Lady MacAlister "From the very first he was anxious to secure for the university a chapel which should serve not only for public worship but also as a centre of its spiritual and ethical life"[17]

Most memorials nationwide in Britain were organised by committees which were intended to represent the community and find a compromise which would appeal to all interested parties. MacAlister's proposal did offer a compromise to the University in that it would provide a functional memorial as well as a monument and more importantly the funds were already available to start work. So the committee did not find its decision difficult to make. Indeed with the wishes of the Principal so clear they had no more choice of a memorial than they had had to enlist in 1916. The building was designed by Sir John Burnet, RA, RSA, the general proportions being inspired by French models whilst the detail was largely based on the thirteenth century English and Scottish Gothic styles.[18] Shortly after the war ended and long before the Chapel was complete Medley returned to the University. He had been interested in the O.T.C. chiefly because, like MacAlister, it fulfilled his idea of a corporate body, organised and efficiently run. He continued with the O.T.C. for 10 years after the war despite its unattractiveness to undergraduates in the inter-war period.

The building of the Chapel was a dream come true for MacAlister. It had always been his aspiration to have a heart to his collegiate university, so in addition to the Chapel he used the opportunity to build the meeting rooms he desired. As Robert T Hutcheson, sometime secretary to the University Court, noted, " It was greatly to the credit of the Principal that, in the planning of the chapel and Arts Building, he insisted that the whole floor on the level of the square be set apart for the purpose of a common-room. In addition to a memorial chapel it was decided to add Art classrooms and College Rooms under the Chapel on the ground floor. A committee was set up to consider the function of the College Rooms as they were first named. It was agreed to promote a club - The College Club named after the previous club in Queen street".[19]

MacAlister had achieved his major aims. He had his chapel, his memorial, his common rooms, his heart of the corporate body which was the university. Lady MacAlister wrote: "After the War there were the years of recovery and reconstitution and the many projects which Donald held very close to his heart".[20] He had extended his stay at the university for the War, then for the building of the chapel and then for the dedication of the chapel which Lady MacAlister described as " Donald's darling project". The chapel was opened with great ceremony on the 4 October 1929, the readers of the lessons being MacAlister and the President of the Students' Representative Council. MacAlister may have been well intentioned but not enough is known about his motives. Why did he include everyone who had any connection to the University in the Rolls of Honour? Was he boasting? Was he proud? Did he feel

guilty? or was he just doing his duty? Hutcheson wrote:

> Sir Donald served the University well and was held in high esteem both in the city and University. Inevitably, however, he had his critics who thought of him as a schemer always determined to follow his own path. Students referred to him as "Old Soapy" reflecting the same idea but with no attendant malice.[21]

MacAlister had conducted all his own secretarial work throughout his time at the University and had no assistance in correspondence or personal organisation. This meant not only that he had no confidant to shed light on his motives or feelings, but also that it was difficult for anyone to approach him indirectly. His correspondence that survives gives us no real indication of his motivation as he was not the type to express emotion on paper. The secretary to the court wrote: "Sir Donald MacAlister decided to retire in the autumn of 1929 but stayed until the Chapel was dedicated in October. A Chapel had been one of his targets when he came to Glasgow", we thus know how much this had meant to him. MacAlister was what had made Glasgow University different, a difference he himself recognised. In October 1929, after the dedication of the new memorial Chapel, he returned to Cambridge, but as Hutcheson reported:

> The Chancellor, the Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian, died in the early summer of 1929 and the election of his successor took place at the October meeting of the General Council. Sir Donald was chosen unanimously, a fitting tribute to his personal distinction and the work he had accomplished as a strong, perhaps autocratic Principal.

