

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES AND
THEIR COMMUNITIES c. 1858-1914.

CAMPBELL FOX LLOYD

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the changing social and economic relationships from 1858 to 1914 between Scottish universities and local, regional and national communities. The thesis focuses on educational success and failure, testing whether and in which ways the Scottish universities were forming relationships with the community that assisted them in meeting society's demands. The subject has relevance not only to historical debates concerning the formation of British elites and their effects on economic performance but also to present day questions regarding the relationships between universities, business and the wider community.

The methodology of the research includes a biographical analysis of community activity in the universities using benchmark years to identify the changing involvement of major social groups (such as the business and professional classes), their attitudes to educational development, and the impact of their involvement on the universities. This makes it possible to discover how far reforms of the university government in 1858 and 1889 made a real difference, and in particular how far significant new mechanisms emerged which led to sustained relationships between the universities and the community.

The universities became successfully involved with other educational institutions in their locality and farther afield. In this individual and voluntary activity played an important role. The University Courts and General Councils allowed for the vocalising of reformist dissent and acted as a means to allow professional and other business and commercial interests to become involved in university and educational affairs. This casts new light on the debate concerning university relations with industry; it can be seen that the university authorities were cut off neither from the industrial nor commercial sectors of the community nor from the growing professional groups. In addition, new structures and attitudes allowed for joint consultation between universities and with the central authorities. However, by the end of the period delegation of authority to principals may have limited the breadth and depth of consultation on policy.

On public occasions the universities were a means for Scottish society to participate in ceremony and ritual; while this was mainly restricted to the middle and upper classes it allowed for the interaction of social groups which at other times had little contact with each other. In the gathering of philanthropic funding the universities showed their ability to target successfully specific social and economic groups. In addition they were the recipients of large amounts of gifts; quantifying the latter allows for a positive re-appraisal of the levels of support from sections of the community. Partly as a result the universities appear mainly in a

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positive light to their contemporaries, at the end of the period, after a series of alterations to their administrations, finances and curricula.

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One: Introduction

In recent years universities have become the subject of increased public debate. At the same time the role played by universities in the education system in previous periods has received considerable attention from economic and social historians. Criticism has appeared of the university system as it emerged after 1945, with substantial financial support from central government, considerable academic autonomy and a supposed university aloofness from the practical problems of the country. The criticisms of the higher education system, past and present, are epitomised by M J Wiener's book English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850 - 1980¹ which laid much of the blame for Britain's economic problems at the door of the universities. Seen as gentrifying agents, the universities had devalued industry as a career for Britain's elite, whose genteel culture they did much to produce. For critics such as Wiener universities have failed to provide productive higher education, have been deficient in their relationships with business and industry, and have contributed to Britain's relative economic decline from the late nineteenth century. Interest in the social role of universities in elite creation is not confined to historians. The chapter by Wakeford in Stanworth and Giddens' Elites and Power in British Society² considers the influence of social and political elites in the contemporary

1 (Cambridge, 1981).

2 Stanworth P and Giddens A, Elites and Power in British Society, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1974.

period, with disproportionate numbers seen as having attended certain public schools and universities. This analysis shows continued elitism in British society to which universities contribute significantly.

A more positive perspective on Britain's universities pre-1945 history has emerged from the recent prominence of market forces in government education policy emphasising efficiency and the values of private enterprise. Universities have been exhorted to discard elitism and emulate their past involvements with private interests, notably in fund raising for future development. Thus, many of the critics of the system which emerged after 1945 had looked back to the period before 1914 which apparently saw limited government input and a greater reliance on student fees for income. Yet what is actually known about the system which operated before 1914 and how far does this knowledge support a free market interpretation of optimal university development?

For Scotland, as for other countries, the history of universities long consisted of adulatory histories of particular institutions, notably volumes on Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities published between 1884 and 1933.³ These appeared alongside publications celebrating jubilees and centenary events⁴. Institutional histories were more

3 Coutts James, A History of the University of Glasgow J Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow 1909. Grant Sir A, The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its First Three Hundred Years, 2 volumes, Longmans, Green and Co, London, 1884. Turner A Logan, History of the University of Edinburgh 1883-1933, Oliver and Boyd, London, 1933.

4 Anderson P J Editor, Record of the Celebration of the Quatercentenary of the University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen 1907.

inclined to describe the flow of events in a positive manner instead of assessing critically the origins and development of a particular university. The general histories of education such as Kerr's Scottish Education: School and University from Early Times to 1908⁵ would also fall into this celebratory type of work.

The rise of more analytical history, including the 'new social history', has helped to transform the writing to the history of universities both in Scotland and elsewhere. A variety of themes have emerged in local, national and international studies. For example, the ancient English universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been studied by A J Engel⁶ and Sheldon Rothblatt⁷ in relation to the professionalisation of teaching staff. Their finances have been considered in an article by Dunbabin⁸ highlighting the problems of college-university funding and the institutions' dependence on the rural economy for income. There has also been increasing interest in women's participation in higher education⁹ showing that educational opportunities have been limited by constraints such as finance and professional bias

5 (Cambridge, 1910).

6 Engel A J, From Clergyman to Don: the Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Oxford 1983.

7 Rothblatt Sheldon, The Revolution of the Dons, Faber and Faber, London, 1968.

8 Dunbabin J P D, 'Oxford and Cambridge Finances 1871-1913'. Economic History Review 2nd series, Vol 28, 1975, pp. 631-647.

9 Hamilton S, 'Interviewing the Middle Class: Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities c1910-1935', Oral History Vol 10, No2 1982, pp. 58-67, & 'Women and Scottish Universities c1869-1939, a Social History' (Edinburgh Univ. PhD Thesis, 1987); Howarth J and Curthoys M 'The Political Economy of Women and Higher Education in the late 19th and early 20th century Britain', Historical Research Vol LX (60), 1987 pp. 208-231..

by men. More generally, H Kaelble¹⁰ looked at education as a means of social mobility, including comparative effects on the overall pattern of educational provision in Europe and America. Similarly, interest in the place of higher education in the formation of elites in Britain¹¹, Europe and the United States has emerged. Thus, for example, the subjects studied as the result of curricular have been seen as contributing to a maintenance of the social mores of Britain's older elites.¹²

As many of these examples suggest, there is a growing preoccupation in the literature of the social history of modern universities with the relationships between universities and the societies in which they are located. One form that this interest has taken is concern with the connections (and perceived lack thereof) between universities and industry, particularly in Britain, involving historians such as Michael Sanderson¹³, G W Roderick and M D Stephen¹⁴, and Paul Robertson.¹⁵ There is

10 Kaelble H, Social Mobility in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Europe and America in comparative perspective, English translation Berg, Warwickshire, UK, 1985. Original version in German, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Gottingen, 1983. Chapter 2.

11 Anderson R, Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800, Economic History Society series, Macmillan Press, London 1992.

12 Soffer Reba N, 'Modern Universities and National Values 1850-1930', Historical Research, Vol LX, 1987 pp. 166-187.

13 Sanderson M, The Universities and British Industry 1850 - 1970. 1972.

Sanderson M, Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780 - 1870. The MacMillan Press Ltd, London and Basingstoke, 1983.

14 Roderick G W, Stephen M D, Education and Industry in the Nineteenth Century. Longman, New York and London, 1978.

15 Robertson Paul L, 'Technical education in the British Shipbuilding and marine Engineering Industries, 1863 - 1914, The Economic History Review, 2nd series, Vol 27, 1974. pp. 222 - 235.

a strong suspicion that universities did not provide adequately for industry, particularly with reference to technical and practical expertise, despite a recent attempt by Sanderson to reply to Wiener's view of the educational bias against British industry.¹⁶

Yet one of the problems with this debate, and with much of the general literature in the social history of universities, is that it sometimes operates at too general a level. In fact, there appear to be considerable variations in the socio-economic character and impact of universities within a particular country. Thus, for instance, it appears from some studies that the English civic universities founded in the later 19th century, enjoying closer relationships with regional business communities than their ancient counterparts, were not so biased against industry as was Oxbridge. Thus it would appear that the relationship (or lack of a relationship) between a university and its surrounding community can have considerable impact not just on the health of particular higher education institutions but also on the society as a whole. Fortunately there is a growing interest in town-gown history as demonstrated by the recent collection edited by

Robertson Paul L, 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow before 1914,' History of Education Quarterly, 1976, Vol 16, No 4, pp. 449 - 478.

Robertson Paul L, 'Scottish Universities and Industry 1860 - 1914', Scottish Economic and Social History, No 4, 1984, pp. 39 - 54.

Robertson Paul L, 'The Development of an Urban University: Glasgow, 1860 - 1914,' History of Education Quarterly, Spring 1990, Vol 30, No 1, pp. 47 - 78.

16 Sanderson M, 'The English Civic Universities and the Industrial Spirit 1870 to 1914', Historical Research 1988. pp. 90 - 105.

Thomas Bender.¹⁷ Still, the implications of such studies for broader debates in university history and social history more generally are not straightforward. It is striking, for example, that David Jones's study of the English 'civics', which is particularly concerned with the input of time and money from the surrounding communities, has questioned the success of laymen in maintaining control over academics.¹⁸

Thus further investigation of the relationships between British universities and their communities is appropriate, particularly during the later 19th and early 20th century period which was critical both for the expansion of Britain's university system and for the relative decline of the British economy to which the higher education system is often related.

Scotland provides an appropriate context in which to carry out such a study. For a start, a significant proportion - approximately 30% in 1914 - of Britain's students were educated in Scotland during the period.¹⁹ Second, each of Scotland's four universities had had centuries to sink deep roots into its surrounding city or town, yet each university was undergoing significant changes during the period, which was also a time of considerable demographic, economic and social turmoil North

17 The University and the City (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988).

18. Jones David R, 'Victorian Civic Universities', History of Education Quarterly 25 (1985), pp. 207-14, 'Governing the Civic University', History of Education Quarterly, 25 (1985), 281-303, & The Origins of Civic Universities (London, Routledge, 1988).

19. Sanderson, 'English Civic Universities', p. 91. Anderson R Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983. p. 357.

of the Border.²⁰ Third, Scotland's universities were subjected to legislative reforms in 1858 and 1889 which were directed, in large part, specifically at the relationship, within university government, between university academics and laymen close to home and farther afield.

Moreover, Scotland occupies an intriguing, largely unresolved place in the debates concerning the impact of British universities on Britain's economy and society in the later 19th and early 20th century. Thus, although Sanderson saw Scotland as failing to create a civic university movement, Robertson argued that this was less a problem in Scotland than might be supposed because of the technical colleges. Also, Sanderson's comments are in respects at odds with the position at least of Edinburgh University, which was closely linked with its local community, unlike Oxford and Cambridge. In Scotland the proportion of university students in the population was greater than in England, and technical education was provided in colleges which do not appear under the umbrella of university education. Sanderson does not address the establishment in Glasgow of the Technical College and in Edinburgh of the Watt Institution; a narrow focus on institutions with university charters can, especially in the Scottish context, obscure the historical breadth of educational provision.

The situation of Scotland in this historical analysis needs clarification too because the Scottish universities

20. Fraser, W.H. & Morris, R.J. (eds.), People and Society in Scotland, vol 2, 1830-1914 (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1990).

are perceived to be different for several reasons including their historically low fees for students which made arguably made them more accessible to the better-off working class. The Scottish universities also appear to be different in that they developed from long-established, albeit reformed, institutions which formed a Scottish system - with important links, especially among the academics, to the broader British system - and yet lay in the heart of particular urban areas and had traditional links to their communities. Scottish universities were largely attended by Scottish students and had a distinct identity in legislation and government intervention. Also, nationalism plays a more important role in the historical debate surrounding them. Thus Scottish universities deserves attention in the university-community debate because of the country's large chunk of the British university system, its distinctive blend of ancient and civic characteristics, and its interesting combination of particularism and links to the British system as a whole.

In attempting to understand relationships between sections of Scottish society and Scottish higher education a variety of works have emerged which correspond in their diversity of interest to works on European and North American university history. Publications on aspects of Scottish university history have emphasised the distinctiveness of the educational system in Scotland and the value of understanding its development. Many of these works follow, though they were not necessarily stimulated by, Donald Withrington's 1970 article which called for a

thorough re-evaluation and use of original materials and major events in the writing of Scottish educational history 'on which researchers could then base more exacting and more profitable analyses'.²¹

Since the 1960s there has emerged work which has approached Scottish university history from the themes of graduates²², the professoriate²³, the Enlightenment²⁴, development and content of the curriculum²⁵ and student opportunities both in relation to class²⁶ and gender.²⁷ There has also been work on medical history, finances²⁸ and facilities²⁹, technical education³⁰, patronage³¹ and the

21 Withrington Donald 'What is and What Might Be' Scottish Educational Studies, (2), 1970, pp. 110-118. p. 116.

22 Matthew W 'The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow Students 1740-1839' Past and Present 1966, No 33, pp. 74 - 94. Hamilton S 'Interviewing the Middle Class: Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities c1910-1935' Oral History Vol 10, No2, 1982 pp. 58 - 67.

23 Anderson R D 'Scottish University Professors 1800-1939: Profile of an Elite'. Scottish Economic and Social History, 1987, Vol 7, pp. 27-53.

24 Sher Richard B Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment, Edinburgh University Press 1985.

25 Wright C J '19th Century Academics Aims and Approaches in the 19th Century to University Education', History of Education, (8) 1978, pp. 91 - 9.

26 Anderson R Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983.

27 Alexander W First Ladies of Medicine: The Origins, Education and Destination of Early Women Medical Graduates of Glasgow University. University of Glasgow, 1987.

28 Robertson Paul L 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow before 1914'. History of Education Quarterly, 1976, Vol 16, No 4, pp. 449 - 478.

29 Robertson P L 'The Development of an Urban University' pp. 47 - 78.

30 Robertson Paul L, 'Technical education in the British Shipbuilding and marine Engineering Industries, 1863-1914.' The Economic History Review, 2nd series, Vol 27, 1974. pp. 222 - 235. Robertson P L 'Scottish Universities and Industry 1860 - 1914' pp. 39 - 54.

31 Lowson A Scott 'Principal Sir James Donaldson: Education and Political Patronage in Victorian Scotland.' (University of St Andrews Phd Thesis 1988).

role of the University commissioners.³² This is not an exhaustive list but shows some of the viewpoints from which recent Scottish university history has been approached. It is apparent that forces in Scottish society could contribute to a distinctive university system in Scotland. This had importance for the other universities in the United Kingdom with which they interrelated, and for Britain, along with the Empire, due to the large numbers of (frequently exported) universities it produced.

This distinctiveness is itself a subject for debate. The drive to maintain national identity in higher education plays a major role in G E Davie's The Democratic Intellect and his subsequent Crisis in the Democratic Intellect³³ which point to the loss of the traditional Scottish emphasis on philosophy in the Ordinary Arts degree at the hands of anglicisers as symptomatic of the influence of anglicisation in the Scottish education system. Yet R D Anderson's analysis of educational opportunities open to various groups in Victorian Scotland has questioned Davie's idealised emphasis on the 'democratic' tradition of post reformation Scottish education. This important debate has focused on the impact of education on society.³⁴ Likewise C J Wright's argument that, although overall methods might have differed

32 Cameron D M 'Contest over control of the 19th century Universities of Scotland and England.' (Open University Phd Thesis, 1988).

33 Davie G E, The Democratic Intellect. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1961.

Davie G E, Crisis in the Democratic Intellect. Edinburgh, 1986.

34 Tilt J, The Graduates and Non Graduates: A Study of Matriculated Students at the University of Glasgow in the Late Nineteenth Century. Glasgow University Junior Honours Dissertation. p. 47.

between Scottish and English universities, their results were not markedly different,³⁵ suggests that the real difference between the systems may have lain at least in part in the perceptions of their communities, and in their relationships with their universities.

This thesis aims to contribute to the increasing historical debate about the social impact of Scottish universities by concentrating on Scottish universities in a more focused way than previous studies orientated in different directions, considering the relations between universities and their communities in the period c 1858 to c 1914. It shall also be considered how effectively university and community contributed to each other, both socially and economically. This argument will be expanded to determine how the relationship altered over time. While communities can exist at different levels the word's primary meaning is as 'a local social system' where 'a set of interrelations exists in a geographic area'.³⁶ All the Scottish university towns and cities conform to this condition; each was established in a well established town or city with long standing relationships to its university. Of course these relationships were not identical. Glasgow, because of the large numbers of migrants entering the city in the nineteenth century, may

35 Wright C J, '19th Century Academics ... University Education', History of Education, 1978 (8). pp. 91-99.

36 Stacey Margaret 'The Myth of Community Studies' The British Journal of Sociology, Vol 20 (June 1969). p. 134-147. p. 140-1

have created pressures for the maintenance of the local system, and so may differ from the other university communities such as St Andrews. Community while being a 'local system' of 'inter-relations....in a geographic area' can also at times be interpreted on a national scale and further, within a local area, can include particular groups with common interests which could, for instance, be based on religious, political or commercial links. Where the community is considered to have both local and national dimensions it shall be considered how the universities helped to form social elites linking these two levels. The 1858 and 1889 University (Scotland) Acts marked turning points in opening up Scottish university administration to the community. More generally, 1858 to 1914 is a period of major changes in finance, curriculum and general university expansion which can be concluded with the onset of war and the new phase of government involvement after 1918.

The hypothesis to be tested is that between 1858 and 1914 the Scottish universities increasingly met the demands of society and that an important reason for this success was the progressively tighter nature of the connections between them and their communities; relationships which were stronger and more diverse than previous university histories would suggest. It should be understood that when looking at different types of links with the community some are less enduring than more formal subset relationships, such as committee work, which developed over time and required sustained contact. A further hypothesis is that the alleged failure of the universities in Scotland to provide for the

needs of industry is exaggerated, both because this interpretation neglects successful links of this type and because, in relation to failures, it obscures social, economic, political and administrative factors over which the universities had little control. More generally, the thesis considers how far the Scottish universities were aware of economic and social demands and how they adapted to them as successful participants in an educational market.

In examining the development of the Scottish universities the thesis addresses a number of topics to show the nature and extent of university contacts with the community. These include the development of the administration of courts and the less powerful general councils, the background and community ties of lay university leaders, the resources available, the particular role of philanthropic support and how the universities were perceived by contemporaries.

An initial outline is given of aspects in the process of development and reform in the universities in the nineteenth century, the issues highlighted by reformers and the structures, such as courts and general councils, which emerged as a result. This is a necessary basis for the study's emphasis on how universities were managed and the functions they carried out for their surrounding areas. However the thesis is not a study of the Royal Commissions appointed to investigate the universities and to create ordinances after the University Acts of 1858 and 1889, which have been studied for England and Scotland by D M

Cameron.³⁸ Whereas the commissioners were appointed by the Crown, university administrative bodies, while holding their authority under legislation, were drawn from a system employing both election and nomination. Thus the courts drew on a wider cross section of the community and are therefore a more representative and continuous base for analysing changing university relations with the community. University reform, a relatively well known subject, is here considered to show how the reformed system worked and brought in outside influences to bear on the universities' development. The thesis examines the development of university administration in the widest sense after 1858 to assess its impact on the formation of links with the community. University courts in the Scottish Universities were established under the terms of the 1858 Act and were enlarged in 1889. They contained lay as well as academic members representing a number of constituencies and oversaw university administration and finance. Thus the courts deserve intensive investigation as potentially the most sustained and influential input by the community into university affairs. A biographical analysis of court membership assesses the extent to which they represented key social, political and religious groups in local and national communities.

The activities of the courts are then considered with particular reference to Glasgow and Edinburgh and with comparative reference to Aberdeen and St Andrews. Glasgow

38 Cameron D M, Contest over control of the 19th century Universities of Scotland and England, PhD thesis, Open University, 1988. DX 75962/87.

and Edinburgh universities were chosen for particular attention as they are situated in the most economically diverse and urbanised parts of Scotland. Further, Glasgow and Edinburgh were similar in terms of student numbers and in the curriculum offered and thus allowed for a balanced set of comparisons. From this analysis it is hoped to measure the extent to which courts and their members formed and sustained relationships between university and community.

After this assessment of university decision-making attention turns, again in particular to Glasgow and Edinburgh, to the community aspect of resource questions, with analysis of finance generally and then of philanthropy in particular. These topics reveal social attitudes towards the universities from public and private perspectives, a subject which then receives focused attention.

From the analysis of these topics a more accurate idea should emerge of what types of people had contact with the universities, and what role was played by major social groups in their administration. This may be compared to the work of Jones on the English civic universities. Also, two issues should become clearer. Firstly whether the universities should be considered as remote autonomous institutions or as collections of individuals tied into interest groups which react and are manipulated by external factors and secondly if the universities were used by individuals and groups intent on extending their own social influence.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two considers aspects of reform and development in the nineteenth century to establish how university reform relates to other patterns of change, and to establish the broad outline of institutional change in the period. These themes are addressed with particular reference to the emergence of the administrative structures which are analysed in later chapters dealing with the university courts. Topics covered include: waves of reform agitation, changes in administration and responsibility, curricular innovation, the expansion of budgets and student numbers.

In Chapter Three court members of the four Scottish universities are analysed by means of comparative biography. After giving a short outline of court structure and initial responsibilities for university administration under the Acts of 1858 and 1889 this chapter considers the backgrounds of court members. By using biographical sources it investigates court members' religious and political ties and their social and economic position in the community at both local and national levels. The diversity of court members and their prominence in the locality and at national level is revealed, indicating that university leaders were not isolated from but were involved in their communities, aware of local economic and social requirements and the needs of the state at large. These investigations throw light on how far university leaders exemplify the gentrifying forces discussed in Wiener's comments on Britain's industrial decline.

In Chapter Four attention is focused on the Courts' activities, in order to establish how far these bodies played more than a symbolic role either in governing the universities or linking them to local and wider communities. In such an analysis it must be asked what courts did and how these functions changed, whether court functions opened up relationships with the community and what these relationships were, to what extent lay, as compared to academic, members of the courts became involved in these activities and to what extent they co-operated with each other or disagreed over their rights and responsibilities. The chapter examines the frequency of court meetings and the costs of the court's bureaucracy. More fundamentally it asks how the courts perceived the changing needs of the universities and the community. By observing lay and academic working together in exercising various types of responsibilities it may be possible to establish how far the universities were involved with the community in more complex and subtle ways than may appear on the surface.

The sources and scope of university financial resources are addressed in Chapter Five and the questions posed show the extent of links between the universities and their communities as well as the role played by central government. Again comparisons can be drawn from this analysis to the work of Dunbabin on Oxford and Cambridge Universities and to Jones on the English civic universities. The research presented builds on but also goes beyond that presented by Robertson for Glasgow.³⁹ Chapter Five also has

39 Robertson P L 'The Development of an Urban University'

significant implications for the ability of the universities to provide for the educational and commercial needs of the community. Among the issues discussed is how far the limitations on universities were external rather than the result of a self imposed bias against industrial and commercial interests.

This chapter questions the traditional sources of university income from c1858 to 1914. It considers the adequacy of finances, control over investments and expenditure and examines the place of the universities in an educational market as well as their success in expanding to meet their areas of comparative educational advantage. The trade-off between greater state aid and the loss of autonomy by the universities is also examined. These themes may reveal the manner and extent to which the universities worked with their communities and relied on local financial and administrative expertise to deal with the demands of reformers for greater accountability and openness.

Philanthropy is dealt with in Chapter Six. It provides the clearest indication of the levels of independent financial support for the universities from individuals and organisations from the local community and further afield. Philanthropy represents support from those who were not involved in the universities as direct consumers and thus indicates external concerns and interests from the community. While Olive Checkland commented on levels of university philanthropy in Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland,⁴⁰ she did not give a detailed breakdown of

40 Edinburgh, 1980. p. 126-30.

philanthropic activity. By showing the variety and extent of philanthropic actions, chapter Six aims to provide evidence of links between the universities and the community. The manner in which the universities exploited various types of philanthropic activities and involved different social and economic groups as a means to generate income can then be assessed.

In the analysis of philanthropy, the benefactors of the universities and what they gave are the two main lines of enquiry. Whether gifts were in money or material goods, and to what extent bequests imposed regulations and additional financial burdens on the universities, are considered. Alongside these are two issues analysed to consider the types of philanthropy, the length of relationships involved and whether the donors and universities manipulated each other.

Areas of philanthropy include direct appeals to fund building projects, bequests for various purposes, donations for libraries, museums, student bursaries and scholarships. Separate case studies of support by the community can show the interest of segments of the public in particular areas of development. This may provide evidence showing that universities faced influences in their development which were in part outwith their control. How the universities dealt with these issues shows their ability to adapt to the requirements of their communities' articulated demands.

Chapter Seven considers the public and private perceptions of universities, in part through analysis of

how events such as great celebrations were perceived by individuals and the press which gave considerable space both to major university events and more routine activities. Those who attended events, and the positions given to non-academics in these events, can indicate their importance to academics. Also non-academics attending public displays by the universities shows their support for university education.

This type of analysis can show some of the relationships between universities and the community and their importance for different types of people. It can also show in what ways the university was a means for bringing together different social and economic groups when there were limitations to their meeting by other means. In other words, did the university provide a catalyst to help bind social and economic groups together through ritual and the ability to exercise power? Discussion of these activities should provide another means to demonstrate the complex and diverse relationship between university and community, and its important impact on university success.

Sources

A variety of primary material is used to present a wide range of views from the formal to the more potentially critical. Internal university records, such as the minutes and other related papers of the Courts, Senates and General Councils have been used. These sources reveal the business of meetings and their activities from the formal 'insider' point of view. They provide information from which to view the attitudes of the institutions and how they change. In

contrast, other archive letters and documents are available, which provide more candid comments and opinions. To overcome the possible institutional bias of sources they are used in conjunction with a number of sources. These include newspaper reports, pamphlets, biographies and publications such as public addresses by Rectors and Principals, and institutional histories from various periods. Some of these are critical of the universities and their activities. These other records are freed from the restrictions of institutional records, but, although more personal in tone, may be criticised for relying on limited knowledge and hearsay. Another problem is the gaps created by the loss of relevant papers. Officials government returns and university calendars overcome some of these problems but certain official records appear to be lost. Enough survives, however, to allow public and private viewpoints to emerge and a consideration given as to whether the two types of record corroborate or contradict one another.

Methodology

The thesis will ask whether the Scottish Universities became more closely tied to the local regional communities, most especially through the university courts. Its conceptual framework includes the structure of relevant social groups, such as the business and professional classes, their involvement in educational change, and their impact on the institutional life of the universities.

In analysing court members the principal methodology uses six benchmark years in the decades from 1860 to 1910 to

classify their birthplaces, socio-economic backgrounds, educational experience, political and religious allegiances and work experience and other contacts. This allows investigation in depth.

A similar use of benchmark years occurs in the analysis of court records to establish changing patterns of decision making. This is complemented by analysis of particular areas of activity for the whole period. Tables drawn from court records and other archive material show levels of attendance and participation by academic and lay members on committees which could have a bearing in assessing changes in university relations with the community. This method also allows for a convenient split between the smaller courts set up after 1858 and the enlarged courts following 1889.

Similarly, university records, official returns and other archive material are employed to analyse university resources, again with particular reference to Glasgow and Edinburgh. Material is divided into areas and analysed over benchmark years to consider changes in types of resources as legislation and other factors influenced income and expenditure levels. This type of analysis should allow for some additional comment on university development in Scotland in relation to Paul Robertson's work on Glasgow and Michael Sanderson on universities and industry.

The nature of philanthropy does not as readily allow the use of benchmark years, although it is employed to a certain extent. Philanthropic donations are split into different types in order to separate direct appeals for

funds from yearly forms of support and the great variety of particular gifts. This methodology exposes support from different social and economic groups in the community.

Also, archive material, newspapers and secondary sources are used to show the social interactions between university and community on philanthropic occasions.

In analysing public and private perceptions of the universities a dual form of methodology is used. There is a structured analysis of newspaper reports to show how the universities were portrayed in benchmark months and years. This type of report is then contrasted with specific primary and secondary material on events such as centenaries to compare levels of non-academic participation and whether these events are seen in a negative or positive light by the public. This chapter uses biographies, autobiographies, archive material, magazines and other types of reports which are contrasted with the evidence from earlier chapters which relied on university, official and secondary sources to measure the extent of university support of and participation from the community.

Overall the thesis aims to show the diversity of relationships between the Scottish universities and the community and the influences which were working upon their development. From major changes in administration to minor gifts the universities experienced support, criticism and new expectations of improvement from the community at local and national levels. As institutions, which were perceived to need change and reform in the early nineteenth century, the universities expanded and attempted to meet the demands

of the community while also improving their overall public image. How far then were their relationships with the community able to allow these expectations to be broadly fulfilled and a positive image created?

Two: University Reform and the Changing Structure of Scottish University in the nineteenth century.

Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini¹

Overview

The changes affecting the Scottish universities in the nineteenth century were very profound and wide ranging, directly and indirectly producing alterations in the nature and contacts between the universities and the community. The nineteenth century saw the universities grow not only in their buildings, notably the complete removal of the University of Glasgow in the 1870s from its old site in the High Street to Gilmorehill in the west of the City, but also in finance, equipment and numbers of students.² Pressure was exerted on the Scottish universities to change the curriculum, improve examinations and improve access to facilities such as libraries.³ In discussing these issues of 'university reform' and the broader 'reform' campaigns of the nineteenth century with which they reacted, 'reform' will be taken to mean the removal of perceived abuses to

1 The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom. Motto of Aberdeen University.

2 On the first and third categories see Anderson R D Ed and Op in Vic Scotland p. 285, and . 346 - 357.

3 For a contemporary critique of Edinburgh University Library see Guild J R and Law A editors, Edinburgh University Library 1580-1980. Published 1982 Edinburgh University Library, pp. 94-5. The History of the Library 1837-1939.

The University Maga of 12 January 1838 stated, 'our editorial table is loaded with complaints about the administration of the library'. "Books", say our friends, "are not to be got there"'.

achieve greater efficiency and honesty and a more satisfactory way of meeting the needs of the community. It is the aim of this chapter to analyse the reform campaigns and structural changes in universities which occurred often as a result, emphasising their implications for relations between the Scottish universities and their communities.

The administrations of the Scottish universities underwent investigation by Royal Commissions on an individual and national basis in this period as a result of calls for change and the practical need of government to gather information. The recommendations of the Commissioners and other pressure groups were in part incorporated by Parliament in two major Acts affecting the Universities those of 1858 and 1889. These Acts, along with other relevant statutes dealt with a legion of topics which can be grouped as follows. University reform in an age of reform; the changing relationship between the universities and the church; the difficulties faced by the universities with other institutions of higher education in the age of reform; the difficulties involved in development of resources; curricular changes and the abuse of government subsidy. The groups intervening in the issues of reform in the universities and their government are also an issue, as is their institutionalisation, and this chapter will consider these topics in relation to reform and change in the universities more generally.

Administrative structure and Responsibility

With regard to administrative structure and responsibility the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858 created courts containing elected members who represented various interest groups; senates, general councils, chancellors, rectors, and town representatives. In the later nineteenth century some of these groups enlarged their representation on the court as part of the administrative reorganisation of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889. In particular, lay representatives increased their powers and representation as participants in university government. In addition members of Parliament, voted in by general council members, had been created as a result of the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act of 1868, allowing graduates to promote the interests of their alma mater at Westminster.

All these groups and individuals could check and countercheck each other. The post-1858 framework was designed to produce more openness and greater accountability without allowing any individual or group having sole authority. This change was an attack on the rights and interests of the senates of the universities of St Andrews and Glasgow, and of Aberdeen's two universities, King's and Marischal. At Edinburgh, where the senate had been subject to the control and patronage of the Town Council, rights and interests diminished for both groups. On top of this loss of power Royal Commissioners were appointed by the Government with

powers to create ordinances for the better organisation and running of the universities. By the close of the century there emerged a Universities Committee of the Privy Council which formed a direct university-Government link. Added to these bodies was the Scottish Secretary, created in 1885, who took over many of the political responsibilities of the Lord Advocate as the leading political figure in Scotland with influence over the universities.

Turning to other aspects of reform such as curricular innovation, expansion of facilities and control of resources, these included the evolution of the study of subjects such as science and engineering in the universities in addition to the traditional areas of Divinity, Arts, Law and Medicine. This period saw a more general broadening of subjects taught, linked in demand by students.⁴ This change was linked to reorganisation of finance, teaching conditions and regulations which covered alterations to the following:

- (a) professors', lectures' and assistants' salaries, pensions, appointments, retiral regulations and conditions of service for them and other staff members;
- (b) students' fees for classes, graduation and library usage;
- (c) library and building finance linked to governmental involvement and responsibility for finance;

4 Robertson Paul. 'Scottish Universities and Industry' Scottish Economic and Social History, volume 4, 1984. p. 39-55.

Robertson P 'The Development of an Urban University: Glasgow 1860-1914'. History of Education Quarterly, Vol 30, No 1, Spring 1990. p. 47-78.

- (d) the access of women to university education and the general question of access to the universities, ie the debate over a general entrance examination and the implications inherent in that for Scottish secondary education and its development;
- (e) the secularising of the universities and their decreased role in church patronage and income;
- (f) the reappraisal and reorganisation of bursaries, philanthropic donations and appeals.

However in attempting to analyse reforms in the Scottish universities in this period, the various themes tend to overlap. Reformers such as D C McVail, member of the court of Glasgow University, could have a wide set of demands while other had single aims, such as admission to university education for women. Thus it is more useful to adopt a chronological approach to explaining the causes, and the consequences for the universities' relationships with their communities, of the reform process.

University Reform in an Age of Reform

Between 1800 and 1858 the universities were far from alone in being targets for reform. Government both at the centre and in the localities was under pressure to change resulting in the Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Scottish Municipal Reform Act of 1833. The political system, with patronage as the major lubricant, had become increasingly discredited. The universities were seen as being part of that system because of their links to the Established Church and to the Government, both central and local. The main aims of the reformers in this period were the removal of abuses by university

authorities regarding financial accountability, appointments to professorial chairs and administrative responsibility. The Church-State connection was contentious, exacerbated by the Disruption of the national church, the Church of Scotland (C of S), in 1843. All of these issues raised the possibility that the universities might become more directly responsible to outside groups or institutions, whether within Scotland or at the level of the United Kingdom Government. In either case, reform in Scotland and in Scottish institutions was linked to an eventual willingness by the English to accept reform. Reformers are seen as wishing to bring the universities 'out of the shadow of clericalism and under the sway of public opinion'. The main 'beginning of university reform'⁵ occurred in 1825 brought to a head by the disputes over control of university patronage of appointments, between the Senate and Town Council in Edinburgh University, and at Aberdeen with the election as Rector of Aberdeen's radical MP Joseph Hume.⁶ Hume's rectorial court was a source of public humiliation for the senate. In forcing the Government to act, these episodes are cited by Anderson as the reasoning behind the Home Secretary's appointment of a Royal Commission in 1826 but reform had been called for in public debate, pamphlets,

5 Anderson R.D. Education and opportunity in Victorian Scotland, Oxford 1983, p. 27, p. 38.

6 *ibid* Anderson R D, p. 37.

periodicals and liberal newspapers thirty years previously.⁷

The second phase of reform, between 1858 and 1889, opened and closed with Scottish university reform Acts, which altered the face of the universities in terms of administration, responsibility and representation. Yet these changes accelerated calls for reform; demands for greater representation were made by all sections involved in the university courts, also from the courts' inception calls were made for parliamentary representation. Along with these went demands for improvements in the appointments procedure, staffing and finance levels and in facilities generally. A wider curriculum was called for as was the admission of women, entrance examinations and bursary reorganisation. The Act of 1889, followed on from the Royal Commission to the Universities of Scotland which reported in 1878, addressed many of the issues just mentioned.

Commissioners were then appointed who dealt with the changes from 1889 to 1900. This period saw the implementation of a great deal of the 1889 Act and was characterised by consolidation. Women were admitted to full participation in university education by 1892. Buildings and other facilities continued to expand, and various colleges were affiliated to the universities. Attention to the bursary and financial systems of the

7 Withrington Donald J, 'The Idea of a National University in Scotland 1820s-1870s'. An address given to the Aberdeen Conference, 1990 on The Quincentenary History Project on the Scottish Universities System.

Withrington's paper has now been published in Carter JS, Withrington Donald J & Scottish Universities: Distinctiveness and Diversity, 1992, Aberdeen University Press.

universities was apparent. Along with these changes there was increased attention given to conditions of service, scientific instruction and the degree structure. It was in this period that probably the most important financial change occurred in the form of increased parliamentary grants and the advent of the Carnegie funds. An easing of the financial restraints imposed on the universities was the result, although financial limitations remained.

All these periods saw growth in the universities' finance and in their total numbers of students and graduates. The later periods were marked by major public appeals for funds aimed at rebuilding and improving facilities. In this the universities were participating in the philanthropic movements of their day. Yet the universities never lost sight of their long standing links to the state and the latter's spasmodically growing commitment to financial support.

The Changing Relationship between the Universities and the Church

The drive to reform Scottish universities was closely linked, especially early in the century, to changes in the Church of Scotland and moves to reform the latter as J.H.S. Burleigh has noted.⁸ In the eighteenth century relations between the Church and the Universities were 'extremely close'.⁹ 'All university teachers had to accept the Confession of Faith' and were 'consequently,

⁸ Burleigh J H S, A Church History of Scotland, Oxford Press, 1960.

⁹ *ibid* Burleigh, p. 317.

to some extent subject to the discipline of the church.¹⁰ This position was changing in the earlier nineteenth century, but the two spheres remained intertwined, particularly in reference to the divisions in the church between the moderates and evangelicals.

The rise of Moderatism within the Established Church of Scotland was linked to the Enlightenment.¹¹ For the later Moderates, reform in the universities was in part tied to their desire to maintain, against the evangelicals, the ecclesiastical status quo in which they enjoyed much patronage for Church and university posts.¹²

Often church and university posts were held in combination, an increasingly contentious pattern in the period up to and beyond the Royal Commission to the Scottish Universities in 1826, which saw such pluralism as 'inexpedient'¹³ for the proper running of both institutions. The Evangelicals were pleased with this outcome of the Commission report, which revealed the moderates to be both 'intellectually and spiritually bankrupt'.¹⁴

As a result the universities were faced with demands, not only for a removal of religious bias, but also for

10 *ibid* Burleigh, p. 317.

11 Sher R B, Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment, Edinburgh University Press 1985, Chapter 8, p. 324.

12 Sher R B, Church and University, p 321.

13 Burleigh J H S, A Church History of Scotland, Oxford Press, 1960. p. 318.

14 Sher R B, Church and University, p. 321. Sher in Chapter 8 p. 298-328 charts the decline of the Moderates in the face of the Evangelicals and other forces.

greater professional commitment by their teachers, an end to compulsory church attendance¹⁵ by students and the culmination of divinity studies in graduation rather than the commonly accepted pattern of mere certificated attendance at lectures. Thus apparently religious discontents fuelled critiques of the curriculum,¹⁶ the lack of entrance examinations,¹⁷ the role of medical degrees¹⁸ and the internal constitutions of the universities.

The Disruption of 1843, in which the Free Church of Scotland (F C of S), emerged from the disputes over patronage, gave added impetus to demands for university reform. The Free Church saw itself as the true national church with important responsibilities towards education.¹⁹ As early as November 1843 the Free Church opened a Theological College in Edinburgh in which 93 of the first 103 students had left the Edinburgh University.

15 Cant Ronald Gordon, The University of St Andrews, A Short History, Oliver and Boyd, 1946, republished by the Scottish Academic Press, 1970 p. 104

16 Anderson R D Ed and Op in Vic Scot, p. 32. The lack of Greek was criticised. Withrington D, Aberdeen conference addresss. The place of logic in the curriculum was questioned by reformers who wanted it shifted from the second year.

17 Withrington D, Aberdeen conference addresss. The lack of an entrance examination was seen as a problem as it inhibited the Universities from raising standards.

18 Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to Enquire into the Universities of Scotland 1878. Evidence and Appendix, volume 1 . Murray and Gibb, Edinburgh 1878, p. 124. In 1878 the University still received funding through the annual granting of medical degrees although this had by Ordinance 19 been limited to ten per year. The commissioners did not particularly find objection to this situation.

19 Burleigh, Church History p. 357. The Free Church raised £50,000 for their New College opened in Edinburgh in 1850. Two other colleges followed, Aberdeen in 1853 and Glasgow in 1855.

The Disruption, then weakened the place of the Church of Scotland in national education and threatened the position of the universities which had long been affiliated to the Kirk. In particular the universities faced a new source of competition for student fees and public support, both moral and financial, with potential effects long after 1843.²⁰ Thus as late as 1866 Glasgow University in the middle of fund raising for new buildings at Gilmorehill faced the charge of being a 'sectional university' on account of its Theology Faculty being denominational.

More immediately, the Disruption jolted the universities into a legal and, soon, a legislative crisis as adherence to the Established Church was still a legal requirement, the Presbytery of St Andrews took out libel against Principal Brewster of St Andrews because of his Free Church adherence.²¹ Simultaneously Edinburgh's senate withdrew its academic recognition from two professors with the use of legal restraints.²² This prompted in 1845 a bill, promoted by T.B. Macaulay, M.P. for Edinburgh, and Andrew Rutherford, a former

20 GUA ref 8403, New College Buildings, 8.11.1866. The Reverend Dr Alexander MacEwan defended the university on this charge of teaching for the denomination of the Church of Scotland.

21 Coutts James, A History of the University of Glasgow, James Macelrose and sons, Glasgow 1909, p. 420.

22 *ibid* Coutts J, In 1847 the senate of Edinburgh University gained a Court of Session Interdict against Charles McDou all, the Professor of Hebrew, for not taking an oath of allegiance. This situation resulted in McDou all losing his academic recognition in the Senate. A similar fate befell the Free Churchman Patrick Macdougall, Professor of Moral Philosophy, and the presentee of the Town Council of Edinburgh, whose sympathies lay with the Free Church. p. 421.

Lord Advocate and Lord Rector of Glasgow University, which failed after opposition from the established church interests in Scotland and England.²³ Moncrieff's reform Bill of 1852 was defeated while that in 1853 passed because of the compromise contained within it that professors must not prejudice in their teaching or actions the status quo of the Established Church of Scotland.²⁴

The legislation of 1853 marks the beginning of successful Parliamentary action for university reform. The reformers' aims in the church were in tandem with those for the universities. Both wanted improved standards and an end to the abuse of patronage.²⁵

The Patronage Act of 1874 removed university influence over certain parish appointments where they acted as faceless patrons, most notably at St Andrews.²⁶ The Church of Scotland, by freeing itself from patronage, removed from the evangelicals a major stick with which they had beaten the Established Church. Both the Church of Scotland and the universities benefited in that abuse of powers was reduced and the universities could avoid involvement in an issue fraught with sectarian bickering. Meanwhile important links between the Established Church

23 Bain W.H., "Attacking the Citadel" James Moncrieff's proposals to reform Scottish Education 1851-69' Scottish Educational Review X, 2, 1978, p. 5-14.

24 Woodward E L The Age of Reform 1815 to 1870, reprint Oxford University Press 1962 p. 491.

25 Burleigh, Church History p. 365. The Patronage Act of 1874 was passed under a Tory administration and ended the system of Parochial Patronage in the Church of Scotland.

26 Edinburgh Almanac 1870, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. The University of St Andrews held the rights of patronage to nine livings in the Church of Scotland.

and the universities remained. For example chairs in biblical criticism were established at Edinburgh in 1846, Aberdeen in 1860 and Glasgow in 1861.

The C of S simulated the Free Church in educational fund raising, and churchmen assisted university extensions notably the New College Buildings at Glasgow where clergymen made up a large proportion of general council members in the early years.²⁷ In addition, even with changes in the appointments system, major figures in the Established Church held posts in the universities such as Robert Herbert Story, Principal of Glasgow from 1898, who was highly influential in the General Assembly.²⁸ Also clergymen regularly gained election to the courts (see chapter three).

Thus the major Protestant denominations in Scotland played an important role in the reforms occurring within the Scots universities in the nineteenth century, with

27 Pamphlet. W.T. Gairdner, M.D., Professor of Medicine in the University of Glasgow. "A Plea for an Extension and Alteration of the Curriculum of Arts in the University of Glasgow, with a view to meet more perfectly the wants of the General Community", 1.11.1865, J Maclehose, Edinburgh.

28 Burleigh, Church History, p. 376-9. Other leading churchmen were seen in the Universities and were part of the Established Church recovery in the Post Disruption era.

John Caird, minister of the church, and "reckoned to be the greatest Scottish preacher of his age", became Professor of Divinity and then Principal at Glasgow University.

John Marshall Lang ordained in 1856 was a future Principal of Aberdeen University from 1900.

John Tulloch, ordained in 1845 was Principal at St Mary's College, St Andrews, and later of the University of St Andrews itself. He was seen as a dominant figure in the General Assembly.

Robert Flint, Professor of Divinity 1876-1903 at Edinburgh University and regarded as a "Theologian of world wide repute".

particular reference to pluralism, curricular development, examinations and attendance. The churches helped to create greater respect for professionalism, the value of scholarship and the improvement of learning in general, within a more accountable, competitive and open system. As such university and church reform and development went hand in hand.

The Universities and other Institutions of Higher Education in the Age of Reform.

The universities had to compete and interact with other institutions providing higher education. One such area was the training of school teachers, for which university graduates were a traditional source. In Glasgow in 1827 David Stow established the first normal school for the training of teachers.²⁹ The Disruption led to the Free Church opening two training colleges;³⁰ in tandem with the colleges of the Established Church these institutions effectively precluded university expansion into this area. The establishment of chairs of education at St Andrews and Edinburgh in 1876, two decades before the rest of Britain,³¹ was limited in its success. Yet the universities increased their role through involvement

29 Donaldson J University Addresses by Sir James Donaldson, T and A Constable, Kings Printers, MCMXI (1911), p. 136. In this period "most of the students were University men".

30 Burleigh Church History, p. 357.

31 Humes and Paterson, ed, Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1983, Essay 8, R.E. Bell, p. 151.

Meiklejohn at St Andrews and Laurie at Edinburgh were the first to hold the chairs but the chairs were considered weak from the start.

in the examination of schoolmasters from 1861.³² Also graduates continued to enter teaching aided by curricular changes in the universities and the admission of women from 1892.³³

Women's education provides an instance of the restraints under which the Scottish universities operated. Although Sophia Jex Blake managed to matriculate at Edinburgh in 1869,³⁴ a ruling by the Court of Session showed that the university did not have the power to allow her entry. Legislation was needed and it was not obtained until the 1890s. In the interim a variety of institutions outside or, at best, associated to the universities catered for women's needs.³⁵ Blake opened her medical school in Edinburgh and in Glasgow in 1877 the Association for the Higher Education of Women was formed and incorporated into Queen Margaret's College on its foundation in 1883.³⁶ Although Edinburgh University in 1874 and St Andrews in 1876 instituted

32 Edinburgh Almanac 1870. p. 675.

33 Mercer G, Forsyth D.J.C., 'Some aspects of recruitment to teaching among university graduates in Scotland, 1860-1955'. British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol XXIII, No. 1, Feb. 1975, p. 58-77.

From the Argyll Commission of 1867, 70% of middle-class or burgh school teachers had attended a University, 35% being graduates. Fraser W H, Morris R J Editors, People and Society in Scotland, Volume 2, 1830-1914, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1990. Chapter 10, Helen Corr. The opportunities for women being limited from options presented at school, lowering their chances of gaining access to university education.

34 Anderson R D, Ed and Op in Vic Scotland, p. 256.

35 *ibid* Anderson R D, p. 257.

36 Maclean George Edwin, Department of Interior Bureau of Education Bulletin 1917 Higher Education in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Washington Government Printing Office 1917. Chapter 2. p. 154.

certificates for women attending lectures,³⁷ they could not graduate. The attractions of other institutions, such as Dundee College which was open to women from the start,³⁸ provided sharp competition for the universities even though, as at Glasgow, university professors were involved in teaching in these other institutions and associations.³⁹

Development and Resources

In development and resources the universities faced problems of finance. Building and extension often relied heavily on public appeals so that lack of resources could inhibit effective reform and development of the curriculum. It is clear that there were institutional, financial and social factors, such as religion, which could work against university development and reform. Such factors could strengthen the development of other institutions in Scotland with which the universities had to compete in an educational market, although the universities, by their ^{statutes} had rights denied to other institutions.

The universities development of science is seen by some⁴⁰ as an area in which the universities failed to

37 *ibid* Maclean George Edwin, p. 155.

38 Anderson R D, Ed and Op in Vic Scot p. 237.

39 For other obstacles to women's education North and South of the border see Janet Howarth, Mark Curthoys, 'The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education in late 19th and early 20th century Britain'. Historical Research, 60, 1987. p. 208-231.

Alexander W First Ladies of Medicine, The Origins, Education and Destination of Early Women Medical Graduates of Glasgow University, University of Glasgow, 1987.

40 Wiener M.J. English Culture, Sanderson M Universities and Industry amongst others.

establish a high profile, even when it had been highlighted as important by reformers and Government reports.⁴¹ The Report of the 1878 Royal Commission⁴² shows that although the need and importance of science was recognised, the development of science and science faculties would depend on effective demand by students. This depended in part on competition from scientific instruction found in non-university institutions in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen.⁴³ Possible competition was a clear motive behind calls for reform over the curriculum,⁴⁴ such as those by Gairdner at Glasgow in 1865 and by the general councils.

41 Royal Commission to inquire into Universities of Scotland 1878 4 volumes.

Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and Advancement of Science, 'Devonshire Commission'. 7 reports.

Royal Commission on Technical Educations, 'Samuelson Commission'. 2 reports, 2nd report five volumes.

42 Royal Commission to inquire into Universities of Scotland. Vol.I. Report. Index of Evidence, 1878 p. 42.

43 In Glasgow, the West of Scotland Agricultural College was an amalgamation of the Scottish Dairy Institute, Kilmarnock, with the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College Agriculture Department formed in 1886, union took place in 1899.

In Edinburgh the School of Agriculture was established in 1885 the year before the University of Edinburgh instituted degrees of Bachelor of Science. In 1900-1 the School became the Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture.

44 W.T. Gairdner GUA Pamphlet 'A Plea for an Extension and Alteration of the Curriculum of Arts in the University of Glasgow, with a view to meet more perfectly the wants of the General Community'. J Macle hose, Edinburgh 1865. Gairdner called for alterations in the Arts curriculum to broaden choice as he sees that "the existing curriculum of Arts fails to attract - fails to inoculate the great bulk of this active and intelligent community with a love of learning that a University ought to aim at producing, and that, as I believe, the real interests of this community require". Gairdner saw that in Andersons University "we have the elements of a great popular University, working upon

Government Financial Subsidy and Abuse of Resources

Central government financial subsidy aided universities competitors and limited university expansion as a result. An example of this could be seen in Aberdeen where the Chair of Agriculture was developed from the Fordyce bequest of 1792⁴⁵ while the Scottish Education Department in 1904 took over the running and financing of the North of Scotland College of Agriculture, based in Aberdeen and established initially by the Scottish Board of Agriculture.

Thus in the attempts to address the issues of reform the universities faced an array of problems, in addition to those arising from the abuse of appointments and of resources in the universities⁴⁶ from before 1858. Legal

principles of the greatest breadth and freedom throughout the country at large" and "in Glasgow in particular, with the most marked and striking success". The numbers "attending these popular lectures" for the "nominal fee of 2s 6d" were remarked upon with support from bequests for the lectures. The numbers were 300 in Chemistry, 231 in Anatomy and Physiology, 120 in Botany and 117 in Natural Philosophy.

45 Maclean Interior Bulletin 1917, p. 139-141.

In 1792 Sir William Fordyce, M.D. bequeathed to Marischal College Aberdeen £5,000 for lectureships in Chemistry, Natural History and Agriculture. The first lecturer appointed in 1840 is seen to have had problems of finance and without assistance from Government agricultural education languished.

46 GUA ref 11670 crt/AA 1856 p. 9. W Ivory stated in the Glasgow college and university dispute over property that 'the Crown maintains a right to control the administration of the whole funds'

Memorial in Action of Declarator of the Officers of the State for Scotland against The Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Rector, Principal and Professors of the University and College of Glasgow 31 st December 1857.

Alex Laurie and Co, Printers to Her Majesty. p. 147.

William Ivory, Writer to the Signet, related to the need to end the abuse of the professors in dealing with the affairs of University funds in the arguments over what was College or University property. 'The sooner this great public institution is put on the footing of a

constraints hindered the admission of women and this could be exacerbated by social prejudice and financial limitations. Financial problems could limit development in that the professors in senates had vested interests in maintaining a limited range of classes when income was tied to student fees. This was on top of central government's financing of other institutions competing with the universities for state resources. All these institutions in some way relied on public philanthropy as well and the universities could be again hindered by traditional concepts of what types of subjects universities ought to teach. Reform was inhibited by red tape and vested interests in addition to those of finance and competition. Over this there hung an element of conservatism within Britain, which continued into the twentieth century, maintaining that innovation had its home in newer institutions and that certain social concepts were best served by traditional unchanging institutions. Although dealing with Oxford Lord Curzon, Lord Rector at Glasgow University in 1910, was seen to express such sentiments in public address and print when he said that Oxford, as an ancient university should retain traditions and broaden outlook and courses, but should not 'collide' or 'overlap' with new universities.⁴⁷ Implicit in these attitudes and practical problems is the

national establishment for national purposes, it will be better for the lieges.'

47 Curzon Earl of Kedleston. Subjects of the Day, London 1915. Allen and Unwin. p. 140-142.

array of restraints placed on the university system as an established interest coming to terms with new demands.

The Groups and the Issues involved in Reform in the Universities

The calls for reform in the Scottish universities came from a variety of groups each enjoying considerable popular appeal. The Royal Commission of 1826 and its consequences excited the interest of several groups. The Commission's appointment is seen as coming from the demands of the Senate at Edinburgh and from the Lord Rector of Aberdeen, Joseph Hume, encouraged by the Aberdeen doctor, Alexander Kilgour.⁴⁸ The Commission report was welcomed by the Aberdeen Herald in 1831 where they could at last 'get rid of' that 'dirty Tory Corp of Kings College'.⁴⁹

The senate and Hume, the immediate instigators of the reform process, had differing aims, the first aiming to increase academic autonomy the second to diminish it. The senate in Edinburgh wished to assert its rights in professional and material terms by gaining powers which lay in the Town Council of Edinburgh, which was the patron of the university. In Aberdeen the complaints had been directed against the senate, upbraided before Hume's Rectorial Court. Nepotism and the abuse of appointments were seen as other issues of reform as were

48 Alexander Kilgour was a member of the Aberdeen University Court and author of 'The Scottish Universities and what to Reform in them', Sutherland and Knox, Edinburgh 1857.

49 Withrington D, Aberdeen conference address 1990.

the improper regulation of property,⁵⁰ and the early age of student entry.⁵¹ If call for reform came from various sources opposition did likewise.⁵² Legislation when presented to the Houses of Parliament met opposition and caused sectional interests to assert and vindicate their rights. When bills were presented in 1835 to regulate the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, at Glasgow the senate and faculty opposed the Bill affecting them as they saw their rights as being injured.⁵³ In Aberdeen the Bill presented by the city M.P. Alexander Bannerman, which favoured union of King's and Marischal, provoked opposition from both colleges and the community,⁵⁴ which saw its institutional security under attack.

50 R G Cant The University of St Andrews, 1970, St Andrews University Senate had its buildings taken over by the Government and 'maintained as a public charge until 1890'. p. 109.

51 GUA ref 11670 crt/AA 1856. 'Memorial in Action' 31st December 1857. p. 144-7.

52 Cant R G The University of St Andrews, 1970, Although the Commission's report brought no immediate legislation certain changes occurred. At St Andrews changes incurred by the Commission included an end to graduation in absentia. p. 103. New regulations were instituted for the Master of Arts degree in 1827, stricter regulations were imposed for the conferring of medical degrees and a rectorial franchise was restored but as Cant points out on page 105 the points involved for the election of Rector, the choice of candidates and the limited franchise showed that reform in 1826 had only been partly achieved.

53 Coutts J A History of the University of Glasgow, Glasgow 1909. p. 420.

54 Rait R.S. The Universities of Aberdeen, Aberdeen 1895. Published by J.G. Bisset, p. 348. Kings college proposed to shift to Inverness "on the ground that many of its students came from the Highlands". And on the 15th August 1855 the Committee of the Lords of the Privy Council, Dean of Faculty, Principal and Professors of the Marischal College and the University of Aberdeen, the Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Aberdeen, the Landholders and Commissioners of supply, Justices of the Peace of the County of Aberdeen, the Synod of

In part the delays reflected the unwillingness of institutions to change but delays can also be attributed to that element in society calling for change but displeased with what was offered.⁵⁵

The Oxford Commission of 1850⁵⁶ stimulated the interest of the Scottish Public⁵⁷ and the formation in Edinburgh in 1852 of the "Association for the Improvement and Extension of Scottish Universities". Pro-reform, their aims were to strengthen the hands of professors, introduce more tutors, improve degree examination standards and give graduates some connection with the university.

In the same period interest in Scottish rights had also grown and in 1853 the National Association for the Vindications of Scottish Rights (N.A.V.S.R.), was formed with Professor W. Aytoun as a leading member. The Association pressed for the Government to give attention to Scottish revenues, insignia, traditions and institutions including the universities. In the same year the senate at Edinburgh University resolved to

Aberdeen and others petitioned against the ordinance uniting the Universities into one.

55 Cant R G The University of St Andrews, 1970, Cant refers to the delays in the implementing of the recommendations of the Commission as "due to the exigencies of British Political and Parliamentary life from 1830 onwards and the fact that the Commissioners' proposals, drastic as they might be, were regarded as insufficiently radical by Liberal-Whig opinion of the day. footnote 1 p. 102.

56 Bill E.G.W. University Reform in 19th Century Oxford, A Study of Henry Halford Vaughan 1811-85. Oxford 1973, p. 88. The Oxford Commission was seen as deeply Liberal in line.

57 Grant Sir A. The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its first three hundred years. London 1884, Longmans, Green and Co. 2 volumes. Volume 2, p. 90.

petition Parliament that in future legislation there should be parliamentary representation for the Scottish universities.⁵⁸ This claim by the universities continued at Glasgow where in 1860 to 61 the laymen and academics on the university court, senate and general council were using the university court as a means to back-up claims for parliamentary enfranchisement.⁵⁹ The claims for change came not only from reformers but also from the institutions whose rights they would have had checked and curtailed. The pressures for change were mounting and receiving cross party support in Parliament in the 1850s with Liberal and then Conservative administrations placing similar Reform Bills before Parliament.

The Act of 1858 was the legislative turning point in, and effective success of, the process of Government investigation of the universities at a national level from 1826 on. Bills had been presented to Parliament for

58 Morgan A. Scottish University Studies, Oxford University Press, London 1933, p. 49. Oxford and Cambridge had sent representatives to the 1603 Parliament of James I of England.

Davie G The Democratic Intellect- Scotland and her Universities in the nineteenth century. Edinburgh University Press 1961. Davie argues in his book that, throughout the nineteenth century, the Scottish universities fought a rearguard action to fend off anglicisers and to maintain the Scottish 'traditional' degree based on philosophy.

59 Glasgow University Court Minute volume 1. The University Court, Senate and General Council petitioned that in the claim for Parliamentary representation the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh should have one seat each, St Andrews and Aberdeen Universities, they proposed as sharing one seat. Representation was achieved by the 1868 "Representation of the People Act" which gave two seats to the Universities in Scotland. One seat to be shared by Glasgow and Aberdeen the other by St Andrews and Edinburgh, members of the General Council being entitled to vote.

regulating the universities, with regard to religious tests and for the union of the universities in Aberdeen. Apart from the 1853 Act relating to religious tests all had failed on the opposition of vested interests at institutional and community levels, but as Anderson has pointed out the involvement of the Government and its investigations were not disputed by the Scots or their universities as was the case in Oxford in the 1850s.⁶⁰ The Scottish universities were used to state interference and the involvement of the established church and, to some extent, their host burghs.

By the Act of 1858 the administrative structure of the universities was amended, creating a set of representative groups for interested parties. University courts were instituted and empowered to oversee revenue, property and some appointments in the universities. (Their structure can be seen in appendix 2.1.) At Edinburgh, the Town Council had lost some of its rights as patron of the university in 1858 and in recompense and recognition of their traditional role the court at Edinburgh had the Lord Provost and a nominee of the Town Council as additional members. The remaining rights of patronage of Town Council were granted to the Curators of Patronage.⁶¹ The creation of the court structure gave representation to students, graduates and senate

60 Anderson R D Ed and Op in Vic Scotland. p. 38.
Woodward E L Age of Reform, p. 491.

61 The Patronage of the Town Council in the appointment of professors was henceforth vested in the Curators of Patronage, a body of seven members, four nominated by the Town Council, three by the University.

allowing these groups the means to communicate with each other and through the court to Government.⁶² It created a system of checks and balances on the financial and administrative affairs of the universities.

The Act of 1858 also empowered Commissioners to lay down ordinances and regulations for all the universities. Their powers ran until 1.1.1863 and the majority of their members had legal backgrounds,⁶³ including Inglis and Moncrieff who had helped to formulate the legislation of 1857 and 1858. The Commission was appointed to

draw up, inter alia, conditions, to be uniform for the four universities, for the courses of study, the manner of examination, and the regulations under which degrees were to be conferred.⁶⁴

The university courts could, to an extent, alter ordinances to meet internal requirements and each university could propose alterations, allowing for comment from representatives of the university's community.

As an impact of 1858 the Commissioner's ordinances abolished the problematic Bachelor of Arts degree in 1861

62 T. Gairdner Pamphlet "A Plea for an-^{* insert here} the General Community", MDCCCLXV, 1.11.1865. On Curricular reforms in the Faculty of Arts written for the General Council in 1865 and a further example is the petition by the University Court, with the support of the Senate and General Council, of the University of Glasgow pressing for Parliamentary representation in 1860-61.

63 The Commissioners in 1858 were: The Duke of Argyll, 3 Court of Session Judges, i.e. Lord President McNeil, Lord Justice Clerk Inglis, Lord Ardmillan, James Moncrieff, Mr William Stirling of Keir, afterwards Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Mr Murray Dunlop, M.P., and Mr Robert Berry was Secretary.

64 Morgan Scottish University Studies, p. 80.

* Extension and Alteration of the Curriculum in Arts in the University of Glasgow, with a view to meet more perfectly the wants of

and laid down uniform regulations and curriculum for the Master of Arts, while allowing specialisation afterwards. The actions of the 1858 Commissioners satisfied some calls for reform but stimulated others. Problems also arose from the failings of the governing structures put in place by the 1858 legislation. While the university courts had aimed to bring in outside involvement in the overseeing of university affairs, as the 1876 Commission report put it

the Rector elected by the students is generally a person of eminence resident at a distance from the University seat, whose public or other duties render it unlikely that he can attend, except on rare occasions.⁶⁵

Such a situation arose at St Andrews with its election in 1865 of John Stuart Mill, who at the time was living in Avignon⁶⁶ and initially refused the position. His absentee status menaced the presence of a quorum, creating problems in theory for the smooth running of the courts. In part these problems could be offset by the contribution that such 'ornamental' rectors could make by their political contacts and input to the debate concerning the role of the university in society.⁶⁷

65 Report of the Royal Commissioners 1878, Vol. 1, p. 9.

66 Mill A J. 'The First Ornamental Rector at St Andrews University: John Stuart Mill'. Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XLIII (1964) p. 131-144. p. 133. Mill cites the 1846 Report of the St andrews University Commissioners p.xxxvii that the aim of a Rector was that "by acceptance, should engage to perform personally the duties of the office".

