

THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

A Record of Their  
Development  
during the period 1826-1926.

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With Four Appendices and a Bibliography.

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P R E F A C E.

I have been urged for several years by friends in the Scottish Universities to place on record my views on the activities of the Universities as they are to-day, and my experiences as Lecturer and Official Adviser of Studies at Glasgow University, indicating also the ideals which governed me in such guidance as I was privileged to offer students, session by session, in the course of their University careers. It has appeared to me that I could most fruitfully achieve what was desired by attempting to demonstrate the great and far-reaching developments which have taken place in the Scottish Universities in the last hundred years, giving at the same time, wherever possible, my own beliefs and experiences.

If it be argued that, to adopt such a method is to destroy much of the value that the record may contain, I can but say that having touched University interests at so many points at Glasgow - as Lecturer, Adviser of Studies, Secretary of the Appointments Committee, Officer Commanding the Officers' Training Corps, Editor of the University Calendar and of the Roll of Honour, Member of the Union Board/

Board and of the Students' Welfare Scheme Committee, Hon. Treasurer of the Athletic Club, Examiner in English for the Bursary Competitions and the Preliminary Examinations, in addition to holding many other minor offices - to have made the story quite impersonal would have been to defeat the end which I had primarily in view.

I make grateful acknowledgment of my obligations to the Principal of the University of Glasgow, Sir Donald MacAlister, Bt., to Professor R.S. Rait, and to Professor D.J. Medley. To Professor J.H. Baxter of the University of St. Andrews, and to Mr. James Robb of the Carnegie Trust, for their goodness in supplying me with pamphlets and reports, I tender my hearty thanks, as also to the Librarians of the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh who helped me willingly in my search for books and official records.

8 Braid Avenue,  
EDINBURGH, December 1926.

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**PART I.**

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CHAPTER I.INTRODUCTION.

A Scottish Graduate now nearing the three score years and ten allotted as the normal span, unless he has kept closely in touch with it, regards his University, as it is to-day, as something of a mystery. His teachers have gone; the Ordinances on which his curricula were based are changed; the customs and habits of a newer generation of students are to him foreign, and he concludes, sometimes with scorn, sometimes with awe, that tempora mutantur. He is to be forgiven if he forgets nos et mutamur in illis, for your University man is, as a rule, a conservative mortal, loving his own day and generation, his own teachers and his contemporaries, with a passion that time does not efface, and is prone to suspect that things have not altered for the better. He is not readily impressed by imposing buildings, by huge staffs, and a vast array of subjects from which to choose. He wants to be assured that the lamp of learning is being kept undimmed, and that the product of the modern University is worthy of the splendour of the opportunities afforded. Yet, if he will examine, with an eye as unprejudiced as he can command, not merely the profound changes themselves that have occurred, but their nature and implications, contributing as they do vitally/



vitally to the history of education in Scotland, it will be strange if he does not view with pride the magnitude of the achievement.

If this description of the thoughts and emotions of a man of seventy regarding the Scottish Universities of to-day has any semblance to correctness, what then would be the sensations of a student who came to College a century ago, were he permitted to re-visit his Alma Mater? In his case, one ventures to believe, the transformation, gradually effected throughout the past hundred years, would have been so complete as to make him almost uncritical; and while, as a discerning observer, he would note that the essential lecturing system was still maintained, the scope and variety, the immense resources of the modern Scottish University, he would find strangely at variance with the simplicity and narrowness of the régime which his College afforded.

The history of the past century in a Scottish University is, from one important point of view, a narrative of the development from "College" to "University". There are many ways in which this fact is capable of illustration; but, perhaps, it will be most readily illuminated by an examination of the work of the various University Commissions which sat during the nineteenth century on the affairs of the Scottish Universities.

Before/

Before setting out on a survey of the arduous work done by these Commissions, it may be well to say in passing that to have regard only to the evidence given before the various bodies of Commissioners, and to leave out of account the routine work of the University, is to produce a distorted picture. The reader of those ponderous and unattractive volumes, in which are entombed the contributions of many witnesses before University Commissions, may readily fly to the conclusion that in the Universities were bred many of the minor vices that go to bemuse unhappy humanity. Jealousy of privileges, a narrow, and, it may seem, unenlightened conservatism, productive of dog-in-the-manger policies, laziness and inattention to the business of teaching, bickerings and enmities - all those unenviable qualities undoubtedly do emerge, particularly from the earlier nineteenth century records. But it must be kept fairly in mind that a visitation of Commissioners was the natural occasion for the relief of pent-up ideas and feelings, and that when a University Professor got his opportunity as a witness, he proceeded decorously, but with a certain vehemence, to unburden himself in as short a time as possible on many things that had vexed him session upon session. The average University Commission, therefore, seems a long-drawn and eventually almost intolerable crisis in the affairs of the University. It does not adequately/

adequately mirror the daily labours, the distinguished work patiently accomplished often under the most difficult conditions. It discusses the things that are wrong and hopes to make them right; and it is this accumulation of matters, apparently in urgent need of amendment, which obscures the view and renders fair judgment an uneasy task.

Those who regard the appointment of a Commission as a disturbing and disintegrating factor in University affairs point with some justification to the intellectual brilliance of the eighteenth century, when the course of University life was undisturbed by any Royal Commission, save that which in 1716 ejected the Jacobite professors from office; and ~~they~~ demonstrate the grandeur of this period when men like Thomas Hutchison, Thomas Reid, Adam Ferguson, Dugald Stewart, Adam Smith, William Cullen, Joseph Black, James Beattie, and David Hume, finally set upon the Scottish Universities the seal of a European reputation.

Yet none will deny, that, despite the greatness of their Professors, the Universities, lax in their curricula, hampered by their poverty, and antiquated in their governance, at the beginning of the nineteenth century lay sorely in need of strict scrutiny, both for their own betterment and for the advantage of the public.

CHAPTER II.THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF 1826.

## I.

The dates 1826-1926 are chosen for this study in the development of the Scottish Universities, not so much because they denote a century, as in virtue of the fact that in 1826 a Royal Commission was appointed for the visitation of the Universities of Scotland; and by noting the nature of the problems which faced the Commissioners, one can most readily estimate the condition of these "learned societies" as the report significantly names them. If more attention is directed to the work of the 1826 Commissioners than to that of some of their successors, one is asked to remember that this Commission did the spade-work of the nineteenth century, and from its deliberations is got the best means by which to judge of the magnitude of the developments.

Obviously, the task was not easy. No Commission had engaged itself upon Scottish University affairs for <sup>more than</sup> ~~one~~ hundred ~~and twenty-two~~ years. The wealth and population of Scotland had undergone a marked increase since the early days of the eighteenth century, customs had altered, and the state of public opinion in the years immediately before the Reform Bill agitation bore little resemblance to that of the period of/

of the '15 Rebellion. Moreover, the Universities had ceased to be predominantly ecclesiastical in character, and, although the Professors were still formally required to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, the necessity was honoured as often in the breach as in the observance. In brief, it may be said that Professors and students alike no longer regarded the Universities as other than institutions for the promotion of a liberal education.

One of the principal objects before the Commissioners was the regularising of curricula, more particularly in respect of the Faculty of Arts. Towards this end they found themselves in great difficulties on account of the diversity of the student body. To some witnesses who pressed upon them the view that the Universities were the natural adjuncts to the parochial schools which sent up boys of twelve to fourteen years, or even younger, the Commissioners replied that these boys could not be their only consideration. Many quite elderly men came to individual classes, youths in business in the city were encouraged to attend, and/ thus the classes contained many elements, differing in age, in standard of accomplishment, as well as in the means at their disposal for their maintenance.

The attention of the Commissioners was, therefore, wisely directed to making clear the distinction between public and/

and private students, i.e., students reading definitely for a degree and students bent simply on adding to the education received at school, the general culture afforded by attendance at the lectures of men/ eminent in their subjects. The Scottish Universities have so definitely become institutions to which men and women go for the purpose of gaining a degree that the conditions prevalent during at least half of the nineteenth century have been almost forgotten. Except at Aberdeen, only a handful of the students proceeded to graduation, nor did they receive much encouragement to do so.

From the general report of the Commissioners, it would appear that a University Professor, if he were to live in moderate comfort, must attract students, since apart from small endowments, the fees got from the students formed the main source of livelihood. Where there were so many scholars who had no intention of proceeding to a degree, the tendency was to overlook the necessity for examinations and exercises and other frequent discipline. It must not be assumed, however, that the Professor was a species of public performer, bent only upon the collection of fees. Even to hint at such an attitude would be to <sup>make a</sup> travesty <sup>of</sup> the facts. Nevertheless, the system was thoroughly bad, and made for an individualism that put out of focus one of the main objects of University study, viz., the attainment of a degree after a regular course of/

of <sup>organized</sup> study.

The lack of adequate financial means is writ large upon the pages of the 1826 report. The Universities were practically closed Corporations, administering their own funds without public scrutiny, except in the case of Edinburgh. Here the Commissioners felt themselves upon dangerous ground. They were satisfied that maladministration was frequent, and that in certain of the Universities the practice of dividing up any surplus revenue among the Professors was thoroughly subversive of progress. They, therefore, entered upon the consideration of the establishment of a board of control, and there emerges in embryo the University Court of to-day. To say that the Commissioners conceived the idea of a Court solely on the score of finance would be to give an inadequate account of factors involved. As will be seen when the constitutions of the Universities are discussed, internal dissension was fairly common, and in those instances where there ~~was~~ collision between the Professors and the students, the lack of a body to whom to make appeal was severely felt. Further, the Commissioners, with a frankness more outspoken than is the habit of to-day, declared that public opinion might be in violent disagreement with academic judgments on what was best for Scottish education.

"We are impressed", say the Commissioners, "with the belief/

belief, from a review of the testimony given by the Professors themselves in the course of our examinations, and from the striking contrast which subsists in some points between their opinions, and those of a great number of persons to whom the actual practice of different professions is necessarily more familiar than to men of learning, that the general opinions of the most competent Judges respecting the System of Education best adapted to the actual state of Society in Scotland, may be much opposed to those entertained by the Professors in the Universities. Eminent Teachers are not always the best qualified to determine the course of instruction most suitable to the general interests of society, or to the preparation for particular professions. A person may be most eminent and successful as a Professor, profound and ardent in his own studies, eloquent as a Lecturer, inspiring much enthusiasm and interest in the Students, and have much of the observation and knowledge of character requisite to convey instruction to their minds; and, in the sphere of his proper duties, any attempt to interfere with the manner in which he illustrates the subjects of his Lectures, or with the particular methods of teaching which long experience may have suggested, might mar but could not aid his exertions. But it does not follow that such an individual is necessarily the best qualified to decide on the propriety of changes in the/  
the/



the Course of Study requisite for the actual practice of particular professions, or most adapted to the actual state of society. It can scarcely be expected that he should be an impartial judge of the utility of the study in which his life may have been spent. This observation is applicable to Teachers in every age, and we do not think that either the interests of sound learning, or the exigencies of particular professions, will be most effectually consulted by leaving the determinations of the Professors, upon subjects of general interest and application, without any control".<sup>1</sup>.

The stately language in which the Commissioners couch their plea for greater publicity and supervision from without barely conceals the strong opposition with which they were met. More than one hundred years of uninterrupted freedom had hardened tradition and made custom a strong barrier. To attempt alterations in detail without touching the constitutions of the Universities was merely to tinker with the difficult problems; and, accordingly, the Commissioners set themselves to the task of a complete and sweeping renovation of the ancient constitutional fabrics. The situation was extraordinarily complex. No sense of unity existed, and only a superficial similarity/

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1. Report of the 1826 Commission, pp. 11 & 12.

similarity. Lacking a drastic re-modelling of the means and methods of governance, progress was impossible.

## II.

The distinction between the idea "University" and the idea "College" takes a different aspect in each of the four centres. In St. Andrews it is a matter of perplexity to tell exactly what was the "University".

The two Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, after prolonged negotiations, were united in 1746, the royal assent to the union being received in the next year. While this union had the effect of lessening the poverty of the Colleges, it did not succeed in making an easily workable constitution. As far as can be gathered from the complicated arrangements for the management of University affairs, there were four different bodies each with special functions, but each liable in <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ operations to impinge upon the others. The first of the four bodies was the Comitia, consisting of the resident members of the University, whose one special function was the election of the Rector. The next, and most important, was the Senatus Academicus, consisting of the Principal and Professors of both Colleges, who were autocrats governing not only teaching affairs and the affairs of the students, but exercising complete control of the revenues.

The/

The surplus revenue of the College, under the name of Diet money, was distributed among the Principal and Professors without external control of any description.

In addition to the Comitia and Senatus Academicus, there was a body consisting of members of the two Colleges which appear<sup>ed</sup> in certain matters to be independent of the University. Each held its own meetings, managed its own property, appointed its own officials and exercised discipline over its members, subject to an appeal to the Rectorial Court. The Rectorial Court was the Senatus. Finally, there was the Faculty of Arts, consisting of the Principal and Professors of the United College, ~~the~~<sup>which</sup>, apparently, could grant degrees independent of the Senatus and administer its own revenues.