[1] Editorial note at the front of Alec Waugh, *A Light Rain Falling*, in G.A. Panichas (ed), *Promise of Greatness* (London, Cassell,) p.332.
[2] Waugh, Alec., *A Light Rain Falling*, in G.A. Panichas (ed), *Promise of Greatness* (London, Cassell,) p.336.
[3] Wohl, Robert., *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Massachusetts,) p. 85 and 86.
[4] Waugh, Alec., *A Light Rain Falling*, in G.A. Panichas (ed), *Promise of Greatness* (London, Cassell,) p.336.
[5] Op. Cit., p. 336.
[6] Wohl, Robert., *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Massachusetts,) p. 86.
[7] Op. Cit., p. 87.
[8] Op. Cit., p. 86.
[9] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 27, No.5, 17 Feb 1914.
[10] Glasgow University Court Camera Minutes, 3 Oct 1918.
[11] *War and Memory in the twentieth century* p.126.
[12] www.aftermathww1.com.
[13] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 30, No 4, Feb 12 1919.
[14] University of Glasgow Court Camera, 12 Dec 1918.
[15] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 30, No. 6, 12 Mar 1919.
[16] *Glasgow University Magazine*, Volume 22, No 7, 8 Dec 1909.
[17] MacAlister, Lady Edith., *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert* (London, MacMillan and Co. Ltd.,1935), Appendix 1,p. 332.
[18] Glasgow University Archive CH 1.
[19] Hutcheson, Robert T. and Conway Hugh, *The University of Glasgow 1920-1974 - The Memoir of Robert T. Hutcheson* (Glasgow University Library 1997), p.6.
[20] MacAlister, Lady Edith., *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert* (London, MacMillan and Co. Ltd.,1935), Appendix 1,p. 174.
[21] Hutcheson Robert T. and Hugh Conway, *The University of Glasgow 1920-1974 - The Memoir of Robert T. Hutcheson* (Glasgow University Library 1997).

CONCLUSION

Having found it very difficult to recruit and retain two hundred officer cadets for the Glasgow Universities OTC in the academic year 1999/2000, from a student body in Glasgow of over 40,000, it was a surprise to find from official statistics that Glasgow University had such a distinguished war record for the First World War. This record, which I first saw in the book The O.T.C. and the Great War written by Captain A.R. Haig- Brown, a serving officer in the War Office at the time, detailed that by March 1915 Glasgow University was second only to Oxbridge and London universities in the number of officers and men that were serving in the Armed Forces, and it had the highest number of casualties next to Oxbridge. The Rolls of Honour, published by the University, confirmed the very impressive contribution it had made to the War effort and the price of that effort in terms of lives lost. The purpose of this dissertation was to discover the situation, circumstances, and special modes of activity at Glasgow University that in the words of Principal MacAlister made it similar to that of other national universities, though gave it in some respects a "character of its own," in its contribution to the war effort. How did Glasgow University with such a poor historical record in military response suddenly acquire a war record as good as any regional university and close to that of Oxbridge?

The situation that Glasgow University found itself in before the First World War was

plain; the University had never had a strong military tradition. Although it had been involved in military matters since 1532, the involvement had been sporadic and was usually at the instigation of the university staff, not the students. Until the 1900s generally the motivation of the staff was not to progress the activities of the students but rather to enhance their own social standing or kudos. Students tended to get involved only in times of national emergency when the excitement of a national effort captured their imagination. However, the initial enthusiasm of the students was always short lived.

The huge numbers in Scotland that joined the volunteer movement in 1859 were not reflected at Glasgow University. Indeed, if the students had been particularly interested in joining the military they would have done so directly from school rather than go to university, which was the norm at the time. Even when financial incentives were paid and students could join military units without the cost of uniform and equipment there was no great response. The other ancient universities in Scotland, and Oxbridge in England did not have the same difficulty in raising and maintaining volunteer forces. Indeed it was the Glasgow University Magazine that continually criticized the University's attendance at military parades and always cited Edinburgh University as an example to Glasgow in its numbers and commitment. For example in 1906/1907 when Edinburgh University could support two full companies of 240 and have an attendance of 200 on the spring march Glasgow University could only show 60 on their roll with an average of 20 attending the marches. Glasgow could not sustain a military unit in the way that other universities could and the military leaning at Glasgow University, unlike other universities, was forced rather than natural. Quite

clearly Glasgow students were at the University for a general education, with vocational preparation for the professions, the Civil Service or business, not for military purposes.