67 Garforth F.W. Educative Democracy, John Stuart Mill on Education in Society, Oxford University Press, 1980.

The role of the Arts curriculum as laid down by the Commissioners in 1861 was seen as too rigid to take account of requirements of the age. It maintained the vested interests of the professors in limiting the number of chairs and subjects, an increase in which could lessen their incomes, and

in the course of time a reaction set in against the procrustean requirements of the uniform curriculum of seven subjects.⁶⁸

Thus the course of reform continued past 1858 but with a variety of bodies representing different groups in the community now able to voice opinion within a legal framework thereby giving more legitimacy in their claims. The period after 1858 saw renewed concern over the issues of patronage, the curriculum, and the role and rights of women to university education. Associations for women's education were formed in Edinburgh in 1868 and Glasgow in 1877, leading to parallel lectures for women, with Edinburgh granting in 1874 University Certificates in Arts. The issue of equal rights for women continued into the 1880s with the Glasgow University Council Association,⁶⁹ formed by D.C. McVail and W.R. Herkless,

This input shall be considered more fully in chapter four with relation to such figures as Moncrieff and Gladstone.

68 Morgan Scottish University Studies, p. 82.

69 The Association had over 1000 members and had seven main aims these being:

1. To introduce entrance examinations and raise standards.
2. Enlarge the University Courts making them more representative.
3. To transfer executive power and revenue from the Senate to the Court.
4. To allow the Court to enlarge teaching staff.
5. To give more powers to the General Council and give them a greater role in Court affairs.

maintaining the aim of equal rights as one of their key aims. Many of the goals of the Association were to be achieved by the legislation of 1889 which followed on the recommendations seen in the Reports from the Royal Commission of 1876.

After the legislation of 1889 the university courts were enlarged, (see Appendix 2.1), due to the work of the Scottish Secretary, Lord Lothian, who made many additions to the original bills as prepared in the early 1880s by Lord Rosebery.⁷⁰ The 1889 Act included additional features of popularisation allowing those interested in the university system a means to articulate their opinions and advance their proposals. For example it brought to all the courts a civic element, which had been seen at Edinburgh since 1858, and allowed greater participation by the general council members.

The Institutionalising of Community Influence:
The General Councils

The general councils allowed for graduates to participate actively in the development of the universities through a body which enjoyed the legitimacy provided by legal recognition. Thus councils potentially provided the largest forum for input from the community. Under the 1858 Universities (Scotland) Act each general council elected an assessor to the court of its

6. To allow the formation of students representative councils.

7. To institute new degrees and facilities when required.

8. To admit women to University teaching and graduation on equal terms with men.

70 Donaldson J, University Addresses, p. 108-9.

university; after 1889 this increased to four. Those graduates aged twenty-one and over could apply for life membership costing twenty shillings; the register of members was updated every December.

From the outset general council members elected the chancellors of their respective universities. Yet this did not lead to particularly lively politics, not least because chancellors often saw their role as following rather than leading the wishes of the general council. For example, when Lord Kelvin nominated his assessor to Glasgow's court in 1904 he did so 'hoping that this would be agreeable to the university council'.⁷¹ It was conventional to try to avoid politics - and controversy of all kinds - when general councils chose chancellors. Even in 1868, a time of heightened partisan activity in Edinburgh, the argument was made for the chancellor's election that 'the election should not be a political gauge but should be concerned with the best man for the job'.⁷² Also, in many cases general council's assessors stood unopposed. In Edinburgh in 1867 only 189 members were involved in the election of the assessor.⁷³ When, after a show of hands, there was a demand for a poll of all members, attempts were made to evade this on the grounds of cost of the inaccuracy of the lists of

71. GUA ref DC 183/1/4, p.9.

72 Edinburgh University Special Collections General Council, loose papers Edinburgh Evening Courant, Saturday October 31st 1868 (report of the discussions at the meeting of the general council to nominate candidates for the chancellorship); Edinburgh Gazette, November 24th, 1868.

73 Edinburgh University Special Collections Loose papers The Daily Review, Saturday, Oct 26th.

graduates. At Glasgow in 1905 the assessors were still voted in by a show of hands behind locked doors.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, as Table 2.1 shows, general council numbers, and the importance of the councils' registers, had increased sharply when, in 1868, graduates (excluding women until 1918) obtained the right to elect members for the two new parliamentary seats for Scottish universities.

Table 2.1
Numbers of General Council Members at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh c.1865 - 1911.

YEAR	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	
	GLASGOW	EDINBURGH
1865	900	c2,100
1870	2,500	3,614
1875	2,759	3,718
1880	3,168	4,386
1885	4,024	5,158
1890	4,855	6,376
1895	5,205	7,712
1900	5,686	8,667
1905	6,549	9,736
1910	7,660	10,883

SOURCE: Glasgow and Edinburgh University Calendars

What did these rapidly growing general councils do? It was competent for them 'to take into consideration all questions affecting the well-being of the University, and to make representations from time to time to the University Court, who shall return to the Council their deliverances thereon'.⁷⁵ In this function the councils were assisted by the Secretary for Scotland who provided them, after 1889, with the printed statistics concerning attendance and finances of their

74 GUA ref DC 183/1/4. p. 18

75 Glasgow University Calendar 1890 - 91 p. 35.

universities.⁷⁶ Charged with representing graduate influence in university development, the general councils met, by statute, twice a year at the start and close of the winter terms. Meetings were opened with a prayer and closed with a benediction. These meetings concentrated on reports about university activities but also included voting on motions and amendments to outline council views on major issues.

Meeting places included the Queen Street Hall in Edinburgh in 1869 and, in Glasgow, the Old College before the 1870s and later the Bute Hall at Gilmorehill.⁷⁷ Yet in Glasgow buildings in the city centre such as the Trades Hall were sometimes used, suggesting a deliberate effort to maximise attendance by graduates.⁷⁸ At the first Edinburgh meeting around 500 members were involved for the election of the assessor to the court.⁷⁹ Yet most meetings were poorly attended. The Daily Review in 1867 described attendance at the April meeting in Edinburgh as 'very limited'⁸⁰ and the evidence presented to the Royal Commission of 1876-8 led to the considered view that

the attendance at the meetings of Council is relatively very small, so as hardly to ensure an adequate representation of what may be the

76 ibid Glasgow University Calendar 1890 - 91 p. 35.

77 Edinburgh University Special Collections General Council loose papers, copy of meeting 20th April 1869.

78 GUA ref DC 183/3/2 A special meeting of the Council was called to discuss aspects of the 1889 Act.

79 Edinburgh University Special Collections General Council Minute Book 28 OCT 1858 - 27 OCT 1905 p. 8.

80 Edinburgh University Special Collections General Council, loose papers, The Daily Review, Wednesday, April 17 1867.

opinions of the aggregate body.⁸¹

It was recognised that while graduates showed disinterest, professional commitments could preclude attendance by members on the weekdays and other members could be put off attending because they did not live near the universities.⁸² Fortunately the specified quorum did not have to be adhered to for general meetings.

Nevertheless, while the general membership of the councils was largely inert, except in particular crises and at election times, their committees were active participants in university government. Indeed, the prominence of general council committees may have discouraged active membership by a wider clientele. In any case, acting through these committees the councils, like the courts, provided an important, cheap contribution to the running of the universities.

The councils in Glasgow and Edinburgh set up business committees which dealt with nearly all matters arising. At Glasgow the business committee was around ten members strong and as at Edinburgh members interested in acting on the committee put their names on a list. In Glasgow in 1904 when three members stood down from the business committee the three suggested replacement names were voted on unanimously; the incidence of elections for committee work appears to have been very slight.⁸³

81 Report of the Royal Commissioners 1878 volume 1 Murray and Gibb 1878, Edinburgh. p. 19.

82 Report of the Royal Commissioners 1878 volume 1 Murray and Gibb 1878, Edinburgh. p. 19 - 20.

83 GUA ref DC 183/1/4 26th Oct 1904 p. 7.

Membership of committees fluctuated: at Edinburgh the business committee had 23 members in 1863 but about ten fewer in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Special committees could be larger and include both academic members and lay celebrities. For instance, members of an 1869 Edinburgh committee on graduation included ten professors, the Principal and the Solicitor General for Scotland.⁸⁴

From council committees the interests of the council can be gauged. Short term committees appointed at Glasgow in the 1900s reported on a Scottish education bill, the role of modern languages in the bursary competition, practical training in engineering, the university recreation ground and the graduates' university extension committee.⁸⁵ The councils showed interests in student welfare and the provision of greater facilities for the universities. They also wanted to widen and modernise the curriculum. In 1890 the Glasgow council called for the founding and endowing of a chair of Pathology; at Edinburgh a committee collected funds for the endowment of a chair of Celtic.⁸⁶ The influence and standing of Scottish universities were also important to the councils. At Edinburgh the possibility of a

84 Edinburgh University Special Collections General Council Minute Book 28 OCT 1858 - 27 OCT 1905. Meeting 29th Oct 1869.

85 GUA ref DC 183/1/4

86 GUA ref DC 183/3/2. 23rd April 1890; Edinburgh University Special Collections General Council Minute Book, 28th Oct 1858-27th Oct 1905, 20th April 1880.

General University Court for Scotland was discussed.⁸⁷ Councils wanted to push for 'equal standing and equipment as at Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin', with all degrees 'equally recognised'.⁸⁸

The appearance of the Solicitor General at Edinburgh council meetings suggests that the general councils were seen as influential despite their low attendances. Certainly the meetings were not easily controlled either by academics or the courts. At Edinburgh the Provost at least occasionally attended.⁸⁹ Even when, in the absence of a lay dignitary, an academic chaired a general council meeting, the graduates were not necessarily deferential. In 1869, for example, Professor Blackie at Edinburgh branded a council motion in favour of control of university seats 'premature',⁹⁰ but it was approved just the same.

Thus the general councils, especially through their business and special committees, made a significant contribution to university government while allowing a much larger, and rapidly increasing, group of graduates to 'blow off steam' periodically regarding university affairs. In these ways the councils enhanced both the efficiency and the legitimacy of university government,

87 Edinburgh University Special Collections, General Council Minute Book, 28th OCT 1858 - 27th OCT 1905. 20th April 1880.

88 Edinburgh University Special Collections, General Council Minute Book, 28 OCT 1858 - 27 OCT 1905. p. 43.

89 Edinburgh University Special Collections General Council Minute Book 28 OCT 1858 - 27 OCT 1905. p. 15.

90 Edinburgh University Special Collections General Council Minute Book 28 OCT 1858 - 27 OCT 1905. p. 15.

realising some of the aims of the reformers of the 19th-century Scottish universities.

On the other hand, membership of the councils, because it was restricted to graduates, was slanted toward particular occupational groups and their members. Also, the restriction to graduates meant that only those already with a stake in the university could participate through the councils in university affairs. Moreover, compared to the courts the general councils had much more limited powers, met less frequently and did not show the same levels of sustained activity. Thus analysis of general council activities is not as revealing as is analysis of the courts which included, especially after 1889, significant general council input concerning the extent and impact of university links to the community.

Already more powerful before 1889, afterward the enlarged courts were given more power, particularly with regard to appointments. The 1876 Commission had found fault with the situation whereby the courts controlled only 20 of the 103 chairs. Of the remainder, 51 were filled by the Crown,⁹¹ 16 by the Curators of Patronage at Edinburgh, and 16 in other ways.⁹² While the 1889 legislation laid the foundations for Scottish academic professionalisation,⁹³ and the use of confidential

91 Up to 1885 patronage of Crown posts lay with the Lord Advocate as the leading political figure in Scotland whose recommendation was passed to the Home Secretary. After 1885 the Scottish Secretary took over this responsibility.

92 Anderson R D 'Profile of an elite'. Scottish Social and Economic History 1987, Vol. 7, p. 27-53.

93 *ibid* Anderson R D p. 27-53. In 1889 allowing for increases in staffing levels with by 1907, 140 lecturers

reports by senate committees might by-pass lay input, the increased lay representation on the post-1889 courts with their appointing powers may have eased long-standing public suspicion of university appointments.

The work of the 1889 legislation and of the commissioners appointed by the Act was wide ranging and addressed many issues of reform. Student representative councils formed in 1884 in Edinburgh, with Aberdeen, St Andrews and Glasgow following suit by 1886 were recognised as having 'proved a valuable link between the students and the university authorities'.⁹⁴ They also allowed for the authorities of both university and city to contain riotous and rowdy behaviour of students by self regulation by student leaders. The admission to graduation for women was achieved in 1892, adding to student numbers, facilities and finance, as at Glasgow with the affiliation of the Queen Margaret College,⁹⁵ one of the 169 Ordinances achieved by 1897. A further area reformed was entrance examinations, achieved three years after the Scottish Education Department had introduced leaving certificates as part of their policy to improve standards.⁹⁶ To a certain extent such examinations restricted entry to the universities, but the social

and 172 assistants. With the Parliamentary Grant of 1892 the binding of Professors incomes to fees was broken, a common salary paid with retiral and pensions formerly instituted.

94 Morgan Scottish University Studies, p. 54.

95 GUA ref DC 233 /2/4/4/48 - DC 233 /2/4/4/53. contains letters from Mrs Elder to the Principal voicing her objections to the spending of the monies intended for women students educational needs.

96 Anderson R D Ed and Op in Vic Scotland. p. 339.

background of students was not drastically affected.⁹⁷

This situation was eased by the Carnegie Fund, which by the early twentieth century was paying the fees for half the student body, including 70% of Arts students.

Curricular change was affected by the 1889 Act: by Ordinance science faculties were established in the universities from 1893-94; between 1886-1900 the percentage of students matriculating with the aim of attaining a Doctorate of Science or a Bachelor of Science rose in Glasgow and Edinburgh from 0% to 12.1% and 0.1% to 11.1% respectively. The creation of more science places and the introduction of the Bachelor of Science helped St Andrews general recovery in the 1870s.⁹⁸ While Scottish Universities have been seen as weak in producing science graduates for industry, they had entrepreneurial teachers with contacts in industry, while England had 'nothing comparable'.⁹⁹ In 1875, of the 3241 graduates in medicine practising in England, 2829 or 87% were products of Scots Universities;¹⁰⁰ England looked to Scotland for many of her professionals.

While Scotland may have had success in these areas university education was weakened by the binding together of the curricula in Arts from the 1860s.¹⁰¹ The rigidity of the 1861 curriculum was made over to a wider, more

97 Morgan Scottish University Studies, p. 85.

98 Sanderson M. The Universities and British Industry 1972, p. 154.

99 Sanderson M. The Universities and British Industry 1972, p. 162.

100 Roderick G.W., Stephens M.D. Education and Industry in the 19th century, Longman New York, London, 1978.

101 Morgan Scottish University Studies, p. 86.

flexible, choice which allowed for over 600 degree permutations by the end of the 1880s. The agreement of the Universities in 1908 to institute their own regulations in ordinance provided them with a flexibility in development, flexibility which could be conveyed to Government through the Committee of the Privy Council established as a bridge between the universities and Government.

In general conclusion then it is clear that lay input to development and reform in the nineteenth century achieved a great many of its aims. Calls for reform came from different groups and its emphasis changed as the century progressed. Certain aspects of reform, such as the curricular questions, were based on the perceptions of how society was managing and where it was going for opposition to change could be bound up with anxiety in society. While groups in society, such as the church, realised that past administrative frameworks and certainties had begun to lose credibility, and could no longer ameliorate the ills of society, they could still be active in avoiding change which threatened their interests. The universities came out of the shadow of clerical and Government patronage into a more open system of administration. The rights of students, graduates and the professoriate were recognised and tensions between them regulated into a more ordered fashion. By 1914 a great many of the reformist demands had been met and profound changes brought on the universities

throughout the century had stimulated interest and debate on the subject. In certain respects reform created a momentum of its own affecting the universities in a real way as when the Disruption exacerbated the existing demands for change by stimulating it in the resultant realignment in society. By setting up commissions the Government admitted their own responsibility and culpability in addressing the areas in need of reform and creating the legislation to achieve them. Reform in the universities crossed a whole range of issues in what the aims of groups in the community, at national and local levels, were and how the university was tied up in these secular and religious concepts. Sentiment played a strong if understated and hidden role. What is clear though is that reform created a lay element in university administration through general councils and university courts.

These groups allowed for representation and change. As the courts were clearly the main body drawing elements from lay, academic and student support their membership and activities require consideration to assess their significance. These shall be analysed in the following two chapters with some references to general council activities. Within this framework it will be considered whether reform in the universities of the nineteenth century brought greater input from lay interests, especially those which were of increasing importance in the communities surrounding the university.

Three: Members of the Scottish University Courts

This chapter focuses on university courts, and in particular on the role of lay members.¹ The courts provide the most sustained, broad and comparative input to university administration by laymen working with academics. They are distinct from the commissioners and the general councils in that they were neither crown appointees or members by right of holding a degree or attending the university. Most courts members were elected from a variety of groups within and outwith the immediate community and these members held powers to oversee university administration and determine its policies. This chapter therefore addresses the type of laymen involved in the courts; their activities are considered in the following chapter.

The extent of lay participation in university affairs requires special attention because it can show how far the universities were in touch with local and national influences and whether they responded positively or negatively to them. Further it can expose just which sections of society were best able to exert influence on the universities. Such an assessment of the court members should provide a clearer picture of the role played by university-community relations with reference

1 Cameron D M 'Contest Over Control of the nineteenth century universities of Scotland and England.' PHD Thesis, Open University. 1988. DX 75962/87. Cameron's work on the royal commissions and commissioners shows the influence of different interest groups in university affairs but has comparatively little to say about university courts.

to the alleged negative role of the universities in the decline in Britain's economic superiority in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The new university courts were envisaged as a means of removing senates' conflict of interest in dealing with finances and appointments. Though broadly similar, the structure of the initial courts differed in that Edinburgh had eight members, reflecting greater civic involvement, while Aberdeen and St Andrews had six members each. At Glasgow the seventh member was the Dean of Faculty, historically a visitor to the University. However, after 1889 all the universities had civic representatives in enlarged courts, though St Andrews maintained a slightly different structure. (The structure of the courts can be seen in appendix 2.1.)

It is proposed to compare the memberships of the courts over time and between universities, looking both at individual examples and general patterns. Consideration is also given to topics such as geographic origin, social background, educational experience, occupation, religious adherence and political allegiance. This analysis will show the types of interests and forces to which university governance was exposed, links from which the universities might profit but which also might limit their autonomy. In addition attention is paid to the involvement of court members in educational reform and their holding of positions of influence, such as members of Parliament, for example. (Detailed tables are given in appendix 3.2).

By using the benchmark years 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910, six courts for each university, can be reviewed. These benchmark years were chosen as being far apart enough to allow for changes in membership. As several members were elected every three or four years an idea can be gained of the turnover of court members and the continuity of membership. In addition they also allow for comparisons of possible differences between three smaller courts from the period before 1889 and three larger courts in the balance of the period to 1910. (Memberships of these twenty four courts can be seen in appendix 3.1 with some short biographical notes on members.) After looking at some notable individuals the chapter examines the courts of the individual universities beginning with Glasgow and then Edinburgh comparing their membership interests and contacts. These are then compared more generally to the patterns seen at Aberdeen and St Andrews. This approach is to show if patterns emerge for court memberships which are shared by all or peculiar to a particular university.

Throughout the period only men were members, although as women could graduate from the 1890s they might then have appeared. To this extent it was even more exclusive than local government during the period.² Of the men who acted on courts, certain types appeared regularly throughout the period. In certain respects their shared characteristics flowed from their involvement in

² Hollis P Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865 - 1914. Oxford 1987.

voluntary administrative work. Because of the unpaid nature of court work and its lengthy weekday meetings, court members were nearly all members of either the upper class or the comfortable middle class. While some members did come from poorer social backgrounds they had been upwardly mobile before entering the courts. Those with independent sources of income predominated as they were best able to overcome the practical restrictions of absence from work and lost earnings. Thus from appendix 3.1 it can be seen that aristocrats and landowners acted on courts, for example the Earl of Rosebery at Aberdeen, the Earl of Elgin at Glasgow and E F Maitland at Edinburgh. These representatives of the established landed elite in Scotland appear along with those from the rest of Britain showing the traditional influence of these groups in institutional governance. Their influence could be seen throughout the period. While his immediate family background was middle-class, Glasgow's Principal MacAlister (appointed in 1907) was the descendant of an Argyll laird.³ Thus while James Moncrieff came from a radical landed family, his main identity lay mainly in being an important politician and a leading figure in the Scottish legal profession.⁴

Also of importance were other traditional interest groups such as the church and the legal profession. Members had many and varied outside interests, many were

3 Addison W Innes The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858 J Maclehose and Sons Glasgow 1913. p. 8.

4 Concise Dictionary of National Biography to 1900 p. 887.

involved in politics at national and local levels such as the Conservative M P Cochran Patrick at Glasgow in 1890, and William Law, Edinburgh's Lord Provost, a court member in 1870. Others had experience in service to the state and other official and voluntary institutions at home and overseas. This great variety of interests and contacts amongst members increased as members with commercial, industrial and manufacturing interests appeared on courts, alongside those from the broadening professional classes.

Most court members were voluntary policy makers outside the universities as well as within. An example of such a member was John Hutchison at Glasgow in 1910. A teacher and rector of Glasgow High School, he also was a governor of the Victoria Infirmary and wrote of reform in Russian universities. David Dundas, court member at Edinburgh in 1900 and 1910, was a governor of Fettes College Edinburgh and enjoyed ample political and legal connections as Solicitor General. W S Brown, Lord Provost of Edinburgh and on the court of 1910, had a furniture business; his role in local government involved him in issues of slum clearance and public health, which also interested him, as a manager of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. In addition he was a governor of the Fettes Trust and an elder in the United Free Church. In the Aberdeen court in 1890 David Stewart was a chairman of the Great North ^{of Scotland} Railway Company and the Northern Assurance Company. While engaged in extending Aberdeen city boundaries he was also greatly involved in

the building extension at Marischal College. From these examples alone, not to mention the important educational figures who appeared as court members, the breadth of connections to commercial and public activities can be seen. How these interests, and the backgrounds related to them, were shared by particular courts will now be focused on for the courts during the three benchmark years of 1860, 1870 and 1880.

The Courts 1860 - 1880

Because of their smaller size the courts before 1889 potentially drew on a more limited social, political and religious base than would their later counterparts. The Glasgow Court of 1860-61 had seven members, three from titled backgrounds, one son of a prominent Glasgow merchant and two ministers of religion in the Church of Scotland. All had Scottish connections, including two very important Scots Liberal figures, James Moncrieff and the general council assessor Andrew Bannatyne. While there were Tory members, Liberal reformers held the majority. The inclusion of the James Moncrieff, the Lord Advocate, was of great importance allowing the university direct contact with the leading political figure in Scotland; such contact could be used to find well placed sympathetic ears for university problems. The court was dominated by the traditional elite groups of aristocracy, church and law but contained the paradox that these very members were mainly reformist in hue and were pressing for changes which would modify the traditional elite groups' monopoly of power.

By 1870-71 the Glasgow court was less involved with aristocratic elements than ten years earlier. Two members had titles, two had church backgrounds and the remainder had upper middle-class links with trade or the professions. This court had strong links with political figures from both Liberal and Tory parties, nor was this an inactive court! The senate assessor Allen Thompson and the Rector's assessor James Campbell were very vigorous in promoting improvements to facilities in the university for the removal to Gilmorehill.

In the 1879-81 Glasgow court no major members of the landed elite were apparent, representing a significant shift in background. Indeed the majority were based in trade, commerce and industrial activity. Nearly all were Scots with links to Glasgow. Through the Rector William Gladstone, his assessor Alexander Crum and the chancellor's assessor James Campbell, ties were maintained with central government. The links to business and industry reflected the new staple industries important to the City; more so than in the past, broad commercial interests could be clearly seen at the heart of university administration.

Overall between 1860 and 1881 the social background of the Glasgow court shifted from the more traditional Scots elite groups of church and land to a predominance of manufacturing, commercial and professional backgrounds.⁵ The latter groups were beginning to exert increased

⁵ All three Lord Rectors had English public school and Oxbridge backgrounds to their education and this continues in the three courts considered post 1889.

influence in society, and the reformed structure of university governance allowed this leverage to be reflected on the court. By maintaining links with important politicians Glasgow could exert influence and lobby government through them. Local action was also facilitated by courts which reflected key local economic interests. This period saw the shift of the university from the High Street to Gilmorehill and court members were highly involved in this venture, planning the move and raising funds for the University and its associated medical department. Thus throughout the first half of the period the Glasgow court included politicians as representatives; they sat alongside representatives from landed and church interests who gave way to a predominance of local industrial and commercial interests.

In comparison the Edinburgh court of 1860 contained a high proportion of professionals in law and medicine. Politically links with government were seen in W.E. Gladstone and his assessor as well as through the general council assessor E F Maitland, the involvement of whom in the legal establishment of Scotland was an important area of contact. This court had a high proportion of Liberals as well as those with links to dissenting religious groups. The majority were born in Scotland and six of the eight had attended the university.

When compared to Glasgow a similar reformist line was apparent in Edinburgh but there appear to have been fewer aristocratic and landed interests in Edinburgh. No one

at Glasgow had a medical career in the court of 1860 whereas there were two in Edinburgh. In religion, Glasgow shows evidence of members of the Church of Scotland (C of S), whereas Edinburgh had several Free Church members (F C of S). In education those at Glasgow had attended a broader spectrum of Scottish universities than those of Edinburgh.

In taking this comparison further the 1870 court at Edinburgh contained four lawyers, a civil servant, a divine, a scientist/medical lecturer and a merchant. At least five were born in Scotland, similar to the native proportion in Glasgow. Five went to Edinburgh University, again a strong concentration when Glasgow displayed a wider number of university backgrounds. The courts of both included important political and legal figures in James Moncrieff and E Strathearn Gordon, representing Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities in Parliament. The position of Principal Grant at Edinburgh could have influenced the curricular debate with his experiences in India and the Civil Service. Edinburgh continued to have fewer members with aristocratic and landed backgrounds. Edinburgh had more in the professions, especially law, even though one of these was a journalist. At Edinburgh five members were involved with educational committees outwith the university, more than the three seen at Glasgow.

By 1880 the Edinburgh court had at least five Scots as members and a more varied set of university origins than Glasgow. The Edinburgh court had little role for

industrialists and manufacturers. The printing business was as far as Edinburgh went and there were no James Kings involved in chemicals, minerals, railways and banks.

Thus up to 1889 the courts at Glasgow and Edinburgh differed in their social composition. Even Principal Caird of Glasgow came from an engineering background. James King was a major industrialist and Alexander Crum was involved in textiles, banking and railways. Edinburgh's members commercial links were more limited and traditional. Yet Edinburgh's status as the legal centre of Scotland, with an especially important medical school, was reflected in the high instance of legal contacts and members linked to medicine and medical provision. As such both courts reflected the particular commercial and professional interests which were especially important to their respective communities.

Other similarities were the persistence of politicians, religious and political diversity and high turnover between benchmark years (though Professor Christison at Edinburgh appeared as senate and later general council assessor on all the courts). Basically the courts members showed a cross section of those interests in the community best able to work in a voluntary capacity. How far then did these broad conclusions hold for Aberdeen and St Andrews?

Overall the Aberdeen Court of 1860 was quite Liberal in its politics and its members were involved in the traditional professions of religion, law and medicine.

The aristocratic element apparent at Glasgow was absent at Aberdeen apart from the landholding laird of Banchory, who had opposed the union of the universities in Aberdeen, but reformers were seen in the form of Alexander Kilgour, the general council assessor. The professional element was again to be seen at St Andrews and the C of S was represented. As at Glasgow and Edinburgh, the courts at Aberdeen and St Andrews continued to 1880 to hold representatives from politics, the civil service, law, religion and medicine. Neither St Andrews nor Aberdeen had the civic element directly recognised on their courts as was to be seen at Edinburgh, nor the Dean of Faculty as seen at Glasgow. Also they did not have either major industrialists like Glasgow's James King or Glasgow's penchant for aristocratic members. St Andrews and Aberdeen were more akin to Edinburgh in their preference for professionals.

The lack of industrialists at St Andrews is not surprising. It was a small coastal town, whose development relied on the university and its attraction as a quiet resort for those in poor health. Aberdeen at first sight seems more perplexing in this respect. Its population rose from less than 80,000 in 1851 to 105,000 in 1881, this growth was coupled with expanding manufacturing activity such as J and J Crombie in woollens. Aberdeen was also a major port for the export of stone, a fishing centre and had strengths in specialised shipbuilding. Even so industrial units were mainly smaller and more specialised than in Glasgow or

Dundee. As a result Aberdeen, like St Andrews, did not have the same types of commercial interests on which to draw resulting in greater potential input by professionals. This was appropriate because Aberdeen was a major professional centre, acting for example as the legal metropolis for the North Eastern and Northern counties.

Aberdeen and St Andrews, like Glasgow and Edinburgh, maintained links with important political figures such as James Moncrieff and the Earl of Derby. Continuing representation from the legal, religious and medical professions provided links to the established and secessionist groupings in religion and to the influential medical and legal associations. The evidence suggests that Aberdeen was more inclined to Liberal members on its courts than the other courts and the established C of S is well represented in an area which was traditionally a base for the Episcopalian Church. In universities attended by members Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh had higher returns for themselves than St Andrews, with its relatively small number of graduates, where the spread seems to have been more even. Overall while members reappeared on all the courts Aberdeen seems to have been more prone to repeating members than elsewhere with three examples on the courts of 1870 and 1880.

Despite some contrasts among the universities in the social profile and turnover of pre 1890 court membership, they shared many characteristics. For place of birth Aberdeen shows returns for the North East, Highlands and

North whereas St Andrews indicates the North East and East Central. Edinburgh shows returns for the Lothians, East Central and Highlands with Glasgow showing more from the West, Lothians and Highlands. It can be broadly concluded that each university drew from its own locality for members even before the greater general council representation after 1889.

In politics Glasgow again stands out with apparently more Conservative court members than the other courts where Liberals held sway. Glasgow again had more members who were members of Parliament than the other courts including Edinburgh, which seems surprising given that the latter was the administrative capital, though Glasgow as a larger city had more constituencies. With respect to local government Edinburgh and Aberdeen stand out with higher returns than Glasgow and St Andrews.

In religious terms Edinburgh stands out as the court where non-establishment adherents were to be seen and in this the court reflected the Town Council which was particularly anti-establishment. The other three courts show no signs of dominance by non-establishment factions. Indeed the number of court members who would have links with the C of S and the position of Moderator is quite marked in Aberdeen, even into the later period.

So far in these earlier courts it is clear that they reflected some of the dominant interests of the community to which they belonged. This is most marked and seen earliest in Glasgow with representatives from industrial and commercial interests more apparent than at the other

universities. Aberdeen and St Andrews reflect more the established professions and church outlook and like Edinburgh are more Liberal. While all the courts reflect the interests of elite groups and have peculiarities it is clear that Glasgow stands out.

The Courts 1890 to 1910

From appendix 2.1 the structure of the courts after 1889 can be seen with greater civic and graduate input at all the universities. The larger Glasgow court of 1890-91 had more members from the mercantile and industrial middle-class, such as Sir John N Cuthbertson, than ever before. An increased degree of power sharing with the older elites can be seen to have been emerging; the entrepreneurial class and their offspring were increasingly playing a role in administrative organisation. Yet evidence of 'democratisation' is slim. Two court members' fathers had come from lower middle-class backgrounds, those of a clerk and a small town official registrar. Yet their sons were firmly entrenched in the upper middle class. Money was endemic, based on land, church, law, business or industry. In the case of Professor George Ramsay there is probably evidence of internal university patronage on the part of his uncle. Though created as part of reform the courts were still open to nepotism which had been criticised by reformers earlier in the century.⁶ More typical of the court members are their links to other areas of

⁶ Anderson R D 'Scottish University Professors Elite' Scottish Economic and Social History Vol 7, 1987. p. 27-54. p. 29.

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educational provision at all levels (as seen in appendix 2.1.), notably the Glasgow City Educational Endowments Board and the West of Scotland Technical College. The court was therefore an unofficial forum for the discussion and representation of other areas of education.

Similarly the Glasgow court of 1900-1 had a membership rooted in the higher levels of the middle classes and the larger court also allowed the aristocracy more opportunities for representation, where these had dwindled on the smaller courts as other interests had gained representation. Very much involved in reform in university and other social matters, the philanthropic and voluntary activities of these men can be seen as a way for elites to gain responsibilities within society and in part enhance their social status. Alongside interests across a wide educational spectrum can be seen membership of professional organisations such as the Educational Institute of Scotland (E I S), and the General Medical Council.

Glasgow's court in 1910-11 was increasingly dominated by men with interests based in industry and commercial activity although aristocratic elements remained as did those of law, land and church. Proponents of reform continued to appear throughout the period from 1860-1911 from Lord Advocate Moncrieff to D.C. McVail, who brought into existence the Glasgow University Council Association in the 1880s. McVail was pressing for changes at Glasgow in matters such as financial accounting in the 1900s.

For the most part the Glasgow courts of the latter period consisted of Scots, often with Glasgow links. The position of the Church of Scotland was weakened and non establishment church members rose in proportion. The University of Glasgow was not isolated from contact with the business sectors of the economy, quite the contrary and many of these men were interested in other educational institutions. Over the whole period Glasgow's court increasingly tied the university to leading figures of the community. The university had ample opportunity to exchange views with influential figures in the local community and major politicians at a national level.

Glasgow and Edinburgh court members, such as Provost William Brown at Edinburgh in 1910, increasingly were involved in running other colleges,⁷ working as members of educational boards and committees enhancing social position and providing influence. James Bell, the steamship owner from Glasgow, was involved in the city administration taking over the trusts for police, gas, water and parks. He participated in efforts to relieve the unemployed in Glasgow and paid for entertainment for poor citizens.

Thus the attempts to widen representation in the University Act of 1889 had allowed the upper middle classes to take an even more direct role in the government of their local university, just as they were playing an increasing role in their local community power

⁷ Brown was a governor of the Fettes Trust.

structure more generally. Yet as with the earlier smaller courts there was little real popular democratisation outwith the older elite groups and the newer moneyed interests in industry, commerce and the professions.

Even after the Act of 1889 there were some differences among the universities in the structure of their courts. For example St Andrews had more members because of the affiliation to Dundee College. In general, however, the structure became more similar. Glasgow, in common with the other Scottish Universities, had the principle of civic involvement of the Lord Provost and Town assessor imposed by the 1889 legislation which had been seen at Edinburgh as early as 1858. Yet even with this similar set up Glasgow and Edinburgh were to differ markedly in their members' links, especially those to industry and commerce. While Glasgow had many court members linked to coal owning, shipping, minerals, banking and engineering, Edinburgh had far fewer of such links as professionals dominated instead.

The Edinburgh court of 1890, like its Glasgow contemporary, had important political figures, with Moir Todd Darling and Sir John Hay Athol Macdonald, Lord Kingsburgh, at Edinburgh providing an equivalent to Glasgow's Cochran Patrick, an Under-Secretary of State for Scotland from 1887-1892. Glasgow's Rector, the Earl of Lytton and Edinburgh's Principal William Muir had both worked in the administration of India though they had differing social backgrounds. Most members of both

courts were Scottish, at least ten in Glasgow and nine in Edinburgh. Both display a concentration of education at their own universities. The main difference appears to be that Edinburgh court members were more inclined to have professional careers with more members in medicine.

In 1900 the court in Edinburgh had five members involved in law, Glasgow had two. In medicine, religion and the civil service, Edinburgh had four, nil and seven respectively to Glasgow's returns of two, two and four. A far higher proportion of the Edinburgh court were involved in the professions. As in earlier courts there were not the industrialists or those involved in commerce and trade at Edinburgh as compared to Glasgow.

Although Edinburgh's court in 1910 had several links to government again the professions seem to have been a dominant factor. Four members were involved in law and four in medicine. The inclusion of a chartered accountant was a sign of further diversification across the professional spectrum. Edinburgh's court differed from that in Glasgow. Two at Glasgow were involved in the steel industry, two in food processing, one in law and three in medicine. Five members at Glasgow had links to industry, trade and commerce, compared to only one in Edinburgh. Edinburgh did though have science and engineering interests through her senate members. Her position as Scotland's legal centre and home of a world renowned medical school can explain in part her leanings to law and medicine in court members.

Over all Edinburgh and Glasgow courts continued to have politicians and important administrators, E.g. Dundas and Dufferin at Edinburgh and Rosebery and Ure at Glasgow. Although these two courts contained elements of the traditional elite interests of land, law and church, both now contained elements of rising elite groups of the upper middle classes in medicine and education. Law seemed more prominent a feature at Edinburgh when compared to the commercial and industrial groups in Glasgow.

Both Glasgow and Edinburgh had their educational reformers, McVail at Glasgow and Laurie and Innes at Edinburgh. As in earlier courts there was a marked tendency that members had attended their respective universities, nine at Edinburgh and Glasgow. This was a high number for Glasgow considering her lower numbers in professional occupations. The propensity to have links with the area can be markedly seen in Glasgow where twelve members at least were Scots, seven of those having come from the West. The majority of members at Glasgow were known Scots and in educational origins both Edinburgh and Glasgow Courts drew members from their respective school environs and especially their own universities. Both had even numbers involved in local government and conservatives were to the fore in both courts.

The whole period from 1860 to 1910 had seen changes in the social backgrounds of court members. At Glasgow the older elite groups had given way in part to industrial

and commercial interests who were involved in the university and other areas of education. In Edinburgh members were also involved in educational commissions and committees outwith the university. In the professions Glasgow had more members with a religious involvement with more in the C of S than in Edinburgh. Both had similar numbers in education but Glasgow members were more likely to have wider work experience.

In schooling and university education there seems to be more evidence of Edinburgh educating its members in Edinburgh schools and indeed Glasgow members were more likely to have been educated at Glasgow schools. In university education the concentration seems even more marked with high proportions having gone to Edinburgh University. Glasgow had a better record of drawing other Scots university graduates while Edinburgh had more links with German universities. Edinburgh seemed to favour Oxford more than Glasgow which was more inclined to Cambridge when looking at Court members with links to ancient English universities.

Overall in both Edinburgh and Glasgow similarities were to be seen in court memberships. Both had important political figures, administrators and professionals drawn from the upper middle class and aristocracy. Both can be seen as holding representatives from the leading elite forces within their respective cities and regions. From the evidence it can be concluded that university courts in these two cities reflected parts of the dominant economic forces which were found in their areas.

Membership of courts was restricted to successful members of the upper middle class and the aristocracy but allowed for upwardly mobile men of wealth such as McVail.

Social restrictions can be seen also in the courts at St Andrews and Aberdeen after 1889. Although enlarged the courts of 1890 continued to represent the interests of law, medicine and religion. There are examples of members such as David Stewart, Provost of Aberdeen, involved in commerce with interests in railways and assurance companies. Engineering was represented in Dundee's Provost Alexander Mathewson. Other members in manufacturing were in textiles and comb works. Important though these figures in manufacturing were, there was no one to compare to such figures as Sir James King at Glasgow. Yet both courts had important political figures in the House of Commons and the Lords, whom they could use as a means of lobbying government. As at Glasgow and Edinburgh there were members linked to the other educational establishments mainly in medicine.

St Andrews had to look to its graduates in Dundee, Edinburgh and in the case of Viscount Cross, probably London. St Andrews could not rely to the same extent on general council members residing in the immediate vicinity as could Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. This reflects St Andrews' size as a town but does not detract from the influence which its graduate members could exert through the links opened by their political and professional appointments. Figures for place of birth are not as readily available for Aberdeen and St Andrews

as for Edinburgh and Glasgow, but evidence suggests that members were drawn more from areas near to the university. At St Andrews three were from East Central with two from the Lothians and only one each from the West and the North East.

On the Aberdeen court of 1900 professor James W H Trail⁸ and professor George Pirie⁹ in court of 1890 show two examples of relationships within the university court and of families' involvement in higher education from generation to generation. As mentioned, even with reform of the administration, family relationships continued although these did not attract the same criticisms seen in the period before 1858. The factors that could be influencing these examples may be found in Aberdeen's continued relative isolation from the major urban areas of central Scotland and from the rest of Britain. Aberdeen as a result may have been more self reliant but it may show a lack of opportunity in academic posts in the city or that Aberdeen may not have been perceived as an academic goal by those aspiring to posts from outside the city and region. St Andrews would have greater access to external aspirants and so was less subject to this problem.

At St Andrews and Aberdeen in 1910, as at Glasgow and Edinburgh major political figures could link the university courts to the political establishment. Both

⁸ Son of the Rev Samuel Trail Professor of Systematic Theology at Aberdeen University from 1867-87.

⁹ His father was principal William R Pirie appointed in 1877.

continue to lack industrialists of any note but that is following the trend which was evident from previous courts. In general the professions of medicine, law and religion are the main groups represented although within the education sector there are examples of scientists and engineers.

Overall patterns suggest that the East Coast universities seemed to favour the professions over commerce and industry. In this respect Glasgow seems the odd one out, with a wider range of social and economic interests and work contacts found elsewhere. The consultation process through which courts acted may have allowed influences seen in one court to be expressed in the others.

In other respects courts displayed similarities and contrasts. In relation to birthplace both Aberdeen and St Andrews follow the pattern of preference for the hinterland of the university, although St Andrews had three Englishmen in 1910. In contrast to schooling in Glasgow and Edinburgh, St Andrews and Aberdeen were again more liable to draw from a wider cross-section of Scottish schools. This was also seen in university education where the trend was to draw mostly from home graduates but in a descending scale, Edinburgh at ten, Glasgow at eight, Aberdeen at seven, with St Andrews having only six. What is surprising is that St Andrews was drawing on graduates from all the Scots universities while the other three had one Scottish university at least from which they had no graduate. All had graduates

from English universities and also from Continental universities with Aberdeen again topping the scale at seven. As seen before Aberdeen seemed more likely to have a family relationship between a court member and members seen on previous courts with at least three examples.

In school education Edinburgh was more liable to draw on those schooled in Edinburgh with St Andrews having more educated in England. In university education for 1890 all except St Andrews had a high level of graduates from itself, nine at Glasgow and Edinburgh, seven at Aberdeen and four at St Andrews. In St Andrews in 1900 and 1910 the share of home graduates rises in proportion. Edinburgh and Aberdeen had higher numbers who had attended Continental universities such as Leipzig, Paris and other German universities, with three and four respectively compared to Glasgow and St Andrews with one and two. Also St Andrews had a more even spread of members who had attended other Scottish universities and had also the highest number of members with an Oxford degree.

In politics Glasgow seemed more orientated to the Conservatives, St Andrews to the Liberals while Edinburgh and Aberdeen indicate an even split over the period. Professional backgrounds were more likely at Edinburgh, St Andrews and Aberdeen in that order than at Glasgow. All the courts had roughly equal numbers involved in voluntary local government at seven or eight. In work description Aberdeen appears to have had no

aristocrats but most involved in law. Aberdeen had most involved in religion at three compared to St Andrews one and two each for Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The other courts had higher returns for educationalists and civil servants, aside from the latter in Aberdeen. In religious terms Glasgow appears alongside St Andrews with the highest return of adherents of the C of S, Edinburgh the lowest and Aberdeen showing two for 1890 and 1900. The high St Andrews returns of adherents to non-Scottish denominations at three might be explained by the higher number of members educated in England.

In reference to schools which members had attended Aberdeen and St Andrews seemed less reliant on their own schools than Edinburgh. Glasgow and Aberdeen have several attending other Scottish schools reflecting in part the spread of schooling to a higher level in their immediate regions.

Patterns of university education show that Aberdeen and St Andrews followed the pattern seen at Glasgow and Edinburgh of high returns for their own university. From appendix 3.2 Aberdeen members in 1900 and 1910 appear to have attended more Continental universities. Social background for the period after 1889 shows Aberdeen with examples from the professions, commerce and manufacturing. For the same period St Andrews has more variety with one aristocrat, three professionals and three from an industrial or manufacturing background. This contrasts to Edinburgh where there were no real

examples from industry and manufacturing. Edinburgh in 1900 had six from professional, three from commerce and trade and two aristocrats. Again Glasgow by example is more balanced with examples from all the groups but even in Glasgow professionals are at the top of the table.

In contrasting work descriptions to social background variations appear across the board. There were more aristocrats at Glasgow and Edinburgh over the later period than at Aberdeen and St Andrews. In commerce and trade Glasgow in 1900 had four and Aberdeen had two examples over Edinburgh's one. In the same period for industry and manufacturing Glasgow comes out with three examples, Edinburgh and St Andrews with one each. The main interest is in the varying distribution of the professions. In law, Aberdeen and Edinburgh have around four or five each over the three benchmark years, Glasgow falls from four to two and St Andrews from three to nil. In religion, St Andrews had growth and maintained input with four members at the most. Edinburgh saw a decline and this was also seen at Glasgow and Aberdeen but less dramatically. In medicine Edinburgh has four on all the courts, St Andrews and Aberdeen three or four and Glasgow only two or three.

Examples of involvement in the civil service continued to be more apparent in Glasgow and Edinburgh than at Aberdeen or St Andrews over the three later courts. In returns indicating employment in education Aberdeen had the lowest return at five through the period after 1889 with the others ranging from seven to ten. In Glasgow

more liable to see court members who had combinations in work experience at eleven, Edinburgh at six, St Andrews five and Aberdeen two. This may reflect the greater job opportunities in the localities of the courts of Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Opportunities of a different type may have affected membership as the courts after 1889 maintained repetitions of members, seen on the smaller courts; especially in Aberdeen in 1870 and 1880. At Aberdeen this pattern continued for the larger courts, most markedly amongst the general council members with Angus Fraser and William Dey appearing on all three benchmark courts and James Smith appearing on two. The senate assessors at Aberdeen showed a higher turnover, with only professor Hay appearing on the three benchmark courts. St Andrews, by comparison, had far fewer examples of repeating members from the senate or general council. This is all the more remarkable when so many of St Andrews graduates would not be living in the vicinity of St Andrews compared to the other universities.

Glasgow on the larger courts showed examples of members shifting from one type of representative to another as Professor Christison had done at Edinburgh on the smaller courts. Sir Hector Cameron was a senate assessor at Glasgow in 1910 but had been a general council assessor in 1890. Sir John Cuthbertson and D C McVail continued as general council assessors with professors Berry and Stewart appearing for the senate. Shifts occurred at Edinburgh where David Dundas was

rector's assessor in 1900 and chancellor's assessor in 1910. Sir William Turner had acted as senate assessor on the courts of 1890 and 1900 before appearing as principal on the court of 1910. Clearly members saw the continued value of their position as they maintained their places on the courts. Continued membership may have been helped by members abilities in doing the job effectively and their maintaining support from those groups which elected them.

While accounting for repeating members the larger courts allowed for greater possible representation of different groups and a range of contacts than their smaller counterparts. Even with expansion though the voluntary nature of the work continued to preclude those without the income or spare time to participate. Thus while their may have been shifts in representation to include members from newer professional groups and some with commercial interests the courts in both periods were not democratic, or even representative of the whole middle class, in which the lower middle class predominated.¹⁰ Even greater civic representation on the courts their members were firmly in the respectable middle class and upper class.

In overall conclusions for all the courts, it appears that they brought academics into contact with laymen who had a variety of interests related to their work and voluntary activities. These contacts grew over time as

10 Fraser W H and Morris R J Ed People and Society in Scotland in Scotland vol 2 John Donald, Edinburgh, 1990, Chapter 4, Morgan N and Trainor R.

the courts were enlarged and members' interests diversified. These diverse interests show that the universities were not isolated from contacts with professional, political, commercial and industrial groups. It is also clear that each of the universities reflected dominant interests in their community while maintaining links in common to members of the national political and professional elites, which maintained an input alongside emerging groups. While members of the courts belonged mainly to the long successful ranks of their elite groups there was diversity in religion, occupations and politics and examples of social mobility in such people as D C M^CVail and H Jones. While these were limited it should not detract from the fact that the academics in the universities were presented with opportunities to work with influential members of a cross section of the local and national elites.

Court members may have had different agendas for development and other factors such as educational efficiency within an education market may have forced certain developments. If the universities are to be accused of failing to provide for the requirements of industry in Britain then it is not because they lacked contacts with people involved. The universities had contacts with people in their localities in Scotland and Britain at large. These were sustained over the period in both the smaller and larger courts which clearly altered their memberships to reflect changing interests. Just how court members acted in their position in

university government requires consideration to see in their activities what links the universities in Scotland formed with organisations in local, national and international spheres. These are considered in chapter four.

Four: Court Activities

1859-1911

The aims of this chapter are to assess the activities of the Scottish university courts, the input by their members and how their functions changed over the period 1859-1911. This chapter will also discuss how far the courts were involved in promoting relationships with organisations in their localities and further afield and whether lay members of the courts were thwarted by academics in their attempts to improve the administration. Some aspects of lay involvement in university administration may cast added light on the debate concerning the role of British Universities in promoting the economic prosperity of Britain¹ and contrasts can be made to the lay input described by David Jones for the English civic universities.² While until now no comparative work has been undertaken on the activities and urban links of the Scottish university courts, they are a crucial aspect of the universities' community ties and lay involvement.

This chapter focuses on the experiences of the Glasgow and Edinburgh courts, concentrating on similarities and differences. The analysis uses court records and other sources to indicate opinions and activities of courts and

1 Wiener M J English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850 to 1980, 1985. Sanderson M, The Universities and British Industry, London, 1972. Roderick G W and Stephens M D, Scientific and Technical Education in Nineteenth Century England, New York, 1973.

2 Jones D R The Origins of the English Civic Universities Routledge, London 1988.

their members. The period of analysis requires splitting into two main parts for from 1859-89 courts had fewer functions than during the period from 1890-1911.

Benchmark years 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910 are used to show changes in function and relationships. Scrutiny of the range of business is combined with study of activities of a more episodic type to highlight specific events and relations in the universities' administrative development. The courts' enlargement and their different responsibilities, before and after 1890, may help to explain the extent of the opportunities for contacts which they maintained. For as at Glasgow, the Edinburgh court was increasingly drawn into contacts within the locality, in Scotland, the rest of Britain and abroad.

The possibility that the courts' role was merely as a rubber stamp for the senates may be tested in three ways. Firstly, an examination of attendance at meetings by court members, to ascertain whether laymen and academics bothered to participate, will reveal whether they were decorative or active in the administration. Secondly, court actions can be reviewed to find evidence of exertion of authority both within and outwith their university. Thirdly, the actions of individual court members can be identified in relation to decisions which could affect the university in terms of policy for future development.

The university courts had a variety of functions. Some stemmed from the developing professionalisation of

professors and lecturers; courts oversaw the administration of fees, salaries, pensions and other costs incurred by the university professors, lecturers and assistants, especially after 1889. They were involved in appointing examiners, lecturers and professors, where patronage lay with the university. Further duties included appointing extramural teachers and founding new professorships. The contentious issues arising from dealing with money were removed from the direct control of the teaching group but became a major concern of the courts. Also the courts, as part of reformed university administrations, acted as channels of communication among the senates, the general councils and central government. In addition, Courts communicated with each other, notably in the conference the Edinburgh and Glasgow courts held in 1875,³ and moreover, courts had the power to review all decisions of the senate, act as courts of appeal from the senates and hear registration appeals from general council members. More generally the courts, as outlined in the Edinburgh University Calendar, were expected to

effect improvements in the internal arrangements of the University, after due communication with the Senatus, and with the sanction of the Chancellor; provided all such improvements be submitted to the General Council for consideration.⁴

Many of the court's powers could impinge directly on professors and senates. Court had the duty of ensuring

3 Coutts James A History of the University of Glasgow. J Maclehose and sons, Glasgow 1909. p. 451.

4 Edinburgh University Calendar 1910-11. p. 16.

that the professors adhered to regulations concerning the mode of teaching and their other duties. Courts also dealt with fees of the various classes. After due investigation court could censure a professor and deprive him of his living for up to one year, enforcing a form of discipline on the senate with the sanction of central government. The senate could therefore be controlled by a continuous lay input in a manner not seen before 1858. The acts of 1858 and 1889 were important in reducing the autonomy both of the senates and of the professors as individuals. Their rights were being altered and a more coherent and common code of conduct for all the universities was emerging. In this process the courts played an important role.

Along with the courts, central government maintained authority as it had to be approached if the court wished to revoke or alter any of the ordinances enacted by the University Commissioners. With the creation of the Universities Committee of the Privy Council in 1889 the Crown established an advisory body.⁵ It was to this committee that any petitions or new ordinances were to be sent. Ordinances, their drafting and alteration required courts to communicate with each other and with the general councils; the consent of the chancellor was also required. Thus the court was overseen and checked by higher authorities in certain activities in a manner that added further layers of lay input to university

5 Morgan A Scottish University Studies, London, 1933 p. 45 and p. 84 provides a fuller description of the committee.

decisions. More positively, the courts had various powers in relation to external bodies. Each court elected a representative to the General Medical Council for example. Courts also had the power to grant recognition of teaching in other colleges. From this basic outline of their functions both before and after 1889 it can be seen that the courts had wide powers of decision and review which required them to work and consult other groups both at local and national levels. These functions were added to and changed over time as responsibilities became more complex.

In addition to legislation other factors could influence the development of court activities. The increasing range of potential contacts available to courts through the broadening memberships identified in chapter three shows that they were not isolated from local and national views. While dominated by the upper middle and upper classes, this bias gave the courts access to highly influential members of political, commercial and professional groups. Also their voluntary nature, which contributed to their high social composition, made them a relatively cheap form of administration.⁶ By allowing for the representation of key interested groups the courts could institutionalise and use those who might have been the source of especially potent criticism.

The ability to tie potential critics into a working system, which in many ways was left to get on with the

6 See appendix 4.1 tables 3 and 4 for costs.

job, could limit the role of central government, senates and key outside bodies such as the church. Additionally by such means senates had the danger of self interested bias removed from many of their decisions and the universities generally became more secular as the input of the church was diluted by input from the other professional groups. This broader outlook was important because in the later nineteenth century the Scottish universities were becoming a training ground for a much wider group of professionals.⁷ For the Government the courts and general councils could act as filters removing the detritus of comment, leaving the important residue on which to act.

It is now appropriate to discover how the courts' functions developed over time, and how far they linked the universities to communities. This will be done by analysing the actions of the court members between 1859 and 1911, using benchmark years, starting with the period between the 1858 and 1889 Acts. Initially the Edinburgh court activities are considered for the benchmark years in the context of events from other years included to assess how the court reacted to particular issues over time. Glasgow court activities are then compared to those of Edinburgh both for the particular benchmark years and for the issues analysed with respect to Edinburgh.

⁷ Anderson R. D. Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland. Oxford, 1983. see appendix 1 p. 346-357. From 1861-1913 the overall increase in total student numbers was from 3,399-7,776.

1859-89

The Court at Edinburgh met first on the 12th of December 1859, when all members were present including the Lord Rector W. E. Gladstone. This first meeting dealt with various details of the constitution of the court. The Lord Rector had a deliberative and casting vote. The members of the senate and the Principal, it was pointed out, were ineligible for election as assessors except to the positions ex officio as Principal or senate assessor. By this action the academic body of the university would not be able to dominate the court and the general administration. The powers of the court as an overseeing body were laid out in the minutes in some detail.⁸ Thus the context of their first meeting meant that the members must have been aware of their rights and responsibilities.

The court's representatives on the Curators of Patronage were appointed these being the Solicitor General (E. F. Maitland), the advocate David Mure, and Gladstone. (Though as a politician with a country house in North Wales Gladstone was seldom in Edinburgh and indeed he attended no other meetings in 1860 or 1861). These appointments elicited political and religious tensions, as revealed by the memoirs of Sir Robert Christison. The latter was Tory and belonged to the Established Church of Scotland. The rest of the court, as he pointed out, were Liberals and outside the Church of Scotland. If the court were to elect from its own

⁸ Edinburgh Court Minute book volume 1 p. 1-9.

ranks its own members of the Curators of Patronage then both the Tory and the Church parties would be alienated. This would be 'most dangerous'. The Town assessor Mr Grieve had asserted that the court should appoint their Curators from their own ranks and that the political and ecclesiastical interests should not weigh upon their deliberations, being 'very bad'. But the rest of the court 'one after another' supported Dr Christison for as the Lord Rector Gladstone pointed out,

the Court must go out of our own body for one or more, but that we may correctly also appoint one or more from ourselves. The political and ecclesiastical elements cannot be evaded; the Court ought to introduce a Churchman and a Conservative into the Court of Patrons.⁹

The court followed this advice and from this episode it is clear that the dominant opinion on the court saw its role as being non partisan in terms of religious and political bias. Thus the religious diversity of court members revealed in chapter three could bring the court added legitimacy without introducing serious discord.

With regard to the issues other than the court's composition, as in 1860 there were only two meetings, the five meetings of 1861 will also be given brief consideration. The two in 1860 dealt almost entirely with general council representations. The first of these related to the council's opinion that the interests of the university would be extended if the court had the

⁹ The life of Sir Robert Christison edited by his sons, 2 volumes. published by W Blackwood and sons Edinburgh, 1886. The quotes on this debate are found on p. 24, of volume 2.

powers of the Curators transferred to them. The court believed this to be 'not expedient'.¹⁰ The second meeting discussed the council's representation that merit certificates should be awarded by the university to candidates from upper and middle schools in Scotland. The court concurred with this recommendation and forwarded it to the senate for its consideration. General council representations continued in 1861, indicating that the council was vigorously pursuing various reform issues. The subjects of these representations ranged from the need for parliamentary representation for the university, preliminary examinations in Arts, the need for a common hall, and improved graduate access to the library.¹¹

These provide early tests of the powers and priorities of court, senate, general council and Town Council. In 1857 the Town Council, by way of an experiment, had admitted graduates to use of the library. The senate had objected on legal grounds but the Town Council had stuck to their decision. Indeed the Executive Commission confirmed the policy which became the law of the university yet this was the 'last sparkle in the combativeness on the part of the senate' with the Town council.¹² The court did not have powers to open the

10 Court meeting 10.10.1860 pg 11 Edinburgh Court Minute book volume 1. Hereafter all Court Minute Books shall be referred to by initials Eg ED ct min vol 1 for Edinburgh Court Minute book volume 1 or Eg GL ct min vol 1 for Glasgow Court Minute book volume 1.

11 ED ct min vol 1 pg 14-15. 20th Feb 1861, pg 19. 15th of April 1861, pg 27. 25th Oct 1861

12 Sir A Grant The Story of The University of Edinburgh. Longmans, Green and Co. London 1884 vol 2 p. 82-3.

library to graduates but stated that they would open the library when they received those powers. Graduates gained limited access as part of the new regulations on the management of the library set out in 1862.¹³ On preliminary Arts examinations the court, though in favour, left the issue to the University Commissioners appointed under the 1858 Act. Thus the general council was pushing the court in the direction of reform and although the court resolved in favour of most of these issues it was still assessing its own powers. On the subject of a common hall for students, the court did not have the means at their disposal to make for this provision.

Most interesting though is the court's reaction to the issue of parliamentary representation for the universities. On this issue the Edinburgh court records provide evidence of voting. The Solicitor General, E F Maitland, proposed that the court should bring the matter to the attention of Parliament. This was seconded by Dr Christison, the senate assessor and secretary to the court. Dispute arose as to whether the court had jurisdiction in this matter and a counter-motion was put forward by Mr Grieve, the Town assessor, and Dr J Brown, the assessor for the general council. The

13 Jean R Guild and Alexander Law editors Edinburgh University Library 1580-1980: a collection of historical essays. Edinburgh University Press, 1982. p. 98-114, chapter by S. M. Smith, The History of the Library 1837-1939. P. 97-98 refer to the 19 regulations set out in 1862 for the administration of the library. Graduates and members of the General Council could borrow up to four books at a time for a period of four months for the annual subscription of half a guinea.

counter-motion held that the issue was over-complicated, and begged too many questions and that therefore the court should take no action. This counter-motion was carried four to three with Grieve, Brown, Wood and the Lord Provost in favour and Christison, the Principal and the Solicitor General against. This episode shows that there could be real differences of opinion within the courts, that assessors did not always reflect the views of the bodies which elected them and that the academics by no means had things all their own way.

The treatment of parliamentary reform at Edinburgh contrasts with the situation at Glasgow where the court in the same period agreed with general council representations for parliamentary representation. The court resolved to send a memorial to the Prime Minister in favour of university representation, copying it to the M Ps for the city of Glasgow and the county of Lanark, to the Lord Advocate and to the university commissioners.¹⁴ This consensual mode of operation with a united court acting in collaboration with sympathetic outside bodies would prove more typical than the division at Edinburgh.

In the four meetings of 1860 the court at Glasgow outlined its role and duties, discussed the new site at Gilmorehill and was involved in representing the views of the general council on graduation and parliamentary

14 GL ct min vol 1 p. 5-7. 16th May 1860. Glasgow sent a memorial to the Government that representation would result in 'encouraging the development of the corporate spirit'.

representation. While actively promoting greater influence for the university and the graduate community, as at Edinburgh, contentious stances were avoided where possible. This is seen in the minute by the Dean of Faculty, the Lord Advocate, who wished it minuted that he had no opinion on the continuance of a class of Political Economy.¹⁵

The Edinburgh court was less inclined than Glasgow to involve itself in reform issues but Edinburgh may have been mindful of disputes between the senate and the Town council over powers and rights. The newly established court may have seen it as expedient to have a period of calm after the storms and so not make waves over reform issues. Also as the newly constituted court was overly dominated by Liberal and non established church groups, but had been set up by a Tory administration, the court may have felt inclined not to rush headlong into contentious issues but hold back and assess the lay of the land.

In 1861 the only other court activities at Edinburgh were linked to recognition (of an extra academical lecturer in botany) to appointments for extra professional examiners in Arts and Medicine, in compliance with ordinances.¹⁶

The other early appointments at both courts were related to the new role given to them by the Parochial

15 GL ct min vol 1 9th November 1860.

16 ED ct min vol 1 p. 23-24.

Schoolmasters Act of 1861,¹⁷ directed the courts to appoint examiners from professors of the faculties of Arts and Divinity.¹⁸ This replaced examination by presbytery; schoolmasters no longer had to adhere to the Confession of Faith. In this way the courts, and the universities more generally, assisted in a general social and political change. The court at Edinburgh unanimously appointed six examiners for the Edinburgh District. All were professors of the university and each accepted his appointment. It was significant that the examiners had to submit their regulations to the court. These the court altered by their direction that 'navigation' should be added to 'elements of Algebra, with Trigonometry and Mensuration'.¹⁹ This is direct evidence of the courts' influencing the pattern of education in the local community by their stipulation of what schoolmasters would be expected to know.