A worse situation could hardly be imagined. Not merely was there over-lapping, not merely were the financial arrangements of the most uneconomical type, but in the clash of conflicting interests which must necessarily have arisen among these small bodies, genuine development along broad and sane lines was immensely hard of attainment.

Glasgow offered difficulties not less great. It was a fortress grimly defended by those in possession of ancient rights and privileges. The situation issued from the provisions of the Nova Erectio. In 1577, James VI., on the advice of Regent Morton, created a new foundation charter in which/

which the whole revenue and property, with the exception of the mortifications for bursaries, was vested in the Principal and "Masters", the "Masters" being the name then given to the modern "Professor". As supervisors of their administration were three "Visitors" - the Rector, the Dean of the Faculty, and the Minister of Glasgow. But as the Principal was frequently the holder of a plurality inasmuch as he was also Minister of the High Church of Glasgow,<sup>1.</sup> and since practically always the Rector, and the Dean of Faculty <sup>(or Faculties)</sup> sometimes, ~~was~~<sup>was</sup> resident furth of Glasgow, the Visitors became of negligible importance. It is recorded, for example, that in 1826 "the books had remained undocqueted for the last five years". Almost unlimited jurisdiction, accordingly, had come to be vested in the Principal and the thirteen Professors of the "Faculty"<sup>2.</sup> as it was called, and they notably thought of themselves as governors of Glasgow "College". To them belonged the right of filling vacant professorial chairs. They possessed the power of censure of any of their number on the score of incompetence or misconduct. They managed and/

- 
1. The Principal at the time of the 1826 Commission held both Offices.
  2. The Faculty consisted of the Principal and the thirteen Professors of Divinity, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Logic, Humanity, Greek, Hebrew, Church History, Mathematics, Astronomy, Law, Physic, and Anatomy.

(and frequently mis-managed) the revenues; and, in the event of the Principalship falling vacant, it was within their province to inform the Sovereign of the vacancy. If he omitted, within a reasonable time, to exercise his prerogative, the Faculty took steps to make the appointment themselves.

In addition to <sup>the</sup>~~their~~ powerful Faculty, there was the Comitia consisting of all the main officers together with the matriculated students, this body being charged with the election of the Rector.

The Senate, as it is known to-day, had a curious position ~~at the time~~ when the Commissioners began their work. It consisted of the Rector, the Dean of Faculties, the Principal, the thirteen Professors of the College, and five Regius Professors. Its powers, however, hardly got beyond those connected with the examination for degrees. In point of fact the situation was thoroughly anomalous. The Faculty, a closed corporation, held the purse-strings, and left the Senate practically no duties of any importance in the government of the University.

The tenacity with which the Faculty clung to its power, aggrandising the College at the expense of the University, is barely credible in these days. In 1807, the King, without informing the Faculty, by Royal Mandate instituted a Professorship of Natural History. Mr. Lockhart/

Lockhart Muirhead, on whom the King had conferred the Professorship, being patently a man of spirit, and indeed, as the records show, "impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer" claimed participation, in terms of his Royal Mandate, in all the rights and privileges of the Faculty. Immediately the Faculty instituted a process of declarator against Mr. Muirhead, and questioned the whole legality of the appointment. When the case came before the Court of Session (May 1807) the Crown, by a curious mischance, was not represented in the Lords, and the Court decreed that Mr. Muirhead's appointment did not entitle him to infringe upon, or participate in, the patronage and patrimonial and other rights of the Professors of the Faculty. He was, accordingly, a Professor of the "University", but not of the "College", and the anomalous position in which he found himself reflected itself till 1858 in the case of every other Regius Professor appointed up to that year.

In Glasgow then, as in St. Andrews, were two bodies, the Faculty and the Senate, existing side by side in such a way as to cause friction and heartburning on every occasion of importance in the College and University. In Aberdeen, the conditions were not less difficult, and there the Commissioners were called upon to deal with a situation which demanded all their firmness as well as all their powers of conciliation. Partly in jest and partly also in pride, the citizens of Aberdeen boasted that they had as much opportunity in their own town/

town for University education as had the whole population of England; but despite the fact that the records of the eighteenth century show that Aberdeen bravely held her own in the matter of distinguished alumni, there is no gainsaying the unworthiness of the motives that maintained King's College in Old Aberdeen and Marischal College in New Aberdeen as separate institutions. Many attempts had been made at union; many able men had seen their schemes for amelioration of the position brought to nought by the jealousy of Professors, and by a conservatism which showed how completely aloof the teachers were from the vital needs of the community. Thus when in 1826 the Commissioners sought to impose a union, when they called to witness what had successfully been accomplished at St. Andrews, they were met with a host of objectors, who argued that emulation would depart from the professoriate, and that the numbers of the students in a united University would be such as to make proper instruction a matter of difficulty. These specious arguments solemnly proffered and solemnly recorded<sup>1</sup>. serve to show how firmly vested interests fought against progress. In 1817 a great step forward was taken by the institution of a joint Medical School of the two Colleges, and/

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1. Appendix to Commissioners' Report, p.334.

and doubtless the scheme, had it got a chance of operating properly, would have hastened complete union. As it was, it merely served to show the laxity with which, especially in King's College, teaching and examinations were conducted, since it became obvious that when real work was required to be done, the Professors with one accord began to make excuses, showing that they regarded their posts as sinecures, from the easy holding of which they did not propose to be dislodged. After twenty years of ineffective operation, the joint school came to an end. The Commissioners in 1826 applauded the scheme then in operation because they felt it was better than no scheme at all. What their private opinions were on the state of the two Universities is not recorded.

Finally, as showing the Herculean nature of the task imposed on the Commissioners, there was the Edinburgh problem. The University of Edinburgh was the "Tounis College". All the original charters were drawn in favour of the Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh, conferring on them the exclusive right of electing the Principal and Professors "cum potestate imponendi et removendi ipsos sicuti expediverit". James VI. & I. ratified these privileges anew, and by the year 1826, the situation had grown well-nigh intolerable. The right of patronage was strictly maintained by the Town Council, and quarrels arose, many of them on matters in themselves/



themselves trifling, as for instance the salary of the Librarian. The seriousness of the position, however, is best seen in the prolonged bout between the Town Council and the Senate with regard to the teaching of Midwifery. The Town Council demanded in 1825 that the study of Midwifery should be made compulsory <sup>for</sup> ~~in~~ Medical students immediately; the Senate, that the operation of the new regulations should be delayed for three years. The obvious perversity of the Senate's attitude serves to demonstrate the irritation felt, not so much over the particular matter in hand as on the whole constitution of the University; and the embarrassment of the Commissioners was in no wise lessened by the fact that, in general, the Town Council had shown towards the development of the University, especially on the side of Medicine, a generosity of spirit and a foresight that made any violent constitutional change a matter charged with vexation.

The foregoing is not intended to be an exhaustive survey of the state of the several Universities. It aims rather at demonstrating the major factors with which the Commissioners were confronted. For this reason, the various elements in the constitution have been more fully discussed in relation to Glasgow than to the other Universities because of the necessity of noting the powerful nature of the Faculty in Glasgow. It is sufficient, generally, for the purpose to remark/

remark that if the Universities were to merge themselves into any national system, if they were to cease to be more than highly individualised seminaries, drastic action was necessary. How to submerge the idea "College" in the wider conception "University" was the real point at issue, transcending in essential importance any mere amendments in curricula and modes of teaching. In St. Andrews, a tangled skein of governances; in Glasgow, a too powerful Faculty; in Aberdeen, the pressing need for a union of two separate Colleges; in Edinburgh, a Senate in open conflict with a Town Council which was firmly entrenched within its lawful rights; these were the matters of paramount importance. How were the Commissioners to achieve harmony and to give that constitutional stability which would allow of peace within the Colleges and the promotion of a system which would have some semblance of uniformity, without, at the same time, destroying individuality?

The Commission sat in Edinburgh, devoting four years of untiring labour to what was undoubtedly a series of problems unusually complicated. At first it seemed as though the Edinburgh knot were incapable of resolution. By August 1829, the Commissioners had sent to the Senatus Academicus their schemes for alterations and improvements in the courses of study, but said not a word on the constitution and government/

government of the University. Sir Alexander Grant in his "History of the University of Edinburgh"<sup>1</sup>. describes the dismay of the Senate. "This omission, and the character of the document which they sent, must have struck consternation into the minds of the Senatus. The whole quarrel with the Town Council had arisen from the proud unwillingness of the Medical Professors to accept external dictation upon a single point. And now the Senatus found the Commission which they had invoked to save them from such dictation saying not a word against their enemies, and, on the other hand, acting the part of a veritable King Stork, - dictating to every Faculty on every part of its curriculum. In their vexation they reported very critically upon the scheme of studies, and expressed disappointment that no constitution for the University should have been drawn up, - that being "the primary object" for which His Majesty had appointed the present Commission".

Shortly thereafter, however, the Commissioners made up their minds to make recommendations for sweeping reforms. Viewed from the stand-point of to-day, these appear absolutely sensible and indeed without extraordinary significance; but, having regard to the state of affairs which confronted the Commissioners/

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1. [REDACTED]. Vol.II., p.40.

Commissioners in 1826, having regard also to the suspicion which attended their efforts and the covert opposition which they everywhere received, the recommendations must be regarded as nothing less than a triumph of sanity and determination.

From the following description of the recommendations, it will be seen that they would fain have laid the foundations of a new era in the Scottish Universities. First and foremost, they initiated the scheme for a University Court, going upon principles<sup>to</sup> the actual operation of which we to-day are witnesses.

In St. Andrews, in addition to the Chancellor, they recommended that there should be a University Court consisting of (1) a Rector elected by the Principal, Masters, Students of Theology and Students of Philosophy of the third and fourth years, and also by the graduates who had received Degrees since 1825; (2) the Principals of the two Colleges; (3) an Assessor to be nominated by the Chancellor; (4) an Assessor to be nominated by the Rector.

In Glasgow, embodying the existing conditions in relation to the Visitors, they recommended a University Court consisting of (1) the Rector chosen by the Principal, Professors, matriculated students and graduates; (2) the Principal; (3) the Dean of Faculties; (4) the Minister of Glasgow; (5) an Assessor nominated by the Chancellor; (6) an Assessor/

Assessor nominated by the Rector; (7) an Assessor to be elected by the Principal, Professors and graduates of the University.

In Aberdeen they boldly proposed a united University, the Senatus Academicus of which would consist of the Principal and eighteen Professors, i.e., Divinity, Biblical Criticism, Church History, Oriental Languages, Law, Theory and Practice of Physic, Anatomy and Surgery, Chemistry, Materia Medica, Botany, Midwifery, Moral and Political Philosophy, Logic and Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Natural History, Greek, Humanity. For this united University they designed a Chancellorship and University Court very similar to that at St. Andrews; and in Edinburgh, in addition to the Chancellor, they recommended that a Court be instituted, consisting of (1) the Rector; (2) the Principal; (3) an Assessor to be nominated by the Chancellor; (4) an Assessor to be nominated by the Rector; (5) an Assessor nominated by the Town Council; (6) an Assessor to be nominated by the Principal, Professors and Graduates of the University.

To these University Courts they assigned the duty of reviewing all regulations and decisions of the Senates and of being a general Court of Appeal. They empowered the University Court to originate and carry into effect improvements on the internal system of the University and to issue directions to/

to Professors for the enforcement of punctual attention to all the regulations with regard to the mode of teaching. The regulation of all University fees was henceforth to come within the purview of the Court, which also was to become a body charged with the investigation into the work of the Professors, with powers to censure and suspend after due investigation.

The most revolutionary proposal was that to the University Courts should be given the whole administration of the revenue and property of the respective Universities, including endowments for bursaries. They were to appoint Factors for the administration of the entire property, of all power over which the Principal and Professors were to be relieved, except in so far as they were members of the University Court. An exception was made in the case of Edinburgh where, under the peculiar circumstances, the phraseology in this connection adopted by the Commissioners was as follows:- "The University Court shall have power to make enquiry regarding the revenue and pecuniary concerns of the University and control the administration in expenditure thereof".<sup>1</sup> In the Principal and Professors, they vested the discipline of the Universities, and allowed appeals to the University Court only in cases/

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1. Commissioners' Report, p.197.

cases relating to expulsion or where it was held that students were being prevented from proceeding in the usual manner to degrees.

To turn from administration to questions relating to curricula and modes of instruction, is to ~~have revealed~~<sup>discover</sup> changes no less drastic. Obviously, the Commissioners were oppressed by the lack of uniformity in the Universities, and by the number of sinecures held within the professoriate. Their first duty was to propose the abolition of useless professorships. From that they passed, in relation to Arts, to the position of the basic subjects of the curriculum, Latin and Greek; and, in a general endeavour to raise the Universities above the level of mere elementary schools, proposed the abolition of the Elementary Grade class, in which young lads began with the Greek alphabet.