It was the circumstances that Glasgow University found itself in 1914, at the start of the war, that caused it to act and perform militarily in a way which it had never done before. Haldane's recognition of the threat to the country had led to the formation of the O.T.C. in 1908. The positive reaction to the formation of the O.T.C. at Glasgow University was due primarily to Principal MacAlister and Professor Medley, both ambitious driven men who had had the Oxbridge ethos of service and collegiate living inculcated in them. Medley, had an excessive interest in the military and for over twenty years made sure the numbers were always kept low enough to ensure no commanding officer was ever appointed, so that he could remain the de facto head of the O.T.C. The O.T.C. formation went well and by 1910 two years after its formation there were 300 cadets out of a student body of 2108. The success of the O.T.C. was a surprise even to its originators. This success never really manifest itself in the regular army, because of the small number of commissions which had been granted to Glasgow University graduates before the War. More important was the fact that the administrative and logistic structure and command framework of the O.T.C. allowed the War Office to call on Glasgow University to run an Officers Training Battalion. This meant that as soon as the War began, and the University started training young men from all over the country, that it looked as if this great effort came solely from the ranks of Glasgow University undergraduates. However, we know from the figures which were presented to the Senate on 4 November 1914 that of the 772 men who

were under going training at the University there were only 335 staff and students from the University, the other 437 men, who came from all over Britain, had no association with Glasgow University at all, other than that was where their Officers Training Battalion happened to be based.

It was circumstances too that enabled the University Senate, but MacAlister and Medley in particular, to put pressure on the students to do their duty and to volunteer for service early in the War. As we have seen volunteering early on and so being exposed to enemy action longer; a preference for service in the Scottish infantry and therefore in France, where the casualties were highest; a tendency to serve at the front line; and a tendency to do so in the most vulnerable ranks meant that they were in the group most likely to be killed. It was also MacAlister, who was present and encouraging Lochiel on his recruitment drive in the Student's Union, which led to 14% of the matriculated student body to join up, in the wrong rank, as a body and who were then subsequently be killed at the battle of Loos. It is hard to imagine when you read the story of that recruiting drive that the students were not under the influence of alcohol and if it had never taken place there may indeed have been a lot less deaths, as the students would have gone off as individuals to be officers, rather than serving as soldiers in one unhappy company that was to be wiped out in it's first battle.

The special modes of activity that MacAlister talked about were the fact that Glasgow had one of the largest medical schools in the country, it had an MEC and an O.T.C. and an officers Cadet battalion, it must also refer to the way Glasgow University

senior management acted. The pressure put on students to answer the call to Arms, the willingness of Medley and his MEC to accept an Officers Cadet Battalion at Glasgow, and the clever way in which Medley managed to keep the O.T.C. going throughout the war, in whatever shape or form, to such an extent that unlike any other O.T.C. and despite the unpopularity of military service, it could form a basis for regeneration after the war. The need for doctors throughout the war ensured that not only some students could stay at the University to finish their studies but also that almost all those that were qualified went straight to the forces. Even those professors who taught at the medical school held honoury rank and positions in the armed forces. The constant training of medical students also helped to keep the University and the O.T.C. alive throughout the War. The Army's medical services would have been far more difficult to sustain without the huge contribution Glasgow University made.

The effect of the war was to allow MacAlister and Medley to mould the University as they wanted it. With so many serving and so many killed during the war there was a requirement for a memorial. For Glasgow University the national debate as to whether a war memorial should be something functional, like a school, or a monument, like a statue, was easily resolved by MacAlister, who had long wanted a chapel for the University. The Chapel was a brilliant embodiment of both a functional and a symbolic war memorial. The memorial Chapel pulled in the idea that the institution put the church at its heart, and it was the war which provided the mechanism. Alongside the Bute Hall and the staff common rooms, the Chapel gave a corporate identity to the University. It was the numbers who had served and the numbers that had given their lives that validated this memorial.