Court meetings at Edinburgh in 1870 numbered nine. Of these the Lord Rector James Moncrieff attended at least six, the Lord Provost five and the Town assessor seven. For Glasgow and Edinburgh attendance at meetings by the Rector varied with the individual. Moncrieff was exceptional in his high attendance. As for the civic element, Edinburgh meetings had a representative on all but the rarest of occasions.²⁰

17 Act 24 and 25 Vict c107. Section 1X related to the appointments of examiners of Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters.

18 Act 24 and 25 Vict c107. section 9 part (1).

19 ED ct min vol 1 p. 23 to 28.

20 An indication of attendance levels by Rectors, Provosts and Town Assessors at Edinburgh meetings can be

By 1870 a number of developments in Edinburgh court activities had emerged. The court by this period had established the main scope of business which related to the curriculum, appointments, recognition of lecturers, finance and general overseeing of the administration. This year provides an insight into an ongoing dispute between the court and the senate at Edinburgh over which had the greater authority within the university.

Initially in 1865 the Court, on the resolution of Dr Wood, had attempted to find out how it could obtain information on senate resolutions.²¹ Communication with the senate by the Principal, Sir David Brewster, and Dr Christison resulted in the senate objecting to the claims of the court. The senate saw the matter as inferring claims *ex proprio motu*.²² They denied that the court had any powers except in finance.²³ At the same meeting, where the court heard this reply from the senate, the court had passed a resolution on the division of courses. Following up this episode in lay senate relations, the court in October 1865 heard of the senate's objection to this assumption of power. In an attempt to defuse the situation a proposal for a joint memorial for legal opinion was put forward and a committee formed.²⁴

seen in the appendix 3.1 table 2. Attendance at Glasgow for comparison can be seen in appendix 3.1 table 1, although at Glasgow the Dean of Faculty replaces the civic members as an external representative. These are abstracted in tables 3.1 and 3.2 later in the text.

21 ED ct min vol 1. p. 122. 8.2.1865.

22 Meaning of their own action and implying that the action has no legal basis.

23 Ed ct min vol 1. p. 133. 21.7.1865.

24 ED ct min vol 1. p. 140. 3.10.1865.

Through 1866-67 the court and senate prepared their cases which they exchanged. Senate objected to court observations in the joint memorial as a form of pleading.²⁵ The resort to joint legal advice on the matter ended when the court interpreted its regulation, as to the division of courses, as extending to all classes; whether they were for graduation or not.²⁶ The senate at Edinburgh withdrew from the joint memorial and this left the court in the position of sending the legal opinion of Mr Gifford to the senate in October 1867.²⁷ This opinion placed the court as the supreme body in the university but the senate refused to concur with the findings.²⁸

In 1868 the court held to their view but refrained from taking action while reserving rights.²⁹ By 1870 the situation was such that Lord Rector Moncrieff, who had been instrumental in drafting parts of the legislation of 1858, met with the Dean of Faculty to confer on procedure. Moncrieff and the Dean of Faculty decided that section XII of the 1858 Act allowed the court to act in improvement of internal arrangements in the university. By this means a public clash was avoided and

25 ED ct min vol 1. p. 218. 11.10.1866.

26 ED ct min vol 1. p. 276. 12.4.1867.

27 ED ct min vol 1. In this volume there is a printed pamphlet entitled 'The Questions at Issue Between the Court and Senatus of the University of Edinburgh.'

Printed by order of the Court on the 4th of October 1867 for the confidential use of the Court and Senate only. Mr Gifford's legal opinion was that the Court were the supreme body within the University.

28 The Senate hoped that 'no practical inconvenience will arise'. ED ct min vol 1 p. 301.

29 ED ct min vol 1 p. 314.

the court was able to exert lay authority over the senate. It seems to have been of great importance to the court that its dispute with the senate remain private. In one respect this situation is understandable. The disputes between the university senate and the town council would still be relatively fresh in the minds of the senate and members of the court who had been involved. For the town members, and figures such as J Moncrieff, dispute between the court and senate could have left both open to attack and damaged the solutions imposed in 1858. As the court contained staff members as well a rift would have been an embarrassment. As it was, the court's authority was reaffirmed in a way that allowed the senate to save face.

Nevertheless the court at Edinburgh exerted its authority on various occasions. Two examples concern the teaching of political economy and the issue of mixed classes. The senate objected to the court resolutions in favour of the teaching of political economy and appointed a committee to confer and meet with the Rector.³⁰ The issue was not a new one as the general council had sent a resolution to the court as far back as 1861 calling for political economy to be taught as a separate subject. The court also favoured a separate chair for political economy but had left the matter to the University Commissioners.³¹ The basis for the senate objections to court resolutions seems to have lain in the

30 ED ct min vol 1 p. 498-99. 10.1.1870.

31 ED ct min vol 1 p. 17-18. 20.2.1861 and 15.4.1861.

interpretation of who controlled what. The fact that the issue was political economy appears to have been coincidental, although aspects of this subject may have been of particular concern to the general council. The court replied to the committee that they were acting under section XII of the 1858 Act and overruled any objections. A further case in 1870 was over the senate resolution allowing mixed sex classes in botany. Professor Muirhead appealed against this decision and the court upheld his appeal on the grounds that the senate resolution was inconsistent with regulations.³² The senate objected to not being heard on the issue of mixed classes only to hear the court reply that the senate had been in clear violation of the regulations. Further the court stated that it could grant or refuse sanction on all senate resolutions.³³

Yet court powers did have limitations and did not stop court-senate co-operation. Court was not attempting, or able to achieve by itself, broad changes to the system of degrees and subjects taught. As Sir Alexander Grant pointed out in 1884,

There is one matter, however, in which the autonomy of the Universities of Scotland seems powerless to act, and which can only be regulated by an external authority, and that is the general reform of the Arts faculties.³⁴

32 Ed ct min vol 1 p. 508-9. 2.3.1870.

33 Ed ct min vol 1 p. 516-517. 14.4.1870.

34 Sir A Grant The Story of the University of Edinburgh. London 1884. Grant saw the Senate as improving the University under 'control of the Court.' p. 165.

The issues involved revolved around the limitations which the Master of Arts degree, as set out by the Commissioners established under the 1858 Act, imposed on students after 1861. As Alexander Morgan states 'a reaction set in against the Procrustean requirements of the uniform curriculum of seven subjects'.³⁵ The Commissioners in 1876 recommended that the situation be changed by allowing a variety of options. These options would be available after the student had passed a first year examination in Latin, Greek, Mathematics and English. It was also recommended that Elementary Physical and Natural Science should be included when the school sector could make this viable.³⁶ The Commissioners wanted to improve standards and were against extramural teaching in Arts and Law, but not Medicine.³⁷

For all that, Sir Alexander Grant felt that the courts were unable to deal with aspects of reform of the Arts degree subjects, a great deal of court time was given over to the issues involved. Indeed a concession to the problem was made when the courts introduced the 'Literate in Arts' certificates in 1880. These were granted to students who passed any five Arts subjects as long as four came from the seven compulsory M A

35 Morgan Alexander Scottish University Studies, London 1933, p. 82.

36 Morgan Alexander Scottish University Studies, London 1933, p. 80 to 92 gives a clear outline of the events involved in the evolution of the Arts degree, from 1858-1907.

37 D B Horn A short History of the University of Edinburgh 1556-1889. University Press Edinburgh, 1967. p. 185.

subjects.³⁸ There was consultation with Glasgow University over Arts Honours and the court acted with both the senate and general council over their proposals connected with the Bachelor of Divinity degree.³⁹

Although it encountered problems the court was willing to act to establish the viability of changes undertaken in courses available at the university. It wanted those courses to meet the demands of the outside world and as such was involving itself in the needs of newer professional groups, such as engineers. This can be seen in Professor Jenkin's scheme for Degrees in Civil Engineering laid before the court in March 1870. The Rector and Principal were delegated to communicate with Professor Jenkin on various points, and 'in particular as to whether the objects of the Engineering Profession would be obtained if Civil Engineering were made a Department for the Degrees of Doctor and Bachelor of Science.'⁴⁰ The role of the court here was as a connecting body which could relate the activities of different groups while having authority over them. The courts were therefore playing a substantial part in the development of the university system in this period through co-operation and consultation.⁴¹

38 D B Horn A short History of the University of Edinburgh 1556-1889. Edinburgh, 1967. p. 185.

39 ED ct min vol 1 pg 514, Ed ct min vol 1 pg 522. In this case the Court directed both the Senate and General Council to reconsider their respective proposals.

40 ED ct min vol 1 pg 507.

41 Sir A Grant The Story of The University of Edinburgh. London 1884 vol 2 p. 166. Grant acknowledged that the universities, in order to avoid undercutting each other, would have to act together.

1870 was also to see the court at Edinburgh become more accessible to public scrutiny. The court already met in public to deal with appeals⁴² of registration for voting purposes by general council members. The general council assessor, Rev K M Phinn proposed to 'open meetings to the public and to reporters except when transacting private business.'⁴³ The court opened itself to the public and reporters from July under certain conditions.⁴⁴ The wording of the court resolution allowed it the right to hold proceedings in private when necessary.⁴⁵

A division between private and public business quickly developed at Edinburgh. In private the Edinburgh court dealt with appointments,⁴⁶ applications for recognition and certain financial matters.⁴⁷ In public the court intimated decisions such as their approval of the retiral

42 Appeals were in general a result of the 1868 Representation of the People Act, 31, 32, Vict Cap 48, which gave representation to the Scottish universities in Parliament.

43 ED ct min vol 1 p. 504. 16.2.1870.

44 ED ct vol 1 p. 515. The court would be open to the public when any general council members were brought before the court. When appeals were to be heard with exceptions if the court thought it expedient and any other times the court determined.

45 Dr Alexander Wood when giving evidence to the 1876 Royal commission stated that in his experience there was only once anything the public might not have heard.

Royal Commission to Inquire into the Universities of Scotland 1878. Murray and Gibb, Edinburgh 1878.

Volume 1 Report and Index of Evidence 1878 [c.1935] xxxii.i p. 326.

46 ED Ct min vol 1 p. 524. Appointing Dr Morison Watson as Demonstrator in Anatomy.

47 ED ct min vol 1 p. 532. This Private business related to the Statement before the Court that they attempt to 'inspire' £4,000 in public subscriptions to replace money expended on the purchase of an official residence for the Principal. 28.11.1870.

of Professor Allman.⁴⁸ In public too, the court approved of (or more accurately concurred with) the actions of the Chancellor.⁴⁹ In this way it showed a united face in the administration.

Glasgow, which held back from holding public meetings, had five meetings in 1870 covering a wide variety of business: from appeals regarding the general council register after the 1868 Representation of the People Act to the first meeting⁵⁰ involving council representations on graduation in Arts. Court was aware that aiming for higher marks and widening the curriculum in the books required for Latin and Greek would take the university out of the same line as the other three universities. They advised the senate to follow the accord of the council. Court may have been influenced by the general council pamphlet by W.T. Gairdner, M.D., Professor of Medicine at the university which called for a broadened curriculum with more choice. He warned that in the Anderson's University

we have the elements of a great popular university, working upon principles of the greatest breadth and freedom throughout the country at large.....and in Glasgow in particular, with the most marked and striking success.⁵¹

48 Ed ct min vol 1 p. 528.

49 ED ct min vol 1 p. 537b. The Chancellors approval of the regulations for the Bachelor of Divinity degree were announced and sent on to the Senate.

50 GL ct min vol 1 p. 237. 21.1.1870.

51 Gairdner W T A Plea for an Extension and Alteration of the Curriculum of Arts in the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1865, p. 15.

The second meeting of 1870⁵² dealt with changes in examination and degree regulations with which the other university courts were in accord. Further business related to examiners' appointments in medicine including a Fellow of Glasgow's Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. An application for chemistry lecture recognition was deemed inexpedient. Recognition of courses at other institutions shows that the court was attempting to expand the influence of the university and increase its prestige in the city.⁵³ The next meeting dealt with graduation issues, building work sanction, finance, examination of parochial schoolmasters, the library report and the preparation of an abstract report for the university calendar. On the question of finance the court were wanting information as they had not received an auditors' report since 1866. When compared to the later courts, notably in 1909, when there were ten meetings of the finance committee, the situation was ad hoc and lax.⁵⁴

The Edinburgh court in 1870 differed from the court at Glasgow in that there was no apparent friction with the senate over authority. Both courts exerted authority⁵⁵ to meet the requirements of the age. The courts were

52 GL ct min vol 1. 23.3.1870.

53 GL ct min vol 1. p. 247. 18.10.1870 There were two applications for recognition of lecture courses, from Glasgow came Mr Joseph Coats. M.B. for Pathological Anatomy and one from Edinburgh by Mr Nicholson for Natural History.

54 GL ct min vol 1. p. 244. 22.4.1870

55 At Glasgow the Court directed the Senate to follow the accord of the General council over the widening of the curriculum. GL ct min vol 1 21.1.1870, pg237.

acting in collaboration to exchange ideas and information. Many representations were directed to government, as at Edinburgh over the findings of the 1876-8 Royal Commission and with the Treasury over the Principal's salary.⁵⁶

Both courts dealt with fees, finance, appointing examiners, and their public records through court abstracts in the university Calendars. In matters of finance Glasgow was rather more disorganised than Edinburgh for the latter's court was demanding the accounts for the library⁵⁷ in addition to the general accounts approved by court member and Town assessor, J MacKnight.⁵⁸

Edinburgh and Glasgow both held eight court meetings in 1880. At Edinburgh there was correspondence on ordinances, appointments of various kinds, finance and recognitions. Changes in the curriculum occupied time connected with the chair of commercial and political economy and the foundation of the Watson Gordon Chair of Fine Art.⁵⁹

When confronted with the results of the 1878 Commission the courts avoided taking an overt position. Approving the resolutions of the general council, upon the recommendations of the 1878 report, was one thing; and these were passed on to the other university courts

56 ED ct min vol 1 p. 513.

57 ED ct min vol 1 p. 530. 28.11.1870.

58 ED ct min vol 1 p. 530. 28.11.1870.

59 ED ct min vol 2 p. 429. The Court were to share patronage of the chair with the President of the Royal Scottish Academy.

and the senate.⁶⁰ Edinburgh proposed a conference of the Scottish university courts on the graduation in Arts resolution of the Commissioners. A letter was sent out to Glasgow for its opinion. But at the same meeting the court stated that it had no opinion on the idea of the commissioners for a General Council for Scotland; this issue was the province of the legislators.⁶¹

The court went on to point out that in theory it could act upon the issues of changes needed in Arts, but in practice the problems of compensating professors for lost rights, such as fees, were very great. Where was the compensation to come from? Further the court held to the view that all the other resolutions needed government action. Complications would be legion and too much for the courts to act alone. Parliamentary authority was needed. In addition, as Robert Anderson points out, the universities saw themselves in a strong position to avoid the recommendation of the Commissioners on two points. Firstly the numbers of students attending the universities had been increasing along with the numbers actually graduating so that the universities could not be seen as failing in that respect. Secondly it was felt that the Commissioners report 'leant too heavily in favour of science'.⁶² Financial limitations would have been exacerbated by the economic depression which would only compound the limited and inconsistent funding policies of the Treasury. Courts here show that they

60 ED ct min vol 2 p. 427. 26.1.1880.

61 ED ct min vol 2 p. 430a.

62 Anderson R D Ed and Opp in Vic Scotland. p. 252-7.

have limitations. Although voluntary, the expectation that they would deal with the problems of the 1878 Report was an attempt to leave them holding a baby for which they were neither equipped nor ready. It may also have been inferred that some of the findings of the commission would meet with stiff opposition and that for the courts to involve themselves in this would be unwise.⁶³

The strains at Edinburgh between the senate and the court are not as apparent in the 1880s as before; indications of directions to the senate are limited to comments about the possible need for additional insurance cover.⁶⁴ Indeed court and senate at Edinburgh were by this period exchanging material, with the court acting as a conduit channelling information from one institution to another.

The role of the Edinburgh court as patron is shown in this year. The applications and testimonials for the chair of fine art had been sent to the secretary to be printed in April 1880. The court members wanted to converse with the applicants and interviews were arranged before a decision was made at the meeting on the 7th of June 1880. The court as an institution was not prepared to brook much criticism of its decisions. In October of the same year F E Hulme complained that the application of the successful candidate had been handed in late. The

63 Sir A Grant The Story of The University of Edinburgh. London 1884 vol 2 p. 166-7. As Grant, who was Principal, pointed out it was considered that the inclusion of Dr Lyon Playfair MP and of Professor Huxley biased the Commission in favour of the Sciences 'to the extinction, it might be said, of classical studies'.

64 ED ct min vol 2 p. 438. 12.4.1880.

court refused to enter into discussion on the matter, so there seems to have been scope for their dodging public accountability.⁶⁵

Medicine played an increasing part in the attentions of the Glasgow court. The first meeting of 1880 examined in detail Aberdeen University's medical ordinances and the Glasgow court's objections to them, while the second meeting dealt with the more usual topics of appointments and applications for recognition, such as that of Dr Renton for his lectures on Surgery. There were appointments of examiners for mental philosophy and of managers from the court to the Board of the Western Infirmary, showing the university's close involvement in providing health services for the city. The business on the 12th of October saw eight applications for recognition of lectures all related to medicine. There were further recognition applications including one from Owens College Manchester for lecturers in the Medical School but the court pointed out that 'this Court had no

65 ED ct min vol 2 p. 461. 18.10.1880. The ability of Courts to avoid awkward situations did not alter with the changes that occurred post 1889. In The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones by H J W Hetherington, published by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, London, 1924. p. 52. It is recalled how the St Andrews Court dealt with an appointment problem. Jones was appointed a short time after the affiliation of the Dundee College to the University of St Andrews. Representatives of the Dundee college sat on the Court which appointed Jones and his appointment rested on the Dundee support. Relations between College and University resulted in the view that their agreement was legally invalid, making Jones's appointment also invalid. The 'gallant championship' of Professor Lewis Campbell who threatened to leave the room with Professor Jones sealed the matter. In other words the Court held to the good faith in which they had acted and ignored their own mistake.

power under the statute to recognise the lectures of a medical school en masse'; applications had to relate to individuals.⁶⁶

The senate pointed to the general council call for multiplying opportunities and increasing facilities through development of higher primary and secondary schools. On this matter the court noted the senate statement that

the University is doing what it can to establish a connection between itself and these institutions, and to promote their efficiency by endeavouring, in some measure, to set marks on their success.⁶⁷

Senate also refused to license lectures from the graduates to undertake additional lectures in schools in 'various localities'. The court though sympathetic minuted that 'it does not fall within the limits of their statutory functions' to initiate or formally to sanction such a scheme.⁶⁸ On their limitations, court intimated to the general council that until legislation 'initiated and on the responsibility of Government' was embodied in a Bill it could do no more on the Commissioners' report of 1878 than 'direct the attention of Government to the subject'.⁶⁹

Edinburgh and Glasgow were conferring with each other over the Literate in Arts certificate; Glasgow was pushed into action by the fact that Edinburgh had

66 GL ct min vol 2 p. 117.

67 GL ct min vol 2 p. 103.

68 GL ct min vol 2 p. 104.

69 GL ct min vol 2 p. 105.

presented her with a decision.⁷⁰ Even if relations were strained by this action co-operation continued over ordinances connected with medicine and election procedures that created uniformity between the universities.⁷¹

In this period the court at Edinburgh established a set of duties which were similar to those found at Glasgow. Appointments, fees,⁷² the library, appeals, financial loans⁷³ and curricular development all received direct attention or sanction. Both courts were used as a means to provide for the retiral of professors and building improvements, through direct appeal to central government for funding.⁷⁴ As at Glasgow the Edinburgh

70 GL ct min vol 2 p. 88. 25.6.1880. The Court at Glasgow had been less inclined to set up the Literate in Arts without more work on the matter.

ED ct min vol 2 p. 452. Glasgow questioned the legality of the move and were inclined to take English Counsel on the matter. On this matter though the Edinburgh Court was not in doubt and they would not take counsel. The pre-emptive action of the Edinburgh Court may have soured relations.

GL ct min vol 2 p. 92. As the Glasgow Court pointed out 'Our Court was desirous to have co-operated with you and the other University Courts on this and all other subjects connected with graduation in Arts'.

71 ED ct min vol 2 p. 433 and p. 450 respectively.

72 ED ct min vol 2 p. 430. 28.1.1880. The joint consultation between Edinburgh and Glasgow on fees had been suspended because of the 1876-8 Royal Commission. But the implications were that common costing and an avoidance of outright competition were being aimed for.

73 ED ct min vol 2 p. 23 20.10.1871. Court records show that in the overseeing of investments and finance £10,000 had been lent to a Mr Binning from various funds. This kind of activity was not new, £50,000 had been lent to Lord Borthwick over the estate of Ravenstone in Wigtonshire. ED ct min vol 2 pg 150.

74 ED ct min vol 2 p. 457-8 16.7.1880, and p. 460. 18.10.1880. Professor Liston requested permission to retire. A medical certificate confirmed that the professor was old and unwell and the Court, in accord with the Senate, sent a report immediately to Her Majesty in Council. Further the Court sent a

court was available for groups to make representations for change. The Educational Institute of Scotland wrote to the Edinburgh court in favour of an entrance examination to the universities as part of a resolution of an educational congress held in the late 1870s.⁷⁵ The Aberdeen branch wrote in July 1883 in favour of graduate teachers.⁷⁶

Along with these activities the courts at Glasgow and Edinburgh were involved in the recognition of the other Scottish university courses, regulations and ordinances. What is apparent though is that at Edinburgh recognition of non Scottish colleges and universities was initially being requested and granted earlier and in greater numbers than at Glasgow. This is most likely the result of the greater size and reputation of the Edinburgh Medical School.

Recognition was of different types. It could be the recognition of a particular examination or degree as being acceptable for entry into the university. Teachers and lecturers in other universities and colleges sought to have their teaching recognised for the purposes of entry into the university and as part of a degree being studied at the university. All branches of study from Arts to Science were involved in the numerous applications.

representation to the Treasury asking them to increase the retiral allowance of professor Liston as a special case as his salary had been low.

75 ED ct min vol 2 p. 403.

76 ED ct min vol 3 p. 110. 9.7.1883.

It is clear that at Edinburgh this recognition was well established by 1870. At Glasgow up to 1889 recognitions occurred but they were usually confined to individual lecturers⁷⁷ and difficulties could be put in the way of applicants.⁷⁸ The two courts worked together in recognitions such as over the removal of the Anderson's Medical College in Glasgow to a new building in 1889.⁷⁹

Recognitions at Edinburgh were connected with British universities and those found in the Empire and Dominions. Canada, India and the West Indies appeared first; by the end of the 1880s recognition of universities and colleges had extended to include Australia, New Zealand and Southern Africa. Continental Universities do not appear.⁸⁰ At Glasgow the requests were less geographically diverse and in nearly all cases were linked to medicine. Edinburgh appears to have been involved in the general development of the educational systems in the Empire and Dominions before Glasgow. Recognition sanctioned and bolstered the authority and reputation of the dispensing university as well as helping to develop the reputations of the newer colleges and universities.

In these activities the smaller, pre-1889 courts saw laymen assert their authority over affairs and actively

77 GL ct min vol 1 p. 247.

78 Gl ct min vol 1 p. 117. 7.10.1880.

79 ED ct min vol 3 p. 454. 1889.

80 ED ct min vol 1 to 13.7.1870, vol 2 to 16.7.1880 and vol 3 to 9.12.1889. A fuller list of institutions recognised by Edinburgh can be seen in appendix 4.2, table 1.

sponsor the interests of their respective institutions in the locality and further afield. Even with their limited numbers it appears that the court members saw an expanding role for themselves and for the courts than merely overseeing the administrations of the universities. In this they were encouraged by central government and general councils who respectively legislated for and suggested greater powers. How this growth of activity at Edinburgh and Glasgow was affected by the legislation of 1889 will now be considered.

1890-1911

As noted in the introduction, after 1889 the expanded courts now owned the university property and controlled the administration as opposed to overseeing its activities. The organisation of court activities reflected this change, most notably in the increased costs for administration. (see Appendix 4.1, tables 3 and 4). Costs of the Glasgow court for the early period are combined with those of the senate so an accurate picture cannot be seen but after 1890 the figures are more revealing. What is surprising is that both the court and senate at Edinburgh had costs generally 50%-100% higher than at Glasgow. Even taking into account the fact that differences could occur in what is included as costs of administration it is clear that Edinburgh's was more costly. What was gained by this additional expenditure is not clear. Admittedly from 1891 to 1910 court costs generally doubled at Glasgow, while in Edinburgh the increase was between 20-25%. Yet costs of

the senates doubled in Edinburgh while Glasgow had more modest increases: Glasgow was still less costly overall. Edinburgh did not undertake substantially more business than Glasgow, and the university was not twice the size. If anything the court at Glasgow met more frequently than that of Edinburgh indicated in tables 4.1 and 4.2.

Table 4.1

Edinburgh University Court meetings: Number of Meetings per year 1859-1911.

Table includes indication of attendance at Court meetings by the Lord Rector, the Lord Provost and Town assessor for Edinburgh for the years 1859-1889.

YEAR	NUMBER OF MEETINGS	PRESENCE OF			YEAR	NUMBER OF MEETINGS
		LORD RECTOR	LORD PROVOST	TOWN ASSESSOR		
1859	1	1	1	1	1890	13
1860	2		2	2	1891	13
1861	5		4	4	1892	12
1862	6	1	3	6	1893	11
1863	6	1	4	6	1894	10
1864	8	1	5	6	1895	11
1865	11	1	5	11	1896	11
1866	4	1	1	2	1897	10
1867	5		4	5	1898	10
1868	14	1	11	11	1899	10
1869	16	4	3	14	1900	10
1870	9	6	5	7	1901	10
1871	10	10	7	10	1902	10
1872	13	9	6	12	1903	10
1873	10	4	2	10	1904	11
1874	10	5	3	8	1905	10
1875	10	1	9	7	1906	10
1876	9		8	7	1907	11
1877	8		7	6	1908	11
1878	8		5	6	1909	11
1879	8	1	8	8	1910	11
1880	6		3	5	1911	10
1881	6	3	3	6		
1882	5	2	4	5		
1883	5	1	4	4		
1884	7	1	5	7		
1885	8		5	7		
1886	7		5	3		
1887	8		7	6		
1888	16		8	14		
1889	8		3	5		

Source: Edinburgh University Court Minutes 1859-1911 Volumes 1-11.

Table 4.2Glasgow University Court meetings: Numbers of Meetings per year 1860-1910.

Table includes indication of attendance at Court meetings by the Lord Rector and the Dean of Faculty of the University of Glasgow for the years 1860-1889.

YEAR	NUMBER OF MEETINGS	PRESENCE OF		YEAR	NUMBER MEETINGS
		LORD RECTOR	DEAN OF FACULTY		
1860	4	1		1890	10
1861	7			1891	12
1862	6		2	1892	16
1863	7	1	3	1893	18
1864	3		3	1894	15
1865	5			1895	15
1866	5	3	3	1896	19
1867	3	1	1	1897	13
1868	4	1	1	1898	13
1869	5	1	1	1899	13
1870	5		1	1900	14
1871	5		2	1901	12
1872	6		2	1902	15
1873	5	1	5	1903	13
1874	5		4	1904	12
1875	11		9	1905	10
1876	6		3	1906	12
1877	9		8	1907	14
1878	6		5	1908	11
1879	8		3	1909	10
1880	8		6	1910	10
1881	5		5		
1882	4		3		
1883	5	1	4		
1884	6		3		
1885	6	1	3		
1886	2		2		
1887	4		3		
1888	5	1	5		
1889	4		3		

Source: Glasgow University Court Minutes 1860-1910.

Given these trends, and the continuing rise in student numbers, it is not surprising that financial and building affairs took up a substantial amount of court time. In 1890 there were thirteen meetings of the Edinburgh court and records become more voluminous; the

year's records alone cover over two hundred pages. To deal with this added workload the courts appointed subcommittees under a coordinating standing committee. At Edinburgh finance, works, business and law subcommittees were set up. Each had six members among them the Principal, who thereby was able to follow the various aspects of the administration.⁸¹ Yet the principal could not easily dominate each subcommittee, as each had enough other members to outvote him, and the subcommittees' actions were subject to the sanction of the full court. In format the Edinburgh set up of subcommittees was similar to what occurred in Glasgow where the records of the finance, works and recognition subcommittees were incorporated into the court minute books. The substantial number of subcommittee meetings at Glasgow is indicated in table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Glasgow University Court 1900-1910: Number of Court and Subcommittee Meetings

YEAR	NUMBER OF MEETINGS				TOTAL
	COURT	FINANCE	WORKS	RECOGNITION	
1900	14	4	1		19
1901	12	10	4	1	27
1902	15	13	6		34
1903	13	13	9		35
1904	12	11	8	1	32
1905	10	13	11	1	35
1906	12	10	8		30
1907	14	11	7	4	36
1908	11	11	7	2	31
1909	10	10	7	3	30
1910	12	10	5	3	30

Source: Glasgow University Court Minutes 1900-10.

81 ED ct min vol 4 p. 15-16. 27.1.1890. The appointments to the subcommittees are given here. Senate had two members on each committee the others being shared out between the other assessors.

The courts were now dealing with such matters as coal tenders and salary requests⁸² and were involved in seeing university accounts on a monthly basis. The bequests to the university occupied time, being dealt with by both the finance and business and law subcommittees.⁸³ At Edinburgh university investments and the condition of collections, such as the Torrie collection, were matters requiring attention along with the usual business of appointments, curricular development, scholarships and class returns.

The courts of the second half of the period had to deal with many committees and boards outside the university. For example, the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) was placed under a new Government body called The Governors of the Trust for Education in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. To this body the Edinburgh court appointed one of themselves as a member⁸⁴ as did the Glasgow court in the same period. Further links to local services included appointing hospital Governors and managers to the Victoria Infirmary and Western Infirmary respectively.⁸⁵ The unpaid workload on the court members continued to increase as the courts could also be directed by the Commissioners appointed under the terms of the 1889 Act. Ordinances affecting the reorganisation

82 ED ct min vol 4, p. 19-21. 30.1.1890.

83 ED ct min vol 4, p. 58. 10.3.1890.

84 ED ct min vol 4 p. 108-9, 9.6.1890.

85 Glasgow University Calendar 1890-1. Abstract of court business, 13th November 1889. p. 372

of the Arts degree, amongst others, became a further source of business for the courts in the early 1890s.

Glasgow held ten meetings in 1890 for the full Court not including the sub-committees of finance and works dealing with investments, accounts, buildings and contracts. The scope of business widened as the university broadened its activities. Attention was paid to the athletic club and the student union as the court wanted to avoid the union becoming a financial liability. The library, the museum and their collections received continual attention; in finance the Court had to deal with new bequests such as that for £2000 of R Stevenson, D.D., minister, for students entering the university. Investments at Glasgow, as at Edinburgh, were also dealt with, an interesting item being that minuted on the 30th of October 1890 when Mr Colquhoun at the preceding finance committee meeting had 'arranged to lend all the available uninvested funds to the City Police Commissioners on temporary loans at 0.25% more than the Bank Deposit Rate, at a minimum of 2.75%'⁸⁶ Here the civic linkage benefited both city and university finances. In other ways too the court was being drawn into dealing with the community with regard to property. Glasgow university held property and gathered rents and teinds well before the courts were instituted. The court became involved in leasing agreements such as at Vouchers Farm and in legal actions to enforce the payment of arrears of Knockdolian and Partickhill teinds. Clearly

86 Finance committee of 26.9.1890.

the lay members of the court were actively protecting their university's ever more diverse interests.

Over the year 1900-01 there were fourteen court meetings at Glasgow excluding those of the finance, works, recognition, library and observatory committees. Court record keeping was changed with the acceptance of a motion by the Lord Provost that the minutes should be printed and sent to all members with notice of consideration of subjects at future meetings.⁸⁷ Later in the year it was resolved, thirty years after Edinburgh, that the meetings of the university court be open to press reporters except in cases where for any reason it was expedient for the court to sit in private.⁸⁸ Business followed the usual patterns but additional examples of community contacts and pressure are to be seen. The last court meeting of 1899 saw a petition from the Joint Committee of the University Ossianic and the Free Church Celtic Societies for a lectureship in Celtic Languages.⁸⁹ This action shows that the court was the target on which pressure groups in the community focused their aim. If the court had been seen as a rubber stamp and if its lay members had been viewed as unsympathetic this would not have happened. Court also sanctioned use of buildings by the International Engineering Association

87 Glasgow University Calendar Volume 1900 - 01, Abstract of court meeting, 3.5.1900, p. 616.

88 Glasgow University Calendar Volume 1901 - 02, Abstract of court meeting, 12.7.1900 p. 682.

89 Glasgow University Calendar Volume 1900 - 01, Abstract of court meeting, p. 612.

and the university exhibition of parts of its collections in Paris.⁹⁰

By the turn of the century court business at Edinburgh had established a pattern of functions similar to those seen at Glasgow. 1900 as a benchmark year displays nothing substantial by way of new activities. Eleven meetings compared to fourteen at Glasgow covered much the usual format. There is evidence of the Edinburgh court being involved in local government through the Sir John Usher Institute. The court acted and conferred with the town council on a subcommittee for public health work in the city.⁹¹ Indeed university teachers provided medical officers of health for the police burghs of Scotland.⁹² As seen at Glasgow the court appointed members from its own ranks to act on educational boards such as that of the Edinburgh School of Rural Economy.⁹³ The court still dealt with endowments, including the legal complications which could arise from them.⁹⁴

At Glasgow in 1910-11 there were twelve full court meetings with an additional ten finance and five works subcommittees. The minutes cover one hundred and twenty

90 Glasgow University Calendar Volume 1900 - 01, Abstract of court meeting, p. 614, 27.2.1900.

91 ED ct min vol 7 p. 114-5.

92 Ms Brenda White's research at the University of Glasgow reveals that the early teaching of Medical Police with Medical Jurisprudence, at both Glasgow and Edinburgh in the nineteenth century, gave the respective city administrators a source of expertise in such figures as John Glaister and H D Littlejohn. In Aberdeen Matthew Hay, part time Medical Officer of Health, taught Practical Hygiene and Medical Jurisprudence at the same time.

93 ED ct min vol 7 p. 126.

94 ED ct min vol 7 p. 167-9. 9.5.1900.

seven pages, not including meetings in camera or additional reports and representations. The increased volume of business recorded in these later periods is the most striking feature of court activity.

The meeting on the 6th of October 1910 dealt with appointments to the Chair of Biblical Criticism, retirement of two professors, gifts and donations of various kinds. The recognition committee reported on more than a dozen applications from a wide variety of institutions. Court then dealt with additional applications for loans of exhibits for a Lord Kelvin Hall of Engineering and use of university halls and grounds. The court sitting in camera dealt with appointments to the finance, works and recognition committees as well as the court's representatives on the library, museums and observatory and laboratories Committees.

A typical works committee at Glasgow had five or six members spread across the different groups making up the court. In the decade up to 1910 Professor Stewart, D.D., most often held the chair while on the finance Committee, the lay member David Hannay was the chairman. The committee dealt with wages of servants but not the salaries of professors or lecturing and assistant staff. The committee considered all buildings, including Queen Margaret College from 1890, dealing with furniture, fixed fittings, repairs large and small, and general maintenance work.

The finance committee dealt with accounts, fees, salaries and loans and property administration of the

university, with regard to sale and investments. Like the works committee it was generally no larger than eight strong. Lay input to these committees can be seen from the minutes which included debates on how money should be spent and administered. On the finance subcommittee at Glasgow in 1900 and 1901 D C McVail advocated different methods for keeping the university accounts and drew up a report for the court to consider.⁹⁵ Evidence shows that the lay members of the courts were active in making up reports and voting on the spending of monies. The surgical laboratories were a case in point when Sir J N Cuthbertson reported on his interview with the architect over the plans.⁹⁶ The lay members disagreed on whether a further report detailing the space actually available was needed and voted on whether the plan should go ahead. The lay members McVail and Mitchell wanted the additional report and questioned whether the £4,500 should be spent before the issue of accommodation in the surgical department was resolved.⁹⁷ While by no means always voting as a bloc, lay members voted regularly on contentious issues, played a very active role in the development of buildings and in general vigorously sought

95 GUA ref 50574 Glasgow University Court Minute Book volume 1900 - 01. p. 10. On the 30th of October 1900 D C McVail dissented from the voting of monies spent on roadways and by the meeting of 5th of December p. 19 his objections to the way in which accounts were made up resulted in statements of his opinion being printed and circulated to members.

96 GUA ref 50572 Glasgow University Court Minute Book volume 7. 5.6.1900 to 12. 7. 1900. p. 58

97 GUA ref 50572 Glasgow University Court Minute Book volume 7. 5.6.1900 to 12. 7. 1900. p. 58. Mr McVail and Mr Mitchell were defeated in the vote over their amendment by the other five members of the committee.

to make the administration more efficient and cost effective. In this task they brought their entrepreneurial, business and administrative skills to the benefit of the university.

The court at Edinburgh in 1910 met eleven times compared to Glasgow's twelve. No major changes in activity took place but there is evidence, as at Glasgow, of increased involvement in local educational boards at elementary and higher levels. Likewise recognition of other educational institutions in Britain and overseas continued, now embracing the United States⁹⁸ and Japan.

While dealing with institutions overseas the courts in Scotland were involved with each other in the Carnegie Trust⁹⁹, the Principal representing the university. Edinburgh court appointed a representative to the Stirling Education Trust and to the General Committee of the Marine Biological Association of the West of Scotland.¹⁰⁰ These forms of representation were common to both Edinburgh and Glasgow; at Glasgow there is evidence of recognitions of European institutions connected with medicine and engineering.¹⁰¹ Requests show the growth in recognition of universities and

98 Edinburgh University Calendar 1910-11, p. 780. American Universities and Colleges recognised include Harvard, Yale, Princeton, John Hopkins, Cornell, Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin, Columbia, Pennsylvania and California. In Japan the Imperial University gained recognition.

99 Edinburgh University Calendar 1910-11, p. 775.

100 Edinburgh University Calendar 1910-11, pp. 775, 782.

101 Copenhagen College and the Norwegian Naval School are two such examples that appear in 1902 and 1909. GL ct min vols 1903 and 1910 printed type.

colleges, their courses and graduates.¹⁰² Glasgow experienced demands for recognition in engineering, public health and science from the rest of Britain, the Empire, Dominions as well as Europe, America and Japan, catching up with Edinburgh's earlier geographical diversity while surpassing its mix of subjects.

Appointments connected with external examiners were undertaken, involving the university courts in recognising the abilities of individuals and the reputations of institutions, an example being the appointment of Mr Leonard King of the Assyrian Department of the British Museum as an examiner of a D.Litt thesis.¹⁰³ Appointments were also linking the universities in joint examinations. Cooperation was not just linked to examination for the Edinburgh court arranged with the Managers of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary for the allocation of two wards and an operating theatre for the use of Professor Alexis Thomson.¹⁰⁴

The courts were the vehicle by which the universities extended activities; while they often did not generate such proposals, the courts had the ability to sanction and alter plans. The courts laid down policy as issues arose or when they saw fit to intervene. The Glasgow court's involvement with institutions in the locality increased rapidly as time passed. Appendix 4.2 tables 3,

102 A fuller list of recognitions can be seen in appendix 3.2 tables 1 and 2.

103 Edinburgh University Calendar 1910-11, p. 783. 14.2.1910.

104 Edinburgh University Calendar 1910-11, p. 779.

4 and 5 show the extent of court and senate participation in the provision of educational and health services not just in Glasgow but further afield from the Highlands to Dumfriesshire. Courts could have held back from these activities but they extended the influence of the universities: their members may have also been motivated by added power and prestige for themselves. Yet at Edinburgh connections between the court and the locality do not appear to be as prevalent as at Glasgow. This may be because the smaller urban area in which Edinburgh University was situated provided less opportunities and different or fewer demands.

The activities of the post-1889 courts extended beyond the inevitable added responsibilities incurred in administering the financial affairs and property of the university alone; shared commitment to a broadening university role played a part. As James Donaldson, Principal of St Andrews, observed at the 1912 Universities Congress, 'there are not parties in the Court....all..[the members]..take an interest in the whole concerns of the court'. The court could 'make great changes'. Overall

the court seems a body particularly fitted for the work that has been assigned to it by Parliament. It is not too large to prevent the sense of a common interest pervading all its members, and generally there is great harmony and earnestness in pushing forward schemes which are good for the whole university.¹⁰⁵

105 Hill A editor Congress of the Universities 1912 Report of Proceedings. Hodder and Stoughton for the University of London Press 1912. p. 357-8.

In aiming for the good of the whole university lay members of the courts, in co-operation with the academic members, sought to extend the remit of court activities, especially after 1889. In doing so, they brought community assets to bear for the good of the universities, whose widening activities in turn provided enhanced facilities for the respective localities and regions.

Links were also formed at national and international levels, both before and after 1889, but were far more prevalent after the courts had become larger. The willingness of the courts to build up these links added prestige to the universities and created a place for the Scottish universities in the development of educational provision in the Empire and elsewhere. This was achieved while the universities themselves grew in student numbers and facilities. Courts appear therefore to have been successfully promoting their universities in a period of change.

Yet did the members turn up enough to influence policy? For the early court period attendance at both Edinburgh and Glasgow was good although Aberdeen, with a smaller court occasionally had problems forming a quorum. By contrast tables 1 and 2 in appendix 4.1 show court meetings at Glasgow and Edinburgh rarely failed to have a quorum. As table 4.1 shows, at Edinburgh the lord provost and the town assessor were frequent attenders on the smaller courts although the latter attended more often than the former.

The lord rectors attended infrequently and much depended on the level of their personal interests. Moncrieff, Stirling Maxwell and the Earl of Rosebery attended quite often, while some rectors failed to turn up even once a year. From table 4.2 it can be seen that at Glasgow rectors hardly turned up at all which can reinforce the interpretation of the rector as an ornamental figure.¹⁰⁶ Yet at least occasionally rectors made an impact on the courts as Moncrieff did in the Edinburgh court-senate dispute. More generally, rectors were not isolated from the interests of their universities, where their elections and installations were often the focus of considerable student excitement. At Aberdeen Lord Huntly was re-elected as a working rector and was seen as being non political. Again at Aberdeen Lord Strathcona held lavish entertainments at the university and was deeply interested in educational provision in Scotland and Canada.¹⁰⁷ Even if they were less active in the regular business of the courts than in other aspects of university life, the rectors' presence added to the courts' legitimacy, and the rectors' ceremonial role forwarded many of the interests of more

106 Mill Anna J 'The First Ornamental Rector at St Andrews: John Stuart Mill'. Scottish Historical Review vol XLIII, 1964, p. 131-144. Provides an insight into the difficulties encountered by some Rectors who lived far from their University

107 Anderson R D The Student Community at Aberdeen 1860-1839. Aberdeen University Press 1988. pp. 26-7, 40.
Wilson B The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. Cassel, London 1915. p. 553.

diligent court members, who often entertained guests of the universities.¹⁰⁸

Most other members at Glasgow and Edinburgh in the benchmark years attended court regularly, (see tables 1 and 2 in appendix 4.1), although ill health or distance from the university impeded some. These levels of attendance differ from the findings of Jones for the English civic universities where the large size of the governing bodies made for unwieldy administration and poor attendance. The situation of the courts at Glasgow and Edinburgh contrasts sharply, for example, with Leeds which was 'almost farcical' as 'Within seven years of the foundation, the minutes of Liverpool's Court came to consist of a few standardised phrases and a printed copy of the annual accounts',¹⁰⁹

The motivations to attend and indeed stand for election to the courts varied with individuals and the groups that they represented. Rectorial and chancellor's assessors were chosen by the particular incumbent presumably because they were trusted to reflect their patron's interests and uphold their reputations. General council assessors could, through the court, achieve alterations to the benefit of their respective professions while also improving the reputation and

108 Macalister E F B Sir Donald Macalister of Tarbert Macmillan and Co, Ltd, London 1935. p. 192 Refers to the entertainment laid on for the delegates to the 1912 Universities Congress. This is reiterated in Hill A ed, p. xv Which refers to Court members in Glasgow entertaining the delegates to stay in their homes.

109 Jones D R Civic - Universities, Routledge, London 1988. p. 129.

standing of their alma mater.¹¹⁰ For the senate assessors the court provided the means to convey information and memorials to the central authorities and the best way to influence the non-academic members. Yet the shared 'boosterish' attitude of the courts was at least as striking as the differing motivations of various categories of member. For example the 1905 history of the College of St Leonard was published at the request of the St Andrews court.

Another overall incentive, or at least reinforcement, to court service was the courts' growing involvement in local government provision in the university cities and regions. As a willing part of local government, from examining schoolmasters to acting on health and education boards, the courts could provide influence to members over the growth and scope of provision. All the courts were involved in some activities at local levels and it can be speculated that, like Glasgow and Edinburgh, the courts at Aberdeen and St Andrews formed links with educational boards and health organisations in their areas.

Such links, like the more general activities of the courts provided court members and their universities with power and prestige at home. Enhanced status ties in with

110 Galbraith James Lachlan The Curator of Glasgow University James Maclehose and sons, 1909. An example of a General Council Court member benefiting the university directly Dr Anderson Kirkwood, a Glasgow lawyer, who with Professor Veitch secured the subscriptions of twenty three Glasgow citizens to enable the University in 1878 to acquire the library of Sir William Hamilton, Metaphysician. pp. 19-20

some of the comments of Irene Sweeney concerning the public ideals and self reliance of the municipal administration in Glasgow as situated in the 'relationship structure' of the Glasgow middle class described as 'labyrinthine' by Sweeney. It may be that the courts, like the councils, became enmeshed in these relationships as a means for the middle classes to promote their 'paternalistic' actions.¹¹¹

Looking overall at the courts at Edinburgh and Glasgow throughout the period, they clearly extended their remit beyond the narrow administration of the university to establish contacts in the locality and overseas. Court members themselves acted outwith meetings as representatives on other boards and committees and these activities grew when the courts were enlarged and greater demands emerged from the locality. also while initially contrasting in their approach to issues such as the exertion of authority and parliamentary representation, both courts achieved and sustained workable and successful relationships with their respective senates. They helped raise funds as mentioned and took part in social activities which benefited the universities. All this was at considerable cost in time and, possibly, foregone income to the members. Apart from enhanced individual status, an element of altruism and a sense of

111 Strathclyde University Phd thesis 1990, Sweeney Irene 'The Municipal Administration of Glasgow, 1833-1912: Public Service and the Scottish Civic Identity.' 2 volumes. volume 1 pp. 688-9, 801, 746.

duty must also have played their parts in motivating these people.

Overall it can be concluded that the post 1858 period administration saw greatly and progressively enhanced lay input to university affairs on an individual and collective level. Attendance and actions of members indicate that membership of courts carried with it real power to influence the growth, curriculum and prestige of the universities. The courts, while exerting some lay authority over senates, saw their limitations and encouraged government to intervene and remedy the deficiencies. As voluntary bodies their membership was limited to those with the time and money to attend and this restricted membership to the middle and upper classes. Nevertheless their actions were not aimed at restricting access to education but actually increased it while more generally enhancing the reputations of the universities and their communities. Hard working lay members of both the pre and post 1889 courts at Glasgow and Edinburgh exerted their authority and debated issues affecting the curriculum and commercial efficiency of their universities, expanding student numbers and the quality of facilities. This is in stark contrast to the situation described by Jones for the English civic universities where the lay members' role in court was that of 'passive recipient of reports post facto'.¹¹²

Yet the expansion of Scottish universities had to be achieved within the limitations of resources, which

112 Jones D R Civic Universities 1988, p. 129.

themselves involved universities in relationships with the local community as well as the state. The changing nature and scale of these resources and relationships will now be considered in the next chapter.

Five: Finance and the Community: The Implications of External Relationships of the Levels, Sources and Administration of University Income and Expenditure.

From the period of the 1858 Act and even more so after the 1889 Act the finances of Scottish universities came under increased public scrutiny and control. Thus finance is an important area in which to test the hypothesis that university relationships with the community during the period were stronger and more diverse than either before 1858 or as previously suggested regarding the later period.

In approaching this topic this chapter shall consider several topics. Initially, in a broad overview, the issues of responsibility and some of the changes and problems confronted by the universities in their financial affairs will be addressed. This is followed with some of the issues raised by writers such as universities and business, the experience of the English civic universities, Scottish universities and science, comparisons to Oxford and Cambridge and some consideration of the place of appeals and donations. These are interspersed with comparisons to the Scottish universities, their changes in responsibility, and some consideration as to how they responded to problems. This section is followed by a general consideration of the changes in Scottish university income and expenditure, the growth in complexity of finances, financial accountability, the limitations placed on the universities and the role of state intervention. After this section attention focuses on, and compares, the finances of the universities of

Glasgow and Edinburgh. Assessing their overall levels first, they will then be analysed in more detail to assess their potential in creating and sustaining links to the community. The theme of links to the community is reiterated in the next section which considers the composition and capital of all the Scottish universities to show the growing importance of community sponsored income.

Overview

The public involvement after 1858 was not entirely new to the university system. At St Andrews the Crown had taken over the financial management of the buildings after the Universities Commission of 1826. Responsibility for the buildings was returned to University administration, in the form of the Court, only in 1889. Peculiar as the St Andrews situation may have been, the involvement of non academics in the financial administration of the Universities in Scotland was deeply set before 1858.

University revenues had been granted by the Crown and other public and private sources through gifts and donations since the foundation of the universities. As a result the property and revenues of the universities had been subject to interference, diminution and enhancement from time to time at the hands, for instance, of government and the church.¹ Government interfered with property and exerted authority over business deals² and in their finances the

1 Mackie J D History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1951. Jackson, Glasgow 1954. p. 123.

2 Kellett J R 'Glasgow's Railways, 1830-80'. Economic History Review 2nd series, Vol 17, 1964-65. pp. 361: the Treasury had to be consulted over the plans for the New College Buildings at Glasgow to which they objected in 1847 and Parliament gave the Treasury a watching brief over the

universities which gained revenue from teinds³ lost out over time through augmentations to ministers' stipends.⁴ The University of Glasgow, for instance, 'enjoyed a valuable lease of the teinds of the archbishopric of Glasgow'.⁵ These were substituted by Parliament in 1825 with an annual allowance of £800, itself removed in 1839. In its place sums were given to endow new Regius chairs in the medical faculty and the chair of engineering. This interference was resented by Glasgow for

It was a little hard on the University to have its income cut down and its expenses increased at one blow; this is one of the causes which made the University of Glasgow, which was tolerably well provided for at the time, and had a small amount of working expenses, a poor university,⁶ with large working expenses and a small income.

At Edinburgh the Town Council had been the body responsible for funding the University up to 1858. The University claimed in 1887 that

The revenues of the University were formerly scanty and very inadequate for the encouragement of the higher education and learning in the Scottish metropolis.

It pointed out that the funds previously in the hands of the town council were discharged by an Act (1 & 2 Vict., cap. 55). These had amounted to £13,119 and were replaced by an annual payment of £2,500 (later reduced to £2,170), secured upon the revenues of Leith docks. This replaced certain

Hunterian collection, the removal of which was a Parliamentary matter. p. 361

3 The Scottish equivalent of the English tithes.

4 Scottish Universities Commission, Report and Index

[c 1935] xxxii.i, Murray and Gibb, Edinburgh, 1878.p. 125-6

5 ibid Report 1878. p. 125.

6 ibid Report 1878. p. 125-6, Professor Blackburn

funds from endowments and bequests and therefore part of the University's income became dependent on the trading success of Edinburgh's port.⁷ Thus before 1858 the finances of the Scottish universities were neither autonomous nor dependably bouyant.⁸

Yet what was new after 1858, for all the Scottish universities, was that the responsibility over financial affairs was gradually removed from the direct control of their respective senates to the courts. During a period when academics required substantial rises in revenue to cope with additional students and the rising demands of research, direct academic financial control was considerably reduced. Thus it is important to consider how the post-1858 universities made their financial decisions in the context of the changing composition of public and private money and the adequacy of the money available.

These issues have been partly addressed by social and economic historians dealing with universities and colleges in Scotland, and the rest of Britain. They have looked at the quantity and nature of the resources available, their allocation and management, including some examination of influence by government and private interests rather than by

7 Edinburgh University Calendar 1887 p. 504

8 Mitchell B R, Redman Brian British Historical Statistics, Cambridge University Press 1988. p. 645 To clarify income tax in 1860 stood at 6d in the pound and fluctuated between 2d in 1875 to 1/3d in 1903, falling to 1/- in 1909. Wilsher Peter The Pound In Your Pocket, 1870-1970, London 1970. p. 3 Mitchell and Redman British Historical Statistics p. 35. The pound in 1990 was only about one fortieth of the pound in 1870.

academics. However, most of the books⁹ and articles¹⁰ which consider university finance either do so as part of general studies only incidently concerned with the relationships between educational institutions and the community. In so far as the latter appears, it tends to take the form of commerce and industry, with which the universities are generally thought to have had an unsatisfactory relationship. Also apart from Robertson's study of Glasgow finances, these works are not generally involved in gauging whether the universities fared well in the competition for funding within the developing educational system in Scotland, Britain and the Empire. The other social and economic groups, such as the middle class professionals, members of the aristocracy or landed

- 9 Armytage W H G Civic Universities, London, 1955.
 Sanderson M Universities and Brit Industry, London 1972.
 Roderick G W, Stephens M D Education and Industry Longman, London 1978.
 Sanderson M Education, Economic Change and Society in England, Basingstoke 1983.
 Anderson R D Education and Opportunity, Oxford 1983.
 Jones David R The Origins of the Civic Universities: London 1988.
- 10 Robertson Paul 'Technical education in the British Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering Industries, 1863-1914'. Economic History Review 2nd series, Vol 27, 1974. pp. 222-235
 Dunbabin J P D 'Oxford and Cambridge College Finances 1871-1913'. Economic History Review 2nd series, Vol 28, 1975. pp. 631-647.
 Robertson Paul 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow Before 1914'. History of Education Quarterly, Vol 16, No 4, 1976. pp. 449-478.
 Robertson Paul 'Scottish Universities and Industry'. Scottish Economic and Social History, 4, 1984 pp. 39-53.
 Jones D 'Governing the Civic Universities'. History of Education Quarterly, XXV, 1985, pp. 281-301.
 Sanderson M 'The English Civic Universities and the "Industrial Spirit" 1870-1914.' Historical Research, Vol 61, No 144, February 1988. pp. 90-105.
 Robertson Paul 'The Development of an Urban University: Glasgow, 1860-1914.' History of Education Quarterly, Vol 30, No 1, Spring 1990. pp. 47-78.

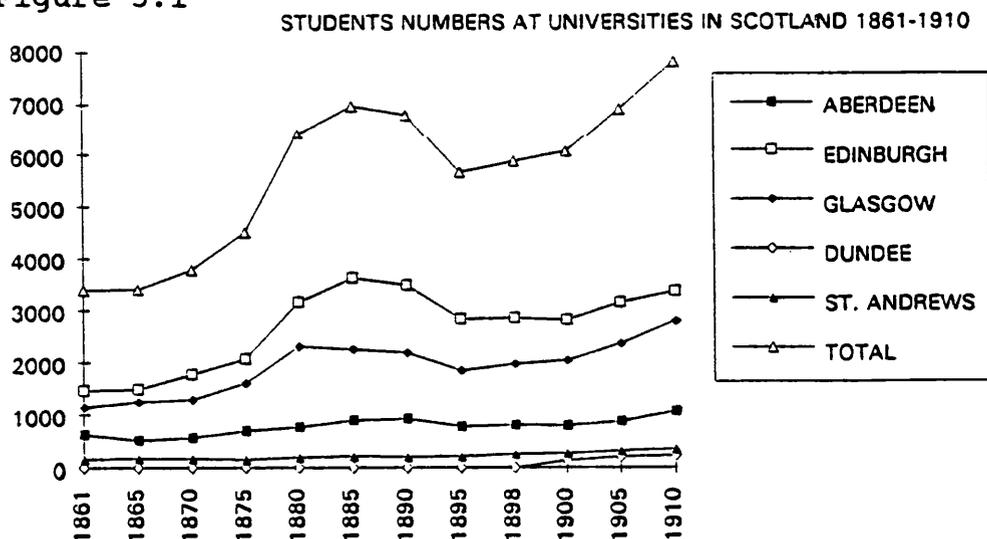
interests, which aided the universities in Scotland are not considered in much detail and some of the reasons for their involvement will be discussed later.

This chapter, in dealing with income and expenses, aims to assess the extent of the various relationships formed in relation to finance between the Scottish universities and society. This should enhance the appreciation of the important role of Government and private funding in the development of Glasgow as developed by Robertson¹¹ while extending such analysis to the other Scottish universities, especially Edinburgh. One of the themes which will emerge is that the Scottish universities were successful in providing for a variety of needs, which cannot be fully appreciated by a focus on industry alone.

A key aspect of the universities' achievement was their near doubling of students from 1860 to 1910. Yet as Figure 5.1 indicates, while the general trend in student numbers was upwards, there were significant fluctuations, so a vital component of university income, student fees, were not a reliable basis for any long term plans which assumed rising income. In spite of reaching a peak in numbers in 1885 Edinburgh subsequently developed its buildings and curriculum significantly. At the other three universities too, there was a very rough correlation between student numbers and expansion in the variety of subjects taught, staff numbers, buildings and facilities.

¹¹Robertson P 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow'. pp. 449-478.

Figure 5.1



Source: Based on figures in R J Anderson. Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland (Oxford 1983), pp.348-357. For a full list of student numbers see appendix 5.1.

Studies of English civic universities suggest that although local businessmen contributed much money and held posts in the universities' courts they were increasingly deferential to the academic element in the administration of finance.¹² Meetings of the large Courts were unwieldy, infrequent and attendance low. Also a split between lay and academic interests emerged for, as Lord Ashby argued 'Budgetary affairs are the most delicate'.¹³ It became customary to accept the teaching staff's estimates; the professors were also active in the solicitation of funds and they were consulted about class fees.¹⁴ Court in the civic university system could exert influence over the allocation of surplus funds not already earmarked. While the courts had ultimate power, they functioned mainly as arbitrators

¹² Jones 'Governing the Civic Universities'. pp. 283, 293.

¹³ Jones 'Governing the Civic Universities'. p. 282.

¹⁴ Jones David R, The Origins of the Civic Universities: Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool p. 138-9. Jones 'Governing the Civic Universities'. p. 292.

because the academics were the 'full time experts' and that they had 'naturally enough captured the budget making process'.¹⁵ Even so in the civic university system, Court remained the ultimate power.

By contrast the courts of the Scottish universities exerted real power over affairs. The Scottish lay members, in particular, were active and influential in this process, especially by their role on committees. Yet in Scotland there may have been no real differences of opinion with regard to finance between the academic and non academic policy makers.

Still it could be argued that even if true this difference in government was overshadowed by inadequate Scottish university links to businessmen in other respects. While Scottish universities are seen as falling into line with England over specialisation and entrance examinations,¹⁶ and while in 1870 £3,100 of Science and Art Department money went to subsidise 140-150 free places in the universities, science was still seen as not being adequately catered for by the Royal Commission of 1878.¹⁷ While looking for financial participation and support by businessmen in an analysis of three appeals for funds, two at Glasgow and one at Dundee, Sanderson concluded that the local business communities were not as enthusiastic or as supportive as their counterparts involved with the civic

15 Jones 'Governing the Civic Universities'. pp. 282, 291.
 Jones. David R, The Origins of the Civic Universities: Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool p. 138-9.

16 Sanderson M Universities and British Industry. p. 146.

17 Sanderson M Universities and British Industry. p. 153-4.

universities in England.¹⁸ Glasgow's 1902 appeal is described thus

although a fair success in terms of sums raised, it indicated that the industrial and business community in Glasgow as a whole had not warmed to the university in the last generation of the nineteenth century.¹⁹

Business sectors such as textiles that did contribute to the universities were seen to have received little or no technical innovation or support in return.

Yet this analysis concentrated on appeals and not other areas of participation in university administration by businessmen. Also it does not take account of the competition for funds that the Scottish universities faced in this period, when Scotland had greater numbers in higher education per head of population than did England. In Glasgow alone there was technical, scientific and commercial training at the Royal Technical College, teacher training in the Free Church of Scotland and Church of Scotland training colleges as well as the teaching of medicine at Anderson's College and St Mungo's. From 1900 to 1907 over £300,000 was raised in Glasgow for the Technical College appeal alone.²⁰ In Edinburgh the Watt Institution would be competing, like the colleges of Glasgow, for private and state funding. This competition could have contributed to a conservative outlook on expansion by the Scottish universities particularly with regard to technical subjects.

18 Sanderson M Universities and British Industry. p. 173.

19 Sanderson M Universities and British Industry. p. 171.

20 The Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College Calendar 1908. R Anderson, Glasgow 1908. p. 33-4.

As well as competition income from fees was limited by tradition and government interference. The low fees of the Scottish universities are noted as 'preserving one democratic aspect of the Scottish tradition, namely the moderate cost of higher education'.²¹ The role of the University Commissioners is here seen as important in that they set the fees, which in 1863 were around £9 a year and grew in 1913-14 to between £12 and £17 per year.²² In England differences are seen between Oxbridge and the civic universities. The main difference was in the fees charged with Oxford and Cambridge courses, with board, costing upwards of £300 a year, a level made possible by a socially limited intake.²³ The civics on the other hand aimed to be cheaper and attract the 'middling rich people'.²⁴

Low fees in Scottish universities allowed large numbers of students to attend adding to the attack on the Wiener thesis²⁵ as being based only on Oxford and Cambridge. As Sanderson noted in 1914 only 7,704, or 42% of students in England, attended these universities. Of the remainder 4,026, or 22% were at London and 6,498, 36% were at the civic universities. Table 5.1 includes figures for Scotland, 7,776 in 1914, and these do not include those

²¹ibid Robertson Paul 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow' p. 474-475.

²² Robertson P 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow' p. 474-475.

²³ Sanderson M Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870. Studies in Economic and Social History, The MacMillan Press Ltd, London and Basingstoke 1983. p. 41.

²⁴ Sanderson M Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870. p. 47.

²⁵ Weiner M. J. English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit. Harmondsworth, Houtson, 1981.

attending the Royal Technical College in Glasgow.²⁶ It is clear that the numeric role of Oxford and Cambridge becomes less dramatic and if figures for Ireland or any of the other colleges of higher education were included it would further lessen the relevance of the Wiener thesis. Additionally the large numbers in Scottish universities point to their popularity in which low fees, regulated by ordinance, could play an important role.