In their desire to foster the practice of studying definitely for a degree, they decided upon a uniform course in Arts covering four sessions, each lasting from the second Wednesday of October to the first day of the May following.

The following was their plan of study:-

1st Year: The first Latin and the first Greek classes.

2nd Year: The second Latin and Greek classes together with the first Mathematics class.

3rd/

3rd Year: The second Mathematics class and a class of elementary Logic and Rhetoric.

4th Year: The classes of Natural Philosophy and Moral Philosophy.

Again, with the object of raising the standard of work, they proposed a simple entrance examination, warning to be given of this change by allowing three years to elapse before the Entrance regulation became <sup>operative.</sup> ~~operative.~~ They divided the Arts degree into two grades - B.A. and M.A. - and devised an "Honours" B.A. degree involving two classes of Honours, taken either in Literature or in Science. Further, they proposed what was in effect a system of external examiners for degrees.

In Divinity, they ordained a four sessions' course of study embracing Divinity or systematic Theology, Oriental Languages, Ecclesiastical History and Biblical Criticism, and proposed that no one should be allowed to graduate B.D. unless he was in possession of the previous degree of B.A.

In Law, they formed a definite three years' curriculum in Civil Law (one year), Scots Law (two years), and Conveyancing (one year); in Aberdeen, <sup>is</sup> ~~there~~ four years' course of study was prefaced by an entrance examination. It appears to have been the sound policy of the time that the pursuit of the study of Medicine, without a foundation of study in the liberal arts, was a thing to be deprecated. The feeling was/



was in all instances that the medical practitioner should hold also the B.A. degree. Failing that, all parties were at one in demanding a knowledge of Latin, Greek, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy as a preliminary to the study of Medicine. The proposal for the Medical course required four years of study including both a winter and a summer session in each year. Anatomy, Chemistry, Materia Medica and Pharmacy formed the basis of the first year; Anatomy, Practice of Medicine, Theory of Medicine, Clinical Medicine and Hospital attendance the second; Surgery, Midwifery, and Clinical Surgery or Clinical Medicine the third; and Practice of Medicine, Clinical Medicine and further hospital work the fourth.

Such, in brief compass, were the major recommendations of the Commissioners. Enlightened as these much required changes were, and pregnant with import for the weal of the Scottish Universities, they were received as a whole, by the University administrators and teachers alike, not only without enthusiasm but with strenuous opposition. One grants that many of their proposals involved financial obligations which the Universities could not meet; one does not attempt to conceal the fact that the revolutionary nature of the ideals of the Commissioners is more easily assimilated in the retrospect than ~~they~~<sup>it</sup> could have been at the time of their issue; /

issue; one notes that many of the proposals would cause possible hardship to the professoriate in respect both of work and of emoluments. The disappointment of Edinburgh professors at the continuance of the Town Council's power of patronage of chairs is understandable; as also is the dismay which the prospect of union at Aberdeen must have engendered in some quarters. The tenacity of the Faculty at Glasgow is likewise realisable. Again, no public body easily gives up its powers, unless it has been proved beyond doubt that these powers have been grossly abused, and the Town Council of Edinburgh cannot be said to have treated its rights as matters of contemptuous use, hence its stout and perfectly open resistance. Yet, in spite of all these things, it hardly redounds to the credit either of the Scottish Universities or of Scottish members in the House of Commons that, <sup>upon</sup> ~~the~~ the close of their labours, the Commissioners' recommendations disappeared into the void for seven years; and when at length in 1837, Lord Melbourne brought in a Bill appointing what were in effect to be Executive Committees to carry out the recommendations of the Commission of 1826, the variety of the malcontents who reared their heads made the Government waver, and finally the Bill was dropped. So much labour for so little positive gain. Thus indeed it must/

must have seemed to Lord Rosebery<sup>1.</sup> and his confrères. Twenty-one years were to elapse before the Scottish University system *again* came under review, but when, in 1858, the Lord Justice Clerk of the day, John Inglis, carried through the Houses "An Act to make provision for the better Government and Discipline of the Universities of Scotland and improving and regulating the Course of Study therein; and for the Union of the two Universities of Aberdeen", and obtained the Royal assent on the 2nd of August of that year, he had as the basis of his argumentation not less than of his proposals the inestimably valuable work of the Commission of 1826.

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1. The Earl of Rosebery, grandfather of the present Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, was Chairman of the Commissioners; the other members were the Dukes of Gordon and Montrose; Marquis Huntly; Earl of Aberdeen; Viscount Melville; Earl Mansfield; Lord Binning; The Lord President (C. Hope); The Lord Justice Clerk (Boyle); The Chief Baron (Sir S. Shepherd); Chief Commissioner of the Jury Courts; The Lord Advocate; The Solicitor General; The Dean of Faculty; Rev. Drs. Taylor and Cook. To the above were added the Earl of Lauderdale; Sir Walter Scott; Rev. Dr. Lee; Henry Home Drummond and James Moncrieff (afterwards Lord Moncrieff).

CHAPTER III.THE UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT OF 1858.

## I.

It is worthy of note that, in one respect, the Commissioners of 1826 were of a mind not less conservative than the professors with whom they had to deal. To all attempts to get rid of the necessary subscriptions to the Confession of Faith they turned a deaf ear. The circumstances of the time showed, apparently, no sufficient reason for a change in a decree promulgated as far back as 1690. But by 1858, there had occurred in Scotland that movement culminating in the Disruption (1843) which was to make so profound and so significant a change in Scottish affairs, whether ecclesiastical, or political, or educational. Its disintegrating effect on the Churches had its necessary repercussions on all bodies charged with the duties of election to public posts. In the Universities it raised anew in an acute form the question of the "test". Was there any genuine connection between academic distinction and membership of the ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Church? Were the Universities to be deprived of some of the finest scholars available because the religious beliefs of these men had compelled them to follow Dr. Chalmers? Must the Principal of each University continue/

continue to be chosen only from those who adhered to the Establishment? The questions were of vital importance for the free development of the Scottish Universities. In 1853, the Earl of Aberdeen, "Athenian"/ Aberdeen, who had been a member of the 1826 Commission, and was to serve for a short time on the Executive Commission of 1858, said in the House of Lords, in reference to the Report of 1830, "a great change had taken place in Scotland since then; one half of the kingdom has now rendered itself unable conscientiously to take that test".<sup>1</sup> He used the words at a moment when the fate of a Bill which was to effect practical abolition of the test was trembling in the balance. Attempts had been made to secure relief from the necessity of signing the Westminster Confession soon after the Disruption. Lord Macaulay in 1845, while a member for Edinburgh, had valiantly supported a Bill for abolition. Again in 1852, Lord Moncrieff brought forward a Bill without success, but finally, in 1853, by a happily worded compromise he was enabled to secure that, in all cases except those of the Principal and the Theological Professors, a declaration on the part of members of Senate solemnly and sincerely affirming their intention not to do or say anything <sup>v</sup> <sub>s</sub>ubservive of, or prejudicial to, the Church of Scotland was rendered/

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1. Quoted by Sir Alexander Grant - History of University of Edinburgh, Vol. II., p.87.

rendered sufficient.

One great difficulty was thereby removed from the paths of the framers of the Act of 1858, which, it should be added, finally embodied a clause freeing the Principals of the Scottish Universities also from the subscription to the Confession.

## II.

The persistent action of the Lord Advocate (Moncrieff) in relation to the test is dwelt upon here because it foreshadowed those liberalising tendencies which were ~~effected~~ <sup>furthured</sup> by the 1858 Act, of which he was the real framer. It was a fortunate matter for the Scottish Universities that their interests had the attention of two men - Moncrieff and Inglis (Lord Justice Clerk) - who, to wide and enlightened sympathies in education, added strong and determined characters. Moncrieff demitted office in 1857, but by that time <sup>he</sup> had done the preliminary work in framing the Act. To him his successor Inglis, who carried through the provisions in 1858, paid generous compliments, and in turn showed his own enthusiasm by attending every single meeting of the Executive Commission of which he was elected Chairman. When it is remembered that no fewer than 126 meetings were held, the measure of his interest is readily and gratefully assessed.

It/

It was symptomatic of the changes in opinion which had occurred between 1830 and 1858 to find that, on the whole, the Act of 1858 had an easy passage through both Houses of Parliament. In Aberdeen, a skilful handling of the staff of the two Universities <sup>in some degree</sup> dulled the edge of conflict. In Edinburgh the Town Council was no longer the united body of former days. In it, as elsewhere, the Disruption had wrought its work, and parties existed where formerly party in the violent sense was unknown, at least ~~in~~ as far as the University was concerned. In Glasgow the Faculty professors sent representatives to London for the purpose of making what can be regarded only as a last stand against the encroachment of the Regius Professors, but they achieved no success. When the Executive Commission began its labours in Edinburgh, it had, accordingly, a power and status given by the Act itself which was denied <sup>to</sup> ~~by~~ the 1826 Commissioners whose duty it was to make recommendations in the hope that these might thereafter, by the operation of the usual processes, pass into law.

The work of the Lord Justice Clerk Inglis and his colleagues<sup>1.</sup> has, by common consent, been praised for its cautious and temperate character, evinced in many directions, and/

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1. The Commissioners were the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Aberdeen, Earl Stanhope, the Earl of Mansfield, the Lord Justice General (Duncan McNeill), Sir William Gibson Craig, the Lord Justice Clerk (Inglis), Lord Ardmillan, William Stirling of Keir (afterwards Sir William Stirling-Maxwell), the Dean of the Faculty (Lord Moncrieff), Alexander Hastie, M.P., and Alexander Murray Dunlop, M.P.

and not least in respect of the powers granted to the University Court, the idea for which was borrowed from the 1826 Commissioners. The sweeping changes of the earlier Commissioners were modified, and the Senatus Academicus became the primary administrators of the Universities.

The University Courts were made bodies to whom appeal was to be made from the Senatus; they were controllers of the Administration of the Senatus, and fixed the fees for the various classes. To this body <sup>were</sup> assigned many of the powers suggested by the 1826 Commission, notably the jurisdiction over Professors in respect of modes of teaching and discipline, and - more important - the power to initiate internal improvements in the University. Thus, the 1858 Commissioners occupy a position half-way between the proposals of the 1826 and the enactments of the 1889 Commissions.

In arranging the membership of the Courts, the framers of the 1858 Act received great assistance from the recommendations of the 1826 Commission. In St. Andrews and Aberdeen, the Courts consisted of six members - the Rector (chosen by the students), the Principal (in St. Andrews the Senior Principal), two assessors chosen by the Chancellor and Rector respectively, an Assessor elected by the General Council, and an Assessor elected by the Senatus. In Glasgow, to the above was added the Dean of Faculties, and in Edinburgh the Lord Provost and an Assessor nominated by the Town Council./



Council. In all cases, except Edinburgh, the duty of electing Professors was given to the Courts, the Edinburgh problem being solved by the institution of a body called the Curators of Patronage, seven in number, four of whom were nominated by the Town Council and three by the University Court.

In order to foster the practice of graduation, the Act established a General Council consisting of the Chancellor, the members of the University Court and the Senatus Academicus together with all the graduates of Arts and Medicine in each University and all former alumni who could satisfy the Commissioners before August 1861 that they had regularly attended University classes for four complete sessions, two of which must have been in the Arts Faculty. How the Faculties of Law and Divinity came to be omitted from the Act is some <sup>thing</sup> of a mystery, <sup>to be</sup> ~~accounted~~ <sup>ed for</sup> only by the fact of the strong insistence shown on a training in Arts as being a necessary preliminary to study in Law or Divinity. In 1868, by a Representation of the People Act, the Council was widened to admit graduates of these two Faculties. To the new Council was given the duty of electing the Chancellor and the Assessor. The Council was to meet twice a year on dates fixed by statute.

To-day, the General Councils in the Universities are a recognised <sup>part of</sup> ~~part of~~ the machinery of University administration. They perform a useful function in permitting graduates to make/

make public (on all innovations, their views and opinions,) but few would be disposed to over-rate the ultimate powerfulness of the Councils, so that in the light of the present position, it is hard to think back into that state of mind which in 1858, saw danger in this new body - danger from indiscipline and insubordination. The wiser members of the University staffs readily agreed that in the Council lay the hope of a better era. The link with University administration formed by the General Council gave to the graduate a sense of intimate connection with his Alma Mater that had been sadly lacking for over a hundred years. The tradition of slackness, of inattention to class examinations, gradually gave place to a desire for work, and in the year following the completion, in 1863, of the Commissioners' efforts, while the progress was slow, there was, nevertheless, a steady increase in the numbers of regular students proceeding to graduation. Since, however, there still existed a very large number of private students coming to the University for a few classes, the proportion for twenty years after 1863 remained fairly low. In Glasgow, for example, in 1876 the proportion was about one in six; in Edinburgh, where there were fewer private students, about one in four.