The War had enabled Glasgow University and Glasgow's schools to achieve a status comparable with Oxford and Cambridge and the Public schools, and it was the loss of life during the war that also validated this. The Roll of Honour was in fact misleading because it included not only members of the University but also men from the Training Battalion, making Glasgow University's contribution to the war effort seem much greater than other regional universities and the same as Oxford and Cambridge. The war records were continuously updated until the Chapel was consecrated in 1929, which is why the figures in the Roll and in the Chapel do not match. Included in the special modes of activity was the extraordinary effort Glasgow University made to take men back after the war in the years 1918-1921, resulting in the university producing more graduates over the ten year period 1911 to 1921 than it would have done had there been no war. These statistics and the nature of Glasgow students, which meant they did not fit the stereotype of Wohl's lost generation leads us to conclude that without belittling the service and loss of life of the dead there was no apparent lost generation at Glasgow University.

It is unfortunate that Principal MacAlister had no private staff and did his own secretarial work because he wrote nothing as to the reasons behind his decisions and nothing has been written about him except by his wife, who was understandably loyal. But, if he was a schemer, as some accused, it may be possible that his private funding of the first roll of honour and the initial money he raised for the Chapel were because he felt that he had played too much a part in sending the fallen to their death. The "character of its own," referred to by Principal MacAlister in describing Glasgow

University's war experience was brought about by the unique combination of; the extraordinary influence of MacAlister and Medley; the Officers Training Battalion and the success of the O.T.C; early recruitment of so many by Lochiel; the pressure applied by the Senate on students to volunteer early in the war; conscription in 1916; and, the considerable contribution of the Medical School. The forthcoming opening of the University's website for the Roll of Honour will hopefully encourage more material to be sent to the University Archive allowing further study of those associated with Glasgow University who served and died during the First World War.

TABLE 3.1

SOCIAL ORIGINS OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN PERCENTAGES

Social Class:	1	2	3	4	5	6
1910:	19	39	10	23	8	1

Key

Social Class

1 = Higher Professional and Managerial
2 = Intermediate
3 = Skilled non Manual
4 = Skilled Manuel
5 = Semi Skilled
6 = Unskilled

Source: R D Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800*, (Cambridge University Press, 1995) p. 63. From UCCA Statistical Supplement to the Twenty Seventh Report 1988-9 (Cheltenham, 1990).

TABLE 3.2

SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY THE FALLEN FROM GLASGOW UNIVERSITY - COMPILED FROM THE ROLL OF HONOUR 1915

SCHOOL	NUMBER KILLED
Allen Glen's School	5
Ardrossan Academy	2
Ayr Academy	4
Bellahouston Academy	1
Bishopbriggs	1
Carrick Academy	1
City of London School	1
Collegiate School	1
Dingwall Academy	1
Dumbarton Academy	2
Dumphries Academy	1
Dumbarton Academy	1
English Boys School Valparaiso	1
Eton	1
Falkirk High School	1
Fettes College	7
Glasgow Academy	12
Glasgow High School	19
Greenhill Public School	1
Giggleswick York	1
Haileybury	1
Hamilton Cresent School	1
Hillhead High School	10
Hereford Cathedral School	1
Hutchesons Boys	2
Irvine Royal Academy	2
Kelvinside Academy	3
Kilmarnock Academy	1
Marlborough	1
Melville Street Public School	1
Merchiston School	2
Oban High School	1
Paisley Grammer	1
Robert Gordons College	1
Rothsay Academy	2
Sherbourne School	1
Spiers School Bieth	2
Stonyhurst College	1
U.C.S. Hampstead	1
Vale of Levan Academy	1
Whitehill Higher School	1
Wick	1
Wishaw	1

TABLE 3.3

NUMBERS KILLED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THOSE WHO SERVED FROM HMC SCHOOLS AND GLASGOW SCHOOLS

School	Killed as % of those who served
Bradford College	18.4
Charterhouse	22.9
Clifton	18.9
Dulwich School	17.3
Eton	20.4
Fettes	22.5
Glasgow Academy	22.3
Glasgow High School	21.2
Hillhead High School	18.4
Kelvinside Academy	24.2
Marlborough	21.9
Radley	24.1
Reading School	16.6
Rossall School	18.6
Rugby	21.1
Sherbourne	18.8
Stonyhurst	16.5
Sutton Valence	20.1
Uppingham	14.9
Winchester	21.5

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1. Colin H MacKay, *Kelvinside Academy 1878-1978,* (Glasgow Kelvinside Academy, 1978).