Table 5.1

Students at Universities on the British Mainland, 1914

UNIVERSITIES	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	%
Oxford and Cambridge	7,704	30
London	4,026	15
English Civics	6,498	25
Scottish Universities	7,776	30
Total	<u>26,004</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Sanderson M 'The English Civic Universities and the "Industrial Spirit" pp. 90-105. Anderson R D Education and Opportunity, p. 357.

The views of Sanderson and R H Campbell have been upheld that the Scottish universities were poor in training for science and commerce. Despite this the strengths in engineering at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities showed clearly this subject's importance to the economies of the local community.²⁷ In the debate as to whether the universities failed industry, it has been pointed out that the University of Glasgow offered sandwich courses in

26 Sanderson M 'The English Civic Universities and the "Industrial Spirit" 1870-1914.' Historical Research, Vol 61, No 144, February 1988. pp. 90-105. Sanderson had gleaned the point about the Royal Technical College from Robert Anderson's 1983 work, Ed and Op.

27 Robertson P 'Scottish Universities and Industry' pp. 39, 40.

engineering in the nineteenth century and that although, as in England, private money endowed chairs, such as naval engineering at Glasgow, companies did not send students to attend these courses.²⁸ In the face of this problem laymen and academics on the courts may be seen to have followed rational specialisms in educational provision. The major feature of the Scottish universities was their role in medical education²⁹ and yet the total numbers of science and engineering students in Scotland when compared to England was seen to be higher per capita at 2 per 10,000 residents compared to 1 per 10,000 in England. This difference would be even greater if the Royal Technical College in Glasgow was included.³⁰ Medical fees, for the universities, would form a major component of income and attention in dealing with the financial aspects of expansion. Despite this possible limitation the universities, through their courts, they could associate themselves with the competition in their areas to provide for requirements. For example under Ordinance 23 Glasgow University accepted study at the Glasgow Technical College towards degrees in science and engineering.³¹ Similarly the medical faculty recognised courses at external institutions for degree purposes. Thus the university courts, when facing limitations from fee

28 Robertson P 'Technical education in the British Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering Industries, 1863-1914.' p. 229-230.

29 Robertson P 'Scottish Universities and Industry' p. 50. In 1913-14 medicine accounted for 39.7% of Edinburgh students and 25.6% at Glasgow.

30 Robertson P 'Scottish Universities and Industry'. p. 50.

31 The Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College Calendar 1908-8. R Anderson, Glasgow 1908. p. 313-4.

income for development, could use a compromise and achieve results through pragmatism.

The validity of comparing the Scottish universities to the civic universities in England has been questioned. It is the concept that the Scottish universities were larger, more diversified, complex, and more cosmopolitan than the English civics which Robertson points out³² and which this chapter aims to expand upon. In his analysis Robertson found that at Edinburgh 10% of B.Sc and D.Sc degrees awarded were to students from India alone and that at Glasgow 8.2% of science matriculands came from advanced European countries. Figures such as these have implications for the reputations of the universities and are important not only as indicators of broader drawing power from outside their localities but as a sources of additional fees. The demands upon the Scottish universities would be more varied and have given a set of priorities for financial and resource allocation which require further analysis.

In comparison to Scotland, Oxford and Cambridge college finances from 1871-1913 show a situation where the finances of the universities and the colleges remained separate, in contrast to Scotland where any differences ended after the Act of 1858. The colleges were major land and property holders and they lost income as a result of the agricultural depression, the falling values of rents and rising

32 Robertson P 'Scottish Universities and Industry'. p. 53.

taxation.³³ The Scottish universities differed from this in that only a small proportion of income came from land and crops. For Dunbabin the real damage to the colleges and the universities was in the break in confidence that the financial problems caused for individual colleges. In fundraising appeals by Cambridge and Oxford in 1899 and 1902 respectively, Cambridge raised £72,000 by 1904 and Oxford one half of the target of £250,000 by 1912.³⁴ Compared to Scottish appeals these amounts seem low, especially when Oxford and Cambridge were catering to the wealthier groups in society. With fees at Oxford and Cambridge high compared to the Scottish universities potential donors might not be blamed for their reluctance to give to appeals.

The extent of appeals is an area touched on by Robert Anderson and more fully addressed by Robertson for Glasgow where he considers Government and private input to the university's finances as important with significant support coming from the Glasgow business community. This challenges the alleged inability of the universities to supply the needs of industry, placing the study of the Scottish universities within a new perspective, by looking for and assessing successful development and contacts with the community of an urban and industrial area.

The lively educational market in which the Scottish universities had to compete not only demanded improved

33 Dunbabin 'Oxford and Cambridge College Finances'. p. 631
Total land held amounted to 309.600 acres in 1871. p. 634.
between 1870-1897 Christ Church's agricultural rents and
land values fell an estimated 39%.

34 *ibid* Dunbabin p. 644.

standards of teaching and equipment but also required flexibility. The Scottish universities faced competition not only from an expanding state and private secondary sector but also from a variety of higher education colleges. It will be argued that any limited development in the universities of Scotland was because the universities were tied into a system that was at once co-operative and competitive involving, not only the four universities but also the other higher educational institutions in Scotland. The need to co-operate meant delays, notably in the time taken in the reforms of the requirements and options available in Arts. Meanwhile competition, especially from the non-university sector, limited the effective ability of the universities to move into the technical fields. It could be concluded that the universities were not free to adapt to all the demands and specifications of what a university 'ought' to provide. No matter how adequate resources seem there is always demand for expansion of facilities.

Scottish University Expenditure and Income

The broad changes in the expenditure and income of the Scottish universities shall now be addressed before looking in more detail at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh to assess the relationships formed with the community as a result of their financial affairs. Within the broader overview aspects of administration and accountability shall be considered to show the increase in lay access and participation in the financial affairs of the universities in their localities.

The expenditure of the Scottish universities increased markedly during the period as Table 5.2 shows with respect to the years 1894-5 and 1907-8. Comparisons relating student numbers to income and expenditure can have serious implications if they are to be seen from the perspective of efficiency and value for money. Anderson looked to total expenditures per student and concluded that St Andrews was the most inefficient in this period. Yet by this criterion Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen had at best fluctuating and more likely declining efficiency. All ironically save St Andrews, were expending more per student in 1907-8 than in 1894-5. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show expenditure and income for the years after the large increases in state grants in 1889 and 1892 when they increased to £72,000 per year.

Table 5.2

University Expenditure in 1894-5 and 1907-8

	ABERDEEN	EDINBURGH	GLASGOW	ST ANDREWS
<u>1894-5</u>				
Total expenditure	£31,171	£73,556	£54,441	£15,223
Salaries & Pension	£22,962	£57,213	£41,143	£11,737
(% of total)	(74)	(78)	(76)	(77)
Total Expenditure per student	£39.50	£25.03	£28.00	£58.32
<u>1907-8</u>				
Total expenditure	£40,651	£91,162	£76,587	£28,014
Salaries & Pension	£28,405	£67,104	£50,123	£20,239
(% of total)	(70)	(74)	(65)	(72)
Total Expenditure per student	£43.62	£27.69	£29.95	£51.12

SOURCE R D Anderson. Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland. Oxford 1983, p.285.

What this table shows is that the costs of salaries and pensions were the major item in expenditure for the universities. In Anderson's opinion this led to constraints on money available for expanding their capital expenditure

projects, but the period experienced growth of buildings and expenditure on facilities such as libraries and laboratories. Still such growth was dependant on the philanthropic relationships between the universities and donors from the local and national community. Sources of income increased from both public and private means but altered in their relative proportions.

Table 5.3

Sources of University Income in 1894-5 and 1907-8

	ABERDEEN	EDINBURGH	GLASGOW	ST ANDREWS
<u>1894-5</u>				
Fees	33.8	49.7	41.4	17.3
Endowments	19.5	13.8	19.7	33.0
State Grants	45.8	35.9	37.9	49.3
Other	0.9	0.6	1.0	0.4
	ABERDEEN	EDINBURGH	GLASGOW	ST ANDREWS
<u>1907-8</u>				
Fees	37.9	53.3	51.4	22.7
Endowments	19.6	14.4	19.5	34.8
State Grants	33.8	27.8	27.3	37.4
Other	8.7	4.5	1.8	5.1

SOURCE R D Anderson. Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland. Oxford 1983, p. 289.

Financial affairs grew not only in size but also in complexity as the universities expanded their commitments in teaching and in the buildings and facilities used for teaching and to a lesser extent research. State grants increased and were augmented by private endowments to fund professorial chairs, lectureships, bursaries, prizes, fellowships and scholarships. Table 5.3 shows only part of annual income, excluding the money that came by way of major donations such as by Lord Strathcona at Aberdeen, the Marquis of Bute at Glasgow and the Baxter family at Dundee.

Without these the Bute Hall would not have been constructed nor Marischal College so grandly rebuilt. The same could be said of the Pearce Lodge and the spire at Glasgow or the Principal's house and the MacEwan Hall at Edinburgh. The figures also omit the results of appeals such as those for the main buildings at Glasgow, the Edinburgh Medical School, the Kelvin laboratory at Glasgow, Queen Margaret College and the Glasgow Student Union, which benefited from major donors and appeals. These are just a handful of the capital assets of the universities which increased as a result of public support and which do not appear in annual financial returns.

The universities benefited in an indirect way from endowment funds given by private donors in the local and national communities. These allowed students, who may not have been able otherwise to afford a university education, to attend the universities. Although these funds were not directly given to the universities for their general purposes, they form an additional source of university fees. In this way the universities also benefited from the income for more general improvements in such things as books and facilities, though admittedly these could cause added costs.

The general public, in giving additional funds to the universities to help in new building projects, increased the financial workload. The scope of philanthropy to the universities, the reasons behind it and its role in the formation of the universities will be dealt with in greater detail in the following chapter. Attention here is given to

aspects of philanthropy as it affected finance through capital assets held.

Increases in finance led to greater public accountability, which appeared from 1858 on when the courts had the right to inspect accounts and approve financial decisions. Accountability increased when from 1889 the Courts were incorporated to hold the universities' property and to deal with finance. Finance sub-committees of the Courts were established as had been the case under Senate administration. Of course, within this new arrangement the academics continued to have representation and influence. Also the principals, in a dual role as academics and administrators, were involved in raising funds for the university and in improving the size and efficiency of the budgets. Principal Donaldson of St Andrews was openly critical of Government in his calls for greater state aid. Principal Turner, at Edinburgh, 'acted as Convener of the Finance Committee of the University Court and, with prudent sagacity.... managed the finances of the University in the years before the war'.³⁵ Yet it has already been shown in Chapter four that laymen on the courts played a role in questioning the financial organisation of the universities and were active in using their skills to deal with financial affairs and reports.

The court finance sub-committees at Glasgow reinforces this impression by revealing involvement by laymen. In

³⁵ Logan Turner A. History of the University of Edinburgh 1883-1933. Oliver and Boyd, London 1933. p. 46.

1901-2 the sub committee met ten times; about seven members attended most meetings, with the general council and town assessors always included. The general council assessor and industrialist Sir J. N. Cuthbertson, acted as chairman, although this duty was shared by Professor Stewart. The sub-committee of 1909-10 also had ten meetings and again attendance varied with up to eight at any one meeting. David Murray for the general council acted as chairman. The chancellor's assessor, who was a layman, attended most meetings. The Town assessor Alexander Murray, a Chartered Accountant, attended six. These levels of attendance compare well with Jones' estimates for the English civic university courts, as does the Glasgow tendency for lay and academic interests to be roughly equally represented among those attending.

This lay element was reinforced by increasing availability of university finances for outside inspection and control. All arrangements for committees and financial administration were ultimately subject to the Crown,³⁶ which could alter and ratify university finances through appointed commissioners, through the Universities Committee of the Privy Council or through legislation.³⁷ But as Robertson points out the universities were 'in practice, self-governing'.³⁸ The investments of the universities were left to the management of the University Factor; at

36 Robertson P 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow'. p. 469.

37 Bulloch John Malcolm A History of the University of Aberdeen 1495-1895. Hodder and Stoughton, London 1895 p. 138.

38 Robertson P 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow' p. 469.

Edinburgh this was undertaken by generations of the same local legal family.³⁹ By 1910 the universities' finances were subject to annual inspection and, if needed, regulation by the government. In addition the general public had access to annual printed abstracts of university finances, some of which had been available from the 1860s. Thus although university finances had long been open to periodic scrutiny by the government, public control became stricter, and private individuals acquired supervisory powers as well.

This kind of public control could have two main benefits in that doubts as to the university authorities' use of funds for their own gain could be eliminated, or at least, significantly lessened. Also, public scrutiny could lead to greater awareness of the financial limitations under which the universities had to work. Possible disadvantages for the universities from this public scrutiny could have been delays in financing projects until their implications were thoroughly assessed. Along with that there is the problem that university authorities would become over-cautious in their financial dealings and be unwilling to take on greater risks through fear of being seen as irresponsible. Yet, as in practice the universities expanded buildings, courses and apparatus to accommodate growing student numbers, it would appear that the positive results outweighed the negative.

³⁹ Logan Turner History of the University of Edinburgh 1883-1933 p. 47.

In the period 1860-1910 some Scottish university income depended on the price of the grain harvest. The importance of this link to the agricultural community diminished as the period progressed as grain prices fell in the slump of the 1870s and 1880s; in proportion to total income their value declined. Income from teinds of church lands also lessened in importance as the Church of Scotland pressed on them for the support of ministers. While endowment income was not so hard pressed, it remained small in comparison with the ancient English universities. As a result a great deal of direct university income came from state-sponsored funds such as money for the libraries as compensation for the loss of Stationers Hall privileges in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Also some of the universities were given money towards the upkeep of buildings and this was extended to all the universities by the end of the period. Indeed there were significant increases in direct grants in 1858, 1889, 1892 and 1912. At Cambridge joint incomes of all the colleges between 1850 and 1871 rose from £322,760 to £510,600.⁴¹ Figures for Oxford were comparable. In Scotland endowments were far lower. At Edinburgh the capital held by the university in 1865 was £117,546 providing destined income of £10,645 and disposable income at £6,292; even by 1875 income was only £23,778 from the £214,698 of capital held.

40 Bulloch J M A History of the University of Aberdeen 1495-1895. The Scottish universities received in 1709 the right to a copy of all the books registered at Stationers Hall. This right was granted by Parliament and was bought up by it in 1836. Aberdeen received £320 per year in compensation. p. 138.

41 Dunbabin 'College Finances' p. 633.

Scottish university leaders eagerly sought rises in government funding, citing as a precedent the generous treatment of Continental universities by their governments. Principal Donaldson argued in 1889:

The German government votes a sum of £40,000 annually to the one university of Strasbourg in its newly acquired province of Alsace Lorraine, after having spent upwards of £700,000 in equipping it. The British Government is to spend £42,000 on the four Universities in Scotland without equipping them.

Donaldson clearly saw the implications of this shortfall: 'How can we expect to be on an equality with Universities so splendidly endowed and cared for?'⁴² Yet, although Donaldson continued to bring attention to the lack of resources throughout his time in office, by 1910 he perceived the problem to be less severe.

The amount now given therefore by the State may be regarded as on the whole satisfactory, but it is nothing like equal to the sums which the States of foreign countries, and especially Germany, have bestowed and are bestowing on their Universities.⁴³

Donaldson's cunning in using national efficiency as a fund raising device was to be paralleled by the nation's politicians as state grants appear to have become more adequate in the later period. Politicians such as Joseph Chamberlain and A J Balfour, both lord rectors at Glasgow, were drawn into the issue on the grounds of the national

42 Donaldson Sir James Addresses delivered in the University of St Andrews, from 1886-1910. T and A Constable 1911. p. 112.

43 *ibid* Donaldson p. 625.

interest.⁴⁴ Chamberlain saw the issue in the following terms.

That University competition between states is as potent as competition in building battleships, and it is on that ground that our university conditions become of the highest possible national concern.⁴⁵

Of course politicians, like Chamberlain himself in relation to the emerging University of Birmingham, could also have regional interests in mind alongside national interests when seeking state funding.

Yet, while state funding of Scottish universities in had a long tradition which was reinforced during the period, such support was erratic and could be - as with university reform - dependent on English precedent. By 1910 Donaldson saw a principle as emerging from government funding that

When a grant is given to England and Wales it is assumed that something of an equivalent nature should also be given to Scotland, and it was in this way that the £30,000 was set down in the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act of 1892.⁴⁶

In any case the Government insisted that the Scottish universities continue to draw on private funding for buildings and equipment.

Some of these gifts could be viewed as double-edged swords. Gifts in kind, while enriching the universities, often cannot be realistically valued and caused storage and

44 Both A J Balfour and J Chamberlain were involved in Scottish Universities as elected Court members as well as having interests in the English civic universities.

45 Armytage Civic Universities p. 247 Quote from a letter sent by Joseph Chamberlain to the Times on the 6th of November 1902.

46 Donaldson Addresses p. 625

maintenance costs, although in proportion to total income these costs fell, at least in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Their importance is as a measure of private support for a university, its prestige and embellishment as an institution of learning. Gifts in kind can reveal the growing breadth of university contacts and support more clearly than strictly financial gifts; this support shall be considered in the following chapter. Philanthropic endowments brought capital funds to the universities invested in property and in shares. These added to the increasingly complex financial dealings of the universities locally and farther afield and required greater auditing.

Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities

All the four universities kept financial records, but the most detailed analysis in this chapter concentrates on Glasgow and Edinburgh universities, their income, expenditure and capital and how these were involved in forming relationships with the community. Broad totals shall be considered first followed by more detailed analysis to assess their complexity and links with the community. Universities were affected by ordinances controlling fees and later salaries and other income such as endowments was of a similar nature. The main difference lay in income from older grants, properties and stocks. If Edinburgh and Glasgow differed in their approach to financial management and development because of their historical sources of funding this might result in a contrast in their financial effectiveness during the period.

Income and expenditure for each university can be seen in the financial statements found in the calendars. Table 5.4 shows Glasgow University income from 1873-1892 with total income compared against the income and expenditure of the general fund. All grow at a steady rate until there is a major jump in 1893-4 when direct grant support boosts total income. The general fund does not have this same pattern of increase showing that the increases were for designated purposes. The source breaks down income and expenditure into designated income and general fund income⁴⁷ until 1892 to 93. After this they are combined into overall totals. Table 5.5 shows income from capital intended for bursaries, scholarships and prizes from 1873-1893, broken down by the groups which controlled the foundations.⁴⁸ While a more steady increase is seen in the university's funds, those of the trustees for the Town Council and the Merchant House jump in value at the end of the 1870s and again at the end of the 1880s.

47 Destined income is that intended for specific purposes such as professors' salaries and building maintenance. General fund income is that intended for other purposes which would vary from year to year.

48 The funds held by Balliol College Oxford were for the Snell exhibitioners.

Table 5.4Glasgow University Income and Expenditure in £ Sterling 1874-1910. (Benchmark Years and other selected dates).

YEAR END	INCOME TOTAL	INCOME GENERAL FUND	EXPEND TOTAL	EXPEND GENERAL FUND	SURPLUS GF	DEFICIT GF
1874	14908	6761		6397	362	
1875	15796	7409		6628	781	
1880	18720	9392		8408	983	
1885	20105	10594		9880	713	
1890	25319	11704		10441	1263	
1893	31836	11981		11409	572	
					SURPLUS TOTAL	DEFICIT TOTAL
1894	62317		59159		3158	
1895	58199		57546		652	
1900	90734		91072		337	
1901	61305		60623		681	
1905	114530		115279		-	748
1910	78128		79639		-	1565

Source: Glasgow University Calendars.

Table 5.5Glasgow University Income of capital Intended for Bursaries, Scholarships and prizes 1874-1893. Benchmark years.

YEAR	TOTAL	TRUSTEES TOWN COUNCIL MERCHANT HOUSE	BALLIOL COLLEGE OXFORD	GLASGOW UNIVERSITY
1874	6175	500	1540	4135
1875	6175	500	1540	4135
1880	9617	2300	1100	6217
1885	10993	2915	800	7273
1890	13336	5785	400	7151
1893	13294	5670	400	7224

Source: Glasgow University Calendars.

Investments formed a specific part of the universities' income and gave them a strong financial interest in their communities. Some investments were held by the universities or trustees acting on their behalf; at Edinburgh, for instance the university's Factor managed investments. In

addition some foundations were private and the universities had no knowledge of the sources providing the income. The choice of investments could be partly restricted by the initial form in which donations to the universities were given and by conditions laid down by donors.

The income for foundations and other capital held by the University of Glasgow can be seen in detailed breakdown in the financial abstracts published by Government order. There was considerable variety to these investments. In the benchmark year 1890 for instance money was invested in nine railways: five of these were Scottish, three were in England and one in Canada. There were investments in rented property and money came from feu duty and King William's grant. The other investments linked the university to the local region through shares in Glasgow Corporation and in the water works. The Clyde Navigation Trust and Government stocks were further areas of investment. This variety increased during the period, notably with regard to overseas investments. Glasgow investments increased in value and scope up to 1910, as table 5.6 indicates. As a result links to commercial interests in the community were formed and enhanced, notably through assets in the form of loans over property in the vicinity of Glasgow and the surrounding counties. Assets were held in a variety of companies, reflecting the complex commercial interests of the British economy of the period.

Table 5.6
Values of Investments and Assets of the University of
Glasgow for the Years 1890, 1900-01 and 1909-10.

Year	1890	1900-01	1909-10
University			
Loans over			
property	£21,425	£120,001	£84,125
Stocks	£43,308	£51,574	£48,793
Total Assets			
of University	£194,509	£303,253	£293,336
Number of			
Foundations	116	134	161
Loans of the			
Foundations	£111,322	£133,447	£197,197

Source: Annual Reports on the State of the Finances of the University of Glasgow 1890, 1900 and 1910.

Turning to Edinburgh, table 5.7 shows marked rises in total income and expenditure within each half of the period as well as overall. As in Glasgow income from 1864-1893 is in two parts, being destined income and disposable income of the general fund. The break in the layout of financial statements was caused by the increases in the state funding of the universities in 1889 and 1892.

Table 5.7
Edinburgh University Growth of Income and Expenditure 1865-
1910. Benchmark Years and other selected dates.

YEAR	DESTINED INCOME	DISPOSABLE INCOME	TOTAL INCOME OR REVENUE AFTER 1893	EXPENDITURE OF GENERAL FUND OR REVENUE AFTER 1893
1865	10645	6292	16937	6292
1870	12541	7375	19916	7301
1875	15761	8752	23778	8219
1880	18558	11475	29302	9246
1885	21713	13585	34568	12175
1890	25868	15849	40983	17048
1893	30178	16369	45813	18804
			TOTAL REVENUE	TOTAL EXPENDITURE
1894			88142	78067
1895			83310	77641
1900			86699	82983
1905			98975	98275
1910			111404	111137

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars.

The Court take-over from 1889 is clearly seen in table 5.8. This table shows the capital available to the University from 1869-1910. Up to 1889 capital was held by the senate and a far smaller sum was held by the court from 1873. Yet, with the minor exception of the court capital during the first half of the period there was a marked rise in the university's capital in each half of the period as well as overall.

Table 5.8

Edinburgh University Capital 1870-1910. Controlled by Court and Senate over Benchmark and selected Years.

YEAR	HELD BY SENATE	HELD BY COURT
1870	144951	
1875	196698	18000
1880	246536	18000
1885	367852	18000
1889	441484	17861
1890		442007
1894		536660
1895		619044
1900		697370
1905		742720
1910		838852

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars.

A similar upward trend applies to capital held for bursaries, scholarships, fellowships and prizes, as seen in table 5.9.

Table 5.9Edinburgh University Income and Expenditure in £ Sterling of Capital Held for Bursaries, Scholarships, Fellowships and Prizes. Benchmark Years 1894-1910.

YEAR	INCOME	EXPENDITURE
1894	10059	7997
1895	10375	8168
1900	10598	8987
1905	11249	9659
1910	14053	11563

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars.

The Edinburgh University Calendar provides annual abstracts of the university finances. Starting in 1865 diennial figures up to 1905 are used to show growth and sources of income and expenditure.

Table 5.10Edinburgh University Finances 1865-1905 (in Abstract)

Year	Income		Total	Expenditure	Capital
	Destined	Disposable			
1865	10,645	6,292	16,937	6,049*	117,546senate
1875	15,761	8,017	23,778	8,219*	214,698ct&sen
1885	21,713	13,585	34,568	12,175*	375,852ct&sen
1895			83,310	77,641	619,044court
1905			98,975	98,275	742,270

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars⁴⁹

* NB. Expenditure in these years relates to that coming from disposable income and does not include those sums expended from income from destined sources.

In 1865 the University was maintained from the following sources according to the University calendar.

- 1) By interest, etc; accruing from capital funds in charge of the Senatus Academicus, 2) by annual Payments made from the Crown and Parliamentary Grants, and from Leith Dock Dues. 3) by Matriculation, Graduation, and other Fees, paid annually, and 4) by payments made annually by public bodies or private persons, from Bursary Funds, of which neither principal

49 Source Edinburgh University Calendars volumes 1866-7, 1876-7, 1886-7, 1896-7, 1906-07.

nor interest is ever in the hands of the Senatus.⁵⁰

Capital held by the university fell into two groups of destined capital and disposable capital. Out of destined capital was paid the salaries of four professors, the class and assistants for the Music chair, the Reid commemoration concert, and 17 foundations for scholarships, bursaries and prizes. This amounted to £75,692 with disposable capital at £41,854. Disposable capital included the Reid and the Straton funds as well as bank stock and bank deposits.

From this capital, some income was included in the destined income total of £10,654. Destined income fell into four categories these being:

- 1) Professors' salaries
- 2) Class Assistants and Class Expenses
- 3) Non Professorial Examiner in Arts and Medicine Scholarships and Bursaries
- 4) The Reid Commemoration Concert from the Reid fund.

Of this income only £3,184 did not come from state sponsored funds. The remaining £7,461 came from Government in the form of four direct groups of Parliamentary grants. In addition to this there were £100 from land revenues of the crown, £1,008 from the Deanery of the Chapel Royal and £1,490 from Leith Dock bonds. Parliamentary grants were clearly an important source of funds as Disposable income amounted to less than that from Government at £6,292.

Even within disposable income Government provided £575 in Stationers Hall compensation and £709 in surplus Leith Dock

50 Edinburgh University calendar 1866-7 p. 224. Of the last part number 4 income was thought to be about £980 per year. The Senate omitted this income from their financial abstracts because they did not have full details of the funds involved.

bonds. In all the records money is mixed between one area and another with interest shifting from one total to another. This makes the picture of funding less clear but trends do emerge. In the disposable income of the university the two most important entries were for Medical graduation fees and Matriculation fees respectively at £1,515 and £1,420. The other faculties' graduation fees amounted to only £223 showing the clear importance of medicine to university income and the lower numbers of graduates in these other faculties.

Two sources of income which linked the university to institutions in the city of Edinburgh were the library admission fees paid by the Fellows of the College of Surgeons and the yearly payment of £105 by the Society of Clerks to Her Majesty's Signet for the conveyancing chair foundation. The Reid and Straton bequests provided additional funds to the university out of capital amounting to around £53,920. Income at Edinburgh although starting from a different tradition to the other universities gathered to itself money from revenues rooted in church and local secular income. This was not so distant from the income of teinds and feu duty paid at the other universities.

In looking at Edinburgh and Glasgow in order to determine the manner in which the university funded operations and how private and public sector roles were played out over time, it is appropriate to examine how these forms of disposable income and expenditure grew and shifted in relative

importance in more detail. At Edinburgh, across the benchmark years 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895 and 1905, and despite changes of headings it is clear that fees for graduation and income from the fee fund gradually increased in importance within disposable income as other sources including matriculation fees declined proportionately.

TABLE 5.11

<u>Edinburgh University</u>					
<u>Constituents of Disposable Income in £ Sterling</u>					
BENCHMARK YEARS (% in brackets below)					
INCOME source	1865	1875	1885	1895	1905
<u>Fees</u>					
<u>Matriculation</u>	1,420 (19.76)	1,992 (23.64)	3,302 (24.34)	3,057 (17.06)	3,150 (12.72)
<u>Preliminary examinations</u>				376 (0.20)	619 (2.50)
<u>Graduation in</u>					
<u>Arts</u>	158 (2.20)	316 (3.75)	430 (3.17)	616 (3.44)	1,292 (5.22)
<u>Science</u>	4 (0.06)	101 (1.80)	166 (1.22)	228 (1.27)	459 (1.85)
<u>Divinity</u>	56 (0.78)	30 (0.36)	71 (0.52)	36 (0.20)	47 (0.19)
<u>Law</u>	5 (0.07)	16 (0.19)	148 (1.09)	63 (0.35)	105 (0.42)
<u>Music</u>				6 (0.03)	24 (0.10)
<u>Medicine</u>	1,515 (21.08)	2,375 (28.19)	5,171 (38.11)	6,426 (35.85)	6,684 (26.99)
<u>Other Fees for including</u>					
<u>General council</u>	85 (0.18)	80 (0.95)	351 (2.49)	344 (1.92)	428 (1.72)
<u>Library Admission</u>	48 (0.67)	43 (0.51)	66 (0.49)	49 (0.27)	44 (0.18)
<u>Surplus of Fee Fund</u>				2,199 (12.27)	8,008 (32.34)
<u>Stationers Hall</u>	575 (8.00)	575 (6.82)	575 (4.24)	-	-
<u>Building Grant</u>		500 (5.93)	500 (3.69)	-	-
<u>Calendar</u>			50 (0.37)	100 (0.56)	100 (0.40)
<u>Divinity Chair</u>				252 (1.41)	

INCOME source	1865	1875	1885	1895	1905
<u>Funds Surplus</u>					
Reid	860	889	643	590	539
	(11.97)	(10.55)	(4.47)	(3.29)	(2.18)
Straton	528	542	471	446	430
	(7.35)	(6.43)	(3.47)	(2.49)	(1.74)
Cox		71	69	69	68
		(0.83)	(0.51)	(0.30)	(0.27)
Gibson				64	63
				(0.36)	(0.25)
Ormerod					145
					(0.59)
Leith Dock Bonds	709	680	683	659	
	(9.87)	(8.07)	(5.03)	(3.68)	
<u>Interest</u>	315	293			192
	(4.38)	(3.72)			(0.78)
<u>Income of Accumulations</u>					
<u>of General University Fund</u>			871	2,242	2,365
			(6.42)	(12.51)	(9.55)
TOTAL	7,178	8,426	13,567	17,922	24,762
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars.

While income from general funds and stocks grew by 1895 the value of certain endowments was falling but this coupled with the loss of some government grants, such as the Stationers Hall and the Building grant, did not restrict the university's income where fees took up the slack. With regard to expenditure government intervention to specify salaries and pensions removed some options of the court and academics to direct spending but as table 5.12 shows expenditure grew overall. Within this increasing total, expenditure increased especially fast on buildings and expenses for classes and laboratories, reflecting the construction programme and the expansion of student numbers. Salaries of lecturers and assistants outstripped those of the professors, whose expenditure dropped from being the largest element to being the third. This period saw marked

transitions in costs overall as the university developed. The costs of the library and museum just about doubled showing rather less investment in these areas than the increases in number of students and additions to collections warranted. The costs of examiners show the commitment of the university to pay well to maintain high standards although examiners might have used their fees to augment controlled incomes.

Table 5.12

<u>Constituents of Expenditure of Edinburgh University</u>					
<u>Benchmark Years</u>					
<u>In £ Sterling</u>	<u>% in brackets below figures</u>				
<u>YEARS</u>	<u>1865</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1905</u>
<u>Administration</u>					
<u>Total</u>		1,072	1,688	3,956	4,224
		(5.57)	(6.91)	(9.10)	(8.33)
<u>Salaries</u>					
<u>Principal and Professors</u>					
	7,319	10,036	11,392	10,628	9,066
	(52.33)	(52.17)	(46.62)	(24.44)	(17.88)
<u>Pensions</u>					
				5,000	5,639
				(11.50)	(11.12)
<u>Lecturers and</u>					
	1,025	1,630	2,112	8,593	11,486
<u>YEARS</u>	<u>1865</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1905</u>
<u>Assistants</u>	(7.33)	(8.47)	(8.64)	(19.76)	(22.65)
<u>Examiners</u>	540	1,012	1,442	2,547	2,690
	(3.86)	(5.26)	(5.90)	(5.86)	(5.30)
<u>Labs and Class</u>					
<u>Expenses</u>					
	440	917	1,001	2,751	3,780
	(3.15)	(4.77)	(4.10)	(6.33)	(7.45)
<u>Buildings</u>					
<u>Upkeep includes</u>					
	940	1,508	2,781	5,276	9,249
<u>Heat and Light</u>					
	(9.72)	(7.84)	(11.38)	(12.13)	(18.24)
<u>Library</u>					
	1,673	1,876	2,000	2,620	2,383
	(11.96)	(9.75)	(8.18)	(6.02)	(4.70)
<u>Museum</u>					
	198	295	547	415	395
	(includes- Herborium)		(Includes- Teaching Appliances)		
	(1.42)	(1.53)	(2.24)	(0.95)	(0.78)
<u>Service</u>					
	434	661	811	1,132	1,252
	(3.1)	(3.44)	(3.32)	(2.60)	(2.47)

<u>YEARS</u>	<u>1865</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1905</u>
<u>Class Medals and Prizes</u>	145 (1.04)	213 (1.11)	307 (1.26)	296 (0.68)	334 (0.66)
<u>Graduation costs</u>	48 (0.34)	17 (0.09)	357 (1.46)	190 (0.44)	167 (0.33)
1885 includes celebration costs for the 300th Anniversary of the university					
<u>Printing and Adverts</u>	231 (1.65)				
<u>Incidental</u>				88 (0.20)	45 (0.09)
<u>Ordinary incidentals</u>	39 (0.28)				
<u>Extra ordinary Incidentals</u>	322 (2.30)				
Total	13,985	19,237	24,438	43,492	50,710
%	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars

In addition to fees and state grants the universities benefited from increased endowment support from private sources. While the totals for capital held and income derived have already been shown, tables 5.13 to 5.15 indicate the growth of foundations and detail how the capital that they contained was distributed. These show the increased value and complexity of capital held and that the public were providing increased support as time passed.

Table 5.13
Growth of Foundations in Edinburgh University over the
Benchmark Years 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1905

<u>Year</u>	<u>1865</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1905</u>
Type of Foundation					
Bursaries, Prizes, Scholarships and Fellowships	17	35	68	120	128
Endowing Professorial Chairs, Salaries, Buildings, costs of Classes etc	6	13	21	25	32
Total	23	48	89	145	160

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars

Increased capital holdings while growing overall displayed the preoccupations of donors as to how their money should be spent. As the period progressed income for particular purposes, especially bursaries, increasingly emerged as a preferential choice over unappropriated funds. The aims of donors will be considered in chapter six.

Table 5.14

Edinburgh University capital for the years 1865, 1875 and 1885 (showing the groupings under which it was held, % in brackets below figures).

	YEAR		
	1865	1875	1885
CAPITAL HELD IN £ STERLING	117,546	196,698	385,852
<u>Part A</u>			
<u>Destined Capital</u>			
1) Salaries and endowment of chairs	4 groups 18,056 (15.36)	7 groups 39,137 (19.90)	10 groups 62,683 (16.25)
2) Class expenses Music Chair	8,500 (7.23)	8,500 (4.32)	
3) Class expenses includes (2) by 1875		4 groups 3,232 (1.64)	5 groups 11,933 (3.09)
4) Bursaries and Scholarships	16 group 39,076 (33.24)	29 groups 75,441 (38.35)	68 groups (4 and 5) 210,483 (54.55)
5) Prizes	(Hope) 2,060 (1.75)	6 groups 5,158 (2.62)	
6) Principal's House	-	4,694 (2.39)	4,694 (1.22)
Years	1865	1875	1885
7) Reid Commemoration Concert	8,000 (6.81)	8,000 (4.07)	8,000 (2.07)
8) General University Fund	-	1 group 1,795 (0.91)	4 groups 6,561 (1.70)

<u>Part B</u>	YEARS		
<u>Disposable Capital</u>	1865	1875	1885
1) Reid Fund	20,000	20,000	20,000
	(17.01)	(10.17)	(5.18)
2) Straton Fund	13,920	14,047	14,156
	(11.84)	(7.14)	(3.67)
3) Cox Fund			1,794
			(0.46)
4) Caledonian Railway Debentures	-	2,500	-
		(1.27)	
5) B L C Banks Stock	-	776	-
		(0.39)	
6) North British Railway Debentures	-	1,000	-
		(0.51)	
7) Heritable securities	-	4,526	23,400
		(2.30)	(6.06)
8) Bank	5,520		
	(4.70)		
9) Balances in Bank	2,414	3,749	4,143
	(2.05)	(1.91)	(1.07)

TABLE 5.14 cont

<u>Part C</u>	1865	YEARS	1885
		1875	
Cox Fund			
Muir Prizes		3,097	
		(1.57)	

Part D

Various	1,605	1,046	
	(1.37)	(0.53)	
Capital held by the Court for the purpose of endowing the Arts Faculty excepting the chairs of Sanskrit and Engineering			18,000
			(4.67)
	(100)	(100)	(100)

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars

Table 5.15

Edinburgh University Capital for the years 1895 and 1905
 (showing the groupings under which it was held.
 % in brackets below figures)

	1895	1905
Capital Held in Total	619,044	742,720
Held in the following		
1) General University		
Fund revenue	69,928	73,835
	(11.3)	(9.94)
2) Funds partly or		
wholly unappropriated	125,190	134,902
to particular purposes	(20.22)	(18.16)
3) Funds appropriated	114,787	174,320
to particular purposes	(18.54)	(23.47)
4) Funds for Bursaries,		
Scholarships, Prizes		
and Fellowships	308,885	359,003
	(49.90)	(48.34)
5) Eskbank Fue Duties		
and Casualty Fund	253	658
	(0.04)	(0.09)
	(100)	(100)

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars

Edinburgh achieved growth in income and expenditure through the period despite the fluctuations in student numbers seen in figure 5.1. This performance depended, first, on increased income from fees and from endowments and, later from additional state grants. The increasing complexity of financial affairs under the scrutiny and later control of the courts does not appear to have had a negative impact on Edinburgh.

Turning to Glasgow the university calendar in 1881, like its counterpart in Edinburgh, outlined sources of income for the university. Government financial support is seen as

important.⁵¹ Edinburgh, while by this time gaining income from Government sponsored Leith Dock bonds and other Parliamentary grants, did not have Glasgow's background of more ancient Royal and church funds. Instead Edinburgh had been more reliant prior to 1858 on the Town Council for much of its funds and fund management. By the end of the period, though, both universities shared common characteristics of dependence on state grants, fees and endowment income.

Early sources of income at Glasgow derived from the Crown.⁵² Income also came from matriculation and graduation fees, subscriptions, Library legacies and compensation for the loss of Stationers' Hall Privilege.

Abstracted sources of income and items of expenditure for the period after the increases in Parliamentary grants in 1889 and 1892 are listed in table 5.16. While government support was rising in absolute terms and was important to Glasgow it was falling in proportionate value, both in the traditional teinds, stocks and properties held by the university as well as in direct state grants. As at Edinburgh fees increased in importance and many of these were dependant on endowment income, showing backing for the university from donors in the local community and farther afield.

In proportionate terms of expenditure Glasgow differs from Edinburgh in that the salaries of Glasgow's principal and professors remained the largest element in expenditure by 1905; Glasgow spent less proportionately on other

⁵¹ Robertson P 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow'. pp. 449 - 450.

⁵² Glasgow University Calendar 1881-82, p. 257-5.

teaching staff and pensions than Edinburgh. Glasgow administration costs remained lower than Edinburgh and Glasgow spent more in real terms on the library by 1905 than Edinburgh. Yet these were differences of emphasis within a pattern in which each item of expenditure featured increases.

Table 5.16
Revenues and Expenditures of the University of Glasgow
Selected years, 1895-1914

In £ Sterling % in brackets below figures

	1895-6	1900-01	1904-05	1913-4
<u>Revenues</u>				
Teinds, Stock & Properties	11,504 (20.72)	12,144 (20.50)	11,229 (16.74)	9,993 (10.16)
Endowments & Other grants	1,894 (3.41)	1,643 (2.77)	2,801 (4.18)	9,065 (9.22)
Class Fees	15,466 (27.86)	17,501 (29.54)	22,793 (33.98)	36,529 (37.15)
Other fees	5,763 (10.38)	7,083 (11.95)	9,367 (13.97)	10,868 (11.05)
Parliamentary Grants	20,880 (37.62)	20,880 (35.24)	20,880 (31.13)	31,868a (32.41)
Total	55,508 (100)	59,251 (100)	67,071 (100)	98,323 (100)
<u>Expenditures</u>				
Administration	3,460 (6.49)	3,303 (5.64)	3,943 (5.81)	9,351 (9.09)
Salaries of the Principal and Professors	25,787 (48.35)	25,482 (43.51)	26,450 (39.00)	31,877 (31.00)
Salaries of Lecturers	3,820 (7.16)	4,511 (7.70)	5,515 (8.13)	17,803 (17.31)
Salaries of Assistants	5,349 (10.03)	5,346 (9.13)	7,446 (10.98)	6,859 (6.67)
Payments to Examiners, etc	1,224 (2.30)	1,430 (2.44)	2,116 (3.12)	2,996 (2.91)
Maintenance of Buildings, etc	2,351 (4.41)	6,858 (11.71)	8,640 (12.74)	16,091 (15.65)
Class Expenses	2,714 (5.09)	2,884 (4.92)	5,083 (7.49)	9,114 (8.86)
Library	1,780 (3.34)	1,889 (3.23)	2,897 (4.27)	4,825 (4.69)

	1895-6	1900-01	1904-05	1913-4
Pensions	4,000 (7.5)	4,000 (6.83)	4,137 (6.10)	4,505 (4.38)
Miscellaneous	4,844 (9.08)	2,867 (4.89)	2,092 (3.08)	1,080 (1.05)
Total	53,329 (100)	58,570 (100)	67,819 (100)	102,830 (100)
Surplus or (Deficit)	178	681	(748)	(4,508)

a. The normal Parliamentary grants of £33,380 less £1,512 10s in over expenditures during the previous year.

Note: Individual sums may not sum to totals because of rounding.

Sources: "Abstract of Revenue of the University of Glasgow", Sessions 1895-96, 1900-01, 1904-05, and 1913-14, p. 2-5 of each.' Robertson P 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow Before 1914'. p. 464.

The importance of Parliamentary support to the finances of the university were seen before their increase after 1889 even though they fell in relation to other sources of income. The Crown had established Regius chairs to which they directed funds. In this period before increased state funding, Parliament was granting more money for pensions than for professors. This allowed the standard of teaching to be maintained instead of professors being forced to carry on when they were becoming infirm.

Table 5.17

Statement of Public Monies (Exclusive of Building and Special Grants) Received by the University of Glasgow in 1889.

	£ Sterling
From Parliamentary Vote:	
For the Principal	550
For the Professors (ranging from £10 for Medicine to £275 for Civil Engineering)	1,785
For Assistants	650
For Examiners	480
For Pensions	2,804
Subtotal.	6,269

Source: Glasgow University Calendar and Financial and Statistical Reports of the Universities of Scotland 1890

Comparisons of Income and Capital of the Four Scottish Universities

Looking at all the Scottish universities, figures for income in 1910 from table 5.18 show that state grants and fees formed the most important elements of university incomes.

Table 5.18
Comparative Outline of Income and Sources of Income for the four Scottish universities 1910

SOURCE OF INCOME	ST ANDREWS	ABERDEEN	GLASGOW	EDINBURGH
£ Sterling				
A) PARLIAMENT GRANT and local tax*	10800 (40.68)	14400 (31.69)	20880 (26.73)	25870* (27.67)
B) RENTS, FUES DIVIDENDS, STOCKS, INTEREST	1245 (4.69)	4558 (10.03)	9937 (12.27)	
C) ENDOWMENTS not including bursaries.	7414 (27.93)	9425 (20.74)	6928 (8.87)	17990 (B and C) (19.24)
D) CLASS FEES	4526 (17.05)	12472 (27.44)	31169 (39.89)	33142 (35.45)
E) OTHER FEES	2561 (9.65)	4582 (10.08)	9212 (11.79)	16482 (17.62)
TOTAL	<u>26546</u> (100)	<u>45447</u> (100)	<u>78128</u> (100)	<u>93484</u> (100)
STUDENT NUMBERS		1069	2790	3366 53
INCOME IN RELATION TO STUDENTS IN STERLING		42	28	27

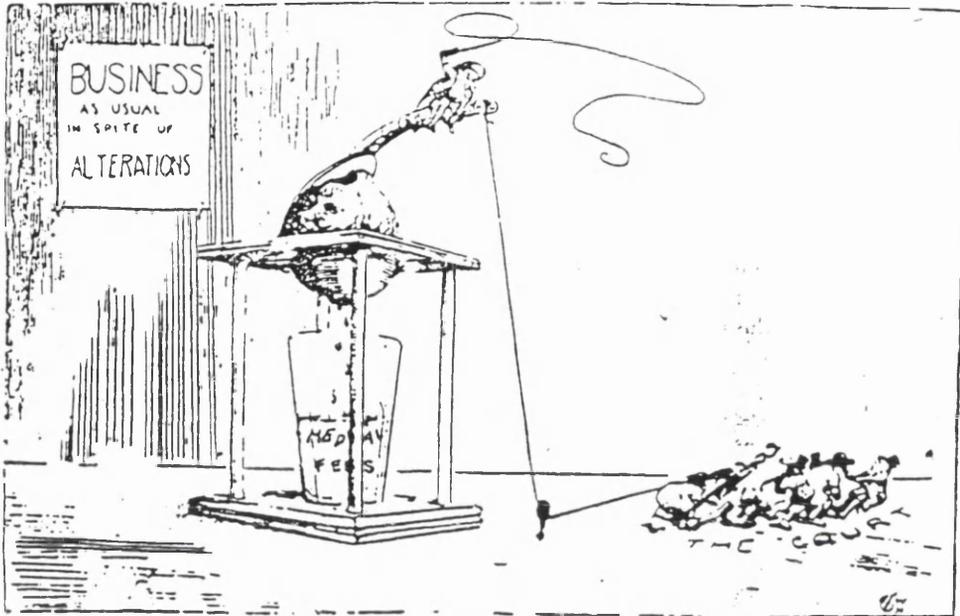
Sources: Financial and Statistical Reports of the Universities of Scotland 1910. Glasgow University Calendar 1910.

Class fees from this source are around £11 or £12 for each student although if looked at in terms of income related to student numbers then Aberdeen, at around £42, seems far better provided for than Glasgow and Edinburgh at around £28 and £27 respectively. If compared to table 5.3 then the parliamentary grant was continuing to decline in its share

of income although St Andrews appears to have been the odd man out in this and other indicators. What the figures do not emphasise though are the other areas of support that the universities enjoyed. This support came in the form of endowments for bursaries, scholarships, fellowships and prizes which involved the universities in drawing support from private individuals or organisations. While these admittedly did not go directly to the universities they provided a form of indirect income and enabled students to attend and pay for studies. Foremost among these was the Carnegie Trust. From 1901 \$10 million was given to aid the universities directly through annual grants of £40,000 and support for student fees. The exceptional importance of the fund is clear from a cartoon of the period. Importantly it is clear that the court, with its lay input, was seen as the force pressing for funds. The Carnegie Trust has been estimated to have supported half the students in 1904 though this fell somewhat as 'the funds began to come under pressure'.⁵⁴

54 R D Anderson. Education and Opportunity p. 287-8.

Figure 5.2 Business as Usual



1903. Squeezing Carnegie. (In 1901 Andrew Carnegie created a Trust to improve facilities in the four Scottish Universities and to assist students in paying their class fees.)

Source: The Fleeting Years, Glasgow 1951.⁵⁵

There were numerous endowments other than Carnegie and the capital and revenue not insubstantial. Table 5.19 shows the breakdown of endowments at the university of Aberdeen showing considerable support for teaching. Aberdeen seemed particularly well provided for from these statistics with endowment revenue constituting about a 5% return on the capital sum. From the percentage figures though it would seem that the returns on investments for the bursary endowments were not as good as the others.

⁵⁵ The Fleeting Years, Glasgow University Graduates Association, Glasgow, 1951. p. 22. Sketch of 1903.

Table 5.19

Details of Capital and Revenue of Endowments at Aberdeen University for 1910 in £ Sterling. % in Brackets

PURPOSE OF ENDOWMENTS	NUMBER OF FOUNDATIONS	CAPITAL	REVENUE
A) Bursaries	111	182,055 (44.06)	6,890 (35.45)
B) Scholarship, Fellowships and Prizes	56	43,993 (10.65)	3,550 (18.27)
C) Teaching costs	28	179,593 (43.47)	8,412 (43.28)
D) Other	24	12,187 (2.95)	581 (2.99)
Total	219		
Plus money on repayments on money lent		13,334 (3.32)	
Total Capital		<u>413,163</u>	
Endowment revenue			<u>19,434</u>
		(100)	(100)

Sources: Financial and Statistical Reports of the Universities of Scotland 1910

Aberdeen University also had support in revenue for bursaries, scholarships, fellowships and prizes of over £10,000 by 1910 showing endowment income benefiting the university indirectly and the community directly. This was an important show of support for the university from the community. St Andrews although with a less developed urban hinterland also received substantial support from indirect income from capital endowments as seen in table 5.20.

Table 5.20

Details of Capital for Endowments at St Andrews University 1910 for Bursaries, Scholarships, Fellowships, Foundations and Prizes.

FOUNDATIONS AT COLLEGE	CAPITAL
44 AT UNITED COLLEGE	82,620:14/-
2 CO JOINED	
10 AT ST MARY'S COLLEGE	4,609: 6/-
INCOME	3,761: 5/4
TOTAL	90,194: 9/4

Source: Financial and Statistical Reports of the Universities of Scotland 1910

If this support is considered as aiding the universities then the role of the state and university finances might be interpreted as the significant source of steady disposable income which allowed the universities a certain freedom of choice.

Table 5.21
Capital or Loans on Capital held by the Scottish
Universities 1910-11. (for Bursaries, Prizes, Fellowships
and Exhibitions in £ Sterling).

REVENUE	ST ANDREWS	EDINBURGH	ABERDEEN	GLASGOW
CAPITAL	90,194	407,558	226,048	
LOANS				111,639
REVENUE	-	14,053	10,440	9,440 ⁵⁶

Source: Financial and Statistical Reports of the
Universities of Scotland 1910

Table 5.21 shows the amounts of capital or loans held by the four universities in 1910 at which time direct state grants, as seen in table 5.18, were the most important factor of income after class fees at Glasgow and Edinburgh, although Aberdeen and St Andrews differ in this respect.

In looking at table 5.22 if the revenue of these endowments are included then a different picture emerges. Endowment income in 1910 was greater than the direct state grant at Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh clearly indicating that the community input to annual financing of the university system remained vital before 1914. Support from the community of course went both ways in that endowment benefited both university and individuals in the community

56 At Glasgow in 1911-12 a total of £18,478 was available in endowments for bursaries, scholarships, prizes and fellowships. Source Glasgow University Calendar 1912.

sustaining closer contacts. The Carnegie Trust input added to this by allowing less affluent students to attend.

Table 5.22

Comparative outline of financial support for the four Scottish universities by c. 1910

INCOME SOURCE	ST ANDREWS	ABERDEEN	GLASGOW	EDINBURGH	
A) PARLIAMENT GRANT and local tax*	10800	14400 (33.5)	20880 (31.9)	25870*	(34.77) %
B) RENTS, STOCKS DIVIDENDS, FEUS INTEREST	1245	4558 (10.60)	9937 (15.19)		%
C) ENDOWMENTS not including bursaries.	7414	8993	6928	17990	(B and C)
D) OTHER ENDOWMENTS bursaries, fellowships scholarships, prizes.	-	10440	9440 ⁵⁷	14053	
ENDOWMENTS TOTAL C and D		<u>19433</u> (45.21)	<u>16368</u> (25.06)	<u>32043</u> (43.07)	%
E) OTHER FEES	2561	4592 (10.68)	9212 (14.08)	16482 (22.15)	%
<u>TOTAL SUPPORT</u> plus £9,038 for endowments at Glasgow	-	<u>42983</u>	<u>56397</u> 9038 (13.81)	<u>74395</u>	%
TOTAL SUPPORT		42983 (100)	<u>65435</u> (100)	74395 (100)	%
F) CLASS FEES which include support from D	4526	12472	31169	33142	
STUDENT NUMBERS		1069	2790	3366	⁵⁸

Sources: Financial and Statistical Reports of the Universities of Scotland 1910, Glasgow University Calendars 1910, 1912.

Money endowed from business income was more likely to be from those Scots with interests in land, business or the professions who were able and willing to endow their locality.

⁵⁷ This figure may be misleading as the table does not include other sources of endowment support. Up to £12,243 was available in bursaries in 1911-12 with a further £6,235 for scholarships, prizes and fellowships. Source Glasgow University Calendar 1912.

⁵⁸ R D Anderson. Education and Opportunity p. 348-357.

If sources of income for the universities are considered from the perspective of support then endowments emerge as a major component. If this is the case in 1910, when universities had been benefiting from increased state grants for twenty years, then endowment income must have been even more important for earlier years when the state element was lower. While supporting the universities in annual income endowments also allowed for expansion of facilities and integrate the university into the local social fabric.

In conclusion finance and financial administration of the universities saw increased input in support and time by the local community. The courts built on the traditional role of the community in the financial affairs of their university at a time university finances became more complex and integrated with local and national commercial interests. The university court and finance subcommittees linked academics and lay members of the community together in dealing with the problems of university development. This brought to the universities financial expertise in a synthesis with state support. Finance committees can be seen to have had a more successful relationship between academics and lay members than was to be seen in the English civics where lay members lost out to academics and often failed to attend unwieldy meetings. Attendance in Scotland was significantly better than in England for committees were smaller and non academics as members of the court were responsible for overseeing financial affairs after 1858 and controlled university property after 1889. All the Scottish

universities shared in the reforms of administrative structure and benefited from greater openness of their accounts and increased state aid without which development would have been impaired.

The universities gradually moved away from reliance on revenues from the land and church taxes and became instead major shareholders reflecting the developments and income patterns of an increasingly industrialised society. The universities had a direct stake in promoting the commercial stability, success and growth of the economy. From the details of their portfolios and loan commitments they had links to local, national and overseas business interests. Endowment income played a major role but appeals and other donations allowed for expansion related to specific state aid. This evidence supports the arguments of the thesis that university relationships with the community were more complex and diverse than previously suggested. Also it can be seen that the multiplicity of major sources of university income meant that university development was influenced by various and interconnected controlling external factors, such as government departments, conditions on endowments and the choice of students in an education market. The universities while expanding in numbers and resources had limitations imposed on them from the local and national communities, which were much more complex than the (often internally divided) interests of industry.

The involvement with the community through endowments and appeals needs consideration in its own right for without this diverse and sustained support development would have

been very different. Development was reliant on appeals and donations probably more so than state grants for appeals usually outstripped them⁵⁹ and in Scotland were more of a success than the appeals at Oxford and Cambridge of the later period. Funds by the first decade of the twentieth century seemed adequate to even Donaldson's critical eyes and had become far more sophisticated. Of perhaps equal importance was that appeals, endowments and donations drew the universities closer to the interests of the community at both local and national levels.

59 GUA ref 34415 At Glasgow £280,000 was raised from appeal and £120,000 from government for the new college buildings. Sir A Grant The Story of The University of Edinburgh, 2 Vols Longmans Green and Co, London 1884. p. 213-4. £129,000 raised by appeal compared to £80,000 in government grant.

Six: Philanthropy and the Universities

Analysis of resources available to universities has shown that support from philanthropy played an important role, allowing universities to expand facilities, increase numbers of students and add to capital assets. In analysing this support and showing the extent of contact with people in the community this chapter considers the types of philanthropic activity which occurred. After a brief overview of some of the issues and literature involved in philanthropy, attention turns to a focused consideration on topics which allow for a more indepth analysis of university links to the community. These topics include an analysis of different types of appeals at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities to consider how successful they were, not only in raising money, but in approaching groups and individuals in the community for help and support. Attention then shifts to donations to the universities in kind, including gifts to the libraries and museums. After this the focus shifts to consider endowments and bequests. Throughout this analysis it is aimed to show the support for the universities by different groups and individuals in the community and their ability, and or willingness, to exert control. How these levels of participation alter at different times, donors' motivations and whether participation was long or short term are discussed in relation to these topics. The chapter also assesses

motivations¹ such as power, prestige and habit and how university philanthropy related to the pervasive philanthropy of Victorian and Edwardian British society.²

Overview

In law universities are private institutions³ so certain Crown gifts may be included as a peculiar form of philanthropy. Despite their charters the Scottish universities had for centuries received support from state funds. State improvements started under the Stuart dynasty and university property had been interfered with, and at times administered, by the state from at least the period of the Reformation. In the legislation of 1889 the state used powers to transfer ownership of the Scottish universities' property from the senates to the courts. Yet many wished to minimise the growth of state involvement in educational affairs, reflecting an anti-state position found in education from the elementary levels onwards.⁴ Also, state aid could be intermittent and the universities benefited from the ambiguity. For a variety of reasons then, and despite the complications which the Disruption posed to philanthropy, individuals

1 Jones David R The Origins of the Civic Universities: Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool. Routledge, London 1988.

2 Thompson F M L The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950. Volume 3 Social Agencies and Institutions; Prochaska F, Chapter 7, Philanthropy Harrison Brian 'Philanthropy and the Victorians' Victorian Studies 9, 1965-66, p. 353-374. (revised in Peaceable Kingdom, Oxford 1982.).

3 Drysdale Laura. A World of Learning, University Collections in Scotland HMSO publications, Edinburgh 1990 p. 26.

4 Fowler W S 'The influence of Idealism upon State Provision of Education' Victorian Studies 4, 1960-61 p. 337-344.

were stimulated to give money to the universities. Scottish universities also gained from the fact that individual incentives, and community incentives, to philanthropy reinforced each other. An example of this is the money raised in his local community to send the future Professor of Moral Philosophy, Archibald Bowman, to Glasgow University.⁵ As will be discussed in detail below, civic pride in universities often bolstered contributions to them from a far wider group than industrialists.⁶

Recent books and articles which have considered philanthropy have tended to view university fund raising as of limited effectiveness in linking the universities to their industrial and commercial communities.⁷ Although revealing that important contributions were made to engineering and science in the Scottish universities, this scholarship leaves the impression that there was no effective cross fertilisation between the universities and industry and that industry had a negative view of the products of the universities. Although Scottish universities are less negatively represented than their counterparts in the rest of Britain in these respects,

5 GUA ref DC 77 The Bowman Family Papers. biography p. 26-7.

6 Sanderson M The Universities and British Industry 1972 p. 167-72.

7 Anderson R Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland Oxford University Press Oxford 1983.

Sanderson M The Universities and British Industry 1972
 Robertson Paul 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow Before 1914'. Higher Education Quarterly, Vol 16, No 4, 1976. p. 449-478. Robertson Paul L 'The Development of an Urban University: Glasgow, 1860-1914.' History of Education Quarterly, Vol 30, No 1, Spring 1990. p. 47-78.

these shortcomings are viewed as contributing to Scotland's as well as Britain's relative economic decline. Such analyses need to take fuller account of the scope, nature, motivation and perception of philanthropy at the time.

Beyond the debate of university support for industry previous accounts have established that philanthropy was and remained an important part of Scottish higher education in the Victorian and Edwardian decades.⁸ Only in the later years of the period did this reliance become less obvious as government support increased. Yet even with these added public resources the universities required philanthropic activity to maintain their expansion of facilities and to pay the fees of large numbers of their students. Endowments accounted for around a fifth of income for the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen in the years 1894-5 and 1907-8 and one third at St Andrews while in Edinburgh it varied between 13.8% and 14.4%. Also, as Robert Anderson points out, from the 1900s the Carnegie Trustees influenced the planning methods as well as the finances of the universities through its annual grant of £40,000.⁹ What is not so apparent from these figures and what this chapter aims to show, is the breadth of philanthropic

⁸ Checkland Olive Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1980.

⁹ Anderson R Education and Opportunity. As Anderson points out pp. 309 and 316 table 8.9, 70% of Arts students and half of all students at the Scottish universities by the 1900s were in receipt of Carnegie funds. p.309. 7.4 Sources of University Income in 1894/5 and 1907/8 p. 298, p.288-291.

support for the universities and the role that donors, drawn in large numbers from the public, played in university life.

How far philanthropy curtailed university autonomy ties into the debate on the extent and role of outside funding for in terms of university development it is not confined to historical studies.¹⁰ Universities face problems such as 'maintaining research purity and legitimacy under the constraints imposed by private and state funding for the future.'¹¹ Philanthropy may threaten university autonomy, especially when cuts in government funding force institutions to look to private funding as in the 1980s.¹² In the late 20th century, it is argued, universities can maintain autonomy in two main ways: 'a more or less implicit agreement of mutual non-intervention' between university and community and 'a many sided search for resources which serve as a guarantee of internal independence.'¹³ How far such strategies limited philanthrop's inroads into university autonomy in the period from 1858 to 1914 requires consideration, keeping in mind that the motivations for Victorian and Edwardian giving may differ from the modern

10 The University and the Community: The Problems of Changing Relationships. Centre for Educational Research and Innovation published for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, 1982. part three, chapter three and conclusion.

11 The University and the Community p. 148.

12 Times Higher Education Supplement No 567 16.9.1983 p. 5. Letter from Sir Keith Joseph to the University Grants Committee on university planning.

13 The University and the Community p. 155.

emphasis on, say, a strengthened economy and corporate profits.

Between 1858 and 1914 the Scottish universities faced competition from schemes like the campaign for the Royal Technical College in Glasgow which nearly coincided with the Glasgow University appeal for its engineering laboratories. The lack of, and then later provision of, higher education for women could put potential donors off and draw funds away although the opposite is also true. The result is that potential donors were presented with a variety of institutions and causes while expansions in the universities widened the scope for potential donors.

Among the sources which throw light on these donors and the nature of their aims are printed lists of scholarships and bursaries. Such gifts highlight the social status of donors and the contacts established between universities, organisations and geographical areas. Annual printed lists of major benefactors cited in the university calendars¹⁴ enhanced donors' social standing and show the important role of women as donors and in money raising. The money-raising of appeals and endowments can indicate which faculties and subjects benefited most at any particular time and where the money came from. Gifts in the form of goods can be divided into those for (a) the libraries, (b) the museums and (c) recreational or building developments. Analysis of

¹⁴ Edinburgh University Calendar bequests and donations during 1895-96, pp. 726-728.

donors not only shows the breadth of contacts with the community but may also show university philanthropy as a part of failed attempts at containment and social control¹⁵ and the extent to which voluntary activity seemed able to address the desire for education amongst those who needed it most.¹⁶

Universities and Major Appeals

While Scottish universities all benefited from the actions of philanthropists there was no particular attempt to form national appeals. Yet each university had committees canvassing for funds or gifts in their appeals, and they shared common methods for publicising requirements and raising money. In this section attention shall initially be directed on the New College Buildings appeal at Glasgow followed by a comparison of aspects involved in the Edinburgh Building appeal. After this the focus shall shift to smaller appeals at Glasgow connected with the Queen Margaret College and the Engineering Laboratory.