The pride of possession of a vote in the councils of the University was, however, not the only factor in raising the/

the number of graduates. In this connection<sup>26</sup> the enactments of 1858, particularly in relation to the Arts degree, require special notice, for they constitute a significant departure from the older method of examination. Prior to 1858, it was the custom for the degree examinations to be taken at the end of a student's course, and the four years' curriculum, carefully planned in the 1826 recommendations, had this aim in view. In 1858 it was determined that a student should have the opportunity of examinations in each of the three main departments of the Arts course, viz., (1) Classics, (2) Mathematics, and Natural Philosophy, (3) Mental Science and English Literature, at the close of his work in each department. The plan was vigorously assailed. It seemed to substitute a possible "cramming" system for a genuine course of sustained and co-ordinated study. The objections were real then; they remain even more real to-day in view of the plans adopted by the 1889 Commission for permitting students to pass their examinations subject by subject. But the Commissioners refused to dislodge from the position they had taken up. In so determining they had in mind the inequality of opportunity afforded by the schools, and they were rightly convinced that any system capable of preventing a nightmare of examinations at the end of a long-drawn course of study, would be productive of a desire for graduation to an extent hitherto/

hitherto unknown. The subsequent histories of the Universities showed that they were justified in their beliefs.

The vexed question of an Entrance Examination was disposed of with the same moderation as was shown elsewhere by the Executive Commission. Unlike the 1826 Commissioners, they could not see their way, in view of the same inequality of opportunity in the schools, to which reference was made above, to institute a binding preliminary test. They compromised on a voluntary examination admitting successful candidates to a three years' course, and left to the Professors the invidious task of determining which of the students should be allowed to proceed from a Junior to a Senior Class in each subject.

The attractive scheme of a B.A., as well as an M.A. degree, outlined by the 1826 Commission, was dropped, as was the carefully drawn four years' curriculum. In the M.A. degree seven subjects became necessary. In determining the subjects, the Commissioners showed a simple certainty of view far removed from the variegated standpoints of to-day. Their subjects were Humanity, Greek, Mathematics, Logic, Moral Philosophy and Natural Philosophy and English Literature.

"As regards the subjects which had been uniformly included in the course of study for a degree in Scotland, we are not disposed to omit any of them. On the importance of the study of/  
of/

of Greek and Latin, as a branch of general education, it would be superfluous to enlarge. No one who has himself had the benefit of a complete education, or who is competent to form an opinion on such a question, will doubt the propriety of making classical learning the foundation of a University course. The Universities of Scotland have long occupied a distinguished position among seminaries of learning for the cultivation of the various branches of Mental Philosophy, and we think it of the great consequence that the prominence assigned to these subjects in past times should in no degree be diminished . . . . The study of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy also forms an essential part of a University education".<sup>1</sup> They then proceeded to give reasons for requiring attendance on the class of English Literature, a subject which was a mere infant among the Arts, but which by the sound nourishment given it by the Professor in Edinburgh University, had proclaimed its strength and utility.

Into the controversies which the above quotation would undoubtedly arouse, one does not proposed to enter here. It is sufficient to note the attitude of mind, and to assert that the distinguished position held by the ordinary M.A./

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Scottish Universities Commission, 1858. General Report, p.xxxi.

M.A. degree until recent years was in no small measure the natural, some would say, inevitable, outcome of a set of beliefs maintained with a profound and unchallenged conviction, on the essentials of a liberal education. In addition to establishing on a good foundation the ordinary M.A. degree, the Commissioners gave a great impetus to more advanced study by devising an Honours M.A. in four main groups—(1) Classics, (2) Mathematics, (3) Philosophy, (4) Natural Science. It is true that for some considerable time after 1858, comparatively few proceeded to Honours; but when the fact that, prior to that date, only a handful proceeded even to the Ordinary Degree, the small response to the Honours regulation is not a matter for surprise.

In Medicine, the Commissioners made no striking alterations beyond making the first degree that of Bachelor of Medicine, the doctorate being postponed to a period of at least two years after graduation as Bachelor. The principal work of the Commission was to aid and abet the Medic<sup>al</sup>~~ine~~ Acts of 1858, by means of which the status of the profession was immensely enhanced and set upon a sure and regular basis. In Law, the Commissioners had metal which they loved to fashion to their will, and, taking with them in the deliberations the Faculty of Advocates, they added to the basic subjects outlined by the 1826 Commission, International Law, and/

and assigned to the Arts Professor of History a place in the Faculty of Law for the teaching of Constitutional Law and History. They also extended the teaching of Scots Law and Civil Law by making a <sup>Compulsory</sup> summer as well as a winter session in these subjects. The LL.B. degree was to be preceded by that of M.A. On the usage of the Scottish Universities in respect of the "honorary" LL.D. degree they made no alteration.

As may well be imagined, the framing at the time of a set of Ordinances in relation to Divinity was a problem bristling with perplexity. The 1826 Commission had recommended a B.D. degree to be taken only after the M.A. had been obtained. In so advising they had no thought other than the training for the Established Church. Two years before the passing of the 1858 Act, the Senatus of Glasgow University refused to ratify the proposals of a body of delegates who had, in the previous year, requested the institution of a B.D. degree along the lines laid down by the 1826 Commission. The Glasgow Senate, proclaiming themselves to speak for the nation - for the first time we get a real glimpse of the sense of serving the nation, and for this, the Disruption was undoubtedly responsible - would have nothing to do with a degree which would give public academic honour to students of the Church of Scotland and deny it to those of the Free Church. Six years later, they proposed a B.D./

B.D. degree for any Master of Arts who had taken courses at an approved Theological Hall. To this the Commissioners gave careful heed, but, finding that Edinburgh wished attendance on the part of all B.D. candidates for at least one session at the University, and that Aberdeen left to the Commission itself the invidious task of determining who should, and who should not, be admitted to the B.D. examinations, they abstained altogether from the framing of any Ordinances, and, in view of the state of ecclesiastical politics at the time, left each University to its own devices.

It remains to add of the 1858 Commissioners, that they recommended nothing which was to be financially outwith the power of the Universities. At the same time, they put an end to many anomalies. They regularised, for example, the professors' salaries, giving them in addition to the class fees and a proportion of certain endowments or of revenue from teinds, an annual sum from the Parliamentary grant. In St. Andrews they carried into execution in relation to Medical degrees the proposals of the 1826 Commission. For a considerable time before this Commission sat, the University of St. Andrews had enriched itself by what was tantamount to the sale of medical degrees, which formed nine-tenths of all the degrees given by the University. The degrees were granted in absentia on the recommendation of outside physicians./



physicians. About the year 1826 attempts had been made by the Senatus to put an end to the practice, but the goose was too good to kill. In 1854, for example, 65 degrees were conferred, but by 1862, when the guillotine was about to descend, one notes with amusement that the number rose abruptly to 604. The guillotine took the shape of an Ordinance limiting to ten the number of M.D. degrees which could be conferred in any one year, the recipients to be not less than forty years of age.

The financial aspect of the 1858 Commission's work was rendered easy by the fact that they had at their disposal from Government grants at least £10,000 per annum, which might be increased if good cause could be shown. Hence their legislation has a reality denied to the recommendations of the 1826 Commission. Inglis and his fellow Commissioners showed great sanity in the method of their distributions. In addition to augmenting the stipend of the professors, they instituted external examinations and established class assistants. They subsidised libraries and museums, and compelled the Universities to form reserve funds for the upkeep of the fabrics. In a word, they laid the foundation of that utilisation of Parliamentary grants, supplemented by the annual incomes from rents and endowments, which contributed, in a vital degree, to the quickening of the Universities.

Looking backwards to the state of the Universities and  
to/

The essential sanity of the views of the Commissioners is nowhere better illustrated than in the case of the union of Aberdeen's two Universities. When the Commission first set to work in 1858, the opposition to fusion, if not so violent as in 1826, was, nevertheless, of a very aggressive type, and was the cause of great embarrassment in that it came from so many different quarters. On two separate occasions - 22nd July 1859 and 9th May 1860 - special reports were published on matters arising out of petitions made to the Commissioners by representatives of the Universities, the Town Council, and bodies interested in the management of bursary funds. Between the years 1858 and 1860, when the bitterness was severe and when passions were aroused, the Commissioners held unswervingly by the arrangement that in the united University, the classes of the Faculties of Law and Medicine and also the classes of Natural History were to be taught in the buildings of Marischal College, while to King's College were apportioned the classes in the Faculties of Arts and Divinity.

The heart of the fusion controversy lay in the future of the Faculties of Arts, the strongest attempts being made to maintain this Faculty at both Universities; and from the/

the pamphleteering literature<sup>1</sup> of the period, it is obvious that there were many who, otherwise favourably disposed to union, were strongly in favour of the maintenance of a separate Faculty of Arts at each University.

Among the contestants, David Thomson, Professor of Natural Philosophy (1845-1880) stood forth as the stoutest supporter of the views of the Commissioners. He contended unflinchingly that the proper place for the teaching of Law and Medicine was Marischal College and equally that the proper place for the Arts Faculty was King's. To have made an Arts Faculty at Marischal as well as at King's, would have been, in his estimation, practically to extinguish King's. He pleaded for complete fusion, or none at all, and his powerful advocacy of the views of the Commissioners went a long way to prevent a situation that would have been financially wasteful and brimful of trouble for the future<sup>2</sup>:

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1. See Selections from the Writings of William Forsyth: Aberdeen, 1882: Prefatory Note by Alexander Walker. Has Marischal College the Power of Conferring Degrees in Divinity, Law and Medicine? David Thomson, 1850. The Right to Confer Degrees Vindicated: by Thomas Clark, Aberdeen, 1853. Notes on the Foundation and History of Marischal College by Professor William Martin, 1849.
  2. See Aurora Borealis Academica: Aberdeen University Appreciations, 1860-1889: Aberdeen, 1899, pp.79-80.

Aided by such men as Thomson, the Commissioners went forward to the promulgation of Ordinances. Seven professors were retired at a temporary cost of £2,446 per annum, and six new professorships were erected in Logic, Biblical Criticism, Institute of Medicine, Materia Medica, Midwifery, and Botany.

In session 1860-61, the first after the Union, the number of students enrolled in the classes as a whole showed an increase on the aggregate in the two Universities for one or two years previous to the union, although Natural History appears temporary<sup>ly</sup> to have suffered.

In Medicine particularly, the Commissioners felt cause for gratification. The Faculty received a wider constitution, concentration made for efficiency, and with every confidence, the Commissioners stated that "there is every reason to expect that the Aberdeen School of Medicine will continue steadily to increase in importance and to extend the high reputation which it has already deservedly acquired!"

Looking back upon a controversy, the embers of which are now extinct, one has good reason to admire the foresight of the 1858 Commission in the delicate tasks set them in relation to Aberdeen. Had they compromised over the proposals for the Faculty of Arts, there is no doubt that they would have impaired greatly the total usefulness of their enactments/

enactments, and would have left a burdensome legacy to the 1889 Commission. They finally removed a competitive element in Aberdeen, which, despite the arguments used to the contrary, one cannot regard as otherwise than unhealthy. The steady development of the University of Aberdeen since 1860 is the best answer to all the antagonism which the Commissioners met and countered.

In a later chapter the great advance~~ment~~<sup>z</sup> made in numbers and power in the personnel of the teaching staff will be described. Meanwhile, it may here be said that, by their insistence upon complete union, they made easy the paths of such later legislators as the Carnegie Trustees and the Universities Grants Committee. Further, when the growth of the united University made new buildings essential to progress, it was possible, without friction, to attend to the needs of Arts on the one hand at King's, and, on the other,<sup>to</sup> the requirements of Medicine at Marischal College. The fine new block of buildings erected in 1912-1913 at King's College for the Departments of English, History, French and German, and the great extensions carried out at Marischal between 1895 and 1906 bear impressive witness to the quickening influences of unity. Aberdeen is now handsomely provided with accommodation for the teaching of all the Faculties, and the narrow régime which/

which obtained prior to 1858 is indeed very remote. The vivid and pugnacious arguments of 1858-1860 would to-day receive a cold welcome were they to be revived, and only the faintest echoes now remain of the lusty partisanship of a stirring time.

CHAPTER III.THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF 1876 AND THE UNIVERSITIES  
(SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

## I.

In many ways the Commission of 1876, to which curiously little attention is given in histories of the Scottish Universities, is the most interesting of all, inasmuch as it shows how Scottish education in the rapidity of its development brought problems of severe difficulty alike to the schools and to the Universities; and on the way in which these perplexities were resolved there depended the whole course of higher education in Scotland.