2. Archibald Hamilton Charteris, an old Kelvinside boy who wrote half of the book, " *Glasgow in 1901*".

3. Louis de Banzie, *The High School of Glasgow,* (Glasgow High School, 1999).

4. A D C Hillhead , *Hillhead High School 1885-1961,* (High School Pavilions Improvement Fund Committee, 1962), p.7.

5. C.F.Kernot, *British Public Schools War Memorials*, (London, Roberts & Newton, 1927). (for the non-Glasgow percentages)

TABLE 4.1

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY STAFF AND WHERE THEY SERVED

NAME	RANK	SERVICE/UNIT
Agar,W.E MA DSc	Capt.	5 HLI Adjt Inf Base Depot
Anderson J.B.M MA MB	Maj.	4th General Scottish Hospital
Anderson W.M MA	Pte.	Army Ordnance Corps
Arneil C.C Alumnus	Capt.	Temp Commission RE
Ballantyne J.C Clerk of Faculty	Sgt.	11 The Cameronians(SR)
Ballantyne W.M.F Clerk	Bdr.	Royal Garrison Artillery
Black J.B MA	Lt.	13 HLI
Brown R.M Bsc	Lt.	RAF
Browning A MA	2Lt.	Royal Garrison Artillery
Bryce Prof T.H MA MD	Commandant.	Peeblesshire VAD
Burton J.A.G MB ChB	Capt.	Temp Commission RAMC
Cathcart E.P MD DSc	Lt Col.	Temp Commission RAMC att GS
Clark G.H. MD ChB	Maj.	Temp Commission RAMC
Cooper The Rev Prof J. DD Litt D	Col.	Chaplain GUOTC
Cormack J.D. DSc	Hon Brig Gen.	Staff Mil Aeronautics
Cowan J.M. DSc MD	Lt Col.	RAMC
Cunnison J. MA	Lt.	Royal Garrison Artillery
Downie J.W. MB CM	Maj.	3rd Scottish General Hospital
Drummond J.M.F. BA	Lt.	5th HLI (OTC)
Dunkerley J.S. BSc	Capt.	10 Cameronians(SR)&RAF(OTC)
Dun J.S. MD	Capt.	Temp Commission RAMC
Edington G.H. D Sc MD	Col.	RAMC
Floyd J.M.F. MA	Lt.	18th DLI & MGC (OTC)
Ferguson D.R BSc	Lt.	Temp Commission RE
Forsyth D. BD	2Lt.	7 HLI
Gomme A.W. BA	Lt.	RASC
Gray R.C. MA Bsc	Instructor RN.	HMS Orion(OTC)
Green G. DSc	2Lt.	RE
Henderson J. MD ChB	Capt.	4th Scottish General Hospital
Hendry J. MB BSc	Maj.	Temp Commission RAMC (OTC)
Hunter Prof W.K. MD CM	Maj.	3rd Scottish General Hospital
Johnston G.A. MA	Lt.	12 The Cameronians(SR) (OTC)
Kay T. MB CM	Col.	RAMC
Kennedy A.M.MD	Capt.	Temp Commission RAMC
Kerr J. G. MA FRS	2Lt.	GUOTC
Love J.K. MD CM	Maj.	4th Scottish General Hospital
McArthur N. MA BSc	Sapper.	RE
MacCunn F.J. BA BLitt	Capt.	6 Cameron Highlanders (OTC)
MacEwen J.A.C. BSc MB	Capt.	4th Scottish Hospital
Mac Ewen Prof Sir W. MD CM LLD	Consultant Surgeon to the Admiralty	
McGregor A.N. MD CM	Capt.	4th Scottish Hospital
MacGregor A.S.M. MD	Maj.	Dep Asst Dir of Medical Services