Public appeals were an ongoing part of university funding and extension in the period, revealing considerable continuity of fundraising. The universities used the general council members and other willing volunteers to act on committees for various appeals. These committees were often established from those who attended public meetings called by one of the

15 Thompson F M L 'Social Control in Victorian Britain' The Economic History Review second series, volume XXXIV, No. 2, May 1981. p. 198-208.

16 Fowler W S 'The influence of Idealism' p. 340.

universities to launch an appeal. Such approaches to the community for funds were a necessity. Central government was approached on a regular basis,¹⁷ but even when favourable the attitude of the state forced the universities to look to private individuals for a substantial proportion of funds. In 1862 Glasgow University, in reply to a memorial to the Government for funds to help build the New College Buildings, was informed that

In general higher education should be entirely supported by private enterprise, but in this case the Government may give half the amount provided the other half is raised privately.¹⁸

As the government was already giving money to the universities on an annual basis, had endowed chairs at Glasgow in the preceding decades, and had given large sums such as the £120,000 between 1815 and 1826 to help pay for the Adam-Playfair Building at Edinburgh,¹⁹ universities came to expect help, but only partial help, from the public purse when new projects were launched.

The Glasgow Appeal: Donors

The appeal to raise funds for the New College Buildings at Glasgow provides one of the fullest recorded examples of the organisation involved in fundraising for a specific appeal and shows how the senate and court worked together to establish a wide range of contacts in their attempts to raise money. The rebuilding of the

17 GUA ref NCB 3994. Memorial, no date.

18 GUA ref NCB 3868. 14.2.1862.

19 Sir A Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh. 2 Volumes, Longmans, Green and Co, London 1884. p. 208.

University at Gilmorehill required not only business deals related to the sale of the property at the High Street for a railway station, raising £100,000, but also subsequent deals with the City of Glasgow, raising £48,671.²⁰ These transactions, while allowing the university to defray some of the costs involved, still left it having to raise nearly £400,000. Even when, by 1889, this sum was reached, new demands, incurred by higher numbers of students and the teaching space required in medicine and later engineering caused the need for yet more subscriptions.

The committee report²¹ of 1889 pointed to the accumulation of funds for the New Buildings since the appeal had been started in the 1860s and also showed the speed with which the university raised the huge sums required. To 1878 the subscriptions raised amounted to £176,480, which by 1889 had increased to £280,429, not including the additional £120,000 in government grant or the £30,000 raised as part of the university subscriptions to build the Western Infirmary. The general council was informed that the committee had not been active recently in attempts to raise money because of the adverse conditions of trade. This shows the university authorities' awareness of economic conditions; it also indicated that fundraising within long term appeals could be affected by the business cycle and by

20 GUA ref 34412. Abstract of Charge and Discharge of the University New Building Fund 8th April 1875.

21 GUA ref 34415. University of Glasgow, General Council papers. Report of Committee on Subscriptions for New Buildings. April 1889

the perceptions of donors that their actions had been successful. For the momentum to sustain appeals required continued exhortation as their very success could deaden the feelings of donors to give more.

The Report of the Chairman of the University Removal Committee of 1877-8 listed donors both by amounts given and by 'rank' and 'condition'. The report, while not naming all donors individually, did reflect large single donors such as the £10,000 given by Messrs. John and Robert Freeland²² and the £2,000 given by W Macfarlane of the Saracen Foundry. The donations from the Queen and the Prince of Wales were singled out as were those of various Glasgow institutions of trade and local government. These organisations included the Corporation of Glasgow giving £10,000 plus £1,000 for the new Western Infirmary, used for teaching, the Senate of the University giving £1,000 for the infirmary, the Merchants' House £1,000, the Trades' House £750. Guild corporations were also listed, with amounts ranging from the £525 of the Maltmen to the £50 of the Incorporation of Gardeners.²³

The importance of these examples in the report is that they show support from rich individuals, the Crown, local government and the older established commercial and industrial organisations. The university fundraisers evidently used these examples not only to show the range

22 Glasgow Post Office Directory 1887-8 p. 260 A John Freeland is listed at Miller and M^CGregors, 146 Hospital St. He may possibly be a lawyer.

23 This should not be confused with the Gardener friendly societies.

of support but also to encourage donations from other areas. Perhaps in part because such support did not give such groups any automatic rights to influence building development, the university turned to devices such as the publication in the 1870s, of a facsimile of the signatures of seventeenth century donors including Charles I, the Duke of Hamilton, various Protestant bishops, ministers, merchants and other burgesses and citizens of Glasgow and the surrounding area.²⁴ This directly encouraged local donors to mimic the example of their antecedents amongst the ruling, professional, landed and commercial classes. Having one's name printed in a list of donors alongside that of royalty, the aristocracy and other leading social figures could enhance social prestige.

Yet it would be wrong to think that only the large institutions and the extremely wealthy individuals responded to such appeals.

Table 6.1
Abstract of Analysis of Subscriptions according
to their Amount as at 31.12.1877

Amount of donation	Number of Subscribers	As a %	Total	
			Amount Donated	As a %
£1,000 or more	65	6	87,000	54.4
£100-£1,000	290	19	58,931	36.7
£10-£100	403	26	11,484	7.1
£10 or less	739	49	2,287	1.8
	<u>1,497</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>159,705</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Report by the Chairman of the University Removal Committee. Glasgow, Bell and Bain 1877.²⁵

²⁴ GUA ref 31976.

²⁵ GUA ref 49.8 711. p. 41.

Table 6.1 shows that in the Glasgow appeal of 1877, while the top quarter of subscribers donated over 90% of the funds raised, the majority of donors gave less than £10. In contrast to the view that in the Glasgow appeals 'a few men gave disproportionately, and the support lacked a broad base',²⁶ the 1500 enrolled donors is a substantial figure. Of course this was not mass participation, although the average contribution was about £3 and the minimum was about 10/-, in terms of average wages and as a proportion of disposable income levels would preclude the majority of the working population as donors. Even for the average middle class family £3 was a substantial donation.

In assessing which sections of the middle class were involved the lack of deep support by professionals from table 6.2 may appear peculiar in relation to the 'mercantile' and 'mechanical' shares, but the latter may reflect the frequent university attendance of the children of commercial and industrial men.²⁷ The professionals' share may reflect their frequently more modest wealth.

26 Anderson R Education and Opportunity p. 286. refers to the findings of M Sanderson The Universities and British Industry, London 1972, chapter six.

27 Robertson P 'The Development of an Urban University' pp. 47 - 78. p. 55. and table 2 p. 51.

Table 6.2Analysis of subscribers to the Glasgow Appeal as at 1876 according to Rank and Condition

	Amount given £ Sterling	Percentage %
Royalty	605	0.2
Nobility	5,352	3.3
General Public	16,271	10.0
Mercantile	78,351	49.0
Mechanical	13,799	9.4
Professionals	11,075	6.8
County Gentlemen	12,458	7.7
Municipalities and Incorporation	8,606	5.3
Legacies	8,002	5.0
University Professors	5,187	3.3
Total as at 31.12 1876	<u>159,705</u>	

Source: Report by the Chairman of the University Removal Committee. Glasgow, Bell and Bain 1877. GUA ref 49.8 711. p. 42.²⁸

The relationship between levels of giving and the intensity of reciprocal benefits between the donors and the university is not as close as might be expected. Giving had much to do with how the appeal was organised, levels of civic pride and the involvement of leading industrial and commercial figures in the community. The apparently low financial support by professional people may have been offset by their greater voluntary input of time in raising money, an activity which is most often not clearly recorded as a donation. Also professional firms were less able to advertise themselves and so remained less visible in the subscription lists.

²⁸ The division of the donors into different groups was devised for the Report of the University Removal Committee but unfortunately does not include numbers of subscribers. A fuller list can be seen in appendix 6.1. table 1.

The appeals committee also looked to landed proprietors. The committee wrote to Lord Belhaven for advice on how to collect money from such figures.²⁹ Belhaven was an obvious choice for he had attended the initial public meeting and had, with others, moved resolutions in favour of the project for the new building scheme.³⁰ The success of this general fundraising approach is seen in table 6.2 especially the £12,457 raised from country gentlemen and the £5,352 raised from the nobility. In the subscription lists around 2,700 names appear³¹ displaying a wide base of social and economic groups within the middle and upper classes actively giving support in time and money.

The geographical factor also complicated appeals. Graduates of a university did not necessarily live and work in its immediate area; many were not as accessible to fundraisers as the other social and economic categories with money. Table 6.3, drawn from a 17% sample of general council members from Glasgow University during the period of the New College Building appeal in 1878, shows the geographical spread of graduates who enrolled as council members. Many remained in Glasgow,

29 GUA ref NCB 5119.

30 GUA ref 49.8, 711. p. 15 Lord Belhaven, Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Archibald Islay Campbell, Mr Sheriff Bell, Bailie Raeburn, and Mr James Mitchell were those who moved resolutions in 'furtherance of the object'.

31 GUA refs 17149 Ledger of subscriptions for New College Buildings and 17150 Ledger of subscriptions for Glasgow New College Buildings and Hospital for the years 1867-83. The majority occur in the 1860s and early 1870s.

and some of those who lived in the counties close to Glasgow, may actually have resided in the city's expanding suburbs. However the majority of members did not live in the Glasgow area. Although their addresses made them liable to postal appeals, they were difficult to lobby in person. Moreover, of those professionals living and working in Glasgow a proportion may have attended other universities and would not have had the same attachment to the university.

Table 6.3
Place of Residence of Glasgow General Council Members 1878 (with the surnames beginning A, H, and S).

GEOGRAPHIC AREA	INITIAL OF NAME			total (%)	
	A (%)	H (%)	S (%)		
GLASGOW	27 (26)	25 (15)	46 (18)	98	(18)
LANARKSHIRE, AYRSHIRE, DUNBARTONSHIRE AND RENFREWSHIRE	26 (24)	30 (18)	55 (20)	111	(22)
REST OF SCOTLAND	32 (31)	47 (29)	81 (30)	160	(30)
ENGLAND AND WALES	11 (10)	34 (21)	56 (20)	101	(18)
OTHER	9 (8)	29 (17)	27 (12)	65	(12)
TOTAL	<u>104</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>265</u>	<u>529</u>	
% total	100	100	100	100	
TOTAL ON GENERAL COUNCIL REGISTER IN 1877				2,940	

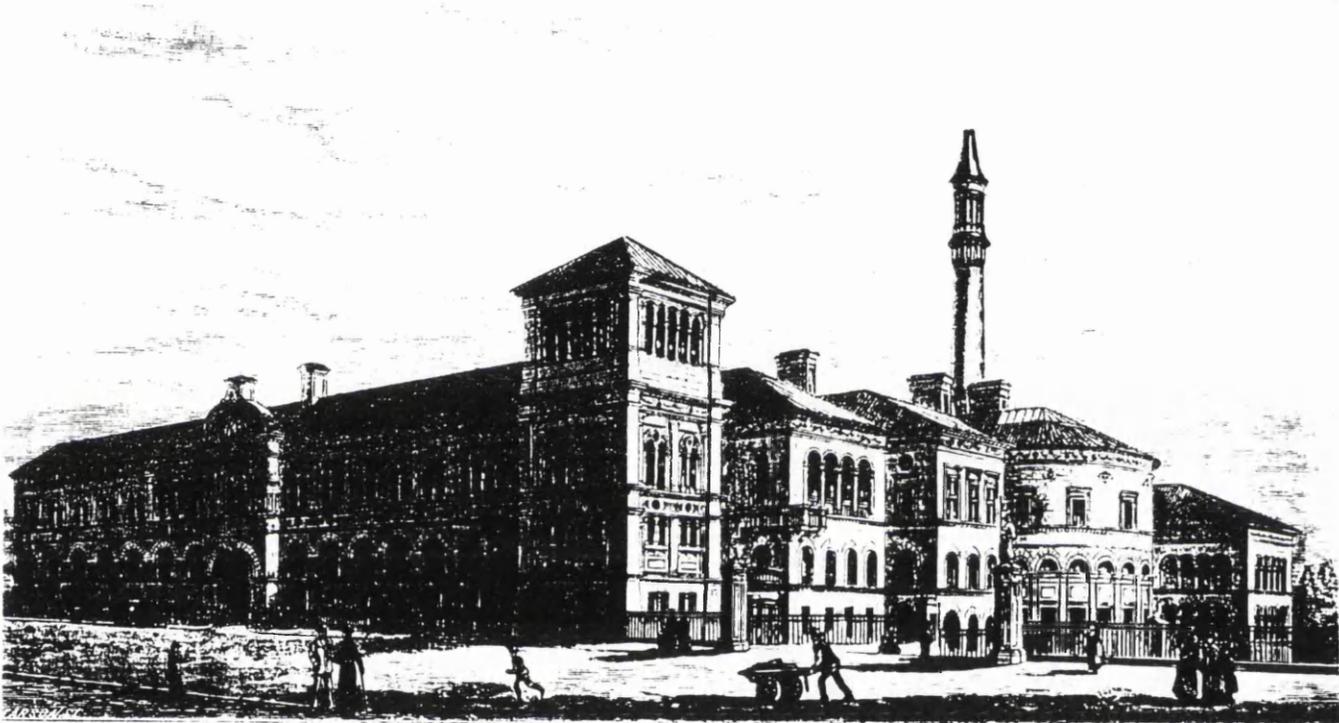
Note: In the section of 'others' Ireland occurs most often. Source: Glasgow University Calendar 1877-78

In order to avoid the danger of atypicality in analysing a single appeal, the New College Buildings appeal at Glasgow (1865-88), has been analysed in comparison with three other appeals. The building appeal

at Edinburgh 1874-83, the Queen Margaret College affiliation appeal 1889-90 and the Engineering Laboratory appeal at Glasgow 1895-1900.³²

Figure 6.1

The New Medical School of the University of Edinburgh



Source: Grant A, The Story of the University of Edinburgh, London 1884, Vol 2, Frontis piece.

The Glasgow Appeal: Organisation

The Glasgow building appeal was initiated in May 1865, though there had been activity prior to this date to find interested volunteers.³³ The Senate had attempted to

32 The emphasis on Glasgow appeals is to show how one university dealt with, and approached, different groups for support. The other universities were active in appeals resulting in expansions of facilities such as the New Edinburgh Medical School.

33 Coutts James A History of the University of Glasgow. J MacLehose and Sons, 1909.

promote the scheme for a new site for the university from 1846, but this had run into difficulties through problems associated with speculation by railway developers. Memorials to the Government, 'the evidence of the iron masters' and support of cotton manufacturers³⁴ influenced Commissioners' recommendations and had allowed the scheme to progress but only with financial support from the public.

In Glasgow the problems, as noted above, connected with government's reluctance to provide funds were compounded by Government involvement in teaching development in the past. The Government's creation of nine Regius Professorships at the University before 1853 heightened the lack of accommodation for their teaching as well as their personal residence.³⁵ The issue of Senate and College membership and rights linked to it may have clouded the arguments of the university deputation which proceeded to London in 1853. Allen Thomson who was heavily involved in the committee work for the New College Buildings gathered evidence from twenty eight professors as to the conditions of their rooms at the beginning of 1852.³⁶ The University Chancellor, the Duke of Montrose, was not encouraging to the deputation in 1853, considering that the University, if in receipt of Government money;

34 Kellett J R 'Glasgow's Railways, 1830-80', Economic History Review 2nd Series, Vol 17, 1964-65. pp. 354-368. p. 361.

35 Coutts J University of Glasgow, p. 427.

36 GUA refs NCB 3400-3427.

would be slow to admit that it was a mere department under Government control, for the state and management of which the Government was responsible.³⁷

The Administration of Lord Aberdeen was not encouraging either. W. E. Gladstone used the excuse that Government would want additional information on the requirements of all the Scottish Universities in order to secure a more permanent solution based on principles.

This situation left proposed development in limbo until after the 1858 Universities (Scotland) Act. The commissioners reported to the Government the need to improve the college buildings and site. A general council memorial to the court in 1860 favoured new and enlarged buildings on a better site. This led to a subsequent joint memorial of the court and senate to Government in 1861. Later in 1861 the court and senate sent a joint deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a plan of their scheme and the costs involved. It was in reply to this deputation that, as noted above, the Government limited funding to half that raised by public subscription.

The principle of private support therefore forced the university to look to its own resources and, even more so, those of the community for funds. For example proposals for a teaching hospital required that before any Government money would be granted £24,000 would have to be raised from public subscriptions. Thus elaborate organisational efforts were set in motion two years before the public meeting in 1865 when the senate had

³⁷ Coutts J University of Glasgow, p. 427.

established a removals committee. Seven other subcommittees were appointed for specific parts of the project.³⁸

Within the appeal the lay community played an important role. Committees involved academics and graduates working together over a sustained period; some committees met weekly for up to six years. From the public meeting in 1865 three committees emerged, a public committee, a second committee of general council members and a third committee of the court and senate. These sent deputies to a joint subscriptions committee to organise and collect subscriptions. Certain subscribers were named as a committee to co-operate with the senate on the building operations in September 1865 and the public were invited to view the approved plans at the Corporation Galleries in the Spring of 1866.³⁹ The importance attached to involving members of the local community of Glasgow and its periphery, while partly propaganda to encourage further donations by way of example in the report of 1877, is also found in subscription books,⁴⁰ letters,⁴¹ collection cards and other printed memorials. Thus the address to the

38 GUA ref 49.8 711. p. 14 Subcommittees were appointed to purchase the site, obtain subscriptions, manage finances, superintend building work, erect the hospital and remove the Library and Museum.

39 GUA ref 49.8 711, pp. 15-16.

40 GUA ref NCB 17149 Ledger of Subscriptions for New College Buildings, NCB 17150 Glasgow New College Buildings and Hospital Subscriptions list.

41 GUA refs NCB 2229-2235, seven volumes of letter books concerning the New College Buildings.

'Friends of the University Generally' was firmly grounded in broadly based organisation.

Through their subscriptions committee the general council was informed of the appeal's progress. The council's 1866 meeting was chaired by the rector, John Inglis, showing that he was involved in the appeal from the positions of both court and the general council. Members were given collection cards for subscriptions.⁴² Often the cards were sent in by ministers who were collecting in their local parish so the area covered was potentially wide: the album of cards mentions towns throughout Scotland and England. Unfortunately the general council members had to be encouraged to exert themselves into giving more by letter and by meetings which deplored the lack of support and urged them to send money in more quickly.⁴³ This was necessary because, as graduates, general council members represented only a minority of those people who had attended classes in the university to that date. The subscriptions committee gave cards out to interested members of the public who had appeared at the public meetings and had subsequently become involved in the public committee.

The involvement of the public was encouraged by the use of printed addresses⁴⁴ and letters,⁴⁵ Sent out to

42 GUA ref NCB 36575 General Council Collecting Cards 1870-81, including hospital donations.

43 GUA ref NCB 6423 Letter deploring the lack of help from General Council Members in collecting money for the New College Buildings. 1st January 1869; GUA ref NCB 6424 Circular letter to the General Council asking that subscriptions be sent in more quickly. 18th April 1870.

44 GUA ref NCB 6427 and NCB 6428 1st January 1869.

45 GUA ref NCB 6061.

the citizens of Glasgow and to influential men in the city, these devices openly appealed for funds and spoke about the history of the university within the city, its achievements to date and the aims of the new college buildings. In Glasgow itself the city was split into wards⁴⁶ for the collection of money and committees were appointed from men who had connections within the area. Those approached included Alexander Gilchrist, a brassfounder, who refused to work on the committees.⁴⁷ Yet others such as W S Blackie the publisher gave money⁴⁸ or advice, such as Peter Coats of Paisley who said that trade was so bad that they could not expect much support.⁴⁹ The approach to the public appears in some ways to have been randomly aimed at anyone likely to be in a position to give money. Refusals to serve on committees and to give funds could be linked to commitments to funding in the past such as that of W Smith, a bookseller, who was already giving annually to the library.⁵⁰

While subscriptions were especially intensively raised within the city, support was also cultivated and obtained from the locality and farther afield. The Provost of Govan organised a committee in 1868 to raise

46 GUA refs F/NBC/F 6062, 6063, 6064 lists those who declined to work on the ward subcommittees. GUA refs F/NCB/F 6232, 6072, 6230 lists alterations to names suggested for the 10th, 6th and 7th wards. 21st December 1868.

47 GUA ref NCB 6226.

48 GUA ref F/NCB/F 6041.

49 Sanderson M The Universities and British Industry 1850-1970 London, 1972. p. 167. GUA ref NCB 6078.

50 GUA ref NCB 5941.

funds, and there were attempts to scout for funds in places as wide apart as Arran, Aberdeen and Kirkcudbright.⁵¹ These areas were suggested to the subscriptions committee but often brought limited or no response. Aberdeen was seen as 'not much hope' and this position was seen in other proposed areas in England, the Dominions, the Empire and elsewhere. New York was 'useless'⁵², Halifax and Bombay were refusals⁵³, Victoria, 'not much hope'.⁵⁴ Shanghai and Singapore were suggested as was Toronto. From Toronto came the reply that there would be 'no money owing to the disaster of the Fenian invasion'⁵⁵ suggesting that Scottish interests had been overshadowed by the influx of Irish immigrants. Clearly Glasgow and its surrounds were the main target.

As Table 6.4 shows, small numbers involved in giving large donations continued through to the general council report of 1889 which marked out the progress of philanthropic donations for the buildings at Gilmorehill. Six individuals gave £84,174 while smaller general subscriptions accounted for £17,138 between 1878 and 1889. This, however, should not detract from the large numbers of smaller donors.

51 GUA ref NCB 5804, 5593, 5801 respectively.

52 GUA ref NCB 5585.

53 GUA ref NCB 5118, NCB 5100.

54 GUA ref NCB 5101.

55 GUA ref NCB 5714.

Table 6.4

<u>Abstract Breakdown of Subscriptions to the University to April 1889.</u>		£ Sterling
To 1878 Subscriptions for General Building fund		176,480
To 1889 Subscriptions for General Building fund		2,637
Government Grant		120,000
<u>Subscriptions for Special Purposes</u>		
Subscriptions for substructure of the Bute Hall		14,538
Contribution by the Marquis of Bute		45,000
Randolph Hall from Trustees of late Mr Randolph		24,000
Spire, Bells and Clock completion on the bequests of Mr Cunninghame and Mr Marshall.		5,900
Gateway building, Pearce Lodge erected at the charge of the late Sir William Pearce, Bart., M.P.		4,274
Student Union Buildings, a gift of Dr M ^C intyre ⁵⁶		5,000
College Gymnasium from special subscriptions		2,600
<u>Total</u> Including Government Grant		400,429
<u>Total</u> Excluding Government Grant		280,429

Source: GUA ref 34415. General Council papers, Report of Committee on Subscriptions for New Buildings.

Although the total raised amounted to over £400,000 the report of 1889 pointed to the debt in the building fund of £37,083 and the need to raise new funds for 'additional accommodation for the Medical School'. The report to the general council also pointed out that

The funds proposed to be appropriated to the University from the Consolidated Fund, under the Universities (Scotland) Bill now before Parliament, will be fully required for other purposes, and will not to any extent be available for buildings.

56 Given in memory of his wife.

Thus the general council was made aware again that Government policy on funding had not substantially altered from the period prior to the major appeal for the New College buildings and that it would have to continue to rely on private donations. Taken over the twenty-five years, the Glasgow appeal shows how more than two thirds of the subscriptions came from private money. The very success of the appeal and the support from the local community resulted in the Government congratulating the University in the Royal Commission Report of 1878.

Comparison of the Glasgow and Edinburgh Appeals

The preponderance and composition of private funding was not peculiar to Glasgow as an appeal list for Edinburgh in the 1880s shows in Table 6.5. In contrast to the Glasgow appeal, donors were not classified, so the information available has been used to form classifications.

When the Glasgow and Edinburgh appeals are compared, it is clear that in both cases a relatively few people gave the bulk of funds. At Edinburgh forty individuals gave £52,575 or around 40% of the total raised. In Glasgow, sixty-five people gave 54% of the funds up to 1876, without taking into account the subsequent large donations for projects such as the Bute Hall and the tower of the new building.

Table 6.5Abstract of the donors to the Edinburgh appeals by social group

Group	Appeal Year and Donation		Number of donors in brackets	
	1874-83 £ Sterling		1883 £ Sterling	
Titled	28,275	(10)	5,500	(5)
Landed ⁵⁷	2,600	(4)	-	
Official Organisations	3,600	(3)	1,050	(1)
Companies	1,125	(2)	1,500	(2)
Civic and Crown Officials	1,600	(2)	-	
Private persons Greater than £400	1,850	(3)	-	
Private persons Greater than £300			5,000	(7)
Legacy	500		-	
Total	39,525		13,050	
Less than £400	56,958			
Less than £300			13,851	
General Fund	4,000		2,000	
Total	<u>100,483</u>		<u>28,901</u>	

Source: Compiled from information in A Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh, pp. 213-4.⁵⁸

The most striking difference between the two appeals is the support given by the nobility. At Glasgow the nobility gave 3.3% of the total to 1876 at £5,352 although the subsequent donation of £45,000 by the Marquis of Bute substantially increased this. At Edinburgh, on the other hand, the nobility gave 28% of

57 By landed it is assumed that as the name is linked to a place-name the donor is a superior (laird) of a landed property.

58 A more detailed list can be seen in Appendix 6.1, table 2.

funds by 1883 at approximately £33,775. This contrasts with the court membership of the two universities as revealed in chapter three. Initially Glasgow had a tradition of aristocratic input to the university which Edinburgh University lacked because it had been controlled by the burgh council. However, Glasgow as an industrialised city did not have the draw for aristocrats that Edinburgh as the capital retained in the nineteenth century. In terms of those who gave, the two cities differing patterns of wealth holding are relevant.⁵⁹ Wealth in Glasgow rested more in industrial hands than in Edinburgh which saw the concentration of the professional elite. Thus the chance of donations from those with certain social and economic backgrounds were increased by their concentrations in certain localities. Donations from others could follow the stimulation of the major donation from an important figure reinforcing patterns of philanthropic activity from the top down.

1876 for Glasgow and 1883 for Edinburgh are used as dates to compare appeals. In the Edinburgh appeal three companies are identified as giving large sums: C Jenner Esq, the department store owner, Messrs John Jeffrey and Co, brewers in Edinburgh and Messrs Thomas Nelson and Sons, publishers. All three areas were important sectors of the Edinburgh economy, but such donations do not compare in frequency with those of commercial concerns to the Glasgow appeal. Still, while in

59 Fraser W.H. and Morris R.J. Ed People and Society in Scotland vol 2 Chapter 4 p. 103-137.

Edinburgh there are not the large scale donations by major industrial and manufacturing firms as seen in Glasgow, this contrast may be seen more as a reflection of the size of the local Edinburgh economy and the pattern of wealth accumulation in the East of Scotland compared to the West, rather than as a sign of any lesser public commitment to the local university.⁶⁰

In Edinburgh, as in Glasgow, the target was to gain money from any source that was wealthy enough. By pandering to donors' elitism and social exclusivity the appeals were no different from much other philanthropic activity in the period. The allegedly narrow base of support 'from a few rich men' can be seen as arising from the fact that philanthropists, accustomed to giving, often had other interests and concerns which drew on their support. The Coats family in Paisley while giving money to the Glasgow appeal also were involved in funding an art gallery and museum in Paisley in the 1870s and in the 1900s helped fund a Scottish expedition to the Antarctic.⁶¹ The Elders through their different benefactions not only gave to the University of Glasgow but also provided a park and a cottage hospital around the Govan area of Glasgow. Thus the 'elitist' campaigns can also be interpreted as efficient targeting of donors by fundraisers who had limited resources of manpower but who socially had access to wealthy and influential

60 Fraser W.H. and Morris R.J. Ed People and Society-Chapter 4, The Dominant Classes, Morgan N and Trainor R pp. 114.

61 GUA DC 77 Bowman collection.

people. The latter responded to the appeals not merely out of considerations of prestige and profit but also, as with the philanthropy of the period more generally, out of feelings of social responsibility, civic pride, social cohesion and perhaps social control.

The Edinburgh example highlights how all the leading titled, political, commercial, industrial, and professional groups were involved in the appeals, both on a long and short term basis. The Association for the Better Endowment of the University, established in 1864, while viewed by Principal Grant as having collected funds 'not of any great amount', was seen by him as having

from time to time provided certain useful scholarships and bursaries, but its chief function has been to make known by annual meetings and reports the wants of the University, and thus to aid in enlisting the sympathy of the public.⁶²

The Association had a large committee whose names were annually printed in the University Calendar. The size of the committee shows the use of important figures to enhance the status and respectability of the Association for it is not clear if all the members met together on a regular basis. From the Calendar for the year 1885-6 the committee had one president, the Chancellor of the University. There were eleven vice presidents, thirty seven ordinary committee members, of whom twenty one were acting members, and local honorary secretaries based around the country in Linconshire, Bristol,

62 Grant Sir A The Story of the University of Edinburgh. two volumes, Longmans, Green and Co, London 1884. Volume 2 p. 136.

London, St Andrews, Glasgow and Kelso. On the committee sat the Lord Justice General, the Lord Advocate, the former Lord Advocate Moncrieff, three earls, four baronets, various Scottish judges, several Members of Parliament, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and a variety of professionals and other figures who linked their names to place-names as proprietor landed superiors. Of the professional men, several were court members or had been court members such as the Rev K M Phinn and A J G Mackay.⁶³ All were men and the membership was drawn mainly from the leading members of Scottish society.

The committee's use as a propaganda machine is clear and it may be a prime example of window dressing, but it was socially beneficial to members in that it enhanced social prestige. University endowment was socially acceptable and by giving donors continued or mimicked the traditional responsibility of the landed and richer classes towards educational provision as outlined in theory and in practice since the Reformation. To an extent university appeals may have benefited from snobbery. The localised nature and social exclusivity of appeals are therefore not surprising. Fundraisers had limited manpower and their cause, while important, was not the most needy. Even for those concerned with educational provision and the consequences of the overseas competition faced by Britain, the sense of

⁶³ Edinburgh University Calendar 1885-6. J Thin, Edinburgh. Appendix p. 43.

urgency was tempered by continued profitability in British industry and commerce. Also, the involvement by the nobility and landed classes in fundraising resembled the pattern of Victorian philanthropic activities generally as described by Harrison⁶⁴ and Prochaska.⁶⁵ While the appeals, especially for the New College Buildings at Glasgow, were not 'popular' in that they did not aim at the mass of the population, the sense that they were exclusive has to be contrasted with the wide variety of people clearly involved. Also appeals form only part of the scope for philanthropy.

Other Appeals

Social and commercial exclusivity can be seen in more targeted campaigns, of which two examples are the Queen Margaret College Appeal and the Glasgow University Engineering Laboratory Appeal which also reveal the pervasive importance of the community in these appeals. In both cases particular groups were targeted and a division of interests and activity by gender appears to arise.

The Queen Margaret College Appeal was initiated by a laird's wife, Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan, in 1891. Although Mrs Campbell, as Vice President of the College, had been involved in raising over £18,000 since it moved into the buildings bought for it by Mrs Elder in 1884 for £12,000, further funds were needed to extend the buildings and provide equipment. The appeal was made to

64 Harrison B Peaceable Kingdom Oxford 1982 p. 230-1.

65 Thompson F M L Ed The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950. Volume 3 Prochaska Chapter 7 p. 366.

the 'Friends of Education in Glasgow and the West of Scotland' and H.R.H. Princess Louise was named as president of the proposed bazaar. One aim of the appeal was to ensure that the College was fully endowed and that affiliation to the University would not be a drain on university resources.

From the printed programmes for the bazaar it is clear that the appeal was aimed at women, their spending power and their social aspirations to elitism. The first page outlined the patrons and vice patrons. The Queen and Princess Louise appear at the top and are followed by a list of vice patrons who were almost all titled. The seventy four vice patrons comprised 4 dukes, 6 duchesses, 3 marquesses, 4 marchionesses, 3 earls, 3 countesses, 6 lords, 21 'ladies', 10 knights or baronets, 2 honourables, 1 major general, 6 Mr, 3 Mrs, 1 Miss.⁶⁶

The bazaar itself was held in the prestigious St Andrews Halls in Glasgow over a period of five days. Stall committees were set up which split the city into five parts and other stalls were set up for the surrounding counties of Ayrshire, Dumbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Stirlingshire. There were nineteen stalls; of these all but four were run by women. Each stall had a president, stall holders and receivers of work. The game, books, raffle and parcels stalls were run by men showing a gender division of

66 GUA ref 31326. Queen Margaret College Bazaar Album, printed programme, title page.

labour over particular areas. Men also appear on other committees as joint treasurers and secretaries. Yet the vast majority of the four hundred people involved were women, and their addresses were clustered in the best districts of the city and the surrounding towns.⁶⁷ The commitment in time given by these women cannot be accurately gauged, but the appeal shows the elements of genteel social philanthropy, one of the few outlets and interests for many richer middle-class and upper class women.⁶⁸ As such philanthropy could have attractions which were wider than gaining respectability and mixing with social peers and betters.

The only criticism of the respectability of the appeal was over the use of raffles which roused the anti-gambling interest into action, causing newspaper comments. From reports which appeared in the Evening Times, The Scotsman, The Citizen, the North British Daily Mail and the Glasgow Herald the event was seen as a major social occasion. Entry to the bazaar on the first day cost five shillings, falling to one shilling for the last day. This merited a leader article in The Scotsman of 24 November 1892 indicating that the event was now more financially accessible to less wealthy members of the middle class thus widening the potential numbers of donors. The costs of attending the event, which included a variety of amusements, were definitely not within the pocket of the majority of the Glasgow

67 GUA ref 31326. Queen Margaret College Bazaar Album.
 68 Prochaska F K Women and Philanthropy in nineteenth century England Oxford 1980.

population and in recognition of this students were given complimentary tickets. Fashionable women's magazines such as the Ladies Pictorial ran articles on the bazaar describing the stalls and the stall holders' costumes. Yet, while playing on such traditional themes, the bazaar also stressed the more radical theme of the value of higher education for women.

This bazaar's use of consumerism, elitism, snobbery and gender roles, and its successful targeting of specific social groups with the use of advertising, was also seen in the 1889 Glasgow University Union bazaar when major Glasgow retailers associated themselves with the university by advertising in the bazaar programmes.⁶⁹ Carefully managed with good publicity in printed programmes and in newspaper reports which highlighted the social prestige of the event, it is a successful example of philanthropic management of donors.

An equally targeted appeal was for Glasgow's James Watt Memorial Engineering Laboratory. Conducted by a committee established in 1894 and lasting for a decade,⁷⁰ the appeal, like its earlier counterparts in Glasgow and Edinburgh, also shows the university turning to the locality for support. Built with £12,000 donated by the Bellahouston Trustees on condition that a similar sum be raised in the locality, the committee raised the money and received donations of plant from various industrial companies on Clydeside, aided by the perfect link

69 Glasgow University Students Union Bazaar News 1889 J Macle hose and Sons Glasgow 1889.

70 GUA refs 55422 and 55423..

between the university and industry, Archibald Barr, Professor of Engineering at the University and co-founder of Barr and Stroud Ltd, Instrument Engineers of Glasgow.⁷¹

The committee met on the approval of the university court, appointed twenty members who subsequently approached a further thirty-one inviting them on to act on the committee. Surviving letters suggest that, while some approached were unable to give the time required to act, the invitations covered the Clyde Valley and its many industries broadly. Companies included Denny and Co, Dumbarton, William Arrol of the Dalmarnock Iron Works, Neilson Locomotives and J and P Coats of Paisley's Ferguslie Threadworks.⁷² Other towns mentioned near Glasgow included Ayr, Hamilton, Greenock and Houston. Further afield, Peebles and London are also noted but the appeal was essentially very localised, and nearly all of the companies targeted had an interest in engineering and technical improvements.

Attendance at meetings averaged around ten, with a peak of eighteen in 1896 when subscriptions had reached £8,442. Often members lacked the time to attend due to business demands but reported regularly.⁷³ James Reid of the Neilson, Reid and Company locomotive works was

71 Slaven A, Checkland S (editors), The Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography Aberdeen University Press 1986. vol 1, p. 151.

72 Further information can be seen in appendix 5.1, table 3.

73 GUA ref 55422. Sederunt Book of the Minutes of the Committee of the University Engineering Laboratory of the University Court of the University of Glasgow. p. 7

appointed chairman and on his death William Arrol, whose companies built the Forth and Tay rail bridges, took on the post. Others leading commercial figures included J N Cuthbertson and Sir James King. The Lord Provost of Glasgow and the Lord Dean of Guild also attended as did the President of the Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders. The opening of the laboratory in 1901 by Lord Kelvin was linked to a major international engineering conference.⁷⁴

The engineering laboratory appeal displays a specific approach to interested parties in industry, commerce, local government and professional associations to participate in a project which would be beneficial to these groups and to the local economy. While the money concerned may appear small, the involvement of the business community in the Clyde Valley shows a commitment to the development of educational provision in the university and an interest in promoting theoretical training for engineers.

Overall the general and specific appeals of the universities produced results which allowed for expansion. Funds raised in Glasgow and Edinburgh compare very well to the appeal seen at Oxford where in the ten years from 1902 to 1912 less than half of the target of £250,000 was forthcoming.⁷⁵

74 Oakley C A A History of a Faculty: Engineering at Glasgow University, Glasgow, Bell and Bain Ltd, 1973. p. 16.

75 Dunbabin J P D 'Oxford and Cambridge College Finances' The re-endowment appeals at Oxford and Cambridge, complicated by problems of control of resources between the colleges and the universities, probably suffered

To summarise, university philanthropy, especially reflected in major appeals, was not restricted to graduates, and success in fundraising was not limited to donations from business and industry. Input of time and commitment came from the upper and middle classes, in all walks of life from the professions to industry, including many women. The diverse support from the different wealth holding sections within these classes is clearly seen from the donation data at Glasgow and Edinburgh and occasions associated with appeals allowed people with differing social and economic backgrounds to meet. While the small numbers responsible for giving large sums of money may not apparently differ from the conclusions reached by Micheal Sanderson,⁷⁶ emphasis must also be placed on the relatively large numbers of donors giving what amounted to substantial amounts of money for the period. Donor numbers must also be seen in a context in which other causes appealed for money and where universities gained annually from other types of donations. Thus the universities were able to target particular groups but also to reach a substantial proportion of the more comfortable parts of the local middle class. They were able to raise money at particularly crucial moments but also maintain the philanthropic impulse over time. In doing so they exploited money from traditional sources as well as from business interests and women. The benefactors to the

from the perceptions of donors that they were rich institutions.

76 Sanderson M The Universities and Industry pp. 168-72.

appeals evidently acted for reasons similar to those seen as the more general spurs to philanthropy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as identified by Harrison and Prochaska and Jones.⁷⁷ The appeals gave virtually no long-term control by donors over the universities and their actions.

Donations to the Universities

Another major category of university philanthropy consisted of donations and support for museums and libraries. In this category, compared to appeals, there was less participation in a major programme involving many other members of the community giving up a lot of time. Also such gifts, while having some intrinsic value, might theoretically oblige the university to spend money but the donor reaped the benefits of respectability that went along with the act of giving.

Donations to the libraries were in the main one-off gifts although regular gifts were also apparent such as that by the Glasgow bookseller W Smith who gave an annual donation to Glasgow University library and because of this refused to give to the New College Buildings Appeal.⁷⁸ Printed annual donation lists were limited to large donors as donations ran into hundreds. For example, in 1890 the library of Glasgow University received 1,460 volumes and 480 part volumes and

77 Harrison Peaceable Kingdom Oxford 1982, Thompson F M L Editor The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950. Volume 3 Chapter 7, Jones David R The Origins of the Civic Universities:, London 1988.

78 GUA ref NCB 5941.

pamphlets. This level of donation outstripped those 814 volumes and 273 periodicals actually bought.⁷⁹

Donations, clearly an important supplement to the library, could be valuable gifts of books and manuscripts bequeathed or given to the universities. Equally gifts appeared of curios and other items of dubious monetary or academic value. As Table 6.6 indicates the expenditure on the museums and libraries increased over the period but from figures seen in chapter five the proportion spent fell as a real part of annual expenditure.

Table 6.6

Expenditure of the Libraries of Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities and the Museum of Edinburgh University

YEAR	GLASGOW LIBRARY	EDINBURGH LIBRARY	EDINBURGH MUSEUM
1865	-	1,673	198
1875	-	1,876	295
1885	-	2,000	547
1895	1,780	2,620	415
1900	1,889	-	-
1905	2,898	2,383	395
1913	4,825	-	-

Sources: Edinburgh University Calendars. Robertson Paul 'The Finances of the University of Glasgow Before 1914'. Higher Education Quarterly, Vol 16, No 4, 1976. p. 449 - 478. Abstract of Revenue of the University of Glasgow Sessions 1895-6, 1900-01, 1904-5, 1913-14, p. 2-5 of each.

The research of Helen Brock on the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow has shown that the university authorities on more than one occasion attempted to divest themselves of parts of their holdings which had no

79 Annual Reports on the State of the Finances of the University of Glasgow 1890. p. 6.

obvious value for the purposes of teaching.⁸⁰ This problem was acknowledged for the coin collection of the Hunterian museum was seen as having no teaching value and was recommended for disposal by the Royal Commission of 1876-8. Public outcry in the 1870s and in 1892 against the sale of the coins and library of the Hunterian Museum resulted in their being saved as money was raised by the public to maintain them. Again in 1898 it was student pressure and disinterest on the part of the civic authorities in Glasgow that saved the collections from being given to the Art Galleries at Kelvingrove.⁸¹ As Brock shows, the universities neglected many of their collections and holdings through a lack of enthusiasm compounded by a limited financial means. It was not until the twentieth century that any systematic attempts were made to catalogue items in a continuous fashion and view them as an asset.⁸² Thus with regard to museums and libraries, the universities were as often the pawns rather than the manipulators of philanthropy. Admittedly gifts to the libraries and museums could be anonymous and have conditions attached such as the donation of the Celtic books of Dr MacBain of Inverness to the University of Glasgow which was linked to the condition that members of the Gaelic association An Comunn Gaidhealach could have access during library hours.⁸³ This donation was

80 Brock C H 'Dr William Hunter's Museum, Glasgow University'. Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History (1980), 9 (4), pp. 403-412, p. 408.

81 Brock C H 'Dr William Hunter's Museum' p. 408.

82 Brock C H 'Dr William Hunter's Museum' p. 409.

83 GUA ref 50582, Court Minutes, volume 1908-09 p. 50, 14.1.1909.

agreed upon by the university court in 1909, but the conditions were not advertised and in this manner the impact on the finances of the library could be limited.

Sometimes the community in Glasgow raised money for donations on the instigation of members of staff and general council. One example of this is when Professor Veitch and Dr Anderson Kirkwood 'got twenty three men of Glasgow or its neighbourhood to subscribe two thousand pounds'⁸⁴ for the Hamilton collection. Thus little or no impact was made by them on provision as conditions were not fastidiously advertised by the university authorities. Indeed such philanthropy had a real positive side for the universities. Donations to the libraries and museums added to the wealth of the universities. Also, as the number of donations are in the thousands, there is clear evidence of widespread lay support for the universities coming from the local community and farther afield. Such giving reflects the positive image which the universities evidently had in the eyes of donors.

Endowments

In contrast to this open handed generosity by donors to the libraries and museums endowments allowed their donors a greater, and potentially ongoing, say in how their money was to be used. This occurred in two ways, the first being the initial choice by the donors as to where their money was to go, specifically which faculty

84 Galbraith J L The Curator of Glasgow University Library, James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1909. p. 20.

or subject was to benefit and if restrictive conditions were attached. An example of this is the endowment by Mrs Elder who had given £20,000 for Queen Margaret College in Glasgow. She corresponded with the university through her lawyers on educational provision in 1896-7 as her endowment was conditional on there being equal teaching of men and women and this the university initially failed to provide.⁸⁵ The court backed down over the threatened loss of the endowment, influenced perhaps by the adverse publicity that their poorer provision for women might have aroused especially after a public appeal to raise money for the College in the early 1890s. The second means of maintaining a say through an endowment was to place the capital sum invested with trustees and to give them or the donor sole rights as to the patronage of the endowment, if the endowment was presented to a chosen candidate rather than subject to open competition. Patronage in these circumstances could also be shared with the academic staff of the universities.

Scottish universities had more and more endowments to deal with as the period progressed. Tables 6.7 and 6.8 chart the growth of university administered endowments at both Glasgow and Edinburgh universities.

85 GUA ref DC 233 /2/4/4/48 - DC 233 /2/4/4/53.

Table 6.7

Growth of Endowments administered at Glasgow University and appearing in their accounts and statistical reports in 1890 1900 and 1910

Year	1890	1900	1910
Number of Foundations	116	134	161

Source: Compiled from Annual Reports on the State of the Finances of the University of Glasgow 1890, 1900 and 1910.

Table 6.8

Growth of Endowments at Edinburgh University administered by the University and appearing in the University Financial statistics 1865 - 1905.

Growth of Foundations					
Year	1865	1875	1885	1895	1905
Type of Foundation					
Bursaries, Prizes, Scholarships and Fellowships.	17	35	68	120	128
Endowing Professors' Chairs, Salaries, Buildings, Costs of Classes	6	13	21	25	32
<u>total</u>	23	48	87	145	160

Source Edinburgh University Calendars Financial abstracts
1866, 1876, 1886, 1896, 1906.

Note: The endowments shown relate to those administered by the universities and not to those held for the benefit of the universities and their students by other public bodies and trustees.

Through the period both universities benefited from steadily increased numbers of endowments although the increases at Edinburgh for bursary to scholarship type endowments seemed to be at their height in the years from 1875 to 1895. At Edinburgh, although Arts bursary provision dated back to the seventeenth century, out of the eighty listed, fifty had appeared in the years since

1858. The slowing down in new bursary provision by the early twentieth century can be clearly placed at the door of the Carnegie Trust which, as noted above, was funding large numbers of students fees by 1910.

That the universities did not control all their endowments is suggested by Table 6.9 which shows that at Edinburgh by 1911 there were around 330 different endowments not including those for professorships, lectureships and buildings. Trustees appear to have had more endowments under their control than did the university authorities. These trustees and patrons, while numerous, could be dominated by certain groups. Over forty appear in the Arts bursaries list alone. The senate and professors appear twenty-nine times, the Town Council of Edinburgh eleven times, ministers, presbyteries, kirk sessions and other religious groups eight, Heriot's Trust four times and associations encouraging students from a geographic area occur eight times. Others mentioned included the Faculty of Advocates and more than a dozen unnamed sets of trustees acting for private patrons and their heirs. These included the Earls of Haddington, Zetland and Morton. Other landed proprietors had rights to grant bursaries. The associations which encouraged links to parts of Scotland included the Edinburgh Ayrshire Club, the Edinburgh Caithness, the Edinburgh Border Counties, the Peebles Society, the Argyllshire Association and the Ayr Educational Trust. Although many of the patrons were linked to Edinburgh and the surrounding counties,

students from other areas also, could benefit from endowments.⁸⁶

Table 6.9

Foundations at Edinburgh University in 1911 as published in the Calendar

FACULTY	ARTS	SCIEN	DIVI	LAW	MEDICINE	total
RESEARCH	-	-	-	-	4	4
FELLOWSHIPS	4	1	-	-	5	10
BURSARIES	80	1	27	9	20	137
SCHOLARSHIPS	43	21	13	7	28	112
PRIZES	10	1	14	5	26	56
ENDOWMENTS	4	4	-	3	-	11
TOTAL	141	28	54	24	83	<u>330</u>

Source: Compiled from Edinburgh University Calendar 1911-12

As Table 6.9 also shows, the Arts faculty was by far the preferred choice of donors followed by Medicine, Divinity, Science and Law. The popularity of medical endowments reflects Edinburgh University's prestige and recognised expertise in this field and can be interpreted as a clear level of support by donors aiding Edinburgh's comparative advantage in medical teaching. The only clear examples of research endowments are seen in medicine as were the majority of fellowships. Medicine also had a greater proportion of prizes than the other faculties. Law and Divinity lacked any provision for research and fellowships; even Arts only had four fellowships, although fellowships in most cases were forms of bursary under a different guise. Science had the fewest endowments after Law and nearly all of them were for scholarships. Of the four 'endowments' there

86 Edinburgh University Calendar 1911-12. p. 255-258.

was provision for original postgraduate research and a lectureship in geology.

The paucity of apparent support for science seems compounded by Table 6.10 which charts the growth of bursary foundations at Edinburgh University. Although this might suggest little support for science, it should be noted that this table charts the growth of bursaries and the Science faculty had a high proportion of fellowships for its size. Also some bursaries could be held in more than one faculty, with both Arts and Medicine being used to study science subjects. Moreover, at least five bursary foundations in Arts had links to Science masking support for science by apparent support for other areas.

Table 6.10

Growth of Bursary Foundations at the University of Edinburgh by Faculty and Year to 1910-11. Includes both competition and presentation bursaries where dates occur.

Groups of Bursaries	Years									No Date
	1600 to 1700	1700 to 1800	1800 to 1860	1860 -70	1870 -80	1880 -90	1890 1900	1900 -10	1911	
FACULTY										
ARTS	80(89)	17	12	11	11	15	15	4	4	
SCIE	1									1
DIV	27(28)	7	4	4	2	4	3	1	3	
LAW	9(11)			2	2	4	3			
MED	20			3	1	6	4	3	2	1
TOTAL		24	16	20	16	29	25	8	9	2

Source: Edinburgh University Calendar 1911-12

Note: The groups of bursaries represents the divisions as laid out in the Calendar. The dates of foundation for groups of bursaries can include more than one date caused by later additions to foundations. The dates of later additions cause the numbers to appear greater than the total groups of bursaries. These larger totals are

included in brackets after the totals for groups of bursaries.

Arts again appears to dominate as the main area for support, but Arts were necessary for progression to other degrees. Although bursary provision grew substantially from the mid nineteenth century the 1870s and 1880s appear to have been the heyday for bursary endowment at Edinburgh. Medicine and divinity appear to have held ground most during the later decline and again this emphasises the strength of medicine at Edinburgh and the continued importance of religion as a factor in philanthropic support.

Another way to assess the targeting of philanthropic support is to consider the relative values of bursaries by faculty. Table 6.11, while showing that Arts and Divinity had the largest number of foundations, also points to the factor that foundations can hide larger numbers of bursars and the relative value of those bursaries.

Table 6.11

Bursaries at the University of Edinburgh 1911.

Breakdown of Foundations by number and value as published in the University calendar.

	NUMBER OF FOUNDATIONS	BURSAR NUMBERS	VALUE OF BURSARIES IN TOTAL £ STERLING	APPROXIMATE VALUE OF EACH BURSARY £ STERLING
FACULTY				
ARTS	80	230	6,335	27
SCIENCE	1	links to five other bursaries in Arts		
DIVINITY	27	46	1,141	24
LAW	9	23	941	40
MEDICINE	20	58	2,081	35
TOTAL	137	357	10,498	

Source Compiled from Edinburgh University Calendar 1911-12

Law is the most striking of these having the fewest numbers of foundations and bursars and yet Law had the highest average bursary value, followed by Medicine, Arts and Divinity. Medicine had the second largest total value of bursaries after Arts and the total pay out in 1911 would have required interest at 5% on at least £210,000 in investments. This is clearly a substantial input by donors to the university for although bursary money went to students it provided a source not only for fees but also for living costs which might have otherwise precluded students from attending. Combined with the numbers of foundations there is clearly substantial support for Edinburgh from donors.

Table 6.12 shows endowments at Glasgow for 1911-12. The numbers of foundations at Edinburgh at 330 was greater than Glasgow at 249 but similar patterns of support emerge with Arts dominating followed by Medicine, Divinity, Science and Law. Up to 30 foundations were open to all faculties or were restricted to combinations of faculties as Table 6.13 shows.

Table 6.12

Foundations at Glasgow University by 1911-12, as published in the Calendar.

FACULTY	ARTS	SCI	DIV	LAW	MED'	OPEN	MIXED	TOTAL
RESEARCH								
FELLOWSHIPS								
SCHOLARSHIPS								
total	14	8	-	1	7	2		32
BURSARIES								
in groups	86	10	22	5	19	15	13	170
PRIZES	18	9	9	3	8	-	-	47
TOTAL	118	27	31	9	34	17	13	249

Source Compiled from Glasgow University Calendar 1911-12.

While the Edinburgh figures for foundations appear higher than those for Glasgow if the number of actual awards contained in the foundations are considered then a different picture emerges. If bursaries are considered then the situation at Glasgow shows that there were 482 awards at Glasgow compared to 357 awards at Edinburgh. When fellowships are included, as they are a form of bursary, then there were 556 awards at Glasgow and 469 at Edinburgh. Glasgow appears to have had more bursary provision than Edinburgh even though there were more foundations at Edinburgh and in relative terms Glasgow, with fewer Students, was better provided for than Edinburgh.

Two points can arise from this provision in relation to community support. Firstly Edinburgh foundations were on average smaller in terms of money invested than their Glasgow counterparts. This may reflect the comparative wealth of the two cities and the popularity of bursary type foundations as a form of philanthropy amongst the upper middle class. A further point is that Glasgow in 1911 had an urban population at least double that of Edinburgh and that the majority of the Scottish population and wealth holders lived in the Western Central belt. It would appear then that Edinburgh, although having fewer awards for its students, was better provided for if awards are looked upon in relation to population. This situation could be compounded by Glasgow having more higher educational institutions than

Edinburgh, which would be competing with the university for philanthropic support.

Average values of awards between Glasgow and Edinburgh were similar for Arts and Divinity although Edinburgh awards in Law and Medicine appear larger. Table 6.13 shows average values at Glasgow around £24 in Arts rising to up to £54 in three mixed foundations for Law, Divinity and Medicine. These top awards were exceptions and £30 was the over all average which is comparable with the Edinburgh figure. The Edinburgh figures in Table 6.14 show that Law and Medicine at Edinburgh were better provided for than at Glasgow which reflects the reputation of Edinburgh in these fields.

Table 6.13

Bursaries at the University of Glasgow 1911-12.

FACULTY	NUMBER OF		APPROXIMATE		PLACE BY
	FOUND- -TIONS	BURSARS	TOTAL VALUE £ STERLING	AVERAGE VALUE £	
ARTS	86	313	7,652	24	1
DIVINITY	22	46	1,127	24	2
MEDICINE	19	37	910	24	3
ANY FACULTY	15	34	884	26	4
SCIENCE	10	18	490	27	5
ARTS & DIV	4	8	281	35	6
LAW	5	9	268	29	7
MEDICINE OR LAW	1	5	250	50	8
ARTS OR DIV	2	2	30	15	9
LAW, DIVINITY OR MEDICINE	3	4	217	54	10
ARTS, LAW OR MEDICINE	3	6	134	22	11
TOTAL	170	482	12,243	(£30 is general average value)	

Source Compiled from Glasgow University Calendar 1911-12

While Edinburgh appeared to provide some awards higher than Glasgow's the provision for science seemed at least on a par with Glasgow, probably providing 37 awards from 18 foundations to Edinburgh's 28 foundations most of them being awards. As Table 6.14 shows Glasgow had over £6,000 for exhibitions, fellowships and scholarships and, of the foundations, science was better provided for than medicine for which Glasgow, like Edinburgh, had a high reputation. The value of bursaries could substantially help a student cover the costs of fees though they did not cover the costs of accommodation as well. With the introduction of the Carnegie Trust bursaries by the early twentieth century this aid, allowing students to pay for fees, was expanded dramatically.

Table 6.14

Exhibitions, Fellowships and Scholarships at Glasgow University 1911-12.

FACULTY	NUMBER OF FOUNDATIONS	NUMBER OF AWARDS	VALUE
ARTS	14	40	3,124
SCIENCE	8	17	1,510
DIVINITY	-	-	-
LAW	1	1	30
MEDICINE	7	14	1,081
TOTAL	32	74	6,235

Source Compiled from Glasgow University Calendar 1911-12

Another area of endowment donation was for prizes and Table 6.15 charts the growth of prizes at Glasgow. The pattern here seems different from that seen for

bursaries. Unlike bursaries the totals do not peak in the 1870s and 1880s but do so later in the 1890s and 1900s. The provision of Carnegie awards may have diverted money away from bursaries to the provision of prizes but in any case there is not a comparable decline in Arts. Divinity prizes seemed most popular after the Disruption of 1843 and thereafter declined whereas Law, Science and Medicine all experienced encouragement indicating the interest of donors to encourage these subjects as Table 6.15 suggests.

Table 6.15
Growth of Prizes in the University of Glasgow to 1911.

YEAR	FACULTY						
	TOTAL	ARTS	DIV	SCIENCE	LAW	MEDIC	OPEN
1700-1800	3	2					1
1800-10	-						
1810-20	-						
1820-30	2	2					
1830-40	1	1					
1840-50	3		3				
1850-60	3		2	1			
1860-70	5	3		1		1	
1870-80	4	1	1	1		1	
1880-90	5	3			1	1	
1890-1900	8	2	1	2		3	
1900-10	8	3	1	2	1	1	
1910-12	5			1	1	2	
NO DATE		1					
TOTAL	47	18	8	8	3	9	1

Source Compiled from Glasgow University Calendar 1911-12

In considering the growth of bursaries and other student endowments it is clear that the Carnegie funds made a huge impact. As mentioned in the chapter on resources they formed a major source of income after the turn of the century. For the calculations in this

chapter the sheer size of the input from Carnegie detracts from the scope and levels of growth in endowments seen up to 1900.

Specific Aims of Donors

While the records indicate the growth and types of endowments they give a limited impression of donors and their aims. Records⁸⁷ at Glasgow allow for a more detailed insight into some endowments. These have been analysed to establish the occupational backgrounds, gender, faculty preference, religious affiliation and geographic origin of donors. Information occasionally shows how endowments were to be managed and if their availability was limited by conditions. From all these factors a picture emerges of donors' aims and motivations.

The records cover endowments established between 1849 and 1890. Donors as mentioned sometimes allowed a bursary to be linked to two faculties thus increasing totals. Table 6.16 indicates the decade of the endowments with greatest growth as seen at Edinburgh in the 1870s and 1880s. This formation ties in with the increased wealth of the city and hinterland as the area moved into industrial maturity. Table 6.17 indicates which areas of teaching were supported and while arts dominate science has significant support by 1890 in contrast to Edinburgh.

87 GUA Ref 19090. Deeds and Documents and Excerpts and Notices relating to the Institution of Bursary and other Foundations 1849 - 1890. Glasgow 1891.

Table 6.16Endowments Founded at Glasgow University 1849-1890.

DECADE	NUMBER OF FOUNDATIONS
1840s	3
1850s	9
1860s	27
1870s	49
1880s	53
1890	1
TOTAL	142

Source: GUA Ref 19090.

Note: Although there are only 137 foundations the records cite 142 as being set as some donors added to their original foundation at a later date.

Table 6.17Areas of Teaching Supported by Endowments at Glasgow 1890.

AREA OF TEACHING	SUPPORT RECORDED
ARTS	75
LAW	4
MEDICINE	14
DIVINITY	28
SCIENCE	21 (Can be linked to medicine Eg chemistry and civil engineering at least three times)
TOTAL FOUNDATIONS	142

Source: GUA Ref 19090.

Note: Endowments can support more than one area of teaching

These endowments were to provide bursaries, scholarships, fellowships, demonstrators and some prizes. Donors used them for a variety of purposes of which some could affect the openness to candidates.

The most common feature of endowments was their use as a memorial. At least 105 were specifically in memory of

a relative or of the donor and so university education was the basis for a this permanent memorial. Indication suggests that 81 endowments were founded by men, 14 by groups and organisation and 38 by women. Women therefore were important donors in this field and could use personal or inherited wealth to memorialise their dead. Bequests form the majority of endowments at 74 followed by 67 donations. Of the donations 14 were linked to an appeal for subscriptions. These show that major appeals were paralleled by smaller, more localised appeals. Memorials were the major inspiration such as the Brown (Saltcoats) Bursary⁸⁸ which used money originally collected as a retirement present. Similarly the Eglinton Fellowships emerged from subscriptions in memory of the Earl of Eglinton but other bursaries were funded by groups, such as the Ayrshire Society, to support natives of their part of the country. Although groups such as the Glasgow Merchant's House were involved in raising subscriptions the majority of endowments came from individuals and families.

Background of Donors and Geographic Links

Endowments were analysed to consider the indications of social and economic backgrounds of the donors, consider their geographic source and establish some of the limitations which donors imposed. What appears as surprising in Table 6.18 is the strong support of the professional classes in giving endowments when they did not give as readily to major appeals. This reflects the

⁸⁸ GUA Ref 19090. p. 17.

fact that most endowments were bequests and that proportionately professionals were more likely to leave estates than the middle-class generally.

Table 6.18
Social and Economic Background of Founders of Glasgow
Endowments by 1890.

Background Indicated	Number Indicated
Professional	44
Trade/Commerce	21
Industry	14
Aristocrat/Landed	8
Group or Association	14 (4 at least linked to Glasgow Merchant House)
Gentleman	1
Total Indicated	102

Source ⁸⁹

It may also reflect choice by professionals making the most effective use of their money in philanthropic terms. An endowment in memory of the donor or their family was effective because it could be established for a more modest sum of money than that needed to make a really memorable impact in an appeal. Also the endowment could allow conditions to be attached reflecting the donors' interests and bias and it kept the donors name recurring whenever the money from the endowment was spent.

It is also clear that industry and business supported educational provision through endowments as well as in appeals. The support from business and industry covered a wide range. The Lloyd's Register Scholarship⁹⁰ in naval architecture is an example from outside Scotland reflecting Glasgow expertise and reputation but within

89 GUA Ref 19090.

90 GUA Ref 19090. p. 80 Naval Architecture.

the locality shipbuilding was represented by the widow of Robert Napier and the endowments of Mrs Elder⁹¹. Other interests included a wholesale stationer⁹², thread manufacturer,⁹³ coal master,⁹⁴ iron masters⁹⁵ and merchants.⁹⁶

While support came from a range of interests it was clearly dominated in origin by Glasgow and the immediate counties, as seen in Table 6.19. These links to locality tie into some donors aims that endowments encourage students from particular areas. Natives of Brechin had preference in the Laing bursaries and they were only one of thirty four which had such restrictions. Geographic links are similar to those seen at Edinburgh and the same types of donor, county associations, are apparent as well as private individuals.

Table 6.19
Geographic Origin of Donors and Geographic links or
Limitation: Glasgow University

Geographic Area	Number Indicated	Limitation or Link to particular area
Glasgow	60	12
Counties of Lanark, Renfrewshire and DUNBARTONSHIRE.	25	12
Rest of Scotland	29	9
Rest of Britain	8	1
Other	1	
No Indication	14	
Total	137	

Source: GUA Ref 19090.