Unlike their predecessors in 1858, the Commissioners<sup>1</sup> of the year 1876, under the Chairmanship of the veteran John Inglis, now Lord Justice General, had no Act upon which to work. Their duties were similar in character to those of the 1826 Commissioners. In discussing this Commission, it is not proposed to recapitulate its findings on the powers of such bodies as the University Court or the General Council. It is sufficient here to say that they demonstrated the trend of opinion, and helped substantially in the contribution of the 1889 Act.

The Act of 1872 had set elementary education in  
Scotland/

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1. The Commissioners were: The Lord Justice General (John Inglis), The Duke of Buccleuch, Jas. Alexander Campbell, Esq., James Crauford, Esq., James Anthony Froude, Esq., Professor Thomas H. Huxley, Lord Moncrieff, Dr. John Muir, Sir William Stirling Maxwell, The Rt. Hon. Lyon Playfair, Archd. Campbell Swinton, Esq. and William Watson, Esq., Dean of the Faculty of Advocates.

Scotland on a sound basis. It had, however, left the secondary schools very much as they were before that date. Meanwhile, since 1858, steady progress had been made in the Universities, and by 1876 the "school" aspect of the Universities had become a menace to further advancement. Yet any decisive raising of the standards was attended by the risk of hardship. The old parish schools had, in the first half of the century, given every possible help, small though that oftentimes of necessity was, to the "lad o' pairts" whose ambition was towards the University; and the history of Scotland has hundreds of examples to afford of the devotion of the old dominies not less than <sup>of</sup> the determination of the pupils. The effect of the 1872 Act was to make concentration on the ordinary pupil essential, and consequently even by 1876 the Universities found that the teaching of the higher subjects in these schools was tending to disappear. In the north of Scotland, by the aid of munificent bequests, higher education flourished, but, by comparison with the north, the rest of Scotland showed a poor record. In addition to this, the secondary schools were very unequal, depending greatly on the character and partialities of the headmasters. Moreover, the old régime was being questioned as to its sufficiency, and the value and necessity of "modern" sides to the secondary schools had become a subject of much discussion.

The/



The problem for the University was this: If they made no alteration on their system of Junior Classes, in which students could begin a subject practically de novo, would they not be doing work which ought more profitably to be done in the schools? On the other hand, if they placed a barrier by means of a definite preliminary examination, prior to entrance to the University, would they not be hindering ambition and offering impossible conditions to the pupils from elementary schools, and to those older men who still continued to come to the Universities in large numbers? True, the age of entrance had risen considerably, and few came before the age of sixteen years. But equally, many men of thirty years, after the excellent fashion of Scotsmen, did not consider themselves too old to begin the mysteries of Latin conjugations and the Greek verbs.

The bolder of the professors, among whom was George G. Ramsay, Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow, were of the strong opinion that the Universities should take the risk of several lean years by instituting a preliminary test in Latin, Greek, Mathematics and English, with the substitution of a Modern Language for Greek in the case of those proposing a career in Science or Medicine. They argued that the imposition by the Universities of this examination would quicken and inspirit all good secondary teachers in Scotland/

Scotland, while, at the same time, it would allow University teachers to devote themselves to advanced work.

Without doubt the Commissioners were anxious to help the Universities; but they were oppressed by the fear that the inalienable right of the Scotsman to a University education would be imperilled. Accordingly, they devised an ingenious scheme of a First Examination to be taken by all students, after entrance to the University, the subjects to be Latin, Greek, Mathematics and English, and when the state of the schools permitted, elementary Science. If a student came up well prepared he could take this examination straight-away. If not, it was open to him to take <sup>it in</sup> the summer session following his entrance, or at the beginning of the second winter session. In any case he was not to be regarded as a graduating student until he had surmounted this hurdle. With some modifications, they made this First Examination a necessity for Science, Law and Medicine, as well as for Arts.

With regard to the second main point of interest, viz., the broadening of the curriculum, it is significant to note that the Commission held within its membership two remarkable protagonists of an educational system which refused to ~~accept~~ <sup>accept</sup> in the "classical" regime the be-all and end-all of culture. These were Thomas Henry Huxley and James Anthony Froude. The Minutes of questions reveal on the part of Huxley a determination, almost gleeful in a certain satiric quality it possessed, to/

to draw from Professors, thirled to the existing régime, some hint of possible shortcomings. Froude did not play so strenuous a part in the questioning, contenting himself rather with appending to the Minutes a characteristic note on the claims of History, in which he does not forget Scottish susceptibilities, and insists that any study of History in Scotland should include, in addition to a wide survey of general history, a detailed scrutiny of particular periods of Scottish History, based on researches into original documents.

The records of this Commission are inclined to be put aside because nothing of a positive nature emerged in the shape of Acts or Ordinances. Nevertheless, they are of very considerable interest, for they point definitely to the immediate present. The Act of 1858, in the light of to-day, seems very remote, but so comparatively speedily had matters developed between 1858 and 1876 that to read the Minutes of this Commission is to find oneself on a field of combat in University affairs not dissimilar from that which opens itself to-day in the Senates and General Councils.

These Minutes show that the "Junior Class" system must depart from the Universities and that the disappearance could not be long delayed. They demonstrate unmistakably the first genuine signs of disquietude in respect of the control of the Arts curricula. Of that complacency with regard to/  
to/

to the seven elect subjects shown by the 1858 Commissioners, hardly a trace remains. The Professors of Latin and Greek seem, throughout their evidence, curiously on the defensive, in a strange position in which to find himself, for any Scottish Professor of the Classics. By 1876, however, the standpoint in the Universities had shifted without any compulsion from University Commissions. Degrees in Science had been instituted in all the Universities except Aberdeen, and while there were as yet no Faculties of Science in the Universities, the example of the older English Universities and the pressure of public opinion made it manifest that the full recognition of Science could not long be delayed.

Briefly put, it is to be said of the 1876 Commission that its records manifest a growing feeling of power and resourcefulness in the Universities, and reveal a profound deepening of the sense of national responsibilities on the part of teachers and graduates. By means of the General Councils, the views of the graduates were brought readily and effectively before the Senates, and, accordingly, the Universities came more closely into touch with educated public opinion. It is of supreme importance to note the changed attitude shown by the Professors of 1876. No longer were they men who represented learned "societies" remote from the ordinary business of life. They felt themselves to be definite/

definite links in the educational chain,<sup>1.</sup> and since their opinions were such as to effect pronouncedly teaching in Scotland as a whole, their evidence, as reported in the Minutes of the 1876 Commission, has an urgency and impressiveness not to be found in the Minutes of earlier Commissions. Clearly the 1858 Act was by 1876 regarded as only a half measure, and though further legislation might be delayed, it could not finally be prevented. When it is further recollected that in 1882 the Scottish Education Department took steps to organise secondary education, it will be seen that the Act of 1889 was the natural consequence of a steady upward trend in both Schools and Universities.

## II.

In the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 is ~~manifested~~ *manifested* the culmination of the efforts of each succeeding Commission, from 1826 onwards. It has been noted above that by 1876 all who were interested in the welfare of the Scottish Universities were looking forward to still further developments. With each succeeding year the demands became more/

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1. As an instance of the above, see Professor George G. Ramsay's article on Secondary Education in Scotland: Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh, 1887.

more insistent<sup>1</sup>. and, therefore, when in 1889 the second Universities (Scotland) Act of the nineteenth century was placed on the Statute Book, there was, in the main, comparatively little criticism. The principal argumentation centred round the vexatious problems connected with the relationships between St. Andrews and Dundee. In Dundee, a University College had been founded in 1880, and for roughly twenty years thereafter, there was conflict, the dust of which it is hardly necessary now to disturb. Although the Act embodied full arrangements for affiliating the University College of Dundee with the University and for making the College form part of the University, the suspicion and jealousy aroused were so great that even by the time the Commissioners<sup>2</sup>. appointed under the Act issued their/

1. Bills were promoted in Parliament annually from 1883 onwards, but failed to gain advancement through both Houses. The Bill of 1883 was the cause of great anxiety to the University of St. Andrews, for it appeared that this University might suffer extinction if the clauses relating to it became law. See in this connection a Memorial to the Lord Advocate by St. Andrews University: St. Andrews 1883.

2. The Commissioners were - Lord Kinnear (Chairman), Marquis of Bute, Earl of Elgin, Lord Kyllachy, Lord Kelvin, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Sir Arthur Mitchell, Mr. D. Crawford, Professor Butcher, Dr. Heron Watson, Sir Henry Roscoe, Mr. Cum, Dr. W.G. Blackie, Sir Chas. Dalrymple, Mr. F. Fuller, Mr. J.A. Campbell, Sir Francis Sandford.

their reports in 1900 they were not allayed, and the Commissioners were compelled to write a full report on litigation which had been instituted to upset the Ordinance of affiliation. Happily this distressing period in the history of St. Andrews has passed, and no useful purpose would be served in our going into the controversy.

With regard to <sup>the institution of</sup> University Courts, it is of significance to note that sixty-three years after its first promulgation, the complete removal from the Senate of the financial administration of the Universities was finally accomplished. By the Act of 1889, the administration and management of the whole revenues and property of the Universities was committed to the several Courts. At the same time, to meet the new responsibilities, the number of members of each Court was considerably increased. Four Assessors were now to be elected by the Senates and four by the General Councils.

The Provost of St. Andrews, the Provost of Dundee, the Principal of St. Mary's College and the Principal of the University College of Dundee were added to the University Court of St. Andrews, while in Glasgow and Aberdeen, in addition to the Assessors nominated by the Senate and the General Council, the Lord Provost of the City, and an Assessor nominated by the Town Council were in each case added.

No Commission could go far in its enquiries into the state of the Universities without encountering the perennial question/

question of entrance examinations. From the descriptions of the work of the earlier Commissions, it will be seen that the great stumbling-block to the imposition of an entrance test as an antecedent to admission was the inequality of opportunity offered by the schools. In 1889 that inequality still existed. "The provision for secondary education throughout the country is not sufficient to satisfy this condition (i.e., that there should be sufficient means and opportunity for preparation at school). There are excellent secondary schools in certain districts but there are districts where no such schools are available; and there are numbers of parents throughout the country who are anxious to give their sons a University education and who are accustomed to make remarkable efforts and to submit to privation for that purpose, but who are totally unable to meet the double expense of sending their boys first to a school at a distance from home and afterwards to the University. We think it would be wrong to disappoint a laudable ambition on the part both of parents and children and to deprive students of this class, so long as no adequate provision is made for their education at school, of the means they have hitherto enjoyed for fitting themselves for a proper University course by attending Junior Classes at the University itself".<sup>1</sup>.

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1. Scottish Universities Commission, General Report, 1889, p.xi.



Here was the old difficulty. How to guard against a lowering of the standard of the Degree in Arts and yet give every class of pupil an opportunity of attending the University was the subject of the Commissioners' concern. They found also that the Act of 1858, prescribing a course extending over four winter sessions and including in it attendance for not less than two sessions in the classes of Humanity, Greek and Mathematics, had tended to prove inimical to the interests of the secondary schools, inasmuch as students who ought to have remained at school for a further session went instead to the junior classes in the University in order that thereby one of the four sessions necessary towards a degree might be completed.

The method of solution finally arrived at by the Commissioners had every element of fairness. By Ordinance No. 44,<sup>ct</sup> was enacted that any student who had passed in Latin, Greek or Mathematics on the higher standard, might attend a qualifying class in such subject (or subjects) without having passed in the other subjects of the Preliminary Examination which was instituted, provided always that no student was allowed to present himself for examination in any subject qualifying for graduation until he had passed the whole Preliminary Examination and also that no student should be admitted to an Arts Degree unless he had attended qualifying classes/

classes for three academic years after he had completed his Preliminary Examination. (The subjects of the Preliminary Examination were English, Latin or Greek, Mathematics, and one of the following - Latin or Greek (if not already taken), French, German, Italian, Dynamics). There was a higher and a lower standard in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and candidates were required to pass in the higher standard in at least one of these three subjects and were allowed to enter with a pass on the lower standard in either (or both) of the remaining two.

In making these arrangements, the Commissioners were aware that they were by no means ideal, but were as satisfactory as the conditions of secondary education in Scotland at the time would permit; and in their remarks on the desirability of getting rid of the junior classes as a permanent part of the University equipment, they made specific reference to the necessity of a Preliminary Examination as a condition of entrance, to be brought into force whenever secondary education in Scotland was sufficiently advanced. In point of <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ fact, in relation to the Preliminary Examinations, experience has shown that the Commissioners builded better than they knew.

Towards the uniform administration of the Preliminary Examination, they formed a Joint Board of Examiners from the four Universities, external examiners being utilised not only/

only for the actual work of paper correction, but for assistance in determining the standard to be exacted for entrance.

With regard to the provisions for graduation in Arts, the Commissioners were fortunate in finding a consensus of opinion on the rigidity of the course of study.