McIlroy A.L. MD DSc	Scottish Women's Hospital Salonica	
MacIntyre J MB CM	Hon Staff Surgeon RN Volunteer Reserve	
Mackie W.C. MB Ch B	Capt.	Special Reserve RAMC (OTC)
McLean W. BL	Gunner.	Royal Field Artillery
McNee J.W. MD Ch B	Capt.	Special Reserve RAMC
Mac Robert T.M. DSc	Lt.	Royal Garrison Artillery (OTC)
Martin C.A. MA OI	Lt.	101 Regt D'Infanterie French Army
Martin J.M.	Capt.	Temp Commission RE
Miller S.N. MA	Gunner.	Royal Garrison Artillery
Monro Prof T.K. MA MD	Maj.	4th Scottish Hospital
Monteith J.C.	Lt Col	2nd Bedfords (OTC)
Morley T.B. BSc	Capt.	General Staff Aeronautics (OTC)
Morrison A.S. MA BSc	Lt.	Royal Garrison Artillery
Morrison J.C. Clerk	LCpl.	10 Cameronians (SR)
Morrison Robert Asst Librarian	Pte.	Unknown (but later RAF)
Muir Prof R. MA MD	Lt Col.	3rd Scottish Hospital
Nicholson J.S. Dsc	Maj General.	Staff Aeronautics
Paterson Daniel Library Assistant	2Lt.	HLI
Patrick A. MD	Capt.	Temporary Commission RAMC
Patton D. MA BSc	2Lt.	Royal Garrison Artillery
Peddie J.R. MA	Capt.	Actg Adjt GUOTC
Pitoy L.M. L es L Phil	Sgt.	34 Imperial Regt French Army
Pirie J.W. MA	Lt.	4 Hants Regt
Primrose W.B. MB Ch B	Capt.	Temp Commission RAMC
Ramsay A.M. MD CM	Maj.	3rd Scottish General Hospital
Robb A. MSc	Maj.	Special Service Indian Government
Robertson P.H. MB Ch B	Capt.	Temp Commission RAMC
Smith G.B. Asst Librarian	Sgt.	5th Cameronians(SR)
Stockman Prof R. MD	Lt Col.	3rd Scottish Hospital (OTC)
Tackley A L BSc	Inspector.	Engr Staff Woolwich Arsenal
Teacher J.H. MA MD	Lt.	RAMC(V)
Thomson A.G.W. MB Ch B	Capt.	Temp Commission RAMC
Thomson D BSc	Capt.	Unknown service
Valette J. L es L Med Dept		French Army
White A.K. MA (OTC)	Lt.	11 Gordon Highlanders

Source: *Glasgow University Roll of Honour 1914-19*, (Glasgow, Glasgow University, 1922).

TABLE 4.2

UNIVERSITY OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS SERVING BY 1915

UNIVERSITY	OFFICERS GAZETTED BETWEEN OTC FORMATION AND AUGUST 1914	OFFICERS	SOLDIERS	TOTAL
CAMBRIDGE	500	3000	2000	5500
OXFORD	377	2000	-	2377
LONDON	190	912	500	1602
GLASGOW	104	546	288	938
EDINBURGH	136	514	71	721
NOTTINGHAM	326	231	30	587
MANCHESTER	110	345	62	517
DUBLIN	50	350	50	450
DURHAM	-	399	3	402
LEEDS	24	239	47	310
BELFAST	81	178	26	285
BRISTOL	41	157	-	198
SHEFFIELD	74	72	-	146
BANGOR	6	85	50	141
READING	26	63	50	139
WALES	12	75	24	111
BIRMINGHAM	-	63	31	94
ABERDEEN	13	36	12	61
CIRENCESTER	6	25	15	46
ST ANDREWS	8	21	2	31

Source : Alan R. Haig Brown, *The O.T.C and the Great War*, (London, Country Life Library 1915), p. 99.

Notes:

1. There is no explanation in Haig Browns book as to why the Cambridge figures look so rounded off, but given he does complain over the difficulty of securing the figures it may be that the hard pressed staff of the O.T.C. did give him approximate figures.
2. The high numbers of gazetted officers at Nottingham were TA commissions.