91 GUA Ref 19090. p. 25 Notman Bursary and p. 97 and 104 Elder endowments.

92 GUA Ref 19090. p. 20 Marshall Bursaries.

93 GUA Ref 19090. p. 60 Clark (Mile-end).

94 GUA Ref 19090. p. 18 Brand Bursaries.

95 GUA Ref 19090. p. 39-41 Muir Endowments.

96 GUA Ref 19090. p. 34 Duncan's Bute Bursaries.

Restrictions show most clearly the impact of donors on the openness of endowments. Some of the Elder bursaries were aimed to encourage men from the Govan and Renfrew area but were also linked to involvement in the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Religious adherence involved twenty three endowments with twelve linked to the established Church of Scotland, six to Presbyterian sects, one for Baptists and one for the Church of England. The Clark-MileEnd bursaries were established for Protestants only while the MacDonald bursaries expressly denied the study of theology, as this would exclude Roman Catholics. The Macdonald bursaries were open to miners from any part of the United Kingdom under the age of twenty one and, with the Elder bursaries, are examples of endowments aimed at educating working people. Other bursaries were limited to those with particular names such as the Lochhead bursary or to students who attended particular schools such as the Leadbetter bursaries, limited to Glasgow High School pupils. Limitations and conditions were usually couched in such a way as to open the endowment if there were no suitable candidate.

Even with restrictions and the use of non university trustees endowments made a significant contribution to opening up educational opportunities. The ability of donors of endowments to make some impact on university policy was limited. Though trustees administered endowments they had little ability to control curricula

and their main impact was in the support of particular faculties and subjects. Also, endowments provide evidence of widespread conscious support for the universities in the period. In giving support donors of endowments were active before the 1889 Universities (Scotland) Act provided added opportunities for greater lay input into administration. It can be seen that donors gave for a variety of reasons some of which aimed to support different areas of teaching, encourage potential students from particular areas, or those with a particular religious adherence. Donors gained increased respectability and higher profile in their locality as a philanthropist. They were also able to memorialise the dead. Other endowments though, directly opened links to other parts of the country and to particular groups and in doing so their donors remained anonymous. Overall though donors ability to impinge on university autonomy were limited but as with other types of philanthropic activity in the period this may not have been a donors priority.

Conclusion

In conclusion, appeals, endowments and even the miscellaneous category of donations, while appearing to have a narrow base, did have wide support from the middle-class and titled groups which had sufficient income to give. Support came from a cross section of business, industry and professions alongside traditional patrons of aristocracy and landed interests. From the case studies Glasgow and Edinburgh do not appear to have

lost popularity over time as philanthropic targets although the Carnegie Trust lessened apparent need overall.

Appeals could focus on certain groups such as women or industrialists as is seen by the two smaller Glasgow appeals and they could be targeted for support through manipulation of their snobbery and social aspirations. Major appeals involved large numbers in conspicuous social events and in their organisation. Meanwhile small subscriptions for endowments portray support for modest projects where donors would not have the same exposure. The impact of habit and prestige is to be seen as are elements of civic, regional and national pride. Universities were prepared to present their case in printed form and display their past achievements to motivate these feelings and to milk them for all they were worth. They also used personal contact with potential donors and the universities involved themselves in the aims of appeals such as the Western Infirmary in Glasgow thus increasing the scope of potential donor interest and benefiting from these projects for teaching opportunities.

Philanthropy allowed socially aspiring donors to mix together with their more influential and wealthier counterparts. The opening of the buildings at Gilmorehill was a major example of this as were the celebrations laid on at Aberdeen by Lord Strathcona for the opening of the buildings at Marischal College. In terms of influence over the universities,

philanthropists had little long-term impact. Mrs Elder's letters to Glasgow are the exception rather than the rule. The involvement of donors in the choice of teachers and candidates for bursaries and scholarships could have some effects but this input was not co-ordinated. Numerous patrons while sharing many common social attitudes about the value of education and having shared aims of social advancement were not in the business of exerting a grand plan of development. Endowments were ad hoc and motivations to give reflected the ethos of educational provision and improvement for even where patronage was exercised patrons would most likely defer to the advice of the university authorities.

The general picture emerges of continued philanthropic activity through the period 1858 to 1914. The visual impact of philanthropic activity could be easily seen in Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Large buildings with numerous other departmental extensions were concrete testimony to the public of the impact of their support. Endowments were less tangible but well publicised examples of civic and regional pride as well as individual interest in the universities. Even more obscure, and sometimes less useful, but still indicating much public support, though on an average smaller scale, was giving to libraries and museums. In addition there was hidden or informal philanthropy which clearly occurred frequently to support students. Although not always directly accruing to the universities

such hidden giving helped to support them indirectly by enabling students to attend and pay fees.

Support may have differed in emphasis from university to university but this must be seen in the context of regional wealth holding patterns and contrasts in the prominence of types of industry, business and the concentration of services. In comparing donations in Glasgow and Edinburgh it may seem that Edinburgh was better endowed with foundations than Glasgow. This though should be seen in context where donors in Glasgow were faced with a greater variety of institutions, including educational, demanding their support. In contrast to this Glasgow gained more in general appeals than Edinburgh and differences may lie in donors' preferred options in how to utilise their money. What is clear though is that while mobilising a small number of very wealthy people, philanthropic activity to support the Scottish universities involved large numbers in time and money for a variety of projects. Motivations fit many of those cited for the period by Harrison and Prochaska including respectability and habit, though motives are more complex than previously been suggested because they include the development of women's education and support for particular projects. Donations did not include the idea of direct pay back to donors in financial terms and gave them very limited control. Donors fit their period where comparatively low taxation and a growing economy provided them with the means to exercise patronage. This was an age which expected and

encouraged philanthropy but which did not necessarily see a donation as a tool to exert direct influence.

Thus philanthropy, much of which linked the universities to their local communities, did more to allow university expansion, directed by laymen as well as academics, than to limit university autonomy. It remains to fit philanthropy, and the topics covered in previous chapters, into the general pattern of relationships between university and community.

Seven: Public and Private Perceptions of the Universities

In 1857 the American writer Nathaniel Hawthorne visited the old Glasgow University buildings on the High Street where in 'a stately hall...a venerable old gentleman, with white head and bowed shoulders, sat reading a newspaper.'¹ The visitor came across the Principal who proceeded to guide Hawthorne and his wife around the buildings and outline their history. Hawthorne was struck by the plainness of the buildings

the contrast between this Scotch severity and that noble luxuriance and antique majesty, and rich and sweet repose, of Oxford is very remarkable, both within the college edifices and without.²

This lonely, desolate picture contrasts vividly with an account just over forty years later in the Glasgow Herald³ reporting the 'brilliant appearance' of the venue and of the four thousand guests at a conversazione held as part of the university's ninth jubilee celebrations at its Gilmorehill buildings. Moreover, the reporter thought that the banquet given by the municipal authorities at the close of this 1901 jubilee.

showed the genuine interest of the municipality in an institution which represents the highest culture in our midst.⁴

Allowing for the difference in intended readership of these accounts does the contrast mark a real change in

1 S Berry and H Whyte ed Glasgow Observed John Donald, Edinburgh 1987. p. 107-8.

2 *ibid* Berry. p. 108.

3 Glasgow Herald 14 June 1901, p. 4.

4 Glasgow Herald 14 June 1901, p. 6.

the way Scottish universities were perceived by local, and distant, communities?⁵

This chapter aims to show change and continuity in how the universities were perceived by individuals and, more broadly, how they were portrayed for a wider audience, as clues to general changes in the nature of the relationships between universities and their local and more scattered communities. The main sources used include both archive records and published materials, allowing contrasts between private attitudes and the official stance. The changing nature and extent of community participation in university rituals will receive particular attention by considering various topics. These include rectorial elections and installations, the use of honorary degrees in forming links to the community, the manner in which the universities were portrayed in literature and an assessment of the social activities of some of the principals and professors.⁶ From a variety of sources, consideration is then focused on comments about the universities and how they are shown in periods of

5 For previous studies' treatment of particular aspects of this set of issues see, S Hamilton 'Interviewing the Middle Class: Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities c 1910 - 1935.' Oral History, Volume 10, No 2, 1982 Autumn. pp. 58-67. R D Anderson The Student Community at Aberdeen 1860 - 1939, Aberdeen University Press, 1988. M Sanderson, 'The English Civic Universities and the Industrial Spirit 1870-1914', Historical Research 1988, Vol 61, No 144. p. 90-105. J Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980. Harmondsworth, Houston 1981.

6 The biographies and autobiographies of individuals who had links with the universities along with the addresses and speeches of academics, politicians and others are used.

celebration, at centenaries and jubilees. This is followed by a more structured analysis of newspaper reports from the period to detect patterns and trends and assess the press attitudes to the universities in their more routine activities.

A variety of specific questions relevant to the analysis of university contacts with the community arise from these general issues and the sources appropriate to them. Were events, and the reports of them, full of meaning for society at large or essentially irrelevant? Do available descriptions provide an accurate picture of perceptions, or does the accounts' bias obscure the mundane reality of everyday contacts under the brilliant cloak of great occasions? Did the rituals of the major university events and more routine university activities help to hold society together or were they divisive? Did such rituals have 'special significance or social value within the relevant social group',⁷ and did that group extend beyond top elites?⁸ Ritual can allow a sharing of mutual ideas and conceptions of the order and place of individuals and groups in society; its persistence can create stability and a sense of order. Also, in the context of urban Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, ritual might have more impact than often supposed, as it arguably 'reaffirmed, in the guise of consensus, a particular view of the politics,

7 S Lukes Essays in Social Theory. Macmillan press, London 1977. p. 54.

8 *ibid* Lukes p. 63.

economy and society of the town.'⁹ Did such effects occur in the Scottish university towns of the period?

Thus the significance of such events for links between the university and the community could be more complex than what appeared on the surface, especially in relation to institutions, and a society, undergoing rapid social and economic change. Scottish universities were prestigious institutions which had survived many tribulations of political and religious change and upheaval in the Scotland of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and before. Thus, it will be argued Scottish universities, especially but not only through their rituals, provided broad groups in society, not only elites, with established, important institutions with which they could identify. Universities could play this role in a dynamic society because their routine and ceremonies, like the nature of their government, finance, and student bodies, showed increased diversity, particularly with regard to religion and politics.

Rectorial Elections and Installations

Apart from graduation ceremonies the most regular major event in the life of each Scottish university was the installation of a new rector every third year. Rectorial addresses were collected and published from the 1830s reflecting their perceived importance.¹⁰ In part

⁹ Cannadine D 'The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast' Past and Present No 94, 1982, pp. 94 - 130. p. 129.

¹⁰ J B Hay, editor Inaugural Addresses by Lord Rectors of the University Glasgow; to which are affixed an

the significance of these occasions related to national politics, at least when the rectors were politicians. The address of Sir Robert Peel in 1837, for example was a major political event.¹¹ But while the addresses, welcomes and banquets enhanced the rectors, these celebrations of the affiliations of national celebrities could only have enhanced local communities' perceptions of the importance of their universities.¹²

The Edinburgh rectorship of G J Goschen and that of A J Balfour at Glasgow provide examples of this type of impact despite, and in some respects because of, the disputes among students that these politicians aroused. Goschen, the Unionist Chancellor of the Exchequer responsible for the long-lived formula by which Scottish public expenditure was pegged at eleven eightieths that of England, was elected Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh in 1891. Before his rectorial address Goschen visited Dundee and spoke to about four thousand people. His political speech attacked home rule for both Ireland and Scotland, meriting six full columns in the Glasgow Herald.¹³ Two days later, in a mark of

historical sketch and account of the present state of the University D Robertson Glasgow 1839, W Knight, editor Rectorial Addresses delivered at the University of St Andrews 1863 -1893. A and C Black, London 1894, A Stodart Walker, editor Rectorial Addresses delivered before the University of Edinburgh 1859-1899. Grant Richards, London 1890.

11 James Cleland A Description of the Banquet in honour of The Rht Hon Sir Robert Peel. John Smith and Sons, Glasgow 1837.

12 See for example the external report (Glasgow Herald November 23rd 1893 p. 4.) of the installation as Rector at St Andrews University of the Marquess of Bute.

13 Glasgow Herald November 15th 1890 p. 10.

the political divisions created in rectorial elections, Goschen's return to Edinburgh was reported as a Unionist triumph with the Liberal students, revealing 'to staring citizens the marks and smears, grotesquely varied, which their clothes had received in the fight'.¹⁴

Although Goschen spoke at Edinburgh on 'The use of Imagination in Study and in Life' his visit there had political overtones. On the evening of his return up to two thousand students, some in costume, processed in celebration.¹⁵ Newspapers saw the events not only in their political perspective but also as a spectacle with comic overtones. On the same day in Glasgow the results of the rectorial elections were reported as a clear result for A J Balfour. The elections had been lively, with an abundance of posters even on the trams and the usual ubiquitous peasmeal fights. The Herald also commented that the previous election of 1887 had been clearly political with the Chancellor, the Earl of Stair, using his casting vote for Lytton against Rosebery.¹⁶

Yet these elections, in mimicking the national two party system, tied participants into recognition of the political status quo. Also, although there were contentious elective elements in rectorial elections and installations, the actions of the rectors usually caused little political difficulty. While the Marquess of Bute's disputes with St Andrews' Principal Donaldson

14 Glasgow Herald November 17th 1890 p. 5.

15 Glasgow Herald November 17th 1890 p. 5.

16 Glasgow Herald November 17th 1890 p. 5.

caused adverse¹⁷ comment in the papers and in the House of Commons. A Scott Lowson has found nothing in the Marquess of Bute's papers to show political bias in his actions when in St Andrews.¹⁸ After their elections rectors found that they enjoyed bipartisan support. W E Gladstone recorded in his diary that at his Glasgow inaugural speech on the 5th of December 1879 'the blue caps as well as the red cheered fervently at the close.'¹⁹

Thus rectorial installations featured at least as much unifying civic ritual as divisive scuffles. W E Gladstone was made an honorary burgess of the City of Glasgow on the day of his installation.²⁰ Gladstone was welcomed at Buchanan Street Station by the ex-Provost Sir James Watson, and 'no more enthusiastic demonstration ever greeted a Statesman than was witnessed at the railway station and along the route thence to Woodside Terrace.'²¹ In the audience for Gladstone the next day the students and public were allocated spaces and a special platform was erected for particular guests. The University's professors were accompanied notably by other leading academics but also by other important figures in

17 A Scott Lowson 'Principal Sir James Donaldson: Education and Political Patronage in Victorian Scotland'. University of St Andrews Phd Thesis 1988, pp. 401-2.

18 *ibid* A Scott Lowson, 'Principal Donaldson' p. 394.

19 Matthew H C G, editor The Gladstone Diaries Vol IX (9), January 1875 to December 1880. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1986. p. 464.

20 James Nicol, compiler, The Addresses of the Rht Hon William Ewart Gladstone when installed honorary burgess of the City and Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow: together with Glasgow's appreciation of his statesmanship and services. Robert Anderson, Glasgow 1902.

21 *ibid* Nicol p. 73.

the Glasgow area. The Provosts of Glasgow, Govan, Greenock and Hillhead were present. Ex Provosts of Glasgow and Council members mixed with Church Moderators, Members of Parliament and ministers of religion. To the front of the platform sat the Earls of Airlie, Rosebery and Glasgow along with the Bishop of Durham, Lords Moncrieff and Young, Sir A Grant, Professors Balfour, A C Ramsay, Lister, and Mr Cochran Patrick and Mr J Morley. These twelve were to receive the honorary degree of L.L.D.²² Gladstone on the same day spoke at a luncheon in his honour and later to seven thousand at the St Andrews Halls and another three thousand at the City Halls.²³ Thus large numbers of university and city leaders joined together in associating themselves with a popular national figure, whose aura reinforced the legitimacy both of the institution of higher learning and the municipality.

Alongside this broad benefit to university and city existed socially narrower, but still significant, gains to the rectors and top members of the civic and university elites. Rectors' installations gave leading politicians opportunities to appear in the public eye in a neutral non partisan situation and to have this activity reported favourably in the press. It allowed them the chance to mix with many leading figures in the political, religious, commercial and professional groups within major cities. Likewise such occasions

22 *ibid* Nicol p. 74-75.

23 Matthew The Gladstone Diaries Oxford 1986 p. 464.

allowed aristocrats and other members of the Scottish and British elites to participate prominently in a popular yet well established ritual. In these senses the universities were the means by which elite groups met and gave mutual recognition to one another on a regular basis. The shared bond of university education helped to link many of the prominent participants. The university as a whole gained from this type of impact through reaffirmed recognition of their status as ancient institutions with a key role in forming professional and political elites.²⁴ Thus in various ways rectorial installations were a means of 'mobilising consent', proposed by Steven Lukes.²⁵

Honorary Degrees

Part of these rectorial rituals involved the conferring of honorary degrees; archive material and university calendars provide useful information for assessing the changing private and public sides of this activity. Honorary degrees provide good indicators of those whom the universities thought important and those who thought such an honour worth accepting. Mutual recognition brought mutual benefit.

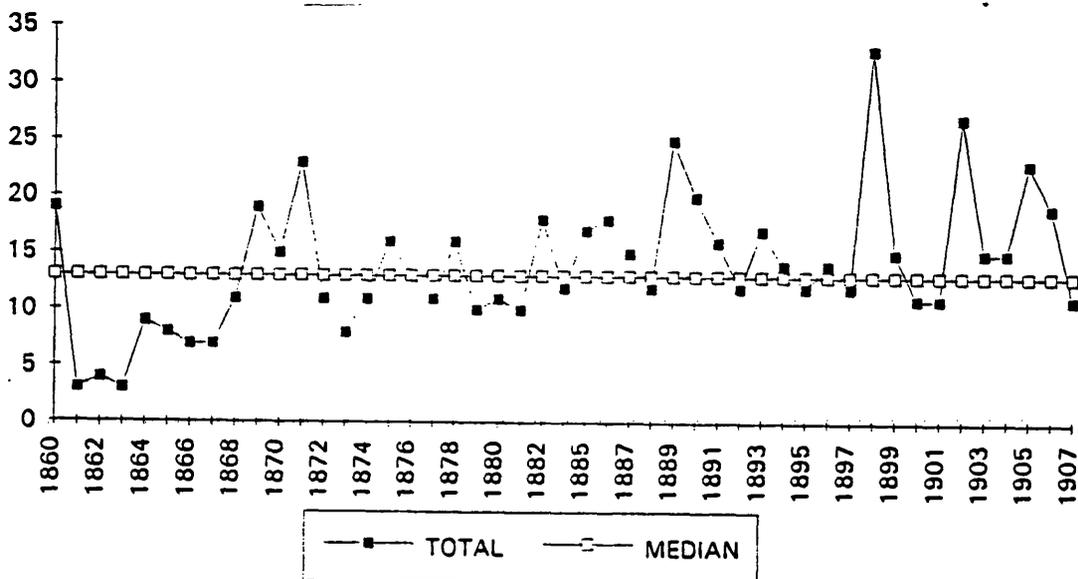
24 Carnegie Andrew A Rectorial Address, T Constable, Edinburgh. 1902. p. 48-50. Universities' desire to foster this professional elite received direct encouragement from rectors. The advice of the great industrialist Andrew Carnegie in his inauguration speech to St Andrews was that Britain, even with her Empire beside her, could not win in the sphere of economic competition. The universities should educate the mind and Britain should leave it to others to make the manufactures.

25 Lukes S Essays in Social Theory 1977, Beer. p. 71.

At Edinburgh University from 1860 onwards there was a steady increase in the numbers of honorary degrees which were used to in form increasingly close ties with local, national and overseas communities. Edinburgh figures show that although there were peaks above the median before 1880 they do not occur in the same frequency as in the later period as Figure 7.1 shows.

Figure 7.1

HONORARY DEGREES GRANTED BY EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY 1860-1907



Source: Edinburgh University Calendar ²⁶

Note: The figures for centenary in 1884 are not included in the table as there were one hundred and forty four degrees given out as part of the celebrations. At Edinburgh aristocrats and leading politicians appear as do other groups seen at Glasgow, where on average 15 honorary degrees were presented a year (excluding 1901 when 128 were granted as part of the jubilee celebrations).

This increasing tide of honorary degrees linked the universities to a broad variety of places and groups and displays the universities successful ability to overcome partisan and sectarian divisions in society, both at local and national levels. Edinburgh, for example,

²⁶ Edinburgh University Calendar 1888-89 p. 222-24 and p. 266-271. Edinburgh University Calendar 1907-8 p. 360-361 and p. 396-400.

granted honorary degrees to foreigners especially after the 1884 celebrations. That part of the purpose of such honours was university self interest was admitted at Glasgow in a letter to principal Caird from the future professor of Divinity, William Hastie, a member of the honorary degrees committee, who suggested that Glasgow should confer honorary degrees on continentals to make the university 'better known abroad'.²⁷ Academics were the most liable to gain an honorary degree but a variety of other interests were represented as seen from Table 7.1. While academics form the largest single group they were not confined to Britain and Ireland.

Table 7.1

Breakdown of Honorary Degrees conferred at Glasgow University 1897-1914

Degree	LLD	DD	TOTAL
Academics	136	28	164
Aristocrats	16	-	16
Political	27	-	27
Rectors	4	-	4
Business	1	-	1
Industry	1	-	1
Military	2	-	2
Theatre	2	-	2
Philanthropists	3	-	3
Artists	2	-	2
Professionals	9	14	23
Newspapermen	5	-	5
No Clear Description	44	72	116
TOTAL	252	114	366
of which and conferred in 1901	102	26	128

Source: Glasgow University Calendar 1953-5. p. 713-736.

27 GUA ref 4255. letter, 1 March 1890, from W Hastie to Principal Caird.

As table 7.2 shows, Europe, the Empire and other states are represented. Of those granted to academics in Glasgow itself, three went to non Church of Scotland theologians and four to academics from the Royal Technical College.

Table 7.2

Geographical Breakdown of Honorary Degrees conferred at Glasgow University 1897-1914 to Academics

Degree	LLD	DD	TOTAL	%
Scotland	37	7	44	26.83
of whom from Glasgow	(14)	(2)	(16)	
Britain and Ireland	39	10	49	29.88
Empire	7	3	10	6.1
Europe	42	5	47	28.66
US and others	11	3	14	8.54
TOTAL	136	28	164	100

Source: Glasgow University Calendar 1953-5 pp. 713-736.

Thus the granting on honorary degrees can be seen as having similarities to the growth in recognition of other universities; each was a device for reaching outwards.

The choice of honorary graduates included lay-academic co-operation and consideration of a broad range of factors. Degrees were decided through degree committees, which at Glasgow had academic and general council members,²⁸ with reports left for the approval of Senate for a two week time period.²⁹ Honorary degrees could be applied for or someone could be sponsored. The justifications for giving degrees, other than to academics, were various but included lay involvement in

²⁸ GUA Senate Minutes Vol 95. 8.11.1877 p. 163.

²⁹GUA Senate Minutes Vol 102. 24.2.1898 p. 13.

university affairs, missionary work,³⁰ philanthropy³¹ and the extension of empire³² as well as work in business, the arts³³ and municipal affairs.³⁴ Testimonials were solicited.³⁵ Also the universities gathered biographical material, and in the case of academics proof of published work, to ensure that candidates would not embarrass the reputation of the university. While not all candidates accepted,³⁶ the large number who did evidently, like the rectors, happily enjoyed the publicity and prestige associated with the process. Also, honorary degrees allowed the universities to rise above the political and sectarian divisions in society and attract support from all quarters.

Some comment on the honorary degree system was sarcastic, as in the case of John Smith, an Aberdeen graduate, ex congregational minister and editor of the Glasgow Examiner. An acquaintance on hearing that he had

30 GUA ref 4253. Letter from F. Laugham to Rev. Herbert Story telling of his missionary work in Fiji. 28.1.1903.

31 Isabella Elder LLD 1901. Glasgow University Calendar 1953-4. p. 725.

32 GUA Senate Minutes Vol 102 ref 26717. 22.6.1899. p. 161. Degree of L.L.D given to Colonel Hector MacDonal, who had distinguished himself in the recent war in Sudan. Also GUA ref 22359. letter from Professor Gregory to the Principal agreeing that it would be a good idea to award an Honorary Degree to Hon. Andrew Fisher, Federal Premier of Australia. 10 March 1911.

33 Auguste Rodin L.L.D 1906. Glasgow University Calendar 1953-4. p. 733.

34 GUA Senate Minutes Vol 95 ref 26710. 7.11.1878 p. 292. Degree of L.L.D recommended for Mr James Marwick, Town Clerk of Glasgow.

35 GUA ref 22337 Memoranda of the Candidates for the Honorary degrees of D.D. and L.L.D. with biographical notes April 1895.

36 GUA ref 4177 letter from M Waddel to Clerk of Senate refusing an honorary degree 17 Feb 1899.

been awarded an L.L.D. from Aberdeen suggested that they had made a mistake and should have given him an F.S.D. instead.³⁷ But it would seem that on the whole there was high public regard for university, as for national honours.

Universities and Literature

These positive perceptions of the universities were enhanced for many members of the public by literature which linked the universities with the past as romanticised in much of the Scottish literature of the period. R Sangster Rait's history of Aberdeen Universities, for example, closed with the allusion to the prophecy of the Rhymer according to Skinner.³⁸ Adulatory histories of the universities looked to the achievements of the past, their popularity can be linked into Irene Sweeney's comments on the 'obsession of Glasgow's city fathers with the past'.³⁹ For these works situated the progress brought about by moderate reform in the universities in a context of antiquity and stability. This image of the Scottish universities also gained from literature extolling the virtues of important individuals in university life, including not only principals (see

37 Aird Andrew Printers and Printing In Glasgow 1830-1890, Reminiscences Aird and Coghill, Glasgow, 1890. p. 19.

38 Rait R Sangster The Universities of Aberdeen. J G Bisset, Aberdeen, 1895. p. 353. According to the prophecy Old and New Aberdeen would be joined and although this was related to the burghs of Aberdeen it is here used in relation to the fusion of the two Universities of Kings and Marischal.

39 Sweeney Irene E 'The Municipal Administration of Glasgow, 1833-1912: Public Service and the Scottish Civic Identity'. University of Strathclyde Phd Thesis, 1990. p. 759.

below) but also professors and other teachers like those praised in the anonymous Reminiscences of a Student's life at Edinburgh in the Seventies.⁴⁰ Like institutional histories, these works conform to a pattern of literature which soothed the stresses of a society which had to confront rapid economic and social change. As with Kailyard novels, whose popularity should not be underestimated, these works looked to the past, in part romanticised it, and related it to the present. They maintained the identity of Scottishness, Presbyterianism and paternalism which have been identified as important aims of those in power 'in an increasingly cosmopolitan and secular city like Glasgow,' where 'tensions would inevitably develop.'⁴¹

Of course not all the literature relating to the universities was deferential. In particular, the significant number of pamphlets urging the reform of Scottish universities took quite a different tone. Yet these works were more likely to be critical of a particular aspect of examination or administration than of the institution as a whole. The reform associations, which often generated such pamphlets, like the bodies which sought university education for women, generally lost their head of steam as aims were achieved. Universities could in any case be partly distanced from delays in implementing the changes advocated by reformers

40 Alisma (anonymous) Reminiscences of a Student's life at Edinburgh in the Seventies. published in 1918.

41 Sweeney I 'The Municipal Administration of Glasgow, 1833-1912', Phd thesis 1990 p. 802.

because these changes often required royal commissioners or central government to achieve them. Also, while many people attended reform meetings, far fewer were actively involved in the detail of issues: fewer than 130 individuals presented themselves to give evidence to the Royal Commission of 1876-8.

While reform issues could create a negative impression, the positive association between universities and elites increased over the period and was fostered through ritualised events, honorary degrees and entertainments. The universities increased their prominence and prestige in the eyes of the public, in part as settings for often ostentatious civic displays at the openings of buildings or at anniversary celebrations.

Principals and Professors

The ways by which positive prominence outweighed negative impressions can be glimpsed in the role of the university principals. Three of the period's Glasgow principals, Caird, Story and MacAlister were thought worthy of biographies,⁴² reflecting the perceived local and even national importance of their office. Each was also an important figure outside the University. Caird and Story were leading Scottish divines and MacAlister was deeply involved with the General Medical Council. Yet evidently it was the combination of an ancient, yet

42 MacAlister Mrs D Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert MacMillan, London, 1935. Includes Chapters by Sir R Rait and Sir N Walker. Story J L Mrs Story's Later Reminiscences James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow 1913. Warr C Principal Caird T and T Clark, Edinburgh 1926. Published as part of the Scottish Layman's Library

still important office, with persisting outside interests that made these men interesting to contemporary readers, and increasingly valuable to the university. While active participation in society is apparent from before their appointments⁴³ as principals they were able to have a wide range of social contacts and mix with many of the wealthiest and most influential people in both their immediate communities and further afield. These contacts allowed the principals to widen and maintain contacts between their institutions and the important figures and groups in society.

Although Caird 'entertained but little, save among the purely academic circle and his intimate friends'⁴⁴ he maintained a great deal of contact with his brother Colin, a 'commercial magnate' in Greenock, suggesting persisting links with the business community.⁴⁵ Also in the New College Buildings appeal, in his oratory

he was the university's trump card in the difficult game of eliciting those great donations which the ambitious enterprise necessitated and it played him for all it was worth.⁴⁶

While the Cairds avoided socialising as much as possible,⁴⁷ the Storys went full steam ahead into the social life of Glasgow. Mrs Story recalled that they

43 Lawson A S, 'Principal Sir James Donaldson', Phd, thesis 1988. p. 426-8, Principal Donaldson of St Andrews was related through his wife to Lord Dufferin and also corresponded and stayed with Lady Breadalbane.

44 Warr Principal Caird p. 203.

45 Warr Principal Caird p. 196.

46 Warr Principal Caird p. 192.

47 Story J L Later Reminiscences Glasgow 1913 p. 134-5.

'much assisted to bridge over the gulf that had long existed between Town and Gown'. They set out to 'cultivate' 'friendly relations', 'especially with members of the City Corporation who were mostly people of importance and wealth.'⁴⁸ The Storys also show some of the widening of social activities of all the principals of the Scottish universities, though Principal Story 'did not possess the same appeal to the students that Caird had exercised, and, generally speaking, he was not popular.'⁴⁹ Clearly it was not easy for a principal to please everyone.

Principals' week⁵⁰ at Skibo Castle, the home of Andrew Carnegie, was an annual holiday at which the principals could meet and confer in relaxed surroundings.⁵¹ That setting, and major events at the university, enhanced the already elevated social contacts of the Story's, for example, allowing them to meet Gladstone, Edward VII, Queen Alexandra and the American Ambassador.⁵² Mr Story was able to tell the story of Princess Louise beating eggs to soothe the sore throat of Lord Kelvin,⁵³ indicating, if also perhaps exaggerating, the degree of familiarity between certain celebrated academics and the leading figures in society.

48 Story J L Later Reminiscences Glasgow 1913 p. 257.

49 Malloch D MacLeod The Book of Glasgow Anecdote T N Foulis, Glasgow 1912. p. 258.

50 Story J L Later Reminiscences Glasgow 1913 p. 353-4.

51 MacAlister Sir Donald MacAlister p. 192.

52 Story J L Later Reminiscences Mrs Story recalled meeting Gladstone p. 156, Rosebery p. 310, Queen Victoria p. 267, Edward VII and Queen Alexandra p. 268 - 9 amongst others.

53 Story J L Later Reminiscences Glasgow 1913 p. 356

The MacAlisters were, like the Storys, involved in a wide variety of well publicised social activities: the editor of the Glasgow Herald jested that he might inaugurate a column entitled 'The Principal day by day' as it seemed that he was always reading something to do with his activities.⁵⁴ Although the editor overstated his case there was an 'amazing spate of dinner parties' in the Glasgow area with 'speeches expected'.⁵⁵ For Principal MacAlister the position reportedly brought with it a large number of meetings in Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, Perth and Dunfermline, in addition to his many commitments as a key member of the General Medical Council.⁵⁶ Thus as the lifestyle of the Glasgow principals indicate, their social and official activities increased in volume and prominence as time passed, and on the whole, with public approval. Of course there were criticisms, notably of the principal's meetings in Perth.⁵⁷ The principals began to meet regularly in Perth and, with particular reference to Carnegie business in Dunfermline.

The principals' activities at local and national levels were tied into raising funds for the university. This function entailed making friends with wealthy and influential people in local and central government. The professors, such as Sir Henry Jones at Glasgow and Sir

54 MacAlister MacAlister of Tarbert p. 179.

55 MacAlister MacAlister of Tarbert p. 179-80.

56 MacAlister MacAlister of Tarbert p. 184.

57 Glasgow Herald 25th September 1906.

Robert Christison at Edinburgh⁵⁸, also played a role in social and academic activities which enhanced their university's standing in society more generally. Jones at Glasgow delivered lectures to businessmen in the city on 'Social Responsibilities', through these he 'enjoyed the friendship of many of his colleagues in the university and of other engaged in business in the city.'⁵⁹ Christison on two occasions averted the worst effects of riots in the university precincts through his influence with the police authorities⁶⁰ and he was friendly with both Gladstone and Disraeli in later years.⁶¹

Centenaries, Jubilees and Celebrations

Public ritual at centenary celebrations and jubilees and press and other reports of these events also played a major role in enhancing public perceptions of the Scottish universities.⁶² As at rectorial addresses, the large size of the crowds at celebrations, and the enthusiastic reception given by the public enhanced the status of the university. These major events involved

58 Hetherington H The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones Hodder and Stoughton, London 1924.

Christison Edited by his Sons The Life of Sir Robert Christison, Bart. in 2 Volumes. W Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh. Volume 1, Autobiography 1885. Volume 2, Memoirs 1886.

59 Hetherington H Sir Henry Jones p. 89-90.

60 Christison Sir Robert Christison, Vol 2 p. 72-3.

61 Christison Sir Robert Christison, Vol 2, chpt XII.

62 Record of the Ninth Jubilee of the University of Glasgow 1451-1901 Introduction by Principal R H Story. P J Anderson, editor Record of the Quatercentenary 1906 Aberdeen University Studies: No 29. Aberdeen 1907. Sydney Marsden A Short Account of the Tercentenary Festival of the University of Edinburgh William Blackwood Sons, Edinburgh, 1884.

the students and staff in further ceremonies with the leading figures in the British aristocracy, religious groups, politicians, industrialists, and those involved in commerce and the professions. These lay links to the community at home were paralleled, through foreign guests, in contacts with the Empire and other countries overseas, which could be followed up subsequently. Reports of these events list, in addition to the guests, the order in which they processed in the ceremonies and texts of the main speeches, making it possible to assess the relative importance of individuals and groups.

The three main anniversary and jubilee events in the period, at Edinburgh in 1884, Aberdeen in 1906 and Glasgow in 1901 - were all reported in the Glasgow Herald and The Scotsman. In each case the celebrations lasted several days, with the reporting running to several columns per day. Newspapers reported not only the progress of events and the speeches but also the reactions of the public and the general scenes. These press accounts, unlike the biographies of principals and the souvenirs of jamborees written by outsiders, provide some check on some of the biases of other sources discussed in this chapter.

The three celebrations shared similar patterns of events. There were receptions for delegates from home and abroad, church services, processions of students and academics with their guests, banquets given by the universities and by the civic authorities, student

symposiums, firework displays and dances. The Edinburgh festivities of 1884 lasted from the 15th of April until the 18th and included twenty official events, nine of these being organised by non university institutions.⁶³ At Glasgow for the 1901 jubilee there were nine major events from the 12th to the 14th of June; while at Aberdeen five years later eighteen official events were supplemented by fourteen additional occasions between the 23rd and the 28th of September. The elaborateness of the displays at the universities enhanced their status. In addition, the Glasgow celebrations could exploit the international standing and commercial power of Glasgow as they coincided with an international exhibition, over whose site the university buildings dominated. Addresses and delegates from all the British, Dominion and Empire universities are seen along with those representing all the major European states, those of the Americas and Japan. Academic and civic grandeur reinforced each other

The banquets at these celebrations were on a large scale: 2,500 at Aberdeen, 1,080 at Edinburgh and a more modest 400 at Glasgow,⁶⁴ where the occasion was a jubilee rather than a centenary. The Aberdeen banquet was gifted to the university by Lord Strathcona and was exceptional in its size although it had a precedent in

63 *ibid* Marsden p. vii-viii.

64 P J Anderson Record of the Quatercentenary p. 194. Marsden Tercentenary Festival of the University of Edinburgh p. 110. Principal Story Record of the Ninth Jubilee of the University of Glasgow 1451-1901 p. 120.

the Peel banquet at Glasgow in 1837, when the guests numbered around 3,000.⁶⁵

The guest lists recorded many academics from home and abroad, dignitaries from local and central government, and representatives of the established church. Aristocrats and other titled persons, foreign ambassadors such as the American Ambassador to St Petersburg⁶⁶ who attended the Glasgow Jubilee. University celebrations brought to their respective cities a large number of foreign guests along with representatives from the rest of Britain and the Empire. As foreign universities held celebrations of a similar type a mutual recognition, on an international scale, brought different foreign and British social elite groups together, bonding them through a common set of rituals. Key local and Scottish institutions were not neglected, for example, at the laying of the foundation stone for the New College buildings at Glasgow in 1868, the Clydesdale Bank donated notes for a bottle which was to be buried under the foundation stone,⁶⁷ displaying an association between university and bank that would not have occurred if either side had not respected the other's importance. That they would perceive their own importance as being increased is completely understandable. These occasions were portrayed as a

65 Cleland J A Description of the Banquet in honour of The Rht Hon Sir Robert Peel. John Smith and Sons, Glasgow 1837.

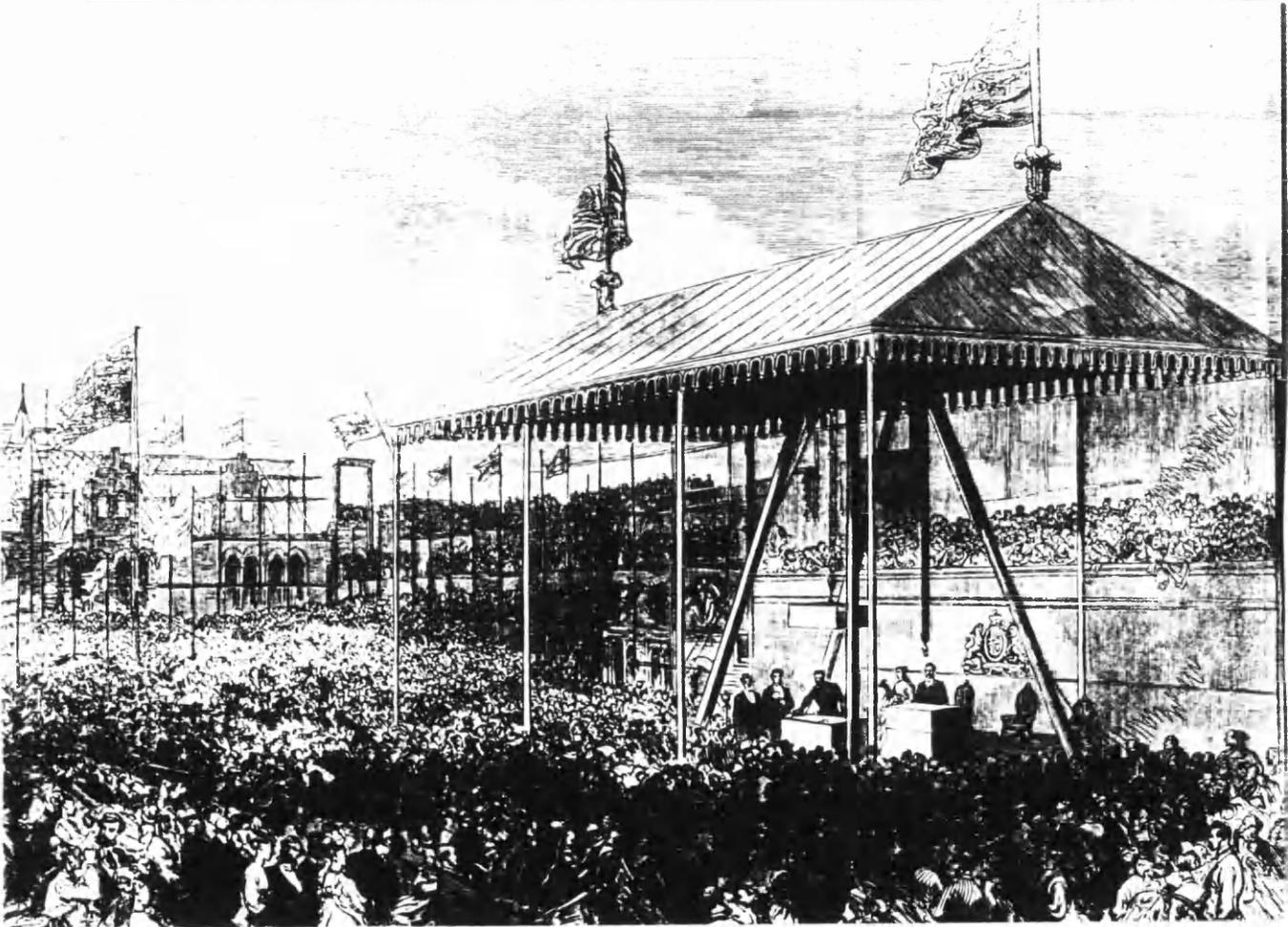
66 Principal Story Record of the Ninth Jubilee of the University of Glasgow 1451-1901 p. 120.

67 GUA ref, NCB 6021. 7 October 1868.

glittering success socially and politically for the universities and their cities. They enhanced the reputations and perceived value of the universities as assets within their immediate communities and in the nation at large, whether that be conceived as Scotland or Britain. Some of these occasions received the ultimate seal of approval: active royal patronage.

Figure 7.2.

The laying of the Foundation Stone by HRH the Prince and Princess of Wales at the University of Glasgow.



Source: London Illustrated News Oct 27th 1868.

The Prince and Princess of Wales laid the foundation stone of the new Glasgow buildings in 1868 and the Queen would have attended but for a Fenian conspiracy to

assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh.⁶⁸ These events had a particular splendour but even lesser university events drew the universities into the public eye. As the illustration in Figure 7.2 shows the event was attended, in a splendid setting, by large numbers and attracted wide interest from others beyond as well as within Glasgow.

Like the rituals, the speeches and, for the most part, the press reports of these festive occasions reinforced the positive ties between the universities and their communities. In the celebrations of 1884 leading figures in Edinburgh lauded praise on the university. The Lord Provost commented that 'our chief industry is education',⁶⁹ and an editorial argued that the University 'belongs to the city by right of parentage'. It also pointed to the end of the thirty years war between the Council and the Senate in which 1858 had seemed a humiliation for the former. This latter comment suggests the way in which the relations between the university and city had improved as the paternalistic attitudes of the latter toward the former were rehabilitated. Over the following days full descriptions were given of the events, such as the street decorations and illuminations, the new Anatomical buildings, and the speeches and toasts and potted biographies of distinguished visitors.⁷⁰ Lists of guests attending the dinner and descriptions of the receptions by the Royal

68 GUA ref, NCB 5950. 29 April 1868.

69 The Scotsman 14.4.1884.

70 The Scotsman 17.4.1884.

Medical Society and the Faculty of Advocates ended with the comment

If the English Universities turn out Scholars,
Scottish Universities turn out thinkers,
and there can be no question as to the
more desirable training.⁷¹

Not all the comments on the celebrations were adulatory: questioning appeared about levels of attendance by students and the universities' powers as institutions. This criticism was strategically placed opposite to a full page devoted to the rise and progress of Edinburgh University. It was commented that

unless Universities are willing to meet the demands of the culture of the time, they will find that such privileges that remain to them are no longer surrounded with any artificial sanctity in the eyes of the nation, and any number of centuries honourable association will stand for little.⁷²

At the Glasgow Jubilee in 1901 the Scottish universities in 1901 were seen as falling behind but the fault was seen not only with the 'University officers' but in addition the 'General Public who are slow to ask "will siller da'et"?⁷³ Clearly the need for change was publicly perceived in the period before the 1889 Act which opened the universities up to more lay control. In the later period, even with greater lay influence, awareness of the financial problems of the universities, and the potential role of their communities in helping

71 The Scotsman 19.4.1884.

72 The Scotsman 15.4.1884.

73 Glasgow Herald 15.6.1901, p. 6 Translated as Will silver do it.

solve them, continued. In spite of these comments the overwhelming picture was of positive progress and respect.

The 1884 Edinburgh Tercentenary received very full coverage in both the Glasgow Herald and The Scotsman although there was less space given over in the Herald but this local bias of the papers is also seen in the reports of the 1901 Jubilee at Glasgow which had less coverage in The Scotsman than the Herald. The Glasgow Herald described the preparations for the events, the graduation ceremony, the church service and the foreign guests present at the luncheon for the opening of the new university buildings, which had been fully described in an earlier edition.⁷⁴ On the 18th the 'monster banquet' was reported with the welcome of the public.

Sometimes very large numbers participated in these rituals. A report of the students' procession in Glasgow in 1901 noted that

another feature which seemed to excite much comment was the great interest taken in the proceedings by the citizens. The return journey was made between lines of cheering spectators as far as Charing Cross. While a considerable number more accompanied the procession through the park.⁷⁵

Such participation was complementary to the many more exclusive parts of the celebrations. Even most public events drew disproportionately from the wealthier middle and upper classes. Also, some events were very exclusive, notably the closing jubilee municipal banquet

74 Glasgow Herald 12th to 17th April 1884.

75 Glasgow Herald 12.6.1901, p. 6

in Glasgow, where the Lord Provost, the Principal, the Corporation and the university elite fraternised.

Overall though, as at the Edinburgh tercentenary, the attitude to universities was positive and acrimony limited.

Newspaper Coverage

Although celebrations allowed for largely positive comments about the universities, newspapers commented on university affairs on a regular basis. Issues concerning the universities were never far from the eye of the press. Press comments were both critical and positive⁷⁶ as over the issue of religious tests in the 1850s. Thus outside of the great events a less harmonious picture emerges. Yet comments were usually directed at particular individuals.

Just how far can comments about individuals be seen as reflecting views about the institutions? As Lowson points out, Donaldson was criticised in the press over appointments and the Court at St Andrews was criticised for its behaviour.⁷⁷ Both reports relate to the university and its administrators but individuals were the targets and so the question arises as to whether the institution itself was at fault in the public eye. Probably St Andrews was seen as at fault by the public and this could affect its reputation. In the long run, though, institutions outlived their teachers and

76 R M W Cowan The Newspaper in Scotland 1815 - 1860.

G Outram and Co Ltd, Glasgow, 1946. p. 347.

77 Lowson A S 'Principal Sir James Donaldson' p. 404. quote in The Scotsman 9.9.1897. and p. 401 quote in The Scotsman 6.6.1897.

administrators and seemed to project overall a favourable picture of development and adaptability to changing circumstances. How much this was due to the covering up of potential problems is another matter.

Two methods were used to approach the analysis of regular newspaper coverage of universities over the period. The first entailed covering the references to universities in the indexes for the Glasgow Herald and the London Times.⁷⁸ These generally consisted of entries related to exam and bursary results, rector's speeches, endowments and retirements, though they also included more unusual reports such as the restoration of Bishop Elphinstone's tomb in Aberdeen.⁷⁹

A more sustained method was used to cover the Glasgow Herald and The Scotsman. This involved looking at a particular month in a number of years (1860, 1890 and 1910) to ascertain patterns in coverage quantity, precedence of topics, and the balance between critical and positive comment. April was chosen and additional months and years were chosen at random, as were particular dates which corresponded to the major events already analysed.

In The Scotsman reports for April 1860, 1890 and 1910 covered a variety of themes at Edinburgh and Glasgow. There were general council meetings which had relatively low turnouts of around 266 at Edinburgh in 1860 and only 53 at Glasgow in 1910. Business at the Edinburgh meeting

78 The Glasgow Herald Index 1910, Glasgow 1910. The Times Annual Index, J Parkinson Bland, London, 1910.

79 Glasgow Herald 28.3.1910.

in 1860 revolved around the patronage issue with a vote defeating the council's attempts to remove this from the Town.⁸⁰ The issue at the Glasgow meeting in 1910, where the Principal was presiding, was that graduates were not being allowed to teach.⁸¹ Although the court were not against the idea, they were constrained by ordinance, and Professor Latta proposed that the Education committee drop the matter. The paper did not comment on the professional interest that Professor Latta would have had in the matter being dropped.

In 1860 ordinances, the Edinburgh general council meeting, the installations of Lord Rector Gladstone and Chancellor Brougham appeared as did the silence of the Aberdeen press over the fusion issue. In 1890 the reports were limited to the Queen Margaret Guild tea party, which had insufficient members, and the general council's considerations that £4,000 would be needed to endow the chair of Pathology. As the period progressed reporting increased so that 1910 had the widest and most detailed coverage of the general council proceedings on necessary changes to medical examinations and the need for consultation with the general council in Glasgow. Most reports were limited to the university of the town in which the newspaper was published.

In the years of the University Acts in 1858 and 1889 there was remarkably little comment on the passage of the Bills in Parliament. Letters critical of the Association

80 The Scotsman 18.4.1860. Edinburgh General council.

81 The Scotsman 28.4.1910. p. 9. Glasgow General Council.

of Graduates were written by an anonymous medical graduate who attacked the Association for its lack of initial consultation and openly declared that named members had no knowledge of its proceedings and denied that it had any real support amongst the medical profession.⁸² This was replied to and refuted by Andrew Mure on the 1st of February when he stated that the Association had the support of medical graduates and that from its foundation in 1854 it had held meetings in all the university towns. In 1889 the coverage for April was limited to the problem in Edinburgh of the University's unwillingness, backed by the general council⁸³, to have the botanical gardens transferred into its custody.⁸⁴

Like The Scotsman, the Glasgow Herald could have very little coverage of events and even less comment in the form of editorial criticism or praise. The general themes in the press were not negative and universities were portrayed in neutral or positive ways even in their day-to-day business. The comments of reformers and the negative coverage were more likely to be directed at an individual or a particular group which had an association with one university or all of them. In some respect the public, press and students could allow themselves to be highly ignorant of their own environment. For example, at the installation of John Bright as Lord Rector at Glasgow in 1883, he pointed out that forty one families out of every hundred living in Glasgow lived in houses of

82 The Scotsman 30.1.1858 and 2.2.1858.

83 The Scotsman 20.4.1889. p. 6.

84 The Scotsman 6.4.1889. p. 8.

only one room. 'He was greeted with howls of derision by his audience and his remarks were seized on by the press and public as a revelation'.⁸⁵ If the people of Glasgow could stick their collective heads in the sand over the issue of overcrowding, only fourteen years after abandoning the traditional site of their University because of its cramped and insanitary condition, then it could be considered that they could be equally blind to problems related to their university.

Spectacle though, was what the general public was most likely to read about. In the debate over reform magazines, such as The Museum, which was started to discuss education, literature and science, avoided the debate. If an academic magazine avoided this then it is hard to gauge to what extent material was covered up from the attention of the public. At Glasgow the letters from Mrs Elder concerning her donation to the University were kept strictly private.⁸⁶ Court business could be kept closed to public scrutiny. The court and senate dispute at Edinburgh, as discussed in a previous chapter, remained private. This ability to keep some of the embarrassing items out of the press helped lay and academic administrators to maintain a public face of solidarity. The letters seen in The Scotsman of 1858 about the Graduates association and the letters in the

85 J F McCaffrey, introduction by of Shadow, Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs being sketches of the life in the streets and wynds and dens of the City of Glasgow 1858. Glasgow University Press, Glasgow 1976. p. 14. Shadow was the pseudonym of Alexander Brown.

86 Glasgow University Archives DC 233/2/4/4/48 to 53.

Glasgow Herald of 1906 over the lack of consultation, concerning the reports emanating from the Principals meetings in Perth, show that the picture was one where lack of information and open discussion of policy was being questioned throughout the period. The questioning though was on a very limited level for as Irene Sweeney points out, about the voluntary concerns of the elites in Glasgow 'Power, not politics, was the central focus of all these institutions, and the Town Council was no exception.'⁸⁷

Thus, even with the occasional questioning of the universities it appears that generally they were perceived and portrayed in a positive and progressive light although one biographer talked of the 'accomplished but somewhat pampered Senatus'⁸⁸ of Edinburgh. Very few people were actually deeply involved in the administration and published tensions over lack of power and consultation seem to have been at the back of most of the criticisms of universities in the press. Criticism though was swamped by the majority of published material which displayed university development in progressive terms, even when comment called for improvement. The

87 Sweeney I Phd thesis 1990 'The Municipal Administration of Glasgow' p. 833. The University is not included directly in her list as an 'integral part of the elite social structure'. Probably the universities should be included in such a list for all the university cities. Major events connected with the universities were opportunities for elites to mix and be involved in ritual, emphasising their prestige and influence.

88 J C Watt John Inglis Lord Justice General of Scotland, A Memoir. William Green and Sons, Edinburgh 1893. p. 190.

detailed description of great events and other regular activities, on the public and private fronts, including fashions, royal gossip or reassurance that those in the universities were moral and respectable members of the community could be packaged to meet the requirements of a particular readership.

Despite criticisms the institutions themselves were not as much the subject of attack as individuals and certain groups and organs of administration within them. Also, such criticism could be an inevitable result of the squabbles that emerge in the internal politics of institutions. The universities had the advantage that these could and did change.

While avoiding an overtly political stance the universities and their representatives were willing and able members of the institutions of the establishment. The universities developed their activities to enable them to do this and in doing so their administrators and major representatives entered into a full range of socially acceptable activities in public and private. These could benefit both their institutions and their own social advancement. As the educational role of the universities was extended so the value of their degrees increased amongst professionals and their associations. As a result the universities' position could only be strengthened by larger numbers of graduates who would want improved standards thereby maintaining the value of their degrees.

Graduations, the installation of rectors and chancellors along with centenaries and jubilees were all responsible for enhancing the image of the universities locally and nationally. Their ritual tied them into the framework of the State and Empire and was generally seen by contemporaries as part of a positive interpretation of social progress. Scotland as a nation had few national institutions. There was no parliament in Edinburgh around which political ritual could take place and the Royal family spent a limited time in the country, usually on holiday. Even the Established Church of Scotland had limited ceremonial and this was certainly true of the majority of dissenting groups as well. Universities may therefore have increasingly been playing a more important role in Scottish society, for both elites and the general public, than was maybe the case in England. For those in the Scottish elite they provided a place for ritual that was non political and in many respects relatively secular. Leading members of the community, at local and national levels, could and did use university events to boost their prestige and this reflected on the universities' towns and regions. In this the universities enhanced their status over time and maintained recognition of their importance, as local and national institutions, by the public at large and the elite in the community.

Eight: Conclusion

This thesis has examined the relationships between the Scottish universities and the community during the period between the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858 and the First World War. The 1858 Act brought into existence bodies such as the university courts and general councils which, especially after further reforms in 1889, allowed for greater lay input into, and influence over, university affairs in Scotland. The Scottish university system was a national one with traditions different to those of both the ancient and civic universities of England, which have received greater attention, and as such the situation in Scotland requires analysis. Also although recent university history has blamed universities for contributing to Britain's poor economic position, the focus on allegedly failed university support for industry has led to a neglect of university relations with the broader community. As Raven notes, a new historical analysis is needed to avoid the danger of recent years, where much historical material has been culled by politically motivated groups seeking to gather 'evidence' which places educational history in a negative and anti-business light. It is important to avoid material being used to 'justify present actions'.¹ As such the thesis aimed to assess whether the universities were successful in catering for the needs of their

¹ Raven J 'British History and the Enterprise Culture', Past and Present, No 123, May 1989. p. 178-204. p.204.

communities and if they were perceived to be doing so by their contemporaries.

The thesis aimed to test whether changed relationships between Scottish universities and the community stimulated the universities in a positive way allowing them to adapt to changes in society's requirements in its demands for higher education. An important part of this analysis of links between the university and the community was to test whether links were more complex and diverse than much of the previous literature concerning Scottish universities had implied.

The issues of reform which affected the Scottish universities in the nineteenth century clearly saw the transformation of relationships with the community at local and national levels. The universities were extracted from the worst aspects of clerical domination and the system of political patronage. They displayed greater accountability and adapted to the many changes demanded of them from groups and organised associations in the community who advocated and agitated for reform. As a result interest groups in their communities were able to influence their development in a manner not seen previously. Some in these groups could, by the end of the period, legitimately take part in university government through the university courts and general councils. The general councils provided a symbolic link to large numbers of middle-class Scots and, for the most active graduates a role in influencing university policy. Their input to the university courts alongside academic,

student and other lay representatives allowed links to central government and the voluntary sector at the same time.

From the analysis of court members it can be seen that the reforms which linked university government tightly to the community allowed the upper and comfortable middle classes to participate jointly in university affairs. While this was in a sense socially restrictive, social mobility meant that the courts included men whose social origins were lower. The courts were arenas for different social and economic groups to mix socially through the activities of university administration and in special events. They provided a place in Scottish society for a variety of interest groups, professional, landed, commercial and industrial, to gain representation and influence in the affairs of the community. Court members were drawn not only from the locale of the universities but also from Scottish and British elite groups at large, from local professionals such as the Reverend John Smith and D C McVail in Glasgow to national political figures such as the Duke of Montrose, Gladstone and Disraeli. Courts also showed as great a diversity in the religious backgrounds of members as in their political leanings. By the end of the period the courts included emerging professional groups such as accountants, along with those with interests in business, commerce and industry, such as Lord Strathcona and J N Cuthbertson. These groups shared power with elite groups more traditionally associated with influencing administration such as the

older professions of the church, law and medicine, who acted with those from landed, aristocratic and political backgrounds. Court activity gave members influence and probably added to their prestige by showing that, in spite of work commitments, they had the time and means to attend, which they continued to do regularly, on a voluntary basis, even as court meetings increased markedly in number and complexity. Thus the courts provided a cheap and efficient administration for the universities while linking them to a variety of social groups, which the courts helped to integrate, at the local, Scottish and United Kingdom levels.

It can be readily seen from the sources that the Scottish universities were not isolated from either the local or the national communities. They were actively involved in both local and national government through the developing educational system from at least 1860, when university courts appointed inspectors of schoolmasters. In their administrations the universities became successfully involved with other educational institutions both locally and further afield, including veterinary schools, technical colleges and overseas institutions and universities. This was achieved through recognition of growing educational provision in Britain, the Empire, Europe and the United States. In the universities, as in other areas of Scottish social administration, individual and voluntary activity played an important role, adding to the efficiency of the

system but also making it exclusive to those who could afford to act within it.

As prime examples of elite groups² acting in a voluntary system, the Scottish university court members can be contrasted favourably with the governing bodies of the English civic universities as studied by Jones.³ In terms of non-academic attendance and influence on finance and curricular development the Scottish universities were able to maintain better working relations with, and more sustained input from, their lay administrators. In Scotland, court members appear to have been involved in a full range of court and university activities of a social and administrative kind; thus the notion of the universities' being isolated from their communities' outside interests and opinions must be rejected.

Admittedly courts differed to an extent from university to university. Aberdeen, as a more isolated urban area, displayed more obvious family connections in the administration of the university than was to be seen at the other three. This reflects the more close-knit urban elite on which Aberdeen could draw for voluntary input and participation. Edinburgh usually had a greater input from the professional groups than the other universities, reflecting the dominance of professionals in Edinburgh society. Glasgow, on the other hand, had

2 Anderson R D Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800 Studies in Economic and Social History 1992, Macmillan Press, London, 1992. p. 11.

3 Jones D R The Origins of the English Civic Universities: Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool. Routledge, London, 1988.

more aristocrats and landed members in the early period, but this gave way to more contributions from industry and commerce. It can be concluded that university administrations' voluntary input reflected the local structure of elite groups, and that these could alter over time, as the balance of interest groups altered. Yet despite these variations all the courts featured significant lay input.

Naturally variations in the universities' relationships with their communities did not stop at the composition of the courts. Yet the universities, while reflecting in their policies differences in their communities, were evolving along similar lines. While St Andrews University was not centred in a major urban area, its administration sought to follow the other three universities and increase student numbers by drawing on the nearby city of Dundee. St Andrews' links to Dundee College showed that interest in technical education was not avoided by the university. St Andrews did not oppose either increased civic input to the university's administration by Dundee councillors. The hinterland of each university placed demands on universities which they largely met, notably through the participation of court and senate members on many institutional boards, a role which strengthened the universities' influence and heightened their prestige in the community. When seen in the context of the size of their urban hinterlands, Glasgow, being in the largest, experienced the greatest demands and opportunities for

participation while in Edinburgh the numbers of organisations were smaller. For Aberdeen and St Andrews it can be speculated that demands were more localised, reflecting the economic, social and administrative structures of their surrounding areas.

In their financial dealings the universities, while receiving more state support by the end of the period, were increasingly involved with their communities as their finances became more complex. Court members, in comparison to those of the English civics, increasingly controlled property and actively questioned financial affairs. Through their expertise they increased the efficient use of university resources which allowed the universities to expand facilities. While moving away from dependence on more traditional sources of income the universities became major share holders with a stake in the success of the economy in their locality and farther afield.

Levels of local input can also be gauged by the Scottish universities' schemes for building which not only expanded their facilities but were also seen to be of great local and regional importance by contemporary observers in newspapers and other publications. In the fund raising for, and execution of, expansion the university administrations' strategy involved people with professional, commercial and industrial backgrounds along with landed and aristocratic interests. This highlights the universities' ability to manipulate a variety of people with great wealth and influence while

maintaining a broad input and support from the public. The Scottish universities were far more successful, in terms of philanthropic appeals, than their ancient counterparts of Oxford and Cambridge⁴. This is remarkable, since Oxford and Cambridge could naturally have expected to draw support from the wealthy elite which frequented them. Yet, while supposed Oxbridge wealth might put donors off, in Scotland low fees, the myth of the 'lad o pairts' and the traditional concept of public support for education could be combined with a variety of other motives to inspire donors to give. The Scottish universities attracted support from a wide range of people in their local communities and further afield in direct competition with other educational institutions in Scotland which were pressing demands for money. Glasgow could be seen as a clear success. Aristocratic patronage is apparent in appeals in both Edinburgh and Glasgow but Glasgow appears to have had a wider cross section of donors by class and occupation. Philanthropic funding shows universities' ability to target successfully specific social and economic groups to support development. This again dispels the notion of the universities as being isolated, and clearly shows their knowledge of, and policy of using, different fundraising techniques. Administrative strategy involved in fundraising was complex and highly successful. Here again the universities, while using similar methods to

4 Dunbabin J P D 'Oxford and Cambridge College Finances 1871-1913'. Economic History Review 2nd Series, Vol 28, 1975, p.631-647.

raise money, adapted to the economic and social differences of their urban areas. As a result university fund raising deepened reciprocal relationships with their communities: the universities gained directly, and the new buildings, to which large numbers of non-graduates as well as alumni had contributed, added to the prestige of their cities and regions. Universities were also the recipients of large numbers of gifts and this reinforces the levels of concrete support by the community.