In addition to the reports of the 1876 Commission, they had before them investigations of the educational arrangements in several European and American Universities, and after a lengthy consideration of these, they determined that if they could frame a scheme of graduation which would broaden the conception of the M.A. degree, <sup>and</sup> which, at the same time, would maintain those great traditions which had given a distinctive character to the Scottish Degrees in Arts, they would meet the wishes of the vast majority of interested parties. They, therefore, enacted that every graduating course in Arts should embrace at least one Classical language, Mental Philosophy, and a Mathematical Science. They made also a compulsory subject, English, or a Modern Language, or History, and thus, as late as 1889, these subjects took their place alongside those which custom had sanctioned and which have previously been regarded as essential for the discipline of the mind.

A further interesting feature of the new Arts Course was a large infusion of Science. Botany, Zoology, Chemistry and/

and Geology were all added as optional subjects. Thus it will be seen that the pressure brought to bear on the 1876 Commission by schools of thought represented by Huxley and Froude had not been without effect.

With regard to the Honours Degrees in Arts, the Act made a much needed change by reducing the number of subjects which it was necessary to take. Previously an Honours Degree had been accomplished as an addition to all the study required for a pass Degree. Now, by reducing the number of subjects to five and by making intensive study in the Honours subjects obligatory, a new ideal was promulgated, whereby advanced study of a kind hitherto hardly known among the undergraduate body was rendered possible. In furtherance of this ideal the Commissioners made ordinances calculated to encourage distinguished students to pursue post-graduate work under a system of Research Fellowships<sup>and Scholarships</sup> and promoted the three Degrees, Doctor of Letters, Philosophy and Science, respectively.

When they came to consider their policy in relation to the new claims of Science, they found that the Senates had already gone to considerable length along the lines dictated by the requirements of the day, and had instituted degrees in Science. It remained, therefore, to consolidate this work, and, accordingly, to the old division of the "Studium/

"Studium Generale" into the four Faculties of Arts, Law, Medicine, and Theology, the Commissioners added a fifth Faculty, the Faculty of Science. They regulated the conditions of entrance, making a Preliminary Examination on the same basis as for Arts, except that Modern Languages might be substituted for Latin or Greek. The B.Sc. in Pure Science was divided, over a three years' curriculum, into a First and a Final Examination, all candidates being required to take in the First Examination (1) Mathematics or Biology (i.e., Zoology and Botany), (2) Natural Philosophy, and (3) Chemistry. The Final Examination consisted of a principal and two subsidiary subjects taken from any of the above subjects or from Astronomy, Anatomy, Physiology or Geology.

The broadened conception of the scope of education possible and suitable for the Universities is witnessed in the regulations for Higher Degrees in Science/<sup>and</sup> in the Applied Science Degrees which the Commissioners instituted. Thus, to find Ordinances for a B.Sc. and a D.Sc. in Engineering and in Agriculture at Glasgow, for a B.Sc. in Agriculture in Aberdeen, and a B.Sc. and D.Sc. in Public Health in Edinburgh, is to be made aware of a state of affairs entirely new. Henceforward the pre-eminence of Arts must necessarily be less secure, and with the development of the Science Faculty there was bound to arrive a day on which the older and traditional/

traditional ideas on Scottish University education must suffer a transformation. So the events have proved. At first the Science Faculty was slow to develop, principally because in the schools, adequate preparation for scientific work on the University standard was procurable only in a few instances. But by the opening of the present century, the secondary schools, in a reaction from the older studies, had embarked upon Science work with vigour, with results which may be illustrated by reference to the following significant figures taken for the purpose from the Calendar of the University of Glasgow. In 1900 Glasgow had in all 2033 students. Of these 933 were in Arts, 662 in Medicine, 196 in Law, 41 in Theology, and 167 in Science. But by the year 1924 when there were in all 4694 students at Glasgow 1639 were in Arts, 1288 in Medicine, 252 in Law, 54 in Theology, and 1239 in Science. In other words, at the beginning of the century Science claimed 8 per cent. of the students, while Arts claimed 40 per cent.; by 1924 the proportions were 26 per cent. in Science and 34 per cent. in Arts.

In respect of Medical studies, the Commissioners contented themselves with an extension of a system and curriculum already working satisfactorily. The preliminary necessities in Medicine were made the same as for Arts or Science, the actual standard being left to the discretion of the Joint Board, which arranged standards considerably lower than those required in the other Faculties. (Differing standards in Arts and Science on the one hand, and Medicine on the other remained till 1921, when the separate Medical Preliminary was abolished and the standard made the same in all these Faculties).

The <sup>medical</sup> curriculum was extended to cover five instead of four years, and Physics was introduced as a subject of the First Professional Examination. At the same time the claims of Surgery were more fully recognised by arranging that the degree of Bachelor of Surgery should be taken along with the Bachelor of Medicine qualification.

In the Faculty of Law, the Commissioners made the conditions for the LL.B. degree slightly more elastic by introducing certain options, and confirmed a practice already established in Glasgow and Edinburgh by making Ordinances governing a B.L. (Bachelor of Law) degree which might be taken without the necessity of having the previous degree of M.A.

In Divinity, the situation showed little change from that outlined by the 1858 Commission, and, accordingly, the Commission left it to the Universities to award their B.D. according to their several regulations.

The financial aspect of the 1889 Acts is of high importance. The extent to which the development of the Universities was being aided may be gauged by the fact that the Executive Commission of 1889 ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> granted £42,000 per annum for distribution as against roughly £10,000 set apart in 1858 by Parliament. Furthermore, the growth of the professoriate and the development of the system of optional subjects had/

had made the method of paying fees direct to each Professor a menace to the welfare of the Universities. With considerable courage, the framers of the Act determined that "competition for students, stimulated by a direct interest in fees" should cease. Honours curricula had been instituted. Summer session classes were now held at reduced fees, and to have permitted the old order to continue would have been to create chaos and needless enmity. All fees, therefore, were to be paid direct into the fee fund of each University administered by the University Court. Through the Court, the Professor received a definite salary on the understanding that if the fee fund was unable in any year to meet the charge upon it for salaries, there should be a proportionate reduction in the case of each Professor. At the same time, to give a sense of security, it was provided that there should be a minimum salary, payable from the general revenues of the University and the Parliamentary grants.

The sums granted by Parliament, although capable of meeting the more urgent demands of the Act, were far from sufficient to meet the expansion of studies and the calls of the newer subjects. Hampered to <sup>some</sup> ~~some~~ extent, therefore, in the fulfilment of their hopes, the Commissioners contented themselves with making Ordinances for the establishment of Lectureships, the stipends of which were to be fixed by the University/



University Court. The holders of these lectureships were to be empowered to give courses leading to graduation. The appointments were made for a period of five years, the holders to be eligible for re-appointment at the end of that period. With regard to Chairs, after much anxious consideration, the Commissioners instituted the following, as being the minimum necessary for efficiency: History and Pathology at Glasgow; History in Edinburgh; Pathology, Materia Medica, Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery at St. Andrews. The endowment of these Chairs was charged to the general funds of the Universities. By means of special endowments, they were enabled to found at St. Andrews the Berry Chair of English Literature; in Glasgow the Adam Smith Chair of Political Economy; in Aberdeen the Chalmers Chair of English Literature; and in Edinburgh the Chair of Public Health. The patronage of University Chairs was a subject on which the Commissioners found complete unanimity, not, however, in respect of the lines on which they had proposed to legislate. A scheme drawn up by them amending the powers of the Courts, and in Edinburgh the Curators of Patronage, met with an opposition so decided not only from the Universities but from such bodies of patrons as the Corporation of Edinburgh, the Faculty of Advocates, the Society of Writers to the Signet, the Royal College of Physicians, that it was resolved to adhere to the existing system/

system, whereby the Courts had the patronage of such Chairs as were not specifically "Crown" Chairs. In Edinburgh, it should be added, the position of the Curators in respect of Chairs already under their patronage by the Act of 1858 was left untouched. In cases where Chairs were founded by means of private endowment, the patronage of the Court was held conjointly with representatives from outside bodies. The Political Economy Chair at Glasgow, for example, founded in 1896, included in its electors one representative each from the Merchants' House, the Trades' House, and the Chamber of Commerce of the City.

Two further matters of importance remain to be noted. It was strongly felt by the Commissioners and by the authorities of the Universities that, with the growing complexity of the University system in Scotland, it would be increasingly difficult in the future to have recourse to Commissions as a means of securing steady progress and development. The 1889 Commission's work was sufficiently arduous and lengthy to indicate the necessity for a different kind of legislative machinery. A step of great significance towards the autonomous acting of each University, under proper safeguard, was accordingly taken in Section 21 of the Act whereby the University Courts were empowered to alter or revoke any of the Ordinances affecting the particular University, framed and passed by the Acts of 1858 and 1889, with this proviso that before/

before being submitted to the Sovereign for approval, the terms of the Ordinances were required to be sent by the University Court to their respective Senate, and General Councils and to the University Courts of the other Universities. The Ordinances were also to be laid for twelve weeks before both Houses of Parliament. As a final court of appeal, there was established the Scottish Universities Committee of the Privy Council consisting of the Lord President of the Privy Council, the Secretary for Scotland, the Lord Justice General, Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Advocate and the Chancellor and Rector of each of the Universities, if members of the Privy Council; and such other members of the Privy Council as His Majesty might appoint.

The actual operation of Section 21 of the Act proved more cumbersome than was anticipated. It was found, after a few years' working that the individual Senates and Courts were unduly hampered by the long delays caused by the transmission of proposed legislation from one body to another. Accordingly, in 1908, the Universities arrived at a concordat by which, in terms of the Act, all new Ordinances would be submitted in due course to the various statutory bodies, but would contain such clauses as would enable the respective Universities to make detailed regulations without the necessity of going outwith their own borders. In the Arts degrees of the Universities, for instance, the general regulations/

regulations contained in the Ordinances permitted the University Courts to make modifications or additions to the curricula and also to frame new curricula. Such schemes originate in the Senate, are sent for approval to the University Court and the General Council, but require no approval from other Universities or from His Majesty in Council.

The plan outlined above is now as a rule adopted, although in certain cases the Courts have preferred to bind themselves in the general regulations to certain basic subjects, and to limit the freedom of internal legislation to the granting of options in the choice of the number of subjects necessary towards a degree. The Glasgow Pure Science Ordinance No.26 of 1921, for example, contains in its general regulations for the Ordinary B.Sc. degree, as submitted to the other Universities and to both Houses of Parliament, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and either Botany or Zoology, as compulsory subjects, the arrangement of the remaining two subjects in the five-subject degree being left to <sup>regulations made at</sup> the discretion of the Senate with the approval of the Glasgow Court and General Council only.

CHAPTER V.THE EXPANSION OF THE UNIVERSITIES SINCE 1889.

It would be difficult within short compass to describe in detail the extraordinary efflorescence of the Scottish Universities <sup>since</sup> ~~from~~ the beginning of the present century, at which time the Commissioners under the 1889 Act finally completed their labours. The twenty-six years have witnessed an extension so notable, a development so far-reaching, that men ask themselves to-day whether the Scottish Universities are indeed the same at heart, or whether their whole being had undergone a transformation into something new and strange, less fine in character, more commercial in outlook, more mechanical in the relationships between teacher and student. Arts and Divinity no longer stand supreme, and with the <sup>expansion</sup> ~~enrichment~~ of the new Faculties of Science and Engineering, with the enrichment of the means and methods of study in the Faculty of Medicine, there apparently predominates an atmosphere which, for want of a truer word, one calls utilitarian. To the making of such an outlook many factors in the life of the community are contributory, the discussion of which may fitly be left to a later chapter. In the meantime, it is necessary to discuss the general character of the changes wrought by the operation of the 1889 Act.

For/

For the past twenty years, it has been the subject of frequent comment, ~~most~~ <sup>much</sup> of it rather ignorant, that the degree of M.A. in the Scottish Universities is so indefinite in the content of its curricula that few can assess its real merit. The rigidity of the M.A. curricula during the nineteenth century made for a standardisation which all could readily apply to each individual graduate; and, by contrast, the degree of to-day is adversely criticised as a thing of shreds and patches. There has been much talk about the soft-options hunter who found avenues to a degree denied to his nineteenth century brother.

What are the facts of the case? One grants that the freedom granted by the 1889 Act permitted the Courts to recognise for graduation purposes subjects hitherto excluded from the curriculum, and that, in their anxiety to give the Professors of the newer subjects full scope for their activity, options were introduced with a liberality that resulted in some strange combinations. But to say, as some aver, that any five or six subjects studied over three sessions would procure a degree is to speak absolutely without book. In rendering the traditional subjects, Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, non-essential for a degree, the Senates and Courts did not thereby throw sanity to the winds. There was no letting loose the flood-gates to admit any and every sort of combination of subjects. In fact, it is <sup>of</sup> the utmost consequence to have/

have an adequate conception of the principles which underlay the extension and re-arrangement of curricula carried out by Universities between 1907 and 1914. Briefly, although in slightly different ways at each University, they enacted as follows:-

- (1) They gave an opportunity to candidates, if they so desired, of adhering closely to the older curriculum by making the basic subjects of their first curriculum (a) Latin and Greek, (b) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and (c) Logic or Moral Philosophy.
- (2) They provided for varying capacities and aptitudes by laying stress on (a) Mathematical subjects, and (b) Modern Language subjects, and, in the case of Glasgow, (c) History.
- (3) They demanded, in every case, a minimum of linguistic, scientific, and philosophical study.
- (4) They kept the choice of options severely within limits by a system of "cognate" subjects to be studied separately for two academical years.