TABLE 4.3

TOTAL NUMBERS THAT SERVED AND IN WHICH BRANCH OR SERVICE

	Officers	Other Ranks	OTC	University Staff	Number Killed	Total Served	% Killed	Ratio
ottish fantry	1205	426	903	11	413	1631	25	4
glish fantry	266	26	179	4	82	292	28	4
n- fantry	892	352	472	35	130	1244	10	10
yal my edical rps	870	73	262	17	67	943	7	14
yal vy pedition or reign rces	108	17	13	2	23	125	18	5
tals	3341	894	1829	69	715	4235		

lculated from: *The Glasgow University Roll of Honour 1914-19*, (Glasgow, Glasgow University, 22.

te:

The OTC and University Staff columns are sub- sets of the total i.e. not in addition to the st two columns.

TABLE 4.4

AGES OF THOSE KILLED BY 1916

AGE BAND	% OF ARMY DEATHS FALLING IN THIS AGE BAND	% OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY DEATHS FALLING IN THIS AGE BAND
16 - 19	11.76	5.9
20 - 24	37.15	49.7
25 - 29	22.31	25.4
30 - 34	15.17	6.5
35 - 39	9.18	4.7
40 -44	3.07	6.5
45 -49	0.94	0.59
50+	0.42	0.59

Sources:

1. *Members of the University of Glasgow and the University Contingent of the Officers' Training Corps now serving with the Forces of the Crown*, (Glasgow, Glasgow University, 1916).
2. Jay Winter, *The Great War and the British People*, (London, MacMillan, 1977)

TABLE 4.5

RANKS ACHIEVED BY GLASGOW UNIVERSITY MEMBERS

RANK ACHIEVED	NUMBER
PRIVATE	517
LANCE CORPORAL	44
CORPORAL	58
SERGEANT	79
STAFF SERGEANT	3
WARRANT OFFICER II	18
WARRANT OFFICER I	0
2ND LIEUTENANT	740
LIEUTENANT	1028
CAPTAIN	1359
MAJOR	183
LIEUTENANT COLONEL	84
COLONEL	16
BRIGADIER	1
GENERAL	2
SURGEON	137
CHIEF PETTY OFFICER ROYAL NAVY	3
CHAPLAIN	41
FLIGHT SUB LIEUTENANT RFC	5
COMMANDER ROYAL NAVY	3
OTHERS	21

Calculated from: *The Glasgow University Roll of Honour 1914-19*, (Glasgow, Glasgow University, 1922.

TABLE 4.6

NUMBER OF THOSE KILLED IN EACH RANK THROUGHOUT THE WAR

RANK	NUMBER KILLED
Private	96
Lance Corporal	20
Corporal	14
Sergeant	19
2nd Lieutenant	250
Lieutenant	149
Captain	135
Major	20
Lieutenant Colonel	6
Royal Navy Officers	18
Royal Navy Other Ranks	4

Officers Killed	Total	593
Other Ranks Killed	Total	149
All Ranks Killed	Total	742

Calculated from: *The Glasgow University Roll of Honour 1914-19*, (Glasgow, Glasgow University, 1922.

TABLE 5.1

NUMBER OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY MATRICULATED STUDENTS 1908 - 1921

YEAR	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
1908 - 1909	2004	695	2699
1909 - 1910	2086	642	2728
1910 - 1911	2108	682	2790
1911 - 1912	2113	681	2794
1912 - 1913	2187	648	2835
1913 - 1914	2254	662	2916
1914 - 1915	1835	635	2470
1915 - 1916	1164	658	1822
1916 - 1917	909	753	1662
1917 - 1918	1049	872	1921
1918 - 1919	2113	955	3068
1919 - 1920	3177	1027	4204
1920 - 1921	3585	1142	4727

Source: A L Brown and Michael Moss, *The University of Glasgow 1451 - 1996*, (Edinburgh University Press, 1996) p.118.

University of Glasgow

✠

DEDICATION OF THE MEMORIAL CHAPEL

4 October 1929

at 2.30 *p.m.*

✠

In Remembrance

1914—1918

✠

Preacher:

THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN WHITE, D.D., LL.D.

Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland

Readers:

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR; THE PRESIDENT OF THE STUDENTS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

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