In part, building and curricular development followed a rational adherence to the universities' established and enduring market specialisms, avoiding wasteful duplication of the offerings of other types of institutions. Increasingly the universities became tied to each other in similar and co-ordinated patterns of provision. Their links to other educational institutions, through court and senate activities allowed them to be aware of the types and levels of competition which they faced. The implications of this are to be seen in how the universities approached change. Change could be partly driven by one university taking action while at other times joint inaction, such as preventing Arts degree reforms, reflected university courts' realisation that central government had to take a leading role in such matters. Thus university lay and academic administrators were aware of the problems of internal self interest and bias against change. In doing so they showed the need for some further external input into administration from central government.

University administrations allowed for joint consultation between universities and the central authorities. The problem of limited consultation on policy formation by the end of the period may have begun to emerge as power was delegated to principals joint meetings, but this problem appears to have been limited.

The university authorities had strong links with the industrial and commercial as well as the professional sectors of the community in part through the courts and less, but more broadly, the general councils. These bodies enquired into curricular and examination development and approved and ratified university financial decisions and some appointments. Philanthropy also produced close ties; at Glasgow for instance, industrialists were involved in the committee to raise money and plan the new engineering laboratory as well donating equipment. True, the dominant types of business and industrial concerns involved differed in each university city, Glasgow had more businessmen and figures from heavy industries to draw on than Aberdeen, for example, but all the universities formed close links with leaders from their local economies.

Thus if the universities sometimes did not choose to develop in a manner reflecting interests of industrialists and businessmen, it was not because the institutions had no contact with business groups or because the latter lacked influence on universities. Of more importance were lack of resources, legislative restraints, the absence of clear and properly funded

government policy, and the universities' rational concentration on courses (such as in medicine and arts) where they had a commercial advantage and academic lead. Lack of state support in these courses was less problematic than in developing science and engineering which required greater investment in laboratories and running costs and in which the initial return in fees could be modest. The Government, and especially the Treasury, repeatedly ignored numerous ancient and modern precedents of government aid and forced universities to broadly rely on their own resources up to the 1890s. Despite this the policies of the Scottish universities in this period allowed them to satisfy the demands of society, including many businessmen, by expanding student numbers and offering a broader range of subjects. A good deal of curricular development, in Glasgow especially, favoured regional industrial specialisms in engineering achieved in the face of competition from expanding and developing technical colleges. More drastic expansion and diversification would have been at the universities' own considerable financial risk. Within philanthropic activity ceremony and ritual can be seen to have allowed social interaction. Without their aiming to develop these activities the universities would have been more isolated from the community and the support which it gave.

More generally ritual provided another important link between the universities and the community. Such rituals occurred at rectorial installations, graduation

ceremonies, jubilees, openings of buildings and social events. The Strathcona banquet at Aberdeen and the participation of major civic leaders in jubilee celebrations and inauguration events show how they were used by universities to heighten their public profile. They allowed visible interaction between academics and university administrators on the one hand, and royalty, the aristocracy, politicians, business people, professionals, visiting academics and many members of a broader, if probably largely middle-class public, on the other. Like philanthropic events, such rituals promoted a heightened respectability and prestige for the universities in the eyes of the public while, like court meetings, promoting interaction among elite groups which at other times had little to do with each other. The impact of university ceremonies was also heightened by their links to national identity and, in particular, to resurgence in interest in Scottish culture and history in the nineteenth century. On a national level the universities were the only pre-1707 institutions, other than the courts and the church, where ceremony and ritual had some historical basis. University ceremony was more openly visible and respectable than legal ritual and it was less hindered by recent denominational strife than the limited ritual of the churches in Scotland. Through their ceremonies the universities endeavoured to strengthen these associations while sweetening their relations with major figures of local and national standing.

Moreover the universities' rituals and ties to the local community more generally interacted positively with rising civic pride during a period of great expansion of municipal activity. From a local viewpoint the universities were sources of pride dependent on their successful policies. The growth associated with philanthropy linked the universities to localities through bursary provision in long term support while in architectural impact new university buildings added to the beauty and character of their cities. The apparent greater openness, and the courts' and general councils' attempts to meet the grievances highlighted by reformers caused increased deference to the universities. It would seem from newspapers, private records and memoirs that in public there was a high level of respect for these institutions. This reflects the expansionist and confident mood of contemporary observers, but it also reflects the universities' increasingly successful attempts to link themselves to their local communities.

It is clear that the success of the Scottish universities in this period lay with the elites contentment with them in a period which saw their involvement and interference as natural. Scottish society accepted the universities' professional products and gave solid support even in the face of competition from other areas of higher education. If the universities had not developed their relationships with the community then the levels of commitment by elites from all sections of local and national groups work in

the administrative framework would have been weakened. That elites supported them through financial aid and voluntary activity shows that the structures established by the legislation of 1858 and extended in 1889 had the confidence of these groups. The voluntary nature of these structures gave power to non academic elites, enmeshed the universities into local administrative structures and allowed development. It is clear that, even within the restrictions of limited government funding and delays in legislation, the relationships pursued by university administrations encouraged development and stimulated the Scottish universities to meet the demands of a rapidly changing commercial and industrial society.

The aloofness of the Scottish universities in recent times to look to their community for support was not apparent in the period before 1914. In considering this contemporary issue it may be that, as the structures of localities and universities change, an attempt to hark back to the patterns of the past may be irrelevant to the issues of the present. After all the universities success in the period considered was their ability to adapt to change and not rely on the patterns of the past.

Appendix 2.1

Outline of Composition and Duties of the Scottish University Courts as created by the Universities (Scotland) Acts of 1858 and 1889.

The 1858 Universities (Scotland) Act created university courts as part of a reformation of Scottish university administration and government. Their initial function was to oversee university affairs and they were composed of representatives elected and nominated by various interest groups. These reflected academic and lay members and allowed students, graduates, the Crown, academics and others to influence university administration although all the courts had a majority of lay members in that they were not employed by their respective university. The courts at the University of Edinburgh and Glasgow differed from the courts at the other Scottish universities of St Andrews and Aberdeen in both size and composition. At Aberdeen and St Andrews the courts consisted of six members ie,

LORD RECTOR elected every three years by the students
 PRINCIPAL appointed by the Crown¹
 CHANCELLOR'S ASSESSOR appointed by the Chancellor²
 RECTOR'S ASSESSOR appointed by the Rector
 GENERAL COUNCIL ASSESSOR elected for four years³
 SENATE ASSESSOR elected for four years

At Glasgow the court was seven in number, the additional member being the Dean of Faculty. The Dean of Faculty was a traditional 'visitor' to the University, the office having been initiated in the eighteenth century. Elected by the Senate of the University, he "visited" the University, in the sense that he could oversee the administration and finance from a more neutral position.

The court at Edinburgh differed in that it had eight members, the two extra being the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and a town assessor elected by the Council and Magistrates of the Burgh of Edinburgh. This Court arrangement at Edinburgh reflected the important role

1 In the case of Edinburgh this right of appointment was vested in the Curators of Patronage.

2 The Chancellor was elected for life by the graduates of the university in question and he held the right of veto over proposed changes proposed by the university administration.

3 The General Councils were created for all the universities as part of the legislation in 1858. They allowed for graduates of the universities to have a forum to air views and vote on issues. Their deliberations could be passed to the courts for consideration. General council members elected the Chancellor. Generally the Principal of a university was also described as its vice chancellor.

played by the Town Council of Edinburgh in the administration of the university by the city authorities up to 1858. This position anticipated part of the 1889 Universities (Scotland) Act which provided similar representative rights for other universities' home burgh administrations. Until 1858 the city of Edinburgh owned, controlled and developed the university. Court composition therefore reflected this past role which continued in an additional body, peculiar to Edinburgh, the Curators of Patronage.

Patronage of several Professorial chairs lay with the Curators of Patronage. Of their seven members, four were elected by the Burgh Council and three by the University Court. The Burgh had therefore a say in both groups electing the Curators. Curators of patronage remained influential throughout the period under discussion. They in particular appointed the principal: at the other universities this was a prerogative of the Crown. Thus Edinburgh was different from the other Scottish Universities in its governing arrangements, with a greater amount of potential for lay control.

To an extent this situation was altered by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889. Although the Curators of Patronage remained a feature at Edinburgh, from 1889 the four Scottish universities shared a similar form of court, with the exception of St Andrews. The subsequent courts consisted of fourteen members.

LORD RECTOR elected by the students
 PRINCIPAL appointed by the Crown or Curators
 LORD PROVOST of the University home Burgh ex officio
 CHANCELLOR'S ASSESSOR appointed by the Chancellor
 RECTOR'S ASSESSOR appointed by the Rector
 TOWN ASSESSOR ex officio
 4 GENERAL COUNCIL ASSESSORS elected for four years
 4 SENATE ASSESSORS elected for four years

The St Andrews University court differed from the other university courts because of the relationship and affiliation with Dundee College. Affiliation enlarged the Court to seventeen members these being.

LORD RECTOR
 PRINCIPAL of St Mary's College
 PRINCIPAL of the United College (of these two whichever was appointed first was the senior University Principal)
 PRINCIPAL of Dundee College
 LORD PROVOST of St Andrews
 LORD PROVOST of Dundee
 CHANCELLOR'S ASSESSOR
 RECTOR'S ASSESSOR
 2 REPRESENTATIVES of the Dundee College Council
 4 GENERAL COUNCIL ASSESSORS elected for four years
 3 SENATE ASSESSORS elected for four years

This arrangement was altered in 1897 when the agreement over affiliation between the University and the College was rewritten. By this new agreement the two

representatives of the Dundee College Council no longer sat on the Court, reducing the number of members to fifteen.

The Edinburgh University Calendar sums up the changes of this period in the definition of the University Constitution

The University is a Corporation consisting of the Chancellor, Rector, Principal, Professors, Registered Graduates and Alumni, and Matriculated Students; and from 1858-1890 its government was vested in the Senatus Academicus (consisting of the Principal and the Professors), subject to the review and control of the University Court.

By the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889, the University Court was constituted a body corporate, to which the whole property of the University at the passing of the Act was transferred, with full power of administration. The Senatus, as heretofore, regulates the teaching and discipline of the University, subject to the provisions of the Universities Acts of 1858 and 1889.⁴

⁴ Edinburgh University Calendar 1910-11 p. 13 Edinburgh 1910.

Appendix 3.1

Court Members for the Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St Andrews for the benchmark years 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910, including some short biographical descriptions of members.

GLASGOW COURT

GLASGOW COURT 1860

RECTOR Earl of Elgin, James BRUCE
 PRINCIPAL Thomas BARCLAY D.D.
 DEAN OF FACULTY J MONCRIEFF, Lrd Advocate
 CHANCELLORS ASSES John ROBERTSON D.D.
 RECTORS ASSES Thomas BUCHANAN Esq
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Andrew BANNATYNE L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof W RAMSAY M.A.

The Rector was the Earl of Elgin, Conservative with an Etonian and Oxford University education. As an important government administrator and diplomat he was absent from the country during much of his period in office, as Envoy to China and Viceroy of India. The Dean of Faculty was James Moncrieff, Lord Advocate, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates and Liberal MP for Edinburgh. He was to be Lord Rector at Glasgow 1868-71 and MP for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities from 1868. From a reformist and radical titled background (his father joined the Free Church of Scotland in 1843 and advocated Catholic emancipation) Moncrieff supported the abolition of religious tests in universities and the 1858 university legislation owed much to his efforts in Parliament. As Lord Advocate, Crown patronage in Scotland lay with his recommendation and he was the most influential figure in the Government of Scotland. Peer

The Principal, Thomas Barclay, D.D. and the Chancellors assessor, John Robertson, D.D. were both Church of Scotland ministers. Their patrons were the Crown and Duke of Montrose respectively. Robertson had studied at St Andrews and Barclay, the son of a Shetland minister, at Aberdeen. Barclay was a liberal in church affairs pressing for liturgical reform and had experience as a parliamentary and general reporter for The Times from 1818-22. William Ramsay, the senate's assessor, was Professor of Humanity at Glasgow 1831-63 and had been educated at Glasgow and Cambridge Universities. The son of a Baronet he for many years managed the finances of the university unaided. The general council assessor, Andrew Bannatyne, LL.D. was a lawyer having attended Glasgow, Edinburgh and Hiedelberg Universities. Bannatyne's father had been friendly with the philosopher Dugald Stewart and Andrew Bannatyne was one of the leading counsellors of the Liberal Party in Scotland.

Interested in university reform before 1858 he also pressed for more parliamentary and municipal reform and spoke out on the need for an Education Act for Scotland. Involved with his brother in railway business (including the Edinburgh to Glasgow line and the Ayrshire to Glasgow line) he was also employed in Parliamentary business on railways. In his legal work Bannatyne was at one point involved in twenty suits connected with the hot blast patent.

GLASGOW COURT 1870

RECTOR Rt Hon Earl of Derby, Lord STANLEY
 PRINCIPAL Thomas BARCLAY D.D.
 DEAN OF FACULTY Sir Thomas E COLEBROOKE Bt
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Andrew SYM D.D.
 RECTORS ASSES James A CAMPBELL Esq
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Anderson KIRKWOOD L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Allen THOMPSON M.D.

The Lord Rector, the Earl of Derby, was the former Tory MP, Lord Stanley, educated at Rugby and Cambridge. He held various important appointments in the Government such as Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Secretary for India. The Rector's assessor, J. A. Campbell, was deeply involved in university affairs. Member of the university court from 1869-84, he was assessor for two Rectors and Chancellor's assessor twice. Educated at Glasgow High School and Glasgow University he was a member of the university council and convener of the committee to raise funds for the re-building of the university on Gilmorehill, a post held until 1894. He was the Tory MP for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities from 1880 until he retired in 1906. He opposed his brother the liberal statesman Campbell Bannerman. From the Glasgow merchant class Campbell was a member of the University Commissions of 1876 and 1889. He was also on the committees on Scottish educational endowments and that for the Constitutions of Scottish Universities. He was also highly involved in Church of Scotland work especially interested in Sabbath schooling. The Dean of Faculty Sir Edward Colebrooke Bart was appointed to head the 1872 Royal Commission on Endowed Schools and was an MP for the constituencies of Taunton and later North Lanarkshire. Andrew Sym D.D., was the Chancellor's assessor, a Church of Scotland minister following his father in the same parish, he acted as secretary to the court from 1865-70.

The general council assessor, Anderson Kirkwood, L.L.D. was Professor of Conveyancing at Glasgow 1862-67, the chair being established in 1861. A Glasgow lawyer, he was the general council's assessor from 1867-87 and acted as secretary to the court from 1874-87. The senate's Assessor was Allen Thompson, M.D. Professor of Anatomy at Glasgow from 1848-77. Educated at Edinburgh, his father was Professor of Military Surgery at the university, having come from a humble background in Paisley. Thompson was involved with medical associations

such as the General Medical Council, he was President of the British Association and in the university was Chairman of the Building Committee for the removal of the University to Gilmorehill. He was also involved in raising money to build the block for the Medical School at Glasgow University and was responsible for much of the planning and arrangements involved.

GLASGOW COURT 1880

RECTOR Rt Hon W E GLADSTONE M.P.
 PRINCIPAL John CAIRD D.D.
 DEAN OF FACULTY James KING Esq
 CHANCELLORS ASSES J A CAMPBELL L.L.D.
 RECTORS ASSES Alexander CRUM M.P.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Anderson KIRKWOOD L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof BERRY M.A.

The Lord Rector, William Ewart Gladstone, Liberal statesman and Prime Minister, was educated at Eton and Oxford. The son of a wealthy Liverpool merchant Gladstone had been MP for Oxford University in 1846, Lord Rector at Edinburgh 1859-65 and by 1880 was MP for Midlothian. Gladstone's assessor was Alexander Crum, a Liberal MP. Educated at Glasgow and in Germany, where his father, a calico printer in Scotland, had many friends and business contacts. Crum was involved in the family textile firm of Walter Crum and Co where he introduced greater use of scientific methods and new machinery. A director of the Union Bank and chairman of the Caledonian Railway Co, Crum was elected Dean of Faculty in 1885 and was appointed to the University Commissions in the 1880s. President of Anderson's College, Crum was also heavily involved in philanthropic work for his workforce and for different churches.

John Caird D.D., was now principal having been Professor of Divinity at Glasgow from 1862-73. Educated at Glasgow Caird was the son of an engineer, head of the firm of Caird and Co, Greenock. The senate's assessor was Professor Berry, later Sheriff of Lanarkshire from 1886. Educated at Glasgow and Cambridge and from a landed background in Scotland, Berry practised law in both England and Scotland and was Professor of Law at Glasgow from 1867-84. Secretary to the Commission under the Universities (Scotland) Act 1858-63 and for the University Commission in 1876-77 he was also Dean of Faculty from 1888-96. Sir James King, Dean of Faculty 1879 and Chancellor's assessor from 1887-1904. A conservative and elder in the Church of Scotland, King had been educated at Glasgow University. Active in local government King was Lord Provost of Glasgow 1886-89, Justice of the Peace (J.P.) and Chairman of the Council planning the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition. Involved on Commissions on the Western Highlands in 1889 King was also a great philanthropist. His business interests were legion, he was chairman of the Clydesdale Bank, Caledonian Railway Co and chairman

of the Tharsis Sulphur and Copper Company. He had other interests in iron, coal, minerals and life assurance.

GLASGOW COURT 1890

RECTOR Rt Hon Earl of Lytton, G.C.B, G.C.S.I, CIE
 PRINCIPAL John CAIRD D.D.
 LORD PROVOST John MUIR
 TOWN ASSES James COLQUHOUN Esq
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Sir James KING Bt L.L.D.
 RECTORS ASSES James GRAHAME Esq
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES R W COCHRAN PATRICK L.L.D. M.P.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Hector C CAMERON M.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Sir John N CUTHBERTSON
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES David HANNAY Esq
 SENATE ASSES Prof G G RAMSAY L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Sheriff BERRY L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof LEISHMAN M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof W STEWART D.D.

The Earl of Lytton was a landowner and important figure in the Diplomatic Service. He had served in eleven European capitals, was Viceroy of India, ordering the invasion of Afghanistan, and Ambassador to Paris, where he died in 1891. Educated at Harrow and then Bonn University his father had himself been Lord Rector at Glasgow earlier in the Century.

The general council assessor, R.W. Cochran Patrick was a Unionist and Conservative MP. Dean of Faculty in 1882 he was Under Secretary for Scotland from 1887-91 and supporter of the Church of Scotland. Other general council assessors were David Hannay, a writer of law in Glasgow, Hector C. Cameron, MD and Sir John N. Cuthbertson, LL.D. Cameron was the son of a well known Demerara sugar planter. He entered medicine after study at St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. Working with Lord Lister and as a surgeon to Glasgow Royal Infirmary and later to the Western Infirmary, he was appointed in 1900 to the Chair of Clinical Surgery at Glasgow University. He was reappointed as general council assessor in 1907. Sir J N Cuthbertson, LL.D. was a native of Glasow educated at the High School, University and also at the Royal College of Versailles. A conservative he was involved in chemical and produce brokering in Glasgow. He was chairman of the School Board of Glasgow, Governor of Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College and was involved in a variety of Christian and philanthropic works. He was reappointed to the court in 1900.

Professor Ramsay, senate assessor, succeeded to the Chair of Humanity from his uncle holding the seat for 43 years. Reportedly playing an important part in the passing of the University Acts, he was a strong advocate for making bursaries competitive. Son of the 9th Baronet of Banff and educated at Rugby and Cambridge, Ramsay was a Governor of the West of Scotland Technical College, again a Governor of Hutchison's Educational Trust, interested in the administration of Alan Glen's School

and a member of the 1892-5 Commission to reorganise London University. William Leishman, senate assessor, was the son of a minister of religion. Professor of Midwifery at Glasgow from 1868-93 he was also Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Anderson's College. William Stewart, D.D., senate assessor, Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism at Glasgow from 1873-1910 was Clerk of Senate and was involved in other voluntary areas of education. He was a Governor of the Glasgow City Educational Endowments Board, a Governor of Glasgow and West of Scotland Agricultural College 1899-1908 and represented Glasgow University on the Carnegie Trust from 1901-11. He was from a small town background, his father being Registrar of births in Dalbeattie. The City of Glasgow was represented by the liberal Lord Provost Sir John Muir, head of James Finlay and Co., Merchants and Shipowners, the City assessor being James Colquhoun, LL.D. of Glasgow.

GLASGOW COURT 1900

RECTOR Rt Hon Earl of Rosebery K.G, D.C.L, L.L.D, F.R.S, KT
 PRINCIPAL Robert Herbert STORY D.D, L.L.D.
 LORD PROVOST Sir Samuel CHISHOLM Bt L.L.D. D.L.
 TOWN ASSES Robert M MITCHELL
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Sir James KING Bt L.L.D.
 RECTORS ASSES Alexander URE L.L.B. Q.C. M.P.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Sir John N CUTHBERTSON
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES David C M^CVAIL M.B.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Sir James BELL Bt
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES W Robertson COPELAND
 SENATE ASSES Sheriff BERRY L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof W STEWART D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Robert ADAMSON L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof John YOUNG M.D.

The Lord Rector was A P Primrose, the Earl of Rosebery, Liberal peer and sometime Prime Minister. Educated at Eton and Oxford he had interests in Scottish education having served as a member of the Council on Education Scotland and as a Commissioner on Scottish Endowments in 1872. An aristocrat and landowner, Roseberry had also been Rector at Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities and in 1908 was to become Chancellor of Glasgow. His assessor was the Liberal M.P. and lawyer Alexander Ure, LL.B., created Lord Strathclyde and a proponent of Home Rule. From 1878-88 he had lectured at Glasgow on Constitutional Law and History and went on to become Lord Advocate and President of the Court of Session.

The principal was Robert Herbert Storey, D.D., Glasgow Professor of Ecclesiastical History from 1886 until his appointment as principal in 1898. A son of the manse, Storey was minister in his father's parish. He was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1894 and had been educated at Edinburgh, St Andrews and Hiedelberg Universities. In 1886 he was appointed as one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland.

Sir James Bell, general council assessor, was educated at Glasgow and had been Lord Provost in the 1890s. A partner in Bell Bros and McLelland Steamship owners, Bell was also involved in a great deal of administrative work on the City Council. Under him the City took over the trusts for Police, Gas, Water and Parks and he inaugurated relief works for the unemployed. He paid for the entertainment of 10,000 poor citizens to dinner on the occasion of the marriage of the Duke of York. Sir W.R. Copland, C.E., general council assessor, was the son of a Glasgow merchant tailor. Involved in engineering projects for Paisley burgh he set up his own firm and dealt with projects as far away as Chile. He was greatly involved with the new Technical College representing the Trades House on its board. Through his efforts £300,000 was subscribed for building work and by 1897 he was appointed Chairman of the Governors for the College. He was the college representative on the Board of the West of Scotland Agricultural College.

D.C. McVail, LL.B, genral council assesor, was a council member deeply involved in attempts to reform the universities in the 1880s. Educated at Kilmarnock and Anderson's College, McVail entered Medicine. He became Professor of Physiology at the Andersonian College and helped in the founding and running of the Western Medical School and St Mungo's College where he was Professor of Clinical Medicine in 1889. A crown member of the General Medical Council he contributed a great deal of original work on respiratory, renal and cardiac research. Of importance to university affairs McVail and W.R. Herkless, LL.B. brought into existence the Glasgow University Council Association in the 1880s.

With over 1000 members the Association's aims were to (a) introduce entrance examinations and raise standards (b) enlarge the University Courts making them more representative (c) to transfer executive power and revenue from the Senate to the Court (d) to allow the Court to enlarge teaching staff (e) to give more powers to the General Council and give them a greater role in Court affairs (f) to allow the formation of Students Representative Councils (g) to institute new degrees and facilities when required and (h) to admit women to university teaching and graduation on equal terms with men. While many of these aims were incorporated into the 1889 Universities (Scotland) Act McVail, on standing in the 1889 elections, was the subject of much adverse canvassing but was eventually elected in 1891. Outside basic reform D.C. McVail was also involved in raising funds, £200,000 being found for the new medical block at Glasgow University.

Robert Adamson, M.A., LL.D., senate assessor, was Professor of Logic and Rhetoric and his colleague on the court as senate assessor was John Young, M.D. Professor of Natural History 1866-1901. Young was educated at Edinburgh and was involved with the Royal Infirmary and the Royal Lunatic Asylum. He was also President of the Educational Institute of Scotland in 1893.

For the City Lord Provost Samuel Chisholm owned a Grocery company and was very active as a radical Liberal in improving the City, eg through slum clearance and rebuilding work at Glasgow Cross. He was also involved in temperance movements and in other charitable and philanthropic works. The City assessor R.M. Mitchell was a coalmaster and son of a Glasgow lawyer. He was interested in nearly all the principal charity and philanthropic efforts in the City.

GLASGOW COURT 1910

RECTOR Rt Hon Baron CURZON K.G,G.C.S.I, G.C.I.E,P.C.
 PRINCIPAL Sir D MacALISTER K.C.B,M.A,M.D,D.C.L,L.L.D.
 LORD PROVOST Archibald M^CInnes SHAW
 TOWN ASSES James M^CFARLANE
 CHANCELLORS ASSES William LORIMER L.L.D.
 RECTORS ASSES Sir J URE PRIMROSE Bt L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES David C M^CVAIL M.B.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES David MURRAY L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES John HUTCHISON L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES John SMITH D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof JONES L.L.D, F.B.A.
 SENATE ASSES Prof GRAY L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Sir H C CAMERON M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof BOWER Sc.D, F.R.S.

The Lord Rector was the Rt Hon Baron Curzon. Educated at Eton and Oxford he was a Tory and held various posts in Government. He was also the author of Principles and Methods of University Reform in 1909. His assessor was Sir John Ure Primrose, Bart, an important merchant miller of Glasgow, a former Lord Provost with a strong record of committee work to improve the City. He acted as a member of the Carnegie Educational Trust for Scotland.

The Principal was Sir Donald MacAlister, MD, educated at Aberdeen and Cambridge, he had become acquainted with Scottish Universities while a visitor for the Medical Council. The Chancellor's assessor was William Lorimer a Liberal Unionist and close friend of Rosebery. Involved in locomotives, railways, banking and steel, he was a life Governor of Glasgow Technical College and a manager of Glasgow's Victoria Infirmary. He left £10,000 to Glasgow University and other sums to various hospitals in the City and elsewhere.

The general council assessor was David Murray, a legal writer in Glasgow from a family involved in law. He was involved in the Merchants House and Glasgow Chamber of Commerce and had been a Rectorial assessor from 1896-99. John Hutchison, general council assessor, was a teacher and Rector of Glasgow High School after winning a place in the School in his youth. A Governor of the Victoria Infirmary he was also on the university library committee. He translated Conrad's work on German universities as well as writing on reform of the Russian universities. The general council assessor John Smith, D.D. was the Church of Scotland

minister at Partick and was active in his large Parish and beyond. President of the Scottish School Board's Association, Convener of the Church of Scotland Education Committee and of the Church of Scotland Sabbath School Committee. As Chairman of Govan School Board his leadership was described as creating a "teaching paradise"¹. The senate's assessors were F.O. Bower, Regis Professor of Botany, Henry Jones, MA, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Andrew Gray, Professor of Natural Philosophy and one time assistant to Sir William Thomson, Lord Kelvin. From the City were its assessor James McFarlane, bread and biscuit manufacturer, involved with the Royal Infirmary, St Mungo's College and a convener of the Trades House of Glasgow. The Lord Provost was Archibald McInnes Shaw of Shaw and McInnes Ironworks, Firhill. A Tory, he was involved in the Incorporation of Hammermen and Wrights and was President of the Scottish Employers Federation of Iron and Steel Founders Association.

EDINBURGH COURT

EDINBURGH COURT 1860

RECTOR Rt Hon W E GLADSTONE M.P. D.C.L.
 PRINCIPAL Sir David BREWSTER K.H. D.C.L.
 LORD PROVOST Rt Hon Francis BROWN DOUGLAS
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Sir John MELVILLE W.S.
 TOWN ASSES R S GRIEVE
 RECTORS ASSES John BROWN M.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES E F MAITLAND Advocate
 SENATE ASSES Prof Robert CHRISTISON M.D.

The Principal Sir David Brewster was a Scot, an adherent of the Free Church of Scotland and was educated in Edinburgh University. Principal at St Andrews before moving to Edinburgh, the 1858 Act affected his appointment. Until then the position of principals had been reserved for ecclesiastics of the established church. Deeply involved in science, inventing the kaleidoscope and polyconal lens for lighthouses, he also started the production of the Edinburgh Encyclopedia after initially considering a career in the Church for which he was licensed to preach in 1804.

The Lord Provost F B Douglas, ex officio town representative, was an Edinburgh lawyer, educated at Edinburgh Academy and University, a Liberal and Free Churchman, to whom he gave generously from his large inherited fortune. He was also involved in civil and ecclesiastic affairs and was later to be a member of Edinburgh School Board. The Chancellor's (Lord Broughams) assessor was Sir John Melville, an advocate, Writer to the Signet and a leading Whig in Edinburgh. As Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1854 Melville was involved

1 Who was Who in Glasgow in 1909, pg. 196.

in much of the reorganisation of the administration of the Burgh Government as amended by the Act of 1856.

Bailie Grieve, the Town assessor, was a merchant dealing in furniture and furnishing accessories. The Rector's assessor, John Brown, was a medical doctor in Edinburgh. Educated at Biggar then Edinburgh High and Edinburgh University; his father, (the Biblical Scholar) Dr John Brown, was the Secession Minister at Biggar. The General Council assessor E.F. Maitland was another advocate, serving as Liberal Solicitor General for Scotland 1855-8 and 1859. He was also a Sheriff of Argyll and was elevated to the bench as Lord Barcaple in 1862. He was the 5th son of Maitland of Dundrennan.

The senate assessor, Professor Robert Christison M.D. acted on the courts of 1870 and 1880. Professor of Materia Medica at Edinburgh from 1832-77 he had been educated at Edinburgh University and was a leading figure in the disputes with the Town Council. Convener of the Finance Committee, he gave evidence to the 1876 Royal Commission and had studied at London under John Abernethy and in Paris under Robiquet, the Chemist, and Orfila, the toxicologist. Christison's important work on poisons led to the introduction of new medicines.

EDINBURGH COURT 1870

RECTOR Rt Hon James MONCRIEFF L.L.D. Lrd Justice Clerk
 PRINCIPAL Sir Alexander GRANT Bt
 LORD PROVOST William LAW
 CHANCELLORS ASSES E STRATHEARN GORDON Q.C, L.L.D, M.P.
 TOWN ASSES James MacKNIGHT W.S.
 RECTORS ASSES Alexander NICOLSON M.A.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Rev K M PHINN D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Robert CHRISTISON M.D.

The Principal Sir Alexander Grant, LL.D. was the son of Sir Robert Innis Grant of Dalvey. Educated at Harrow and Baliol, he was appointed as Examiner for the Indian Civil Service in 1855 and for classics at Oxford in 1856. Grant's involvement in India continued as Inspector of Schools in Madras, Professor of History at Elphinstone Institution in Madras. He became principal there in 1862 and Vice Chancellor of Bombay University from 1863 until his appointment to Edinburgh in 1868. Responsible for preparing the first Scottish education code, he was also a later member of the Board of Education from 1872-77. In giving evidence to the 1876 Commission on entrance examinations, Grant pointed to the improvements seen in Indian Schools after they had been introduced there.

Lord Provost William Law, a native of Lothian from a small farm, he had built up a grocery business in Edinburgh. Nicknamed "Coffee Law" because of his interests in coffee, inventing machines for its processing, Law was involved in Council affairs and oversaw improvement to the City water supply. He was also highly involved in the Royal Infirmary and had supported the Reform Bill in 1867.

The Chancellor's assessor was Edward Strathearn Gordon, an advocate, Sheriff of Perthshire, Solicitor General for Scotland, Lord Advocate and Lord of Appeal in 1876 created Lord Gordon at Drumearn. As an M.P. he sat as a Tory for Thetford until its disfranchisement in 1867 and then as M.P. for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities from 1869-1876. A native of Inverness, he was schooled there and studied law at Edinburgh University. The Chancellor was John Inglis who had presented the 1858 Universities (Scotland) Act to Parliament; Gordon was his nominee.

The Town assessor was James MacKnight, a Writer to Her Majesty's Signet and Reporter on Poor Causes. Moncrieff's nominee as Rectors assessor was Alexander Nicolson, native of Skye, an advocate from Edinburgh University, journalist and Gaelic scholar. He held the post of Assistant Commissioner of Scottish Education in 1865. The general council assessor was the Reverend Kenneth Phinn, D.D. minister of Galashiels, who gave evidence to the University Commission in 1876.

EDINBURGH COURT 1880

RECTOR Rt Hon Margess of HARTINGTON
 PRINCIPAL Sir Alexander GRANT Bt, M.A, L.L.D.
 LORD PROVOST Thomas Jamieson BOYD
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Lord CURRIEHILL
 TOWN ASSES Thomas CLARK
 RECTORS ASSES Rt Hon Lord YOUNG
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Sir R CHRISTISON Bt, M.D,D.C.L,L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof A CAMPBELL FRASER L.L.D. D.C.L.

The Marquess of Hartington, the future Duke of Devonshire acted as Rector. A Liberal M.P., a diplomat and involved in a variety of important Government posts, such as Secretary for India and Lord of the Admiralty. He was educated privately and at Cambridge.

Lord Provost T.J. Boyd, Town ex officio representative, entered the publishing firm of Oliver and Boyd where his uncle was a partner. A member of the Merchants Company, he supported the conversion of their "hospitals" into day schools and was involved as a Royal Commissioner on Educational Endowments. He also worked on the Fishery Board and as a Commissioner on the Northern Lights.

The Rector's assessor was Lord George Young, a graduate of Glasgow, an advocate and Liberal M.P. for Wigton Burghs from 1865-74. His father had been procurator fiscal in Dumfries and Young became Solicitor General twice (1862-66 and 1868-69) and Lord Advocate from 1869-74. In 1874 he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Session, holding the post until 1905.

The Town assessor, Thomas Clark, was a partner in the publishing firm of T and T Clark. He was a member of the Merchant Company and a Town Council Member from 1877, being Lord Provost in 1885. The Reverend Alexander Campbell Fraser was the senate assessor. A native of Argyll and son of the manse, he was educated privately

and at Glasgow University. A United Free Church theologian, he lectured at New College, Edinburgh and was Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh University from 1856 until 1891. He gave evidence to the Universities Commission of 1876.

EDINBURGH COURT 1890

RECTOR Most Hon Marquess of LOTHIAN K.T.
 PRINCIPAL Sir W MUIR K.C.S.I, D.C.L, L.L.D, Phd.
 LORD PROVOST John BOYD
 TOWN ASSES James COLSTON
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Thomas GRAHAM MURRAY W.S. L.L.D.
 RECTORS ASSES M T S DARLING M.A. Q.C. M.P.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Patrick HERON WATSON M.D. L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Rt Hon Lrd KINGSBURGH C.B, Lrd Justice Clerk
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES John DUNCAN M.D. L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Thomas M^CKIE Advocate
 SENATE ASSES Prof A CAMPBELL FRASER L.L.D. D.C.L.
 SENATE ASSES Rev Prof M C TAYLOR D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Sir W TURNER D.C.L. L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof CRUM BROWN M.D. D.Sc.

The Lord Rector, Marquess of Lothian, was educated at Glenalmond and Eton going on to Oxford where he gained Firsts in Classics and Modern History. He was involved in the Diplomatic Service and in central government as a Privy Councillor. The principal, Sir William Muir, educated at Kilmarnock Academy and the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, had like his predecessor worked in India. Muir's career in India was wholly related to administration and government. He published several works on Middle Eastern religion and politics.

Provost, and representative for the town, John Boyd was a native of Edinburgh, educated at the Royal High School and the University. He entered his father's firm of house agents and in his public career he opposed the granting of the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh on the Irish politician, Parnell. The Chancellor's assessor was T.G. Murray, an Edinburgh advocate and Writer to the Signet. The Rector's assessor was Moir Tod Stormonth Darling, M.A. Q.C. M.P. Darling was educated at Kelso Grammar and Edinburgh University, entering law as his father had before him. A Conservative, he was M.P. for Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities from 1888-90 and was Solicitor General for Scotland. He was created Judge of the Court of Session and Commissioner for Railways in Scotland.

James Colston of the printing firm of Colston and Co, represented the town. One of the general council assessors was Patrick Heron Watson, M.D. was the son of the Minister of Burntisland, a native of Edinburgh and educated at the Academy and University. A surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, he also lectured on Surgery at the Medical School and was a Commissioner under the 1889 Universities (Scotland) Act. The general council assessor, Sir John Hay Athol MacDonald, Lord

Kingsburgh, was a native of Edinburgh attending the Academy and University. He also attended Basle University and entered the Faculty of Advocates in 1859. Like Darling he was to become a Solicitor General for Scotland and was M.P. for Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities from 1885-88. He was the Lord Advocate in 1885 and Lord Justice Clerk by 1888. MacDonald was involved in Commissions and Boards for Lighthouses (Northern), Supervision, Prisons, Council on Education, the Privy Council and on H.M. Board of Manufacturers.

John Duncan, general council assessor, was an Edinburgh doctor of medicine and an Extra Academical Lecturer on Surgery and Clinical Surgery at the Extra Academic School. Thomas McKie, general council assessor, was a native of Dumfries, where his father had been Provost. He attended the University and was an advocate in Edinburgh. Active in public affairs as a liberal, he also promoted university reform and was joint chairman of the university library committee. The senate assessor, the Reverend Professor Malcolm Campbell Taylor was a C of S minister. Educated at Bowmore Parish School and the Universities of Glasgow, St Andrews, Heidelberg and Tubingen, he became Professor of Divinity and Church History at Edinburgh from 1876. He was also Extra Chaplain to the Queen in Scotland. William Turner, senate assessor, was an Englishman educated privately and at London University. He was a demonstrator at Edinburgh from 1854-67 and then Professor of Anatomy at Edinburgh from 1867-1903 before becoming Principal in 1903. He was deeply involved in the General Medical Council being its President from 1898 and was also President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In giving evidence to the 1876 Commission, Turner foresaw the need to delegate senate's powers to committees and was against an overall board to oversee and decide on university actions which he considered to be unnecessary beurocracy.

Professor Crum Brown, senate assessor, was a native of Edinburgh, educated at the Royal High School, Mill Hill School and the University of Edinburgh. His father, a minister, came from a prominent family of theologians and Brown was a United Presbyterian. Brown studied under Bunsen at Heidelberg and with Kolbe at Marburg, succeeding Playfair in the Chair of Chemistry in 1869. His work with Sir T.R. Fraser was important in the introduction of new drugs.

EDINBURGH COURT 1900

RECTOR Marquess of DUFFERIN and AVA P.C,K.P,G.C.B,D.C.L,
 PRINCIPAL Sir W MUIR K.C.S.I, D.C.L, L.L.D, Phd.
 LORD PROVOST Mitchell THOMSON
 TOWN ASSES Andrew MITCHELL Advocate
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Aeneas J G MACKAY M.A. L.L.D. Q.C.
 RECTORS ASSES David DUNDAS Q.C.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Patrick HERON WATSON M.D. L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES J HOPE FINLAY W.S.

GEN COUNCIL ASSES A TAYLOR INNES M.A. Advocate
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Joseph BELL M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Sir W TURNER D.C.L. L.L.D. D.Sc.
 SENATE ASSES Prof CRUM BROWN M.D. D.Sc. L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof S H BUTCHER L.L.D. D Litt.
 SENATE ASSES Prof S S LAURIE M.A. L.L.D.

The Rector was the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, a diplomat and government administrator in Britain, Canada, India and Syria. Educated at Eton and Oxford (he was President of the Oxford Union) he was Rector at St Andrews 1889-92 and Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland until his death in 1902. As an Irish peer he wrote on and was interested in aspects of Irish emigration and the Irish land question. Representing the town Provost Mitchell Thomson had interests in his timber firm at Granton and was a Director of the Bank of Scotland. Thomson in his civic capacity was involved in education, library and water issues and also organised electric lighting for the City.

The Chancellor, Arthur J. Balfour, had nominated as his assessor Aeneas J.G. MacKay, an advocate in Edinburgh from a legal background. MacKay was a Sheriff of Fife, Advocate Depute in 1881 and Professor of History at Edinburgh University from 1874-81. He founded the Lectureship in Modern History at the University in 1900 and bequeathed over 4,000 books to the library at his death in 1911. The Rector's assessor was David Dundas, who as Lord Dundas would be the Chancellor's assessor on the Court of 1910. David Dundas was an advocate, his father having been Lord Manor, a Senator of the College of Justice. Dundas was educated at Edinburgh Academy and at Edinburgh and Cambridge Universities. A Conservative, he attempted to enter Parliament and was Solicitor General from 1901-5 on being elevated to the bench. He was a Governor of Fettes College, Edinburgh. The Town assessor was Andrew Mitchell, an adocate and Sheriff Substitute of Stirling and Lanarkshire. Born in New York, where his father a Glasgow merchant had interests, he was educated at Glasgow Academy and then at Glasgow, Oxford and Edinburgh Universities. He was involved in Christian Associations in Edinburgh.

The general council assessor John Hope Finlay was a solicitor, Writer to the Signet, and Keeper of the Register of Hornings and of the General Register of Sasines for Scotland from 1888. The general council assessor A.T. Innes was a Procurator in Glasgow and advocate in Edinburgh by 1870. Educated at Tain Academy, where his father was a bank agent, Innes went on to Edinburgh University graduating Master of Arts in 1852. As a member of the Graduates Association he was active in the promotion of the 1858 Act and was Chairman of the Committee of Edinburgh University Council. Innes wrote various legal and historical biographies. Joseph Bell M.D., general council assessor was a surgeon in Edinburgh and lectured on surgery. Educated at Edinburgh Academy and University he entered surgery following his

father the surgeon, B. Bell. Bell inaugurated the Hospital for Sick Children and wrote the Manual of Surgical Operations. He was seen as the model for Sherlock Holmes.

Senate assessor, Professor S.H. Butcher was Professor of Greek from 1882-86. Educated at Malborough School and Trinity College, Cambridge, Butcher was a classicist promoting his subject in the debate over curricular change in Arts. Butcher lectured at Oxford and was a member of the Scottish Universities Commission from 1889-1900 and was to serve post 1900 on Irish University Commissions, as a Unionist M.P. for Cambridge University and lecturer at Harvard University. While at Edinburgh he was also involved in union business. Senate assessor, Professor Laurie was a native of Edinburgh attending the High School and University. Professor of Education from 1876-1903 he was involved in educational reform and theory, writing several books on the subject. Laurie was a member of the Church of Scotland, President of the Teachers Guild of Great Britain in 1901 and an Honorary Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland (E.I.S.). Laurie was involved in C of S Education Committee work, reported on the Dick Bequest Trust and was Secretary to the Royal Commission on Endowed Schools in Scotland, 1872-75.

EDINBURGH COURT 1910

RECTOR Rt Hon George WYNDHAM L.L.D. M.P.
 PRINCIPAL Sir W TURNER D.C.L. L.L.D. D.Sc. K.C.B. M.B.
 LORD PROVOST Rt Hon William S BROWN
 TOWN ASSES Alfred A MURRAY L.L.B. W.S.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES The Hon Lord DUNDAS
 RECTORS ASSES James WALKER C.A.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Joseph BELL M.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES David FOWLER LOWE M.A. L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES David D BUCHAN L.L.B. S.Sc.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Robert M^CKENZIE JOHNSTONE M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof John RANKINE K.C. M.A. L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Thomas R FRASER M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof A S PRINGLE PATTISON L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Hudson BEARE B.A. B.Sc.

The Rector was George Wyndham, M.P. Wyndham had been educated at Eton and after a military career became A.J. Balfour's Private Secretary. A Unionist M.P. for Dover from 1889 until his death in 1913 he sat in Balfour's Cabinet and held a variety of Government posts such as Chief Secretary for Ireland and First Lord of the Treasury. Town representative, Lord Provost W.S. Brown was a native of Edinburgh where he had a house furnishing business. As a Liberal he had helped Gladstone in his Midlothian campaign but he joined the unionists over the issue of Free Trade. Deeply interested in public health, he was Manager of Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and a committee member dealing with slums in the High Street and other areas. He was also a Governor of the Fettes Trust and an elder in the United Free Church of Scotland.

Rector's assessor James Walker, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh of which he was a founder and treasurer of the University Union. Walker was a Chartered Accountant and was convener of the Finance Committee of the University Court. For the Town, A.A. Murray was a Writer to the Signet and a Notary Public. Educated at George Watson's College, Edinburgh, of which he was later a governor, Murray also attended Edinburgh University. His father had been a Writer in Edinburgh.

One of the general council assessors was David Fowler Howe, M.A. and headmaster of George Heriot's School, Edinburgh. David D. Buchan, the general council assessor, was another Notary Public and solicitor before the Supreme Council, working in Edinburgh. The general council assessor Robert McKenzie Johnstone was a native of Edinburgh attending the Academy, Clifton College and the University. A surgeon, he also lectured on diseases of the larynx, ear and nose. He was later appointed a Curator of Patronage from 1916-28.

Senate was represented by Professor John Rankine, advocate and Professor of Scots Law at Edinburgh from 1888-1922. A native of Ayrshire and a son of the manse his university education took him to Edinburgh and Heidelberg. Senate assessor Sir Thomas R. Fraser was Professor of Materia Medica and Clinical Medicine from 1877-1918 and had been an Assistant to Professor Christison from 1860-71. A pharmacologist, his work on poisons was significant and he collaborated with Professor Crum Brown. He had attended Edinburgh University for his degree and represented the University on the General Medical Council. He was also President of the Indian Plague Commission 1898-1901 and had been born in Calcutta. Senate assessor Professor Andrew Seth Pringle Pattison assumed the name Pringle Pattison when he succeeded to Lands of Haining in Selkirkshire. Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh where his brother James Seth was Professor of Moral Philosophy, Andrew Seth was born and educated in Edinburgh Royal High School and University. He also attended German Universities and had taught at University College, Cardiff. Hudson Beare was another senate assessor and was Professor of Engineering from 1901 in his inaugural address urged action over inadequate accommodation. Due to the lack of funds however nothing was done.

ABERDEEN COURT

ABERDEEN COURT 1860

RECTOR Edward Francis MAITLAND
 PRINCIPAL Peter Colin CAMPBELL D.D.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Alex THOMSON of Banchory
 RECTORS ASSES John WEBSTER
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Alexander KILGOUR M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Francis OGSTON M.D.

The Rector at Aberdeen was E.F. Maitland, Lord Barcaple and Solicitor General for Scotland from 1855-8 and 1859-62. The principal was Peter Colin Campbell, D.D., a minister in the Church of Scotland (C of S). He had been Professor of Classics in Queens College, Kingston, Canada. He was principal until 1876. Alexander Thomson of Banchory was an advocate and Chancellor's assessor. A Liberal in his politics he had been Dean of Faculty in Marischal College and had been amongst those who petitioned against the union of the universities.

The Rector's assessor was a decided Liberal John Webster but by 1886 was involved in Liberal Unionist Association activity. A Lord Provost of Aberdeen from 1856-59 and later M P for the City 1880-85. An advocate by profession he, like Banchory, had petitioned against union in 1855 and was to serve three Rectors repeating his position on the Court until the 1880s.

The general council assessor was Alexander Kilgour, M.D. an Aberdeen physician and the author of The Scottish Universities and what to reform in them Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox 1857. The Senate assessor was Francis Ogston, M.D. the Professor of Medical Jurisprudence from 1857-83. Having a practice in Union Street Aberdeen he was also involved in Police medical work, was a Medical Officer of Health. His Lectures of 1878 were the standard work in England and Germany. Ogston again reappeared on the Court of 1880.

ABERDEEN COURT 1870

RECTOR M E GRANT DUFF M.P.
 PRINCIPAL Peter Colin CAMPBELL D.D.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES William MEARNS D.D.
 RECTORS ASSES John WEBSTER
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Alexander KILGOUR M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof William Robinson PIRIE D.D.

The Lord Rector was M.E. Grant Duff, Liberal M.P. and Under-Secretary of State for India 1868-74. The Chancellor's assessor William Mearns, D.D. was a minister of religion. The senate assessor William Robinson Pirie, D.D. was Professor of Divinity at Marischal from 1843-60 then Professor of Divinity and Church History at the University 1860-85. Moderator of the C of S in 1864 he became principal at Aberdeen in 1876-85.

ABERDEEN COURT 1880

RECTOR The Earl of ROSEBERY
 PRINCIPAL William Robinson PIRIE D.D.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES John RAMSAY M.A.
 RECTORS ASSES John WEBSTER L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES John CHRISTIE D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Francis OGSTON M.D.

The Aberdeen Court of 1880 had three repeating members. Principal Pirie, D.D., the Lord Rector's assessor, John Webster, LL.D. and the Senate assessor Francis Ogston, M.D. The Chancellor, the Duke of Richmond and Gordons, (4th largest landholding nobleman in the United Kingdom in 1883, being 11th in point of income at £76,000 per year) assessor John Ramsay was an M.A.

The Lord Rector was the Earl of Rosebery, son of Lord Dalmeny and later to marry the heiress of Baron Meyer de Rothschild. A major landowner and Liberal he was also Lord Rector at Edinburgh 1882-83 and later Glasgow as Lord Rector from 1899 and then Chancellor from 1908.

The general council assessor, Dr John Christie, D.D. was a Church of Scotland minister and had been elected to the position unopposed. By 1880 he was to stand down as general council assessor as he had become Professor of Divinity and Church History. John Christie when in the general council had asked for a re-examination of the Arts curriculum as part of university reform.

ABERDEEN COURT 1890

RECTOR Rt Hon George Joachim GOSHEN L.L.D. M.P.
 PRINCIPAL William Duguid GEDDES L.L.D.
 LORD PROVOST David STEWART
 TOWN ASSES John CROMBIE
 CHANCELLORS ASSES John RAMSAY M.A.
 RECTORS ASSES John WEBSTER L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Rev James SMITH B.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Alexander EDMOND Advocate
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Angus FRASER M.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES William DEY L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof William MILLIGAN D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof William STEPHENSON M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Rev Prof George PIRRIE M.A.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Matthew HAY M.D.

The Lord Rector was George Joachim Goschen M.P. elected in 1887. He was to be appointed Lord Rector at Edinburgh in 1890. Educated at Rugby and Oxford and involved, before entering politics, in the firm of Fruhling and Goschen he became a Conservative M.P. successively for seats in London, Ripon and East Edinburgh. After various government posts Goschen in 1887 became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Salisbury's second administration. Goschen who wrote on social and educational subjects was also interested in economic questions and was responsible for the Goschen Formula.

The principal William Duguid Geddes had been educated at Elgin Academy and Aberdeen University. He became Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School in 1853 and then Professor of Greek at Aberdeen in 1855. Appointed principal in 1885 by the Crown he wrote on classical Greek subjects but was also interested in Celtic languages.

The Town Council assessor was John Crombie involved in the woollen manufacturing firm of J and J Crombie Ltd

founded in 1806. David Stewart was the Lord Provost of Aberdeen and ex officio assessor. His business interests included chairmanship of the Great North of Scotland Railway Company and directorships on the boards of the Northern Assurance Company and the Aberdeen Comb Works Company. The son of a Justice of the Peace, Stewart had been educated at King's College Aberdeen and was Provost for six years. He greatly extended Aberdeen to include the Burgh of Old Aberdeen and the areas of Woodside and Torry. David Stewart was also greatly involved in the building extension carried out at Marischal College. Stewart was subsequently appointed as Lord Rector's assessor and appears in the benchmark year 1900 as Sir David Stewart.

The general council assessor Angus Fraser, M.D., F.C., physician and surgeon in Aberdeen and an Assistant Professor of Chemistry at the University. He had attended Aberdeen University and has also studied at Paris. Alexander Edmond, general council assessor, was an advocate as the other general council assessor was William Dey. The general council assessor James Smith, B.D. was a minister of religion.

The Senate assessors at Aberdeen like Edinburgh and Glasgow numbered four. Senate assessor Professor William Milligan, D.D. was ordained as a minister in the C of S in 1850 after attending St Andrews University. A former Moderator of the General Assembly he was the first Professor of Biblical Criticism at the University of Aberdeen from 1860 until his death in 1893. Senate assessor Professor William Stephenson was Professor of Midwifery at the University from 1875-19. A native of Edinburgh, educated at the High School and University, he had practised there and while Professor held posts in Aberdeen Maternity and the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Edinburgh. He was involved in the specialisation, within the medical profession, of obstetrics and belonged to societies in London and Edinburgh.

Senate assessor Matthew Hay, M.D. was a native of Stirlingshire and was educated at Dollar Academy. His University studies took him to Glasgow, Edinburgh, Strasbourg, Berlin and Munich. The son of a colliery owner Hay entered medical education as a demonstrator of Materia Medica at Edinburgh University 1878-83 and from 1883-1926 was Professor of Forensic Medicine at Aberdeen University. Hay worked as an Officer of Public Health in Aberdeen and in University administration represented the University on the Carnegie Trust and General Medical Council in later years. He was also a medical examiner for several English Universities, eg London, Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool.

Senate assessor George Pirie, M.A. LL.D. born at Dyce and educated at Aberdeen Grammar School, the University of Aberdeen and Queen's College, Cambridge. Pirie became Professor of Mathematics at Aberdeen University from 1978 after a period as Fellow, Mathematical Lecturer and Tutor at Queen's College, Cambridge. When

appointed in 1878 George Pirie's father was Principal William Robinson Pirie appointed by the Crown in 1877.

ABERDEEN COURT 1900

RECTOR Lord STRATHCONA and MOUNTROYAL G.C.M.G. L.L.D.
 PRINCIPAL William Duguid GEDDES L.L.D. D.Litt.
 LORD PROVOST John FLEMING
 TOWN ASSES A T G BEVERIDGE M.A. M.B. C.M.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Alexander M GORDON
 RECTORS ASSES Sir David STEWART L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Rev James SMITH B.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Angus FRASER M.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES William DEY L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES C B DAVIDSON L.L.D. Advocate
 SENATE ASSES Prof Matthew HAY M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof W H TRAIL M.D. F.R.S.
 SENATE ASSES Prof William PATERSON D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof C NIVEN M.A. D.Sc. F.R.S.

The Lord Rector was Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, created 1st Baron in 1897. As Donald Alexander Smith he was born and educated in Scotland entering the Hudson Bay Company in his youth. He was the last resident Governor of the Hudson Bay Company when that corporation was a governing body. Smith was an M.P. in the Dominion House of Commons, had interests in banking and railways in Canada and the United States of America. When elected Rector he was High Commissioner for Canada being appointed in 1896. Favoured by the matriculated students Lord Strathcona was similarly favoured by the general council being elected as Chancellor of Aberdeen in 1903.

A town assessor as Lord Provost John Fleming was a Dundonian by education and had moved to Aberdeen where he built up a business as a timber merchant in the city. He was involved in the Chamber of Commerce and the Harbour Board of Aberdeen. The Town assessor representative was A.T.C. Beveridge, M.A., M.B., C.M. a graduate of the University of Aberdeen with a medical practise in the City.

The Chancellor's assessor was Alexander Morison Gordon, M.P. D.L. He had been educated at Exeter College, Oxford, was a Conservative and a Convener for the County of Aberdeen. The general council assessor G.B. Davidson was an advocate in Aberdeen.

Senate assessor Charles Niven, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. was Professor of Natural Philosophy at the university from 1880-1922 after a period as Professor of Mathematics at Queen's College, Cork. A graduate of Aberdeen and Cambridge Universities, Niven published papers in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society and in other journals.

Senate assessor The Very Reverend William Paterson, D.D. was a native of Peebleshire and was educated at the Royal High School of Edinburgh and at the Universities of Edinburgh, Leipzig, Erlangen and Berlin. Paterson entered the C of S ministry being minister at Crieff from 1887-94. After his post at Aberdeen he held several

other posts but was appointed to the Professorship of Systematic Theology at Aberdeen in 1894. Senate assessor Professor James W.H. Trail, M.D., F.R.S., M.A. Professor of Botany at the University since 1877 became Dean of the Faculty of Science. Trail was born in Orkney and educated at home. He was also educated at the Grammar School, Old Aberdeen and then at Aberdeen University where he graduated with the highest honours in Natural Sciences. As a naturalist he explored Northern Brazil in an expedition from 1873-5. His father was the Very Reverend Samuel Trail, D.D. a C of S minister, Moderator of the C of S General Assembly in 1874 and Professor of Systematic Theology at the University of Aberdeen from 1867-87. Further James Trail's father-in-law was the Very Reverend William Milligan, Moderator of the C of S in 1882 and Professor of Biblical Criticism at the University of Aberdeen 1860-93, and a Court member in the benchmark year 1890. With this and in George Pirie in 1890 the Aberdeen Court shows up two examples of relationships within the University Court and examples of families involvement in higher education from generation to generation.

ABERDEEN COURT 1910

RECTOR Rt Hon Herbert H ASQUITH K.C. M.P.
 PRINCIPAL Very Rev George A SMITH M.A. D.D. L.L.D.
 LORD PROVOST Alexander WILSON
 TOWN ASSES Henry J GRAY M.A. B.L.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Alexander M GORDON
 RECTORS ASSES Sir John FLEMING L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Angus FRASER M.D. L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES William DEY L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Albert WESTLAND M.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Patrick COOPER M.A.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Matthew HAY M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof J HARROWER M.A. L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Robert W REID M.D. F.R.C.S.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Hector Munro MacDONALD M.A.

The Lord Rector was Herbert Henry Asquith, the Prime Minister and Liberal MP for East Fife. A native of Yorkshire he was schooled at the City of London School and then Baliol College, Oxford. Called to the Bar in 1876 he became a Queen's Councillor in 1890. His political career saw him holding posts as Secretary of State for the Home Department 1892-95, Ecclesiastical Commissioner 1892-95, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1905-8, Prime Minister and 1st Lord of the Treasury 1908-16. He was in favour of devolution for Ireland but against votes for women until 1918 making him a target for suffragettes. He was married in 1894 to a daughter of the industrialist Sir Charles Tennant.

The Very Reverend George Adam Smith, M.A., D.D., LL.D. appointed as principal in 1909. Adam Smith was the son of a lawyer and was born in Calcutta in 1856. He was educated in Edinburgh at the Royal High School and the University. He also attended Tübingen and Leipzig

Universities and New College, Edinburgh. As a Free Church of Scotland minister he worked in Egypt, Syria, Easter Jordan and Aberdeen. His educational career took him to several places and he was involved in the work place as Chairman of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades. He was to be a future Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland 1916-17 and his writings covered subjects which were linked to religion yet extremely diverse in the topics covered.

For the Town, Alexander Wilson was Lord Provost and Henry J Gray, M.A. C.L. was the Town assessor. The Rector's assessor was Sir John Fleming, LL.D. a Liberal former Lord Provost and timber merchant who had appeared as such in the Court of 1900. The General Council were represented by assessor Patrick Cooper, M.A. notary public and assessor Albert Westland, M.A., M.D., J.P. Patrick Cooper was born in Aberdeen attending the Bellevue Academy, Aberdeen and the Gymnasium, Old Aberdeen. He went on to Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities and became an advocate in Aberdeen. He was Convener of the Business Committee of Aberdeen University General Council 1891. Cooper was also involved as a member of the Council of Scottish Law Agents Society, the Guild Burgess of Aberdeen 1909 and as Secretary and Treasurer of Aberdeen Hospital for Incurables 1883. Albert Westland had experience as a resident assistant physician at Aberdeen Royal Infirmary and as Medical Officer at Haverstock Hill Provincial Dispensary. He had attended Aberdeen University in the 1870s and held qualifications from Aberdeen and Paris.

The Senate assessors were Professors Reid, Harrower and MacDonald. Professor Reid was the Emeritus Regius Professor of Anatomy at the University and had attended Aberdeen and Leipzig Universities with additional training at St Thomas Hospital, London. Senate assessor Professor John Harrower, M.A. was Professor of Greek at Aberdeen University from 1886-1931. He was educated at the Universities of Aberdeen and Oxford where he attended Pembroke College. Professor Harrower is another example at Aberdeen of inter-relationships between academics as he was to marry the only daughter of Sir William Duguid Geddes, the former principal. Senate assessor Hector Munro MacDonald was a graduate of Aberdeen and Cambridge. At Cambridge he had been a lecturer in Mathematics and he became Professor of Mathematics at Aberdeen University in 1904. He was a President of the London Mathematical Society and by 1902 had published work on electric waves.

ST ANDREWS COURT

ST ANDREWS COURT 1860

RECTOR Sir R ANSTRUTHER Bt L.L.D.
 SENIOR PRINCIPAL John TULLOCH D.D.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES John HUNTER Auditor of the Court of
 Session
 RECTORS ASSES George DEMPSTER of Skibo
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES John COOK D.D.

SENATE ASSES Prof J F FERRIER L.L.D. B.A. Oxon.

The Rector was Sir Anstruther, Bart. a commissioner of supply as a landowner his politics swung from conservative to Liberal. Principal John Tulloch, D.D. was a C of S minister and was Moderator in 1878. He was orthodox in that he opposed disestablishment of the Church of Scotland but founded a liberal party within church affairs and was a Chaplain to Queen Victoria.

The Chancellor, the Duke of Argyll, chose as his assessor John Hunter, Writer to the Signet (W.S.) and Auditor of the Court of Session. George Dempster of Skibo, whose relation W.S. Dempster was nicknamed "father of the Bar"², was the Lord Rector's assessor.

The general council assessor was John Cook, D.D. a C of S minister, a future Moderator of the General Assembly, whose father had been Professor of Moral Philosophy at St Andrews 1829-45; part of the Book Hill cabal at the University in the late 18th and early 19th century.

Senate assessor Professor J F Ferrier was an advocate by training and became Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy at St Andrews, he was attributed as to having made those at St Andrews Patonists after his studies in German Universities.

ST ANDREWS COURT 1870

RECTOR James Anthony FROUDE L.L.D.
 SENIOR PRINCIPAL John TULLOCH D.D.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES John WHYTE MELVILLE
 RECTORS ASSES John SKELTON
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Benjamin WARD RICHARDSON M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof FISCHER L.L.D.

The Lord Rector was the historian J.A. Froude, LL.D. much influenced by the work of the Scottish philosopher, T. Carlyle. His breach with the orthodox Church of England came to a head with his Nemesis of Faith published in 1849. A Liberal and Professor at Oxford, Froude was involved in political circles being used later in the century as a government emissary to the South Africans in an attempt to sell the idea of Federalism. Froude also sat on the Universities Commission of 1876.

The Rector's assessor was John Skelton, an advocate and writer under the pseudonym "Shirley". Skelton was involved in government as Secretary to the Scottish Board of Supervision on Public Health 1862 and by 1894-7 was Vice-President of the Scottish Local Government Board. The Chancellor's assessor was J.W. Melville from a landed army background, being a Commission of Supply for Fifeshire. The general council assessor was Benjamin Ward Richardson. A physician he was President of the Medical Society of London in 1868 and was involved with other medical associations and temperance work.