Thus a pupil with a good classical grounding could take Latin and Greek, a Science subject and either Logic or Moral Philosophy, and when he came to arrange the remainder of his course he would find that, of necessity, he had to take such subjects as would be allied to those already studied. A common curriculum on the above lines would, therefore, be (1) Latin, (2) Greek, (3) Mathematics, (4) Logic, (5) English, (6) History, with a second year of study of one of the foregoing. The student whose inclinations were mathematical was provided for by both Mathematics and Natural Philosophy as a foundation, together with a language other than English (say French/

French), and a philosophical subject. In St. Andrews two languages other than English were required of a candidate who preferred Mathematics only. Again, Modern Languages received full recognition by securing that two languages other than English should form a basis of study, together with a Science and <sup>a</sup> philosophical subject.

None will deny that here was diversity sufficient to provide for most ordinary candidates and to allow each University department to get a fair share of students. In the University of Glasgow, the Arts curricula of which are best known to the writer, the various combinations were made without allowing weak curricula to enter. In point of fact, any difficulty that arose lay not with the subject qua subject, but with the standard required by the Professor of the subject. In this respect, as may readily be imagined, it was, and will continue to be, impossible to get complete standardisation, and the "soft options" about which there has been so much discussion, frequently arose solely from the attitude of the teacher towards his subject. It can be said without offence that, in certain cases, where there was a natural desire to advance the claims of the newer subjects, the standard was distinctly inferior to that required in the older subjects. Each year, however, saw an alleviation of that problem, and while it can never be solved completely, the/



the pressure of opinion and of the reputation attendant on each teacher will go far to make each subject equal in standard and difficulty to its neighbour.

Despite careful planning of the Arts curricula on the part of the University authorities, the degree has not, within the past twenty years, given satisfaction. It has been universally felt that it lacked sufficient rigidity. No one, the critics said, knew what the degree stood for in respect of content. Furthermore, it was, or might be in some of its options, so divorced from a century of tradition in Scottish University education as to make it almost meaningless to the generation of Scottish graduates in Arts whose course of study was the older "seven-subject" degree. In particular, the absence of a compulsory classical language and of a course in Mathematics or Natural Philosophy has been the subject of much adverse comment. We therefore witness to-day a reversion to <sup>the older</sup> <sub>A</sub> type. In St. Andrews, Latin or Greek has again become a necessary constituent of each ordinary degree; in 1928, Aberdeen will revert to a degree, the components of which bear a marked resemblance to the degree course promulgated by the 1889 Commission. Towards the degree of M.A. in Aberdeen from 1928 onwards, every candidate must offer (a) Latin or Greek, (b) English or another modern language, (c) Logic or Moral Philosophy, and (d) the conjoint course/

course in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. In every case, the degree will consist of five subjects, two of which will be studied intensively in higher classes. In Glasgow and Edinburgh, action on the above lines has been less drastic. Edinburgh has developed three types of degrees which are as follows:-

"Type A. - The curriculum must include (i) Latin, or Greek, or an Oriental Classical Language; (ii) English, or British History; (iii) a subject from the Department of Science.

"Type B. - The curriculum must include (i) two Modern Languages (other than English), in one of which a double course must be taken; (ii) a subject from the Department of Science.

"Type C. - The curriculum must include (i) Mathematics, in which the second ordinary course must be taken (with or without previous attendance on the first ordinary course); (ii) one other subject from the Department of Science; (iii) a language other than English".

In Glasgow four separate curricula have been maintained, the first approximating to the older curriculum in requiring as the basis of study (1) either Latin or Greek, (2) either Mathematics or Natural Philosophy, (3) either Logic or Moral Philosophy: the second may be termed the "Mathematical" degree, requiring both Mathematics and Natural Philosophy together with a philosophical subject and a language other than English: the third is linguistic, requiring two languages other than English together with a Mathematical subject and a philosophical: the fourth is historical, being based on the study of European History.

History together with Scottish History and Literature or Constitutional Law and History, or Political Economy, and demanding study in a scientific subject, a philosophical subject, and a language other than English. To safeguard the position of the Classics in the domain of Arts, Glasgow and Edinburgh have enacted that for intensive study of English, History, or Modern Languages, a pass in Latin on the lower standard at least shall be required as an ~~entrance~~ <sup>preliminary</sup> qualification.

The position outlined is far from final, and it would be difficult to discern what the future holds. At the present time, St. Andrews and Aberdeen have approximated <sup>in</sup> ~~to~~ their curricula, as have Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the content of the degree from each University should be more easily assessable. <sup>In view of continued</sup> ~~the~~ development of the Universities, however, and of the resources for the teaching of a wide range of subjects, it is impossible to believe that the last word has been said. Changing ideals in education will certainly compel alterations. The needs of the individual student, his preferences and adaptabilities, will, in the future, demand an attention increasingly great, and, with a system of <sup>official</sup> ~~an~~ advice in studies fully developed, it is possible that to the Official Advisers it will be left to determine the exact content of each curriculum, the guiding principles having previously/

previously been determined upon by the Senates and endorsed by the other University bodies.

Further, it should be said that the schemes of the Commissioners of 1826 for the re-institution of the degree of Bachelor of Arts <sup>might with advantage</sup> ~~may~~, after a lapse of more than <sup>sixty</sup> ~~5~~ <sup>years</sup> ~~years~~, be resuscitated. Each session sees an expansion of the numbers seeking Honours degrees, which in the eye of many public bodies are sharply differentiated from the pass or ordinary degree. The Honours degree is not merely different in quality and standard of attainment from the ordinary degree: it is, to a large extent, different in kind. The Ordinary degree attempts to connote a wide general education in which the student is called upon to study languages, science, and philosophy as a basis. The Honours degree demands intensive study along one particular line, and requires now only a minimum of study outside of the chosen subject or group of subjects, which never number more than two. One feels, therefore, that the time is at hand when the two degrees, Ordinary and Honours, <sup>might well</sup> ~~should~~ have a separate nomenclature. To the Ordinary degree the term of Bachelor of Arts could fitly be assigned, leaving to the more difficult Honours degree the title of M.A. By so <sup>arranging</sup> ~~doing~~, recognition would be made <sup>of</sup> ~~to~~ the superior scholastic standards required for success in the Honours examinations, and the value of the/

1 The 1858 Commission by Ordinance No 14 (1861) abolished the degree of B.A. which had, for some years previously, been conferred by the University of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh after a shorter course solely and on an examination limited to fewer subjects than the degree of M.A.

the various University degrees <sup>could be</sup> more adequately assessed by those outside bodies whose duty it is to make appointments to positions of public importance. If an ascending scale of attainment from B.A. to M.A., from M.A. to Ph.D., and from Ph.D. to D.Litt., could be securely established and widely recognised, both within and without the Scottish Universities, the gain would be very great, particularly at a time such as the present, when the Universities are about to set out upon a new century of advance, in which post-graduate study and research are certain to demand more and more attention.

The amount of controversy occasioned by the quality and content of the M.A. degree in the present century has necessitated a somewhat lengthy treatment of the various aspects of the matter in this chapter, and the danger is that its importance may be over-rated. In point of actual fact the prominent feature, as has already been noticed, of the period from 1889 is the waning predominance of Arts and the active development particularly <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ Science. Within three years after the commencement of the work of the 1889 Commission, degrees in Pure Science had been firmly established at all the Scottish Universities, and by 1893 the degree in Engineering Science had also found a place in all the Universities excepting Aberdeen. Successive years saw the establishment/

<sup>Science</sup>  
 establishment of degrees in Agriculture in all the Universities excepting St. Andrews. In Aberdeen and Edinburgh, a further interesting development occurred by the institution of <sup>Science</sup> degrees in Forestry. In the two larger Universities, the claims of Public Health did not go without adequate recognition, and a new science of Public Welfare sprang into being with the development of the study of the health ~~problems~~ of the community in the Universities and in the Scottish municipalities.

Chemistry, in the nineteenth century regarded as a purely theoretical science as far as the Universities were concerned, was, in the twentieth century, advanced upon its practical side, and thus we find in both Glasgow and Edinburgh affiliations taking place between the Universities and the Technical Colleges of these cities, with the primary object of study towards degrees in applied and technical Chemistry.

In Edinburgh, by an affiliation with the Royal Veterinary College, a degree in veterinary science was established.

But even with these the tale of new things did not cease. The demands of Education both as an art and as a science were more fully recognised by the institution of the degree of Bachelor of Education in the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and a further significant advance was made at <sup>and Edinburgh</sup> Aberdeen by the foundation of degrees in Commerce. In the two/

two larger Universities, the claims of Engineering have become so strong as to have necessitated the institution of separate Faculties of Engineering.

In Medicine, the period since 1889 has been marked by an extraordinary enrichment of the means and methods of study, ~~by~~ <sup>due to</sup> the operation of Treasury grants, private benefactions and ~~by~~ <sup>to</sup> the beneficent work of the Carnegie Trust, to which fuller reference will be made later. It has thus been possible to effect a separation of various aspects of medical study which were previously taught together. By means of the greatly extended resources in the Medical Faculties, research has been conducted, and is being conducted to-day, to a degree unthought of in the nineteenth century; and, furthermore, it is the pride of the Scottish Universities that such research is never divorced from actual teaching. In the bi-centenary celebrations of the School of Medicine within the University of Edinburgh (June 1926), Sir George Newman laid particular stress upon this feature of medical work at that University.<sup>1</sup> What is true of Edinburgh is true of the other Scottish Schools, and the research problems of the Scottish medical professoriate originate in the desire to be able to demonstrate with fullness and accuracy/

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1. Address on Medical Education delivered in McEwan Hall, Edinburgh, June 1926.

accuracy to their students, new means and new methods in medical and surgical theory and practice.

It is when we come to enumerate the new foundations of Chairs since 1889 that we perceive at its highest the all-round expansion of the Scottish Universities. In the University of St. Andrews, the Commissioners of 1889 established a Conjoint Medical School with University College, Dundee, and for the work of both institutions founded Chairs in Surgery, Medicine, Materia Medica, Pathology, and Midwifery. In 1925, a Chair of French was established, bringing the total up to thirty-one, a big advance on the position in 1826 when, in the various Colleges of St. Andrews, there were in all ten professorships.

At Glasgow, within a century, the ancient "Faculty" of a Principal and thirteen Professors has been metamorphosed into a Senate with no fewer than forty-nine fully established Professors. Between 1826 and 1860, ten professorships had been added to the original thirteen. At the time of the outbreak of the Great War (1914) the <sup>list</sup> ~~number~~ had been increased by thirteen further Chairs making thirty-six in all. To-day the number stands on the verge of fifty. There is no Faculty but has received notable additions. Since 1889, the teaching of Medicine has been reinforced by Chairs of Pathology, ~~Obstetrics and Gynaecology~~, Bacteriology, Physiological/



Physiological Chemistry, Public Health, ~~and~~ Medical  
<sup>and Ophthalmology</sup> Paediatrics, while to cope with the number of students,  
 duplicate Chairs, the holders of which work in conjunction  
 with the Royal Infirmary in the east end of the city, have  
 been established in Surgery, Medicine, <sup>Obstetrics</sup> and Pathology. In  
 Arts, in addition to the Chair of History founded by the  
 1889 Commissioners, there have been added Chairs in Political  
 Economy, Scottish History and Literature, French, German,  
 Italian, and Spanish. In Science, the Chair of Geology was  
 founded, and the Chair of Natural History became the Chair  
 of Zoology. To the old Natural Philosophy Department there  
 was added the Chair of Applied Physics and to the Chemistry  
 Department the Chair of Organic Chemistry. Law received  
 additional impetus by the foundation of Chairs in Mercantile  
 Law and <sup>Law</sup> Accountancy, while the efficiency of the Engineering  
 Faculty was strongly increased by the creation of Chairs in  
<sup>in</sup> Electrical Engineering, and <sup>in</sup> the Theory and Practice of Heat  
 Engines. Apart from the Chairs established by the 1889  
 Commission itself, this record of advance is the fruit of the  
 enlightened help given by public and private benefactors in  
 the west of Scotland, and when it is noted that no <sup>recent</sup> Chair was  
 established on a foundation of less than £20,000 the magni-  
 ficent sweep of this generosity will be quickly realised.