2 8th November 1866. Source Faculty of Advocates, Scottish Records, Vol. 76 pg 53.

Senate assessor Professor Fischer held the Chair of Mathematics after that of Natural Philosophy. Fischer had been born in Prussia and educated at Berlin, Paris and Cambridge universities. Poor eyesight restricted his opportunities to work in astronomy professionally and he resorted to teaching instead. Interested in politics he was a liberal conservative.

ST ANDREWS COURT 1880

RECTOR Rt Hon Lord SELBORNE
 SENIOR PRINCIPAL John TULLOCH D.D.
 CHANCELLORS ASSES John WHYTE MELVILLE
 RECTORS ASSES Hon G WALDEGRAVE LESLIE
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Benjamin WARD RICHARDSON M.D.
 SENATE ASSES Principal John Campbell SHAIRP

The Lord Rector was the Rt Hon Lord Selborn. Educated at Rugby, Winchester and then Oxford University he had entered Parliament served as Attorney General in 1866 and by 1880 was Lord Chancellor. In the high church wing of the Church of England he was against Irish Home Rule and he was against the disestablishment of the Irish Church, refusing to serve in Gladstone's third Cabinet on account of this.

Lord Selborn's assessor was George Waldegrave Leslie from an aristocratic background. Leslie was employed by Government on missions to India and Constantinople amongst others. He served in the civil service and his legal qualifications were used in his position as assistant librarian to the House of Commons in the 1840s.

ST ANDREWS COURT (with Dundee College) 1890

RECTOR Marquess of DUFFERIN and AVA P.C,K.P,G.C.B,D.C.L,
 PRINCIPAL James DONALDSON L.L.D.
 PRINCIPAL ST MARY'S Very Rev John CUNNINGHAM D.D.
 PRINCIPAL DUNDEE W PETERSON M.A. L.L.D.
 PROVOST ST ANDREWS John PATERSON
 PROVOST DUNDEE Alexander MATHEWSON
 DUNDEE COLLEGE REP Robert SINCLAIR M.D.
 DUNDEE COLLEGE REP Thomas THORNTON
 CHANCELLORS ASSES The Earl of ELGIN and KINCARDINE
 RECTORS ASSES R C MUNRO FERGUSON M.P.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Rt Hon Viscount CROSS G.C.B.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Hugh F C CLEGHORN L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES J CAMPBELL SMITH M.A. L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES George W BALFOUR M.D. L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Lewis CAMPBELL L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof J BELL PETTIGREW M.D. L.L.D. F.R.S
 SENATE ASSES Prof J A EWING B.Sc. F.R.S.E

The three Principals on the Court were as follows. James Donaldson, LL.D. was Senior Principal at St Andrews appointed as Principal of the United College of St Salvator and St Leonards from 1886. Donaldson was deeply imbued in education and the questions which it

posed in the period. Educated at Aberdeen Grammar and then at Aberdeen University he also attended New College London and Berlin Universities. He became Rector at Stirling High School when twenty three and Rector at Edinburgh High School by 1866. His career moved on to Aberdeen where he became Professor of Humanity from 1881-86. Appointed by the Crown as Principal at St Andrews in 1886 Donaldson in his University Addresses was critical of Government and their manner in handling the Scottish Universities. In his work Donaldson showed a nationalistic verve defending Scottish traditions in the approach by Government to educational issues. Donaldson distinguishes Scottish traditions of eg central Government finance seeing the universities as part of the national apparatus of state; not to be treated (or wishing to be treated like the old English Universities did) as independent organisations which ran and financed themselves. Donaldson wrote in 1891 on education in Prussia and England, as well as other works on Greek and Christian topics.

The Principal of St Mary's College was also like Donaldson interested in history publishing the Church History of Scotland in 1859. He was the Very Reverend John Cunningham, D.D. was a C of S minister, a Moderator of the General Assembly and successfully instigated his advocacy of the use of music into the Church in the 1860s. In addition to his position as principal he was also ~~Primarius~~ Professor of Divinity.

The Principal of University College Dundee was William Peterson, a native of Edinburgh and son of a Leith merchant. Educated at school and university in Edinburgh he also attended the University of Gottingen and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. A classical scholar Peterson was assistant Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh University from 1879-82 until his appointment to Dundee in 1886.

The Provost of Dundee Alex Mathewson, and St Andrews John Paterson were the civic representatives directly recognised as members of the University Court. Additional representatives came from the Council of University College Dundee, these being Thomas Thornton and Robert Sinclair, M.D. Thornton was a native of Forfar educated at Forfar Burgh School and Edinburgh University. He was a landowner and became a solicitor in 1851. Thornton had a variety of interests. As a Liberal he was Political Agent for the party in the Dundee and Forfar areas. Town Clerk in Dundee and Clerk of Dundee School Board, 1873; Thornton's interest in education extended to University College Dundee, where he established a lectureship in Law for a fixed period. Involved in the improvement of Dundee in Gas, Police and Public Works for Forfarshire he was also a promoter and solicitor of the Tay Bridge Railway 1861-65. It was the rail link which facilitated the practicality of affiliation between Dundee and St Andrews by shortening the time of travel between the two.

Robert Sinclair, M.D. was a member of the Council of University College Dundee having links and medical

positions in leading hospitals in Dundee, Glasgow and Perth. In addition he had interests in commercial medicine acting as Medical Examiner for Scottish Widows, Royal, Caledonian and other Assurance Companies. As a leading contributor to various medical journals, both local and national, Sinclair was President of the Glasgow Medical Society.

The Rectors assessor is an interesting example of nepotism, if unpaid. R.C. Munro Ferguson, M.P. was the son-in-law of the Rector. After a military career and education at Sandhurst Munro Ferguson entered politics as M.P. for Ross and Cromarty and later for Leith Burgh. As a Liberal he was "whip" from 1894-5 and favoured Home Rule. His future political allegiance shifted to the Conservatives and he was a Secretary for Scotland in the Conservative administration 1922-24, reflecting the political involvement of his father though not his father's politics.

The Chancellor's assessor was the 9th Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, an aristocrat representing the Duke of Argyll. Educated at Eton and later Oxford University the Earl had links to the area as Lord Lieutenant of Fifeshire 1886 as well as being Treasurer of the Household and 1st Commissioner of Works. In the future he was to be appointed Viceroy of India 1894-99 and later Secretary of State for the Colonies 1905-8. In 1914 he was elected as Chancellor of the University of Aberdeen.

General Council assessors were headed by the Rt Hon Viscount Cross, G.C.D., banker, solicitor and statesman. Educated at Rugby school and Cambridge University, Cross entered law and in government. He was Home Secretary, involved in social reforms, such as the Artisans Dwellings Act of 1875, his activities marked the concept of greater "collectivist principles" into Government legislation by the Tories in the period. The remaining general council assessors were all from either the medical or legal professions. General council assessor Hugh F.C. Cleghorn was a medical practitioner and botanist, elected to the Fellowship of the Royal Society at Edinburgh in 1862. General council assessor John Campbell-Smith, LL.D. was a native of Fife. Educated at St Andrews University after a career as a stonemason, Campbell-Smith became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1856 and by the time of his appointment to the University Court in 1890 was Sheriff Substitute of Dundee.

General council assessor George William Balfour was Physician in ordinary to the Queen in Scotland as well as holding several positions as a consultant physician in Edinburgh Hospitals and Dispensaries. Balfour had links with Vienna translating and editing Caspers Handbook of Forensic Medicine, writing An introduction to the Study of Medicine and contributing to On Homeopathy in Vienna.

The senate assessors in the St Andrews Courts were three in number reflecting the greater representation by the three Principals. Senate assessor Lewis Campbell was Emeritus Professor of Greek at St Andrews from 1863-92. Born in Edinburgh from a naval background he was educated

at Edinburgh Academy and the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford. A vicar in the Church of England, C of E, in the early part of his career his interests in Hellenic Studies and Greek led to his involvement in University education. He was Vice-President to two limited companies involved in the education of girls and wrote on The Nationalisation of the Old English Universities in 1900.

Senate assessor James Bell Pettigrew (related on his mother's side to Henry Bell, founder of steam navigation in Europe) was a native of Lanarkshire, educated at Airdrie Academy, Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities. Appointed to the Chandos Chair as Professor of Medicine and Anatomy at St Andrews in 1875. Pettigrew had worked in London and Edinburgh before this. Pettigrew had been President of the Royal Medical Society in 1860 at the age of 26 and had been awarded the Goddard Prize by the French Academy of Sciences in 1874. Senate assessor James Alfred Ewing was a son of the manse and a native of Dundee. Educated at the High School Dundee and the University of Edinburgh, Ewing was engaged in engineering work until his appointment in 1878 as Professor of Mechanical Engineering at the Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan. Returning from Japan in 1883 he became Professor of engineering at University College Dundee and after 1890 was appointed Professor of Mechanism and Applied Mechanics at Cambridge.

ST ANDREWS COURT (with Dundee College) 1900

RECTOR James STUART L.L.D. M.P.
 PRINCIPAL ST ANDREWS James DONALDSON L.L.D.
 PRINCIPAL DUNDEE John Yule MACKAY M.D.
 PRINCIPAL ST MARY'S Prof A STEWART D.D.
 PROVOST ST ANDREWS J Ritchie WELCH
 PROVOST DUNDEE William HUNTER
 CHANCELLORS ASSES Sir Ralph W ANSTRUTHER Bt
 RECTORS ASSES J GORDON STUART W.S.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES William Barrie DOW M.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Rev Robert SCOTT M.A.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES George W BALFOUR M.D. L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Mark L ANDERSON D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof J E A STEGGALL M.A.
 SENATE ASSES Prof John HERKLESS D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof John BURNET

The Lord Rector was James Stuart, M.D., LL.D., M.P. Educated privately and at the Madras School, St Andrews he went on to St Andrews University and then to Cambridge. He was appointed Professor of Mechanism and Applied Mechanics at Cambridge in 1875 holding the post until 1889. Stuart founded the system of University extension and the mechanical workshops in Cambridge. He stood as a Liberal M.P. for Hackney (1884), Shoreditch (1885-1900) and Sunderland 1906-10. He became a Privy Councillor in 1909 and had business interests, through marriage, being a Director of J and J Colman Ltd., Norwich.

Alexander Stewart, D.D. Principal and Primarius Professor of Divinity at St Mary's College from 1894. Previous to this he had been Professor of Systematic Theology at the University of Aberdeen from 1887. Stewart had been educated privately and at the Queen's College, Liverpool and the University of St Andrews. Though born in Liverpool, Stewart became a minister in the Church of Scotland and was a future Moderator in 1911-12. He was also active on the St Andrews Provincial Committee Chairman for Training of Teachers 1906-10 and wrote extensively on Christian topics. The third Principal John Yule Mackay, M.D. LL.D. was Principal of University College Dundee and Professor of Botany at the College. Born a son of the manse, at Inverkeithing in Fife, a move to Blackfriars Parish in Glasgow determined his education. After attending Glasgow Academy and University where he achieved his M.D., C.M., M.D. Mackay became a Senior Demonstrator in Anatomy and Lecturer in Embryology in the University of Glasgow. Mackay wrote several medical textbooks on anatomy and dissection as well as contributing to societies with medical papers.

The civic representatives were J Ritchie Welch, the Provost of St Andrews and William Hunter, Lord Provost of Dundee. The Rector James Stuart chose as his assessor J Gordon Stuart a Writer to the Signet. The Chancellor's assessor was Sir Ralph William Anstruther, Bart the 6th Anstruther of Balcaskie. As assessor for the Chancellor, the Duke of Argyll, Anstruther had followed a military career serving in Egypt and Bechuanaland. He held estates in Fife and Caithness.

The general council assessors were the Reverend Robert Scott, M.A., Mark L. Anderson, D.D. and William Barrie Dow, M.D. Dr Dow was a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, President of the Fifeshire Medical Association and resident of Dunfermline.

Senate assessor John E.A. Steggall was the Professor of Mathematics at University College Dundee from 1883 after 3 years as a Lecturer at Queens College. Born and educated in London Steggall went to Cambridge university. Steggall wrote on mathematical and engineering topics in books and journals. His interests did not end there and he also wrote on Perthshire, Economics and in 1882 published London University, Questions and Solutions.

Senate assessor John Burnet was born in Edinburgh where his father was an advocate. Educated at the Royal High School, Edinburgh, he went on to the University of Edinburgh and then to Baliol College, Oxford. Master at Harrow at 25 years of age he became Professor of Greek at St Andrews in 1892 holding the position until 1926. Senate assessor John Herkless, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St Andrews from 1894-1915 when he became Principal (Senior) of the University of St Andrews and Principal of the United College of St Salvator and St Leonards. Born in Glasgow, the son of an engineer, Herkless attended Glasgow High School and the Universities at Glasgow and Jena. He worked as a Tutor in English Literature at Queen Margaret College, Glasgow and as Assistant Minister at St Mathews Parish

Glasgow 1881-3 and Minister of the Parish of Tannadice 1883-94. Herkless wrote several biographies of religious figures and was from 1911-15 Provost of St Andrews.

ST ANDREWS COURT (with Dundee College) 1910

RECTOR Rt Hon Sir John LUBBOCK Lord AVEBURY
 PRINCIPAL ST ANDREWS Sir James DONALDSON L.L.D. M.A.
 PRINCIPAL DUNDEE John Yule MACKAY M.D. L.L.D.
 PRINCIPAL ST MARY'S Very Rev A STEWART D.D. M.A.
 PROVOST ST ANDREWS John WILSON
 PROVOST DUNDEE James URQUHART
 CHANCELLORS ASSES James YOUNGER
 RECTORS ASSES John ROSS L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES William Barrie DOW M.D. L.L.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Rev William BLAIR M.A. D.D.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES Edward Ellice MORRISON M.A.
 GEN COUNCIL ASSES George Alexander GIBSON M.D. L.L.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof Alexander LAWSON M.A. B.D. D.D.
 SENATE ASSES Prof John BURNET
 SENATE ASSES Prof Charles Robert SHAW MARSHALL M.A. M.D.

The Lord Rector was The Right Honourable Sir John Lubbock, Lord Avebury. The eldest son of the third baronet Sir J W Lubbock, Lord Avebury was educated at Eton and then entered his father's bank. In his commercial career he acted as Chairman of both the London Bankers and of the Central Association of Bankers. Involved in politics as a Liberal Unionist, an MP for Maidstone and then, from 1880-1900, for London University. He was created baron in 1900. In his political work Avebury was involved in the passing of the Bank Holidays Act 1871, the Act for the preservation of Ancient Monuments 1882 and the Early Closing Act of 1904. He was also a Privy Councillor in the 1890s and involved in local government in London. He had also been Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee 1888-89. In addition to his commercial and political interests Lord Avebury contributed to scientific research, writing several works on scientific subjects. His work on ants was considered his most important addition to scientific knowledge. The civic representatives were the Provost of St Andrews, John Wilson, who had been Town Treasurer in 1907 and may be the John Wilson, ironmonger in Slater's Directory. James Urquhart was the Provost for Dundee. The Chancellor assessor was James Younger who may be associated with the Brewing firm of George Younger and Son Ltd., Alloa.

The general council assessor, Edward Ellice Morrison, M.A. does not appear. Reverend William Blair, M.A. D.D. general council assessor, was born in Cluny, Fifeshire, educated at Auchterderran Parish School and the University of St Andrews. He was ordained in 1856 and was chaplain to the 6th Perthshire Volunteers (Blackwatch) from 1892 and to the Territorial Force from 1911. Minister of Leighton Church, Dunblane and originally a United Presbyterian, he was Moderator of the United Presbyterian Church Synod in 1898-99. He

joined in the union of 1900 between the United Presbyterian and the majority of the Free Church of Scotland to form the United Free Church of Scotland, of which he was one of the principal clerks. Reverend Blair was also from 1885-1909 Chairman of the Dunblane School Board. General council assessor George Alexander Gibson, M.A. LL.D. M.D. had since 1909 been Professor of Mathematics at the University of Glasgow and he was also a Director of the Town and Gown Association of Edinburgh. Born in Perthshire the son of a solicitor he was educated at Dollar Academy and the Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Berlin and at London and Dublin Medical Schools. Gibson acted as a medical examiner at Glasgow, Edinburgh and Oxford, had experience of lecturing and wrote and edited several medical textbooks, mainly concerning the heart.

Senate assessor Professor Charles Robertson Marshall was appointed in 1899 to the Chair of *Materia Medica*. A native of Bradford he had attended the Owen College, Manchester and had been an Honorary Research Fellow in Pharmacology there from 1892-95. From 1894-99 he was assistant to the Professor of Medicine at Cambridge. He wrote papers on pharmacological subjects and a text book of *materia medica*. Senate assessor Professor Alexander Lawson was Berry Professor of English Literature from 1897-1920 and had been Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Born at Culross and educated there at the Geddes School he also attended the Universities of St Andrews and Heidelberg. He was ordained as Collegiate Minister at Elgin in 1882 and inducted to the Parish of Deer, Aberdeen in 1892. While at Elgin he acted as Chairman of the Parochial Board and was from 1886-89 Examiner in English and Philosophy in St Andrews University. senate assessor Professor A Lawson wrote several works on Scottish literature including A Book of the Parish of Deer 1896, Poems of Alexander Howe edited for the Scottish Text Society 1902, King's Quair 1910, and he was editor of St Andrews Treasury of Scottish Verse 1920.

Abstracted totals of Biographical data of Court members
for the Benchmark Years 1860, 70, 80, 90, 1900 and 1910
BIRTHPLACE AND EDUCATION (NA = Not available)
ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY COURT

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>NUMBER OF MEMBERS</u>	6	6	14	14	14	14
<u>BIRTH PLACE</u>	4NA	3NA	5NA	10NA	9NA	9NA
<u>SCOTLAND</u>	2	3	1	4	1	3
<u>OF WHICH BY REGION</u>						
NORTH EAST	1	2	1	2	1	1
HIGHLANDS/NORTH	1	1			1	
EAST CENTRAL				1	2	2
WEST						
LOTHIANS/BORDERS				1	1	
SOUTH WEST						
ENGLAND						1
WALES						
IRELAND						
CONTINENTAL EUROPE						
NORTH AMERICA						
BRITISH EMPIRE						1
OTHER						

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
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EDUCATION ¹
SCHOOL

GLASGOW						
EDINBURGH		1		1	1	1
OTHER SCOTTISH	1	1		1	4	2
ENGLAND			1	1		1
IRELAND						
OTHER						
PRIVATE					1	1

UNIVERSITY
EDUCATION

	2NA	2NA		2NA		
ABERDEEN	3	3	4	8	9	7
EDINBURGH	2		1	2	2	3
GLASGOW				1	1	1
ST ANDREWS				1	1	
OXFORD		1	1	1	2	3
CAMBRIDGE				1	1	1
OTHER BRITISH					1	
CONTINENTAL				4	7	7
OTHER						1

1 Classifications do not differentiate between public and state schools by region. Private schooling means at home or public boarding schools, where indicated.

ABSTRACTED TOTALS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF COURT MEMBERS
FOR THE BENCHMARK YEARS 1860, 70, 80, 90, 1900 AND 1910
SOCIO-ECONOMIC (NA = Not available)

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY COURT

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>PATERNAL FAMILY</u>						
<u>ECON/SOC ORIGIN</u>	4NA	4NA	4NA	9NA	10NA	12NA
ARISTOCRAT	1	1	1			
PROFESSIONAL	1	1	1	3	2	1
COMMERCE/TRADE ²					1	
INDUSTRIAL/ MANUFACTURE				2	1	1
AGRICULTURAL WORKING CLASS						
<u>CHURCH GROUP</u>	4NA	3NA	5NA	11NA	12NA	13NA
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	1	3	1	2	2	
DISSENER IN SCOTLAND						1
OTHER DENOMINATION						
<u>POLITICAL PARTY</u>	4NA	4NA	4NA	12NA	12NA	11NA
CONSERVATIVE				1	1	1
LIBERAL	2	2	2	1	1	2
LIBERAL UNIONIST						
OTHER						
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT	1	2	1	2	CANADA	1
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	4	5	5	7	6	6
EDUCATIONAL REFORMER				2		
EDUCATION COMMISSION/ COMMITTEES MEMBERS	6	6	6	14	14	14
YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910

WORK DESCRIPTION/
CONTACTS

ARISTOCRAT/LAND		1	1		1	
COMMERCE/TRADE				2	2	2
INDUSTRIAL/ MANUFACTURE				1		
PROFESSIONS OF WHICH AT DIFFERENT TIMES						
LAW	3	2	1	3	4	5
RELIGION	1	3	2	3	2	1
MEDICINE	2	1	1	3	3	4
CIVIL SERVICE	1	1	1		1	1
EDUCATION	2	2	2	5	5	5
SEEN IN COMBINATION	3	3	3	3	2	3

2 Commerce and Trade indicates a background at any level of business, although in general to be included in the sources requires usually more than petty activity.

ABSTRACTED TOTALS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF COURT MEMBERS
FOR THE BENCHMARK YEARS 1860, 70, 80, 90, 1900 AND 1910
BIRTHPLACE AND EDUCATION (NA = Not available)

ST ANDREWS/ DUNDEE UNIVERSITY COURT

<u>YEAR</u>	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>NUMBER OF MEMBERS</u>	6	6	6	17	15	15

<u>BIRTH PLACE OF WHICH BY REGION SCOTLAND</u>	4NA	5NA	5NA	3NA	5NA	6NA
	2			5	3	

NORTH EAST HIGHLANDS/NORTH EAST CENTRAL	1			1	1	1
WEST	1			3	1	4
LOTHIANS/BORDERS				1	1	
SOUTH WEST				2	1	1

ENGLAND			1	1	3	3
WALES						
IRELAND						
CONTINENTAL EUROPE		1		1		
NORTH AMERICA						
BRITISH EMPIRE						
OTHER						

<u>YEAR</u>	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
-------------	------	------	------	------	------	------

EDUCATION SCHOOL

GLASGOW					2	1
EDINBURGH				2	1	1
OTHER SCOTTISH				3		3
ENGLAND		1	2	4	2	1
IRELAND						
OTHER PRIVATE		1				
			1	1	2	2

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

ABERDEEN				1	1	1
EDINBURGH	1	1		5	1	2
GLASGOW		2	2	4	2	2
ST ANDREWS	2	2	2	4	6	6
OXFORD	1	1	2	4	1	1
CAMBRIDGE		1	1	1	2	1
OTHER BRITISH		1	1	1	1	1
CONTINENTAL	1	2		2	1	3
OTHER					1	3

ABSTRACTED TOTALS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF COURT MEMBERS
FOR THE BENCHMARK YEARS 1860, 70, 80, 90, 1900 AND 1910
SOCIO-ECONOMIC (NA = Not available)

ST ANDREWS/ DUNDEE UNIVERSITY COURT

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>PATERNAL FAMILY</u>						
<u>ECON/SOC ORIGIN</u>	4NA	5NA	3NA	8NA	8NA	11NA
ARISTOCRAT	1		2	2	1	1
PROFESSIONAL	1			4	3	3
COMMERCE/TRADE			1	1		1
INDUSTRIAL/ MANUFACTURE					3	
AGRICULTURAL				1		
WORKING CLASS				1		
<u>CHURCH GROUP</u>	4NA	4NA	3NA	12NA	10NA	11NA
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	2	1	1	2	5	3
DISSENER IN SCOTLAND						1
OTHER DENOMINATION		1	2	3		
<u>POLITICAL PARTY</u>	4NA	2NA	2NA	12NA	14NA	13NA
CONSERVATIVE	1	1		2		
LIBERAL	1	3	3	3	1	
LIBERAL UNIONIST			1			2
OTHER						
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT			1	2	1	
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	2	2	1	8	6	6
EDUCATIONAL REFORMER		1			5	2
EDUCATION COMMISSION/ COMMITTEES MEMBERS	6	6	5	17	15	14
YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>WORK DESCRIPTION/ CONTACTS</u>						
ARISTOCRAT/LAND	1	1	2	2	1	1
COMMERCE/TRADE				2		2
INDUSTRIAL/ MANUFACTURE				1	1	
PROFESSIONS OF WHICH AT DIFFERENT TIMES						
LAW	2	1	2	3		1
RELIGION	2	1	1	1	4	3
MEDICINE		1	1	4	3	4
CIVIL SERVICE		1	2	5		
EDUCATION	2	3	3	7	8	7
SEEN IN COMBINATION	2	3	3	4	5	5

ABSTRACTED TOTALS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF COURT MEMBERS
FOR THE BENCHMARK YEARS 1860, 70, 80, 90, 1900 AND 1910
BIRTHPLACE AND EDUCATION (NA = Not available)

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY COURT

<u>YEAR</u>	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>NUMBER OF MEMBERS</u>	8	8	8	14	14	14
<u>BIRTH PLACE</u>	2NA	3NA	3NA	4NA	3NA	6NA
<u>SCOTLAND</u>	5	5	5	9	7	5
<u>OF WHICH BY REGION</u>						
<u>NORTH EAST</u>						
<u>HIGHLANDS/NORTH</u>		1	1	2	1	
<u>EAST CENTRAL</u>	1		1		1	
<u>WEST</u>	1					1
<u>LOTHIANS/BORDERS</u>	2	2			2	4
<u>SOUTH WEST</u>			1	1		
<u>ENGLAND</u>	1			1	1	2
<u>WALES</u>						
<u>IRELAND</u>					1	
<u>CONTINENTAL EUROPE</u>					1	
<u>NORTH AMERICA</u>					1	
<u>BRITISH EMPIRE</u>						1
<u>OTHER</u>						

<u>YEAR</u>	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
-------------	------	------	------	------	------	------

EDUCATION
SCHOOL

<u>GLASGOW</u>			1		1	
<u>EDINBURGH</u>	3	2	1	4	5	6
<u>OTHER SCOTTISH</u>	1	1		5	2	2
<u>ENGLAND</u>	1	1	1	2	3	2
<u>IRELAND</u>						
<u>OTHER</u>						
<u>PRIVATE</u>			2	1		

UNIVERSITY
EDUCATION

<u>ABERDEEN</u>						
<u>EDINBURGH</u>	6	5	4	9	9	10
<u>GLASGOW</u>			1	4	3	2
<u>ST ANDREWS</u>	1			1		
<u>OXFORD</u>	1	1	1	1	3	1
<u>CAMBRIDGE</u>	1		1		1	
<u>OTHER BRITISH</u>	1	1	1			
<u>CONTINENTAL</u>	1	1	1	3	1	2
<u>OTHER</u>				1	1	

ABSTRACTED TOTALS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF COURT MEMBERS
FOR THE BENCHMARK YEARS 1860, 70, 80, 90, 1900 AND 1910
SOCIO-ECONOMIC (NA = Not available)

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY COURT

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
------	------	------	------	------	------	------

PATERNAL FAMILY

<u>ECON/SOC ORIGIN</u>	5NA	4NA	1NA	6NA	4NA	9NA
------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

ARISTOCRAT	2	2	2	1	2	2
PROFESSIONAL	1	1	3	5	6	4
COMMERCE/TRADE	1		1	2	3	
INDUSTRIAL/ MANUFACTURE			1			
AGRICULTURAL WORKING CLASS		1				

<u>CHURCH GROUP</u>	5NA	7NA	7NA	11NA	12NA	13NA
---------------------	-----	-----	-----	------	------	------

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND		1		1	1	
DISSENTER IN SCOTLAND	3		1	2	1	
OTHER DENOMINATION						

<u>POLITICAL PARTY</u>	3NA	5NA	6NA	12NA	11NA	9NA
------------------------	-----	-----	-----	------	------	-----

CONSERVATIVE	1	1		1	3	4
LIBERAL	4	2	2	1		1
LIBERAL UNIONIST OTHER						

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT	1	1	2	2	1	1
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---

LOCAL GOVERNMENT	4	5	4	7	6	5
------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---

EDUCATIONAL REFORMER	1	1	1	2	5	1
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---

EDUCATION COMMISSION/ COMMITTEES MEMBERS	2	5	4	6	7	8
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
------	------	------	------	------	------	------

WORK DESCRIPTION/
CONTACTS

ARISTOCRAT/LAND	1	3	3	3	1	1
COMMERCE/TRADE		1	2	1	1	1
INDUSTRIAL/ MANUFACTURE	1		1	1		
PROFESSIONS OF WHICH AT DIFFERENT TIMES						
LAW	3	4	1	4	5	4
RELIGION	1	1	1	2		
MEDICINE	2	1	1	4	4	4
CIVIL SERVICE	4	5	5	5	7	2
EDUCATION	3	3	4	7	9	9
SEEN IN COMBINATION	5	3	5	6	8	4

ABSTRACTED TOTALS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF COURT MEMBERS
FOR THE BENCHMARK YEARS 1860, 70, 80, 90, 1900 AND 1910
BIRTHPLACE AND EDUCATION (NA = Not available)

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY COURT

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>NUMBER OF MEMBERS</u>	7	7	7	14	14	14
<u>BIRTH PLACE</u>	3NA	2NA	1NA	3NA	1NA	1NA
<u>SCOTLAND</u>	4	4	5	10	12	10
<u>OF WHICH BY REGION</u>						
<u>NORTH EAST</u>						
<u>HIGHLANDS/NORTH</u>	1	1				
<u>EAST CENTRAL</u>					1	2
<u>WEST</u>	1	2	4	4	7	7
<u>LOTHIANS/BORDERS</u>	2	1	1	1	2	
<u>SOUTH WEST</u>				1	1	1
<u>ENGLAND</u>		1	1			2
<u>WALES</u>						1
<u>IRELAND</u>						
<u>CONTINENTAL EUROPE</u>						
<u>NORTH AMERICA</u>						
<u>BRITISH EMPIRE</u>						
<u>OTHER</u>						

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
<u>SCHOOL</u>						
<u>GLASGOW</u>	1	1	2	2	6	4
<u>EDINBURGH</u>	2	1	1	1	2	1
<u>OTHER SCOTTISH</u>			1	2	3	4
<u>ENGLAND</u>	1	1	1	2	1	2
<u>IRELAND</u>						
<u>OTHER</u>						
<u>PRIVATE</u>						

UNIVERSITY
EDUCATION

<u>ABERDEEN</u>	1	1				
<u>EDINBURGH</u>	2	1		2	3	
<u>GLASGOW</u>	2	3	6	9	9	
<u>ST ANDREWS</u>	1			1	2	
<u>OXFORD</u>		1	1	1	1	1
<u>CAMBRIDGE</u>	1	1	1	2	1	2
<u>OTHER BRITISH</u>					1	
<u>CONTINENTAL</u>	1		1	1	1	1
<u>OTHER</u>					1	2

ABSTRACTED TOTALS OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF COURT MEMBERS
FOR THE BENCHMARK YEARS 1860, 70, 80, 90, 1900 AND 1910
SOCIO-ECONOMIC (NA = Not available)

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY COURT

YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
<u>PATERNAL FAMILY</u>						
<u>ECON/SOC ORIGIN</u>	2NA	1NA	1NA	5NA	5NA	6NA
ARISTOCRAT	3	3	2	2	1	1
PROFESSIONAL	1	3		2	1	1
COMMERCE/TRADE	1	1	2		2	2
INDUSTRIAL/ MANUFACTURE			3	2	1	2
AGRICULTURAL				3	1	2
WORKING CLASS						
<u>CHURCH GROUP</u>	5NA	4NA	2NA	9NA	7NA	10NA
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	2	3	3	5	4	2
DISSENER IN SCOTLAND			1		3	1
OTHER DENOMINATION			1			1
<u>POLITICAL PARTY</u>	4NA	5NA	2NA	9NA	7NA	10NA
CONSERVATIVE	1	2	3	3	2	3
LIBERAL	2		2	1	3	
LIBERAL UNIONIST						1
OTHER						
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT	2	3	3	1	2	1
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	2	3	5	8	9	6
EDUCATIONAL REFORMER	3	3	3	3	6	7
EDUCATION COMMISSION/ COMMITTEES MEMBERS	2	3	4	5	9	8
YEAR	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910

WORK DESCRIPTION/
CONTACTS

CAREER LINKS						
ARISTOCRAT/LAND	3	3	2	2	3	1
COMMERCE/TRADE		1	3	3	4	2
INDUSTRIAL/ MANUFACTURE			2	2	3	3
PROFESSIONS OF WHICH AT DIFFERENT TIMES						
LAW	2	1	2	4	2	1
RELIGION	2	2	1	2	2	1
MEDICINE		1		2	2	3
CIVIL SERVICE	3	3	4	4	4	1
EDUCATION	3	5	6	7	9	10
SEEN IN COMBINATION	4	5	6	11	11	5

Appendix 4.1

Attendance at the Court Meetings of the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh for the benchmark years 1860-1, 1870-1, 1880-1, 1890-1, 1900-1, 1910-11.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES USED

RC LORD RECTOR
PR PRINCIPAL
DF DEAN OF FACULTY (GLASGOW ONLY)
PT LORD PROVOST
TA TOWN ASSESOR
CA CHANCELLORS ASSESOR
RA RECTORS ASSESOR
GC GENERAL COUNCIL ASSESOR
SA SENATE ASSESOR
BT BART
MP MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
Prof PROFESSOR
VOL VOLUME

Glasgow University Court Meetings AttendanceTable 1

GLASGOW COURT 1860-61 7 members

	Number of Meetings 8	Total Attended
Members		
RC Earl of Elgin		1
PR T Barclay		8
DF J Moncrieff		1
CA Rev J Robertson		7
RA T Buchanan		7
GC A Bannatyne		8
SA Prof W Ramsay		8

GLASGOW COURT 1870-1 7 members

	Number of Meetings 8	Total Attended
Members		
RC Earl of Derby		0
PR T Barclay		8
DF Sir T E Colebrook		1
CA A Syme		3
Rev Pearson after 18.10.1870		3
RA J A Campbell		8
GC A Kirkwood		7
SA Prof A Thompson		8

GLASGOW COURT 1880 7 members

	Number of Meetings 7	Total Attended
Members		
RC W E Gladstone MP		0
PR John Caird DD		7
DF James King		5
CA J A Campbell		3
RA A Crum		5
Mr H C Cameron after 21.12.1880		1
GC A Kirkwood		6
SA Prof Berry		7

Source: Glasgow University Court Minute Books vols 1 and 2

GLASGOW COURT 1890 14 members

	Number of Meetings 10	Total Attended
Members		
RC Earl of Lytton		0
PR J Caird		9
PT Mr Muir		1
CA Sir J King		4
RA James Grahame		2
TA James Colquhoun		10
GC R W Cochran Patrick		0
GC H C Cameron		7
GC Sir J N Cuthbertson		6
GC David Hannay		10
SA Prof Ramsay		9
SA Sheriff Berry		10
SA Prof Leishman		8
SA Prof Stewart		10

GLASGOW COURT 1900 14 members

	Number of Meetings 14	Total Attended
Members		
RC Earl of Rosebery		2
PR R H Story		13
PT Mr Chisholm		7
CA Sir J King Bt		6
RA A Ure MP		6
TA R Mitchell		9
GC J N Cuthbertson		12
GC D C McVail		14
GC Sir J Bell Bt		4
GC H C Cameron		3
GC W Robertson Copland starts		7
SA Sheriff Berry		11
SA Prof Stewart		14
SA Prof Adamson		13
SA Prof Young		14

Source: Glasgow University Court minute book vol 3 and Printed Court Minutes vol 1.

GLASGOW COURT 1910 14 members

	Number of Meetings 12	Total Attended
Members		
RC Baron Curzon		0
PR Sir D MacAlister		12
PT A McInnes Shaw		4
CA William Lorimer		9
RA Sir J U Primrose		6
TA James McFarlane		9
GC Sir D C McVail		10
GC David Murray		11
GC John Hutchison		12
GC John Smith DD		10
SA Prof Jones		9
SA Prof Gray		12
SA Prof H C Cameron		9
SA Prof Bower		12

Source: Glasgow University Printed Minute book vol 11.

Edinburgh University Court Meetings AttendanceTable 2

EDINBURGH COURT 1859-61 8 members

	Number of Meetings	Total Attended
	8	
Members		
RC W H Gladstone		1
PR Sir D Brewster		6
PT Brown Douglas		7
TA Bailie R S Grieve		7
RA E F Maitland(Sir J Melville)		7
CA Dr A Wood		8
GC Dr John Brown		6
SA Dr R Christison		6

EDINBURGH COURT 1870 8 members

	Number of Meetings	Total Attended
	9	
Members		
RC Rt Hon J Moncrieff	6	
PR Sir G Grant	9	
PT William Law	6	
TA James McKnight WS	8	
RA Alex Nicolson	9	
CA E S Gordon	6	
GC Rev K M Phinn	9	
SA Dr R Christison	8	

EDINBURGH COURT 1880 8 members

	Number of Meetings	Total Attended
	6	
Members		
RC The Marquis of Hartington		0
PR Sir A Grant		6
PT T J Boyd		3
TA Thomas Clark		5
RA Lord Young		2
CA John Marshall Lord Curriehill		6
GC Sir R Christison Bt		5
SA Prof Campbell Fraser		6

Source: Edinburgh University Court Minute Books Vol 1-3

EDINBURGH COURT 1890 14 members

	Number of Meetings	Total Attended
	13	
Members		
RC Marquess of Lothian		0
PR Sir W Muir		13
PT John Boyd		2
CA T G Murray		9
RA M T S Darling		7
TA James Colston		5
GC P H Watson		12
GC Lr Kingsburgh		9
GC John Duncan		9
GC Thomas McKie		13
SA Prof Fraser		12
SA Prof Taylor		11
SA Prof W Turner		13
SA Prof C Brown		13

EDINBURGH COURT 1900 14 members

	Number of Meetings	Total Attended
	10	
Members		
RC Marquess of Dufferin and Ava		1
PR Sir W Muir		10
PT Mitchell Thompson		0
CA Lord M T S Darling		1
CA A J G MacKay		3
RA David Dundas		7
TA Andrew Mitchell		9
GC P H Watson		8
GC J Hope Finlay		9
GC A Taylor Innes		8
GC Joseph Bell		10
SA Prof W Turner		10
SA Prof Crum Brown		9
SA Prof S H Butcher		1
SA Prof S S Laurie		9

Source: Edinburgh University Court Minute books vols 3 and 7.

EDINBURGH COURT 1910 14 members

	Number of Meetings 11	Total Attended
Members		
RC George Wyndham MP		0
PR Sir William Turner		10
PT W S Brown		6
CA Lord Dundas		10
RA James Walker		11
TA A A Murray		2
GC Joseph Bell		10
GC D F Lowe		9
GC David D Buchan		11
GC R McKenzie Johnston		9
SA Prof John Rankine		10
SA Prof Sir T R Fraser		10
SA Prof A S Pattison		11
SA Prof Hudson Beare		10

Source: Edinburgh University Court Minute books vol 10 printed.

Table 3Costs of Glasgow University Court and Senate 1873-1911.

Year	Court and Senate Costs combined to 1888					
	£	s	d			
1873-4	209	:19	: 8			
1874-5	203	: 7	:			
1875-6	208	:19	:			
1876-7	262	:13	: 5			
1877-8	228	:18	: 2			
1878-9	218	:	: 2			
1879-80	285	: 7	: 8			
1880-81	312	: 4	: 4			
1881-2	355	:11	: 4			
1882-3	371	: 9	:10			
1883-4	430	:17	: 2			
1884-5	426	:14	:			
1885-6	412	:18	: 8			
1886-7	382	: 1	: 8			
1887-8	425	:18	: 8			
	Court			Senate		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1888-9	52	:12	:	423	: 7	: 8
1889-90	56	:15	: 6	443	: 6	: 8
1890-91	331	:16	: 5	455	:	:
1891-2	233	: 3	: 4	454	: 3	: 4
1892-3	241	: 8	: 3	560	:15	:
1893-4	393	: 3	: 4	610	:10	:10
1894-5	279	: 2	: 4	721	:	:
1895-6	260	:	: 8	741	:	:
1896-7	337	: 6	:10	891	:12	: 6
1897-8	354	: 5	: 2	816	:19	:
1898-9	347	:15	:10	828	:15	: 5
1899-1900	376	: 4	: 7	819	:14	: 9
1900-1	397	: 8	: 9	868	: 3	: 3
1901-2	465	:11	: 2	966	:10	: 3
1902-3	332	:13	: 2	944	:11	: 8
1903-4	519	:15	: 7	954	:11	: 8
1904-5	440	: 8	: 4	974	: 1	: 8
1905-6	441	: 9	: 8	908	: 5	: 9
1906-7	a538	:16	: 6	822	:17	: 6
1907-8	b609	: 6	: 5	857	:10	:
1908-9	c600	: 4	: 2	1,195	:	: +QM
1909-10	d622	: 8	: 6	1,387	:10	: +QM
1910-11	651	: 5	:10 clerk	194	:15	:10

a includes £176: 0: 6d for assistants to court secretary
b includes £259: 6: 5d for assistants to court secretary
c includes £250: 4: 2d for assistants to court secretary
d includes £272: 8: 6d for assistants to court secretary

Senate costs 1908-1910 include costs related to the Administration of Queen Margaret College.

Source: Glasgow University Calendars 1873-1912.

Table 4
Financial costs of Edinburgh University Court and Senate
1864-1910

Year	Court			Senate		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1864-5	28	:0	:0	954	:0	:0
1865-6	68	:0	:0	1,072	:0	:0
1866-7	126	:0	:0	1,237	:0	:0
1867-8	150	:0	:0	1,279	:0	:0
1868-9	76	:0	:0	1,291	:0	:0
				*		
1869-70	63	:0	:0	509	:0	:0
1870-1	55	:0	:0	526	:0	:0
1871-2	55	:0	:0	575	:0	:0
1872-3	105	:0	:0	618	:0	:0
1873-4	78	:0	:0	569	:0	:0
1874-5	68	:0	:0	629	:0	:0
1875-6	123	:0	:0	687	:0	:0
1876-7	116	: 9	:0	666	:19	: 9
1877-8	136	: 2	: 2	769	: 9	:10
1878-9	135	: 2	: 1	820	: 9	: 9
1879-80	137	:17	: 4	847	:17	:10
1880-1	122	: 5	: 5	898	: 0	: 7
1881-2	131	:10	: 9	914	: 4	: 4
1882-3	127	:15	: 2	918	:13	: 2
1883-4	120	:18	: 4	1,043	: 3	: 6
1884-5	138	: 7	:11	1,024	: 3	: 5
1885-6	122	:16	:10	1,001	: 6	: 3
1886-7	138	:14	: 3	1,079	:12	: 3
1887-8	153	:10	: 2	1,112	: 6	: 6
1888-9	186	: 4	: 4	1,160	: 9	:
1889-90	455	:11	: 6	767	:16	:11
1890-1	822	:19	: 7	983	:11	: 7
1891-2	809	: 4	: 2	1,095	: 0	: 4
1892-3	838	:12	:11	1,093	: 7	: 6
1893-4	925	:16	: 7	1,218	: 1	: 2
1894-5	843	: 6	: 1	1,817	: 6	: 0
1895-6	842	: 7	: 3	1,796	:12	: 6
1896-7	831	: 3	: 2	1,709	: 6	:10
1897-8	936	:17	: 4	1,798	:18	: 2
1898-9	877	: 3	: 4	1,912	:10	: 6
1899-1900	842	: 7	: 3	1,730	: 0	: 5
1900-01	838	: 8	: 8	1,879	:12	: 4
1901-02	885	: 3	: 6	1,896	: 9	: 8
1902-03	888	:16	:11	2,098	:18	: 4
1903-04	861	: 0	: 8	2,330	:17	: 7
1904-05	908	: 7	: 4	2,116	: 6	: 2
1905-06	932	:18	: 0	2,158	: 4	: 5
1906-07	954	:18	:10	2,259	:17	: 3
1907-8	1,006	:17	:10	2,503	:13	: 9
1908-9	University Administration £5,047: 2: 8					
1909-10	1,050	:11	:10	2,313	:11	:10

* Costs include those of the General Council to this point.

Source: Edinburgh University Calendars 1865-1911

Appendix 4.2

Tables of Recognition of other institutions by the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh and of the Boards and other institutions upon which members of the Glasgow University Court and Senate acted as representatives.

Table 1

List of Universities, Colleges and other Institutions from which the University of Edinburgh received an application for some form of recognition.

Edinburgh Court Minutes recognition given to the following Universities and Colleges to 1880 and 1889.

To 1880

Britain and Ireland

Cambridge University
 Dublin University
 Durham University
 London University
 Oxford University
 Queens University, Ireland
 Queens College, Liverpool
 Sydenham College, Birmingham

Empire and Dominions

Bodrington College, Barbados
 Bombay University
 Calcutta University
 University of Madras
 University of Fredrickton, New Brunswick
 Kings College, Nova Scotia
 Queens College, Kingston, Ontario
 University College, Toronto

Edinburgh recognitions to 1889

Britain and Ireland

Leeds College
 London School of Medicine for Women
 Manchester School of Medicine
 Apothecaries Hall, Ireland
 Apothecaries Society, London
 Yorkshire College, Leeds
 Cirencester Agricultural College
 Durham University Medical College,
 New Castle

University of South Wales,
Monmouthshire

Empire and Dominions

Codrington College, Barbados
Bishops College, Montreal
Manitoba University
McGill College, Montreal
Dalhousie College and University, Halifax
Alison College, New Brunswick
Canada Upper Victoria College
Mt Alison College, New Brunswick
Christ's College, Canterbury, New Zealand
Otago University, New Zealand
Melbourne University
Adelaide Institute of South Australia
Adelaide University South Australia
Tasmanian Council of Education
University of Sydney

Source: Edinburgh Court Minutes Volumes 1, 2 and 3
1859 to 1889.

Table 2

Universities, Colleges and other Institutions from which
the Glasgow University Court received applications for
some form of Recognition by either Students or Lecturers
1900 to 1910.

Universities	Date	Subject or Qualification requested for Recognition
Britain		
Westminster College, Cambridge	1902	Theology
Queen's College, Belfast	1903	Chemistry, Zoology, Medicine
University College, London	1908	Botany in Agriculture Science in Public Health
King's College, London	1908	Science in Engineering
King's College, London	1910	Engineering Drawing
University of Bristol	1910	
University of Birmingham	1910	
Empire and Dominions		
New Zealand	1902	Medicine
Rhode's University, College Cape Colony Cape of Good Hope	1902	Physics, Chemistry, Botany
University	1902	B.A. for Dip in Education
Auckland University	1907	
University of Calcutta		
Punjab University	1908	B.Sc. in Engineering

University of Sydney	1908	Science in Engineering
Dacca College,		
Calcutta University	1908	Science in Engineering
Presidency College,		
Calcutta University	1909	Science in Engineering
Calcutta University	1909	Science and Mining
Central Hindu College,		
University of Allahabad	1910	Science in Engineering

Europe

University of Barcelona	1902	B.A.
Delft University	1909	Graduation in Science
Konigsberg University	1910	

Other

Radcliffe College, USA	1909	B.A. for Divinity
------------------------	------	-------------------

Colleges

Yorkshire United		
Independent College	1903	Theology
Theological College of		
the Scottish Episcopal		
Church	1903	Theology
Royal Institute of		
Public Health	1903	Public Health
Royal College of		
Science, London	1903	Engineering
Royal Army Medical		
College	1905	Science in Public Health
United Hospital		
Liverpool	1905	Science in Medicine
City and Guilds College		
London	1907	B.Sc.
Royal Naval College,		
Greenwich	1907	
Swansea Borough Fever,		
Hospital	1908	Public Health
Municipal School of,		
Technology, Manchester	1908	Science in Engineering
St Thomas's Hospital		
London (Medical School)	1909	Medicine
City and Guilds Technical		
College, Finsbury, London	1909	

Empire and Dominions

South Africa College,		
Cape Town	1905	Zoology for Science
Transvaal Technical,		
Institute, Johannesburg	1905	Zoology and Chemistry
Royal Engineering,		
College Sibpur	1905	
Victoria College,		
Cape Colony	1907	
College of Science,		

Poona 1907 Science in Engineering
 Thomason Civil
 Engineering College,
 Roorkee, India 1909

Europe

Copenhagen College 1902-3 Engineering
 Norwegian Naval School 1909 Science in Engineering

Other

Virginia Polytechnic,
 Institute 1905
 Tokio Technical College 1907 Engineering

Source: Glasgow University Court Minute Books 1900 to 1910. GUA refs 50574 to 50583.

Table 3

List of institutions in the locale of Glasgow University requesting recognition by the court for lecturers or in which court members were involved in an official capacity 1900 to 1910.

Name of Institution	Dates Appearing
West of Scotland Agricultural College	1902
Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College	1903
St Mungo's Medical School	1903
Anderson's College Medical School	1903
School of Medicine Royal College Edinburgh	1903
Highlands and Islands Trust	1903
Glasgow Anthenuem Commercial College	1903
Marine Biological Association	1903
Samaritan Hospital for Women	1903
Western Medical School Glasgow	1903
Glasgow Veterinary College (request for affiliation)	1909
Glasgow Royal Infirmary	1909
Glasgow School of Art	1910

Source: Glasgow University Court Minute Books 1900 to 1910. GUA refs 50574 to 50583.

Table 4Representatives from the Glasgow Court to Charitable or other Boards 1900 and 1910.

Name of Institution 1900

General Medical Council
 Western Infirmary
 Victoria Infirmary
 Agricultural College
 Glasgow Samaritan Hospital for Women
 Highlands and Islands Education Trust
 Stirling Educational Trust
 Millport Marine Biological Station

in addition by 1910

Glasgow Eye Infirmary
 Glasgow Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers
 Glasgow Atheneum Commercial College
 Pearce Institute, Govan
 Wallace Hall Academy, Dumfries
 Glasgow Veterinary College
 Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland

Source: Glasgow University Court Minute Books 1900 to 1910. GUA refs 50574 to 50583.

Table 5Educational and other Boards which had representatives of the Senate of the University of Glasgow 1900 and 1910.

Name of Institution 1900

Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College
 Glasgow City Educational Endowments Board
 Glasgow General Educational Endowments Board
 Glasgow School of Art
 Hutcheson's Educational Trust
 John Clark (Mile End) Bursary Trust
 Scott Scholarship and Bursaries Trust
 Western Infirmary
 Royal Infirmary
 Asylum for the Blind
 Glasgow Convalescent Home
 Ballies Institution

in addition by 1910

Haldane Trust
 Ministers and Professors' Widows Fund
 Glasgow Veterinary College
 Glasgow Maternity and Women's Hospital

Source: Glasgow University Calendars 1900-1 and 1910-11.

Appendix 5.1
Student Numbers at Scottish Universities 1861-1910

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ABERDEEN</u>	<u>EDINBURGH</u>	<u>GLASGOW</u>	<u>ST. ANDREWS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	
1861	634	1,462	1,140	163	3,399	
1862	616	1,510	1,266	181	3,573	
1863	577	1,480	1,242	168	3,467	
1864	532	1,440	1,179	166	3,317	
1865	522	1,477	1,238	171	3,408	
1866	544	1,525	1,204	173	3,446	
1867	548	1,513	1,273	167	3,501	
1868	527	1,564	1,280	184	3,555	
1869	553	1,698	1,282	177	3,710	
1870	566	1,768	1,279	172	3,785	
1871	605	1,854	1,349	176	3,984	
1872	656	1,906	1,258	157	3,977	
1873	658	1,930	1,333	140	4,061	
1874	636	2,076	1,484	141	4,337	
1875	696	2,065	1,601	147	4,509	
1876	677	2,351	1,773	130	4,931	
1877	705	2,545	2,018	153	5,421	
1878	734	2,667	2,096	161	5,658	
1879	738	2,923	2,235	158	6,054	
1880	772	3,160	2,304	188	6,424	
1881	813	3,296	2,320	193	6,595	
1882	868	3,351	2,275	195	6,689	
1883	859	3,371	2,212	195	6,637	
1884	901	3,423	2,261	203	6,788	
1885	892	3,620	2,241	212	6,947	
1886	869	3,556	2,260	216	6,901	
1887	918	3,475	2,188	218	6,799	
1888						
1889	914	3,576	2,156	208	6,854	
1890	922	3,488	2,187	201	6,798	
1891	914	3,368	2,133	189	6,604	
1892	912	3,227	2,167	197	6,503	
1893	812	3,064	2,054	214	6,144	
1894	789	2,939	1,944	203	5,875	
1895	782	2,825	1,835	212	5,654	
1896	755	2,833	1,871	236	5,695	
1897	776	2,780	1,836	246	5,638	
1898	808	2,846	1,966	DUNDEE 258	5,878	
1899	828	2,789	2,030	132	264	6,043
1900	800	2,811	2,038	137	275	6,061
1901	831	2,920	2,068	153	282	6,254
1902	864	2,956	2,158	174	309	6,461
1903	884	3,001	2,219	207	292	6,603
1904	879	3,043	2,267	199	293	6,681
1905	880	3,147	2,356	198	320	6,901
1906	890	3,196	2,505	203	310	7,104
1907	932	3,292	2,586	216	334	7,360
1908	970	3,286	2,699	235	350	7,540
1909	1,007	3,279	2,728	218	354	7,586
1910	1,069	3,366	2,790	226	353	7,704

SOURCE: Anderson R D Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland Oxford 1983, p.348-357.

Appendix 6.1Part 1The Edinburgh University Buildings Appeal 1874-83

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

In addition to the above the further public appeal of 1883 raised in four months

<u>Donor</u>	<u>£ Sterling</u>
The Right Hon the Earl of Rosebery	2,000
The Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh	1,050
The Right Hon the Earl of Moray	1,000
The Right Hon the Earl of Wemyss and March	1,000
The Right Hon the Earl of Hopetoun	1,000
J R Findlay, Esq	1,000
J Fulton, Esq	1,000
Messrs John Jeffrey and Co	1,000

W M ^C Ewan, Esq	1,000
The Right Hon Earl of Stair	500
T R Buchanan, Esq, M.P.	500
W D Menzies, Esq	500
J D Menzies, Esq	500
Messrs Thomas Nelson and Sons	500
James H Renton, Esq	500

	<u>13,050</u>
Other Subscriptions, £300 and under	13,851
From the General University Fund	2,000

funds as at 25th April 1883 28,901

Together with the appeal of 1874-83 and the Government
Grant of £80,000 Total £209,384.

Source: Sir A Grant, Bart The Story of the University
of Edinburgh. 2 Volumes, Longmans, Green and Co, London,
1884.

Part 2Glasgow University New College Buildings Appeal: Analysis of subscribers according to Rank and Condition.

	Amount given		
	£ Sterling		
Royalty	605	0	0
Nobility	5,352	0	0
General Public under no Special Head	16,270	10	2
MERCANTILE			
Merchants	30,405	15	0
Coal & Ironmasters	15,160	0	0
Manufacturers	7,546	12	0
Chemical Manufacturers	7,100	0	0
Warehousemen	5,247	7	0
Dyers & Calico Printers	5,150	0	0
Stockbrokers	1,715	0	0
Stationers	1,280	10	0
Cotton Spinners	1,150	0	0
Shipowners	999	10	0
Publishers & Booksellers	785	0	0
Distillers	570	0	0
Newspaper Proprietors	500	0	0
Bankers	453	13	0
Jewellers	200	0	0
Grocers	77	2	0
Calenderers	7	7	0
Auctioneers	3	0	0
	78,350	16	0
			78,350 16 0
MECHANICAL			
Engineers	4,973	10	0
Shipbuilders	4,727	0	0
Ironfounders	2,900	0	0
Millers	600	0	0
Coppersmiths	230	0	0
Plumbers	125	0	0
Printers	97	15	0
Glaziers	55	0	0
Lithographers	50	0	0
Joiners	38	18	0
Bookbinders	2	2	0
	13,799	5	0
			13,799 5 0
PROFESSIONAL			
Writers & Procurators	6,791	0	0
Physicians & Surgeons	1,489	14	10
Accountants	1,211	11	0
Clergy	885	3	0
Civil Engineers	250	0	0
Advocates	235	5	0

Sheriffs	136	19	0			
Judges	50	0	0			
Schoolmasters	25	13	0			
	11,075	5	10	11,075	5	10
County Gentlemen				12,457	10	0
Municipalities including Incorporations				8,606	0	0
Legacies				8,002	6	5
Professors of the University				5,187	0	0
Total as at 31.12 1876				<u>159,705</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>

Source: Report by the Chairman of the University Removal Committee. Glasgow, Bell and Bain 1877.

Part 3

Glasgow Engineering Laboratory Appeal Committee members and their Business Interests.

Engineering and Shipbuilding

Denny and Co, Dunbarton
Hogart and Barclay, Paisley
D. J. Dunlop, Inch
A and J Inglis, Port Glasgow
Hamiltons, Port Glasgow
R Napier, Yoker
Barclay Curle, Whiteinch
P and W MacLennan, Clutho Works
J and George Thomson, Clydebank

Iron and Steel

Stewart and Clydesdale, Glasgow and Coatbridge
William Arrol, Dalmarnock Iron Works
J Watson and Co, Iron Merchants, Glasgow
Henderson, Medowsideworks, Anderston Foundry
D Colville and Sons, Dazell and Motherwell
Fullerton, Vulcan Foundry, Paisley
Bow MacLachlan, Iron and Boiler works, Paisley

Rail and Locomotives and Transport

Neilson Locomotives
Caledonian Railway Company
G Smith, City Line Shipping
Dubs Glasgow Locomotive Works

Miscellaneous Manufacturers

Clark and Co, Anchor Thread, Paisley
J and P Coats, Ferguslie Threadworks, Paisley
Kennedy's Watermeter Co, Kilmarnock
Singleton and Dunn, Timber Dealers, Glasgow
R and J Dick, Boot and Shoe manufacturer,
J Tullis and Son, Leatherbelt and firehose
manufacturers, Bridgeton

Source: Glasgow University Archives ref 55422-45423.

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Unpublished Sources**A: Glasgow University Archives**1. Glasgow University Court Minute Books Handwritten

Vol 1 to Vol 7 1860 to 1900

2. Glasgow University Court Minute Books Printed

1900 to 1910

3. General Council Collection DC 183

DC 183/1/1 - 183/1/5 Written Minutes of Half Yearly Meetings of the General Councils with Printed Inserts in later volumes 1858 - 1919.

PRINTED MINUTES

YEARS

DC 183/3/1	1858 - 1885
DC 183/3/2	2 OCT 1885 - APRIL 1903
DC 183/3/3	OCT 1903 - APRIL 1929

4. New College Buildings collection, (NCB)

Ref 49.8, 711 Report by the Chairman of the University Removal Committee. Glasgow, Bell and Bain 1877.

Ref 19090. Deeds and Documents and Excerpts and Notices relating to the Institution of Bursary and other Foundations 1849 - 1890. Glasgow 1891.

Ref GNA 34412. Abstract of Charge and Discharge of the University New Building Fund, 8th April 1875.

Ref 34415. University of Glasgow, General Council papers. Report of Committee on Subscriptions for New Buildings, April 1889

Ref 31976. Published booklet of the facsimile signatures of donors to the university in the seventeenth century.

Ref NCB 3400-3427 Evidence and Reports by the University Professors.

Ref NCB 17149 Ledger of Subscriptions for New College Buildings.

Ref NCB 17150 Glasgow New College Buildings and Hospital Subscriptions list.

Ref NCB 2229-2235 Seven volumes of letter books concerning the New College Buildings.

Ref NCB 36575 General Council Collecting Cards 1870-81. (Includes hospital donations).

Ref 17149 Ledger of subscriptions for New College Buildings.

Ref 17150 Ledger of subscriptions for Glasgow New College Buildings and Hospital for the years 1867-83.

Various printed addresses, letters, memoranda and lists.

5. Minutes of Senate Glasgow University 1873-76.
Minutes of Senate Glasgow University Vol 95
Minutes of Senate Glasgow University Vol 102

6. Miscellaneous various letters and memoranda aside from main items.

Ref 31326 Queen Margaret College Bazaar Album.

Ref 55422 Sederant book of the Minutes of the Committee of the University Engineering Laboratory of the University Court of the University of Glasgow.

Ref 55423 Papers and Letters related to Sederant book ref 55422.

7. Financial and Statistical Reports of the Scottish Universities, 1889/90 - 1909/10.
 (See notes on sources of records of university finance below.)

8. Private Papers DC collections

Ref DC 77 Bowman Collection uncatalogued Draft biography.

Ref DC 233 Elder collection various letters.

B. Edinburgh University Special Collections

1. Court Minute Books Volumes 1 - 11 for the period 1859 to 1916. (Hand written to 1906 then printed 11 volumes)

2. Court Minute Index of Business Volumes 1-4 period 12.12.1859 to 16.7.1906 all hand written. (Post 1906 Index all missing).

3. Draft Court Minute books period 1859-1907

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4. Edinburgh University Court Papers (bound volumes to 1868).

5. Edinburgh University Court Minutes volumes 1-5 c1859-1892. (microfilmed for the University Library ref MIC.DUP 103/107).

6. General council records (volumes hand written).

Minute book 28 OCT 1858 - 27 OCT 1905
(Large quarto volume of minutes of general meetings).

Scroll minute book 29 JAN 1913 - 30 NOV 1916

Black soft back quarto volumes of minutes of business and finance committees.

7. Printed volumes of General Council Meetings and Reports 1890 - 1912

8. General Council Miscellaneous

boxed papers

SEPIA A 4 BOX

General Council Minutes 1866 - 1869

Contains papers of minutes of meetings and newspapers of the period reporting general council meetings and the political situation on and around the 1868 Representation of the People Act.

BLUE BOX

Edinburgh University General Council Minutes and Proceedings 1880 - 1885.

Contains bundles of general council minutes and proceedings with some minutes of sub committee meetings.

LARGE BLUE BOX

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS 19TH CENTURY

Extracts of minutes and ordinances mainly printed.

C. Notes on Sources of Records of University Finance

The sources of financial records at Edinburgh University are kept in four different ways from 1889. None have catalogue numbers. There are no Financial records for the time before 1889, held by the University of Edinburgh, in their special collections department; which is the main depository acting as the unofficial university archive. The records that do survive are held in large folio volumes. These are Ledgers of General Revenue, Ledgers of Special Revenue and Accounts Agendas. These three types are hand written and after volume 4 of the General Revenue Volumes both they and the Special Revenue Volumes are mixed. Both the General and the Special Revenue volumes cover the same period until they merge. Unfortunately in addition to these volumes not being catalogued many pages have been torn from them rendering large sections of them useless.

The other type of records held at Edinburgh are printed formalised annual reports called University of Edinburgh Accounts for the Year. These start from 1889 and are mainly abstracts of the finances of the university but contain some additional information of funds held for bursaries, prizes and other foundations. These records may have been prepared to be submitted to government for inspection and publication.

At Glasgow some financial records survive in boxed form although these are also often incomplete as certain records were dispersed to various other departments. For all the universities Parliamentary publications allow for a more complete picture as from 1890 Financial and Statistical accounts were gathered and published by the government.

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