In Aberdeen, at the time of the amalgamation of the  
 two/

two Colleges, there were fifteen Chairs. Between 1860 and 1889 six new Chairs were founded, i.e., Logic, Botany, Physiology, Midwifery, Materia Medica, and Biblical Criticism. From the latter date, and particularly with the first twenty-six years of the twentieth century, many notable developments have taken place. In Arts important foundations were made in respect of History, English, Political Economy, and French, while the Science side of University culture has been greatly strengthened by the institution of Chairs of Agriculture, Geology, and Forestry. To the existing Chairs in Medicine, there has been added the Chair of Bacteriology. Thus, between 1858 and the present day, the number of Chairs at Aberdeen has been exactly doubled.

The University of Edinburgh affords overwhelming evidence of the progress obtained when its house had been fairly put in order, and its claims to advancement adequately recognised. At the time of the 1858 Commission, Edinburgh had in all thirty Chairs: by 1889 that number had increased to thirty-eight: to-day, the Chairs amount to no ~~less~~ <sup>fewer</sup> than fifty-four. As in the cases of the other Universities, the status of various subjects has been raised by the establishment of Chairs, while in many instances the progress of a subject has been such as to demand a separation of its various aspects. Thus, for example, there are now two Chairs of Natural Philosophy within/

within the University, by means of which Pure and Applied Physics may be the better taught: similarly, in addition to the Pure Science Chair of Chemistry, there is a Chair of Chemistry in its relation to Medicine: Natural History has been divided in the same way. The famous Medical School at Edinburgh has gone from strength to strength by the addition of Chairs in Clinical Medicine, Bacteriology, Tuberculosis, Therapeutics and Clinical Medicine, and Psychiatry. French and German have been <sup>raised</sup> ~~added~~ to the status of professorships: Geology, Mining, and Forestry are all now professorial appointments; and the new demands of Commerce have been met by the institution of a Chair of Accountancy and Business Method.

Apart altogether from the new power given to the Universities by these professorships, there has been an advance truly enormous in teaching strength by the rapid development of the schemes for University Lecturers and Assistants which were promulgated by the 1889 Commission. The successive Commissions, during the past hundred years, found a continued source of weakness in the Scottish Universities inasmuch as professors who had to cope with huge classes had practically no help in the correction of work done by the students, nor could they be relieved on occasion by a competent substitute. The methods adopted at the beginning/

beginning of the nineteenth century were necessarily crude and unsatisfactory. In the Latin, Greek, Mathematical, and Natural Philosophy classes it was the custom to appoint a few of the most distinguished students in the class for correction work. They were supplied with a "fair copy" and worked from that. By the time of the 1876 Commission a system had grown up of "private" help, the Professor paying a qualified assistant from his own stipend.

The development of the system of Lecturers and Assistants rose partly from the urgent need of help to the Professors, and partly because teaching was required in many subjects for which the Commissioners could not furnish the means towards the establishment of a Chair. "Independent" lectureships were, therefore, founded by the 1889 Commission, the holder of which performed, in point of fact, the same work as a Professor. By the opening of the century, however, actual assistants to a professor were still very few in number, and held their posts only for a short time, since vacancies occurred in many directions which gave openings financially more attractive than the University could offer. Indeed, one of the remarkable features in connection with assistantships in Universities is the high distinction gained by the holders of these posts in later life.

With the increased resources available, however, the Universities/

Universities were able gradually to add to their staffs so that to-day the position of the Lecturer and Assistant is one of considerable influence. In the cases of Assistants, the Universities have wisely continued to regard the posts as non-permanent, since with the numbers now in the service of the Universities, ~~posts~~ <sup>an assistantship;</sup> regarded as <sup>a</sup> permanent <sup>post</sup> might well prove to be a cul-de-sac.

By an Act of 1922, the Universities obtained powers to denominate distinguished holders of Lectureships by the name of "Reader". So far, the University of Glasgow alone has not employed the term, and at present it is not clearly differentiated from "Principal Lecturer". The terms will necessarily continue to be inter~~v~~changeable since a teacher, doing the work of principal lecturer under a professor, may, and frequently is, giving service of as great responsibility as the holder of a lectureship in a subject in which no Chair has been established. The same Act permitted the Universities to take the decisive step of admitting Lecturers to the Faculty, and to the Senate on a proportion not exceeding one-fourth of the total number of Professors.

It is unlikely that matters will rest at this point, great as the advance has been. At the outset of the twentieth century, Lectureships and Assistantships in the Scottish Universities were regarded as merely stepping-stones to/

to higher appointments. Now a Lecturer, however distinguished academically and as a practical teacher, may find that the severe competition and the large number of applicants in modern days make it essential for him to regard his Lectureship not as a transient phase of his career, but as permanent work, and there seems no sound reason why the Scottish Universities should not adopt the practice of certain English and Colonial Universities in making Associate-Professorships. Such a step would doubtless at the outset offend tradition, but would be a source of satisfaction so great to many highly competent persons, who to-day are performing work of vital importance in University education, that it would be well worth taking. The immense growth of this aspect of University teaching is realised by a computation of the numbers engaged. During Session 1925-26, St. Andrews employed two Readers, forty-four Lecturers and fifty Assistants and Instructors: Glasgow, over one hundred and twenty Lecturers and eighty Assistants: Aberdeen, four Readers, forty-five Lecturers and thirty-five Assistants: and Edinburgh, one hundred and sixty Lecturers and seventy-six Assistants.

Mention has been made at various times in this survey of the fact that the Universities were much hampered by the inadequacy of the funds at their disposal, and it is, accordingly/

accordingly, necessary to show what steps were taken to meet the ever growing needs. In 1889, the Executive Commission were granted for distribution among the Scottish Universities the sum of £42,000, which represented a huge increase on previous grants, although, it must be added, here, that Parliament made a very good bargain with the Universities inasmuch as the Government was relieved, as a condition of this payment, from the ancient charges for upkeep of buildings, endowment of Crown Chairs, pensions to professors, and libraries.

Within twenty years, however, the pressure on the Universities had again become so severe that they were compelled to memorialise the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the purpose of obtaining additional State assistance. The claims made told so convincing a tale of expansion that a Departmental Committee<sup>1</sup> was appointed in 1909, under the Chairmanship of the Earl of Elgin, to examine the memorials of the Universities and report to the Treasury. £30,000 had been added to the original £42,000 granted under the 1889 Act, but these sums were so largely utilised in clearing off contingent liabilities that the Universities had never been able to keep pace with the new commitments forced upon them as a result of the general advance and development. The memorials of the several Universities presented to the Treasury/

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1. The Committee consisted of the following members: The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine (Chairman); Miss Elizabeth Haldane, Sir Kenelm Digby, Principal Sir H. Reichel, Mr.C.M. Douglas, Professor Andrew R. Forsyth and Professor G. Sims Woodhead.

Treasury showed that an additional £40,000 was the minimum necessary for the effectual maintenance of the standards then reached. After thorough scrutiny of the conditions and after hearing evidence from the Principals and other University officers, the Committee was able to recommend the allocation of £6,000 <sup>for annum</sup> to St. Andrews, £12,500 each to Glasgow and Edinburgh, and £9,000 to Aberdeen, which sums were duly sanctioned by Parliament.

Again, at the close of the Great War, when the Universities awoke from their enforced academic quietude, ~~when~~ <sup>and</sup> the huge numbers of post-war students rendered teaching and administration alike a source of embarrassment, the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury found it essential to meet the needs of the Universities to an extent unbelievable in the quiet days of the nineteenth century. Up till 1919 there had been no uniform method of presenting statistics and requirements to the Treasury, and, accordingly, in that year the important step was taken of instituting a Standing Committee, appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a permanent Chairman, "to enquire into the financial needs of University education in the United Kingdom and to advise the Government as to the application of any grants that may be made by Parliament towards meeting them". The opportunity was thereupon made of introducing a uniform system/



system for presenting the chief facts and figures relating to the Universities and Colleges of the whole country. At the outset the pressing needs of the Universities were met by the apportionment of sums, part of which were to be regarded as non-recurrent. The position with regard to numbers of students being uncertain, it was felt that a scheme not in any way rigid would best meet the needs of the situation. The figures relating to the student body of the United Kingdom are strikingly significant of the wide-spread extension of University education. In Session 1913-1914 in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, there were in all 22,234 students: in the first academical year after the Armistice (1919-1920) the numbers had risen to 36,424. In Scotland 8,419 students in 1913-1914 had leapt to 10,992 in 1919-1920. For some years previous to the outbreak of hostilities the numbers had shown a gradual increase, but the extraordinary post-war impetus had caught the Universities unawares. One notable cause for this growth in the size of the Universities was a scheme initiated by H.M. Government immediately after the Armistice for giving financial assistance towards the Higher Education of ex-service students. No fewer than 15,000 ex-officers and men took advantage of these grants at the Universities and Colleges of the United Kingdom, and of this number approximately 3,000 attended Scottish Universities.

In/

In the first year of the existence of the Treasury Grants Committee, Scotland received £165,000 in recurrent grants and £75,250 in non-recurrent grants; in 1920-1921 £180,000 in recurrent and £40,000 in non-recurrent, and in 1921-1922, by which time the Treasury Grants Committee had in all one and a quarter million pounds at their disposal, £220,000 in recurrent and £62,000 in non-recurrent grants. The amount set aside by Parliament is at present circa one and one-half million pounds per annum. Non-recurrent grants have ceased to be paid to the Scottish Universities, and of a total sum of £220,000 allotted to them by the Committee, St. Andrews receives a sum of £38,000; Glasgow (including the Royal Technical College which is affiliated to the University) £71,000; Aberdeen, £41,000, and Edinburgh, £70,000.

These grants are not to be regarded as static. As conditions vary from time to time so will the amounts of the grants be altered, and it is the declared policy of the University Grants Committee that the Universities must not regard these annual Parliamentary grants as the only <sup>additional</sup> source of revenue; but must endeavour, by enlisting the sympathy and financial help of benefactors, to secure those permanent resources by endowments through which the continued expansion of University education can best be secured. The Scottish Universities are well aware of the sound principles governing the Committee's deliberations, and happily the relationships between the/

the Universities and the great commercial, industrial and philanthropic interests in the several cities are now on a basis so friendly and so understanding that there has been no difficulty in effecting a realisation of the Committee's policy. Glasgow in particular, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St. Andrews to a lesser degree, have been the recipients of many bequests, splendid in their amounts and, <sup>as a rule,</sup>  admirable in the wisdom of the conditions governing the gifts.

In attempting to give what must be at best only a very imperfect idea of the vast development of the Scottish Universities since 1889, it is of importance to note the matters which have been prominently before the Grants Committee in making their division of the annual funds provided by Parliament. First there are the new circumstances created by the numbers of students. Glasgow, especially, has shown an increase of practically 100 per cent. on the figures set before the 1889 Commission: in Edinburgh, the rise in numbers is at least thirty-three and a third per cent., while the two smaller Universities both show advances in point of numbers. Within two years of the Armistice, both Glasgow and Edinburgh came within measurable distance of 5,000 students each, and one of the vexatious problems for University administrators is to divine whether this huge enrolment will be maintained or whether the numbers will gradually sink to a level approximating the pre-war/

pre-war figures. The probability that they will ever decrease to any very great extent is slight; and while the swollen numbers of the years immediately following the cessation of hostilities in the Great War will not be maintained, the increased demand for University <sup>education</sup> ~~degrees~~ makes it certain that legislation must envisage a student-body in Scotland greatly in advance, in point of numbers, of that obtaining in the early years of the twentieth century.

How to provide accommodation and how to provide an adequate teaching staff very naturally, therefore, have formed the principal pre-occupations of the Grants Committee. Very wisely they caution the Universities against large expenditure on costly buildings, preferring that, in a time of transition and tentative experiment in many new directions, the new buildings should be as adaptable as possible to future needs.

On the side of staff, they have recognised not merely that better payments should be made but that respite should be given from the arduous work of teaching in order that private study and investigation might be fully maintained. So far it has been impossible to realise in their entirety the hopes of the Committee, but with the gradual development of the staffs of all the departments in the Universities, there are good grounds for assuming that the intentions of the Committee will be/

be met. The permanent nature of the posts held by the non-professorial staffs has been recognised by the adoption, in the Universities, of Superannuation Schemes, while the Pension Schemes for the professoriate have been placed on a <sup>similar</sup> sound basis. These matters, initiated by the Universities, have received the warm support of the Committee.

Although inevitably, in view of the nature of their work, material needs have been their first concern, the Committee have been enabled to take a very wide view of modern University problems. They have shown deep concern in fostering more adequate means for the attainment of social life by the students, and to this important topic later reference will be made; equally they have been able to watch the process by which University education is being broadened in its foundations. The advance in the provincial English Universities of technological science and of commerce in relation to University study has been a matter not without difficulty, and it has not been easy, nor will it be easy, to hold a just balance between the claims of the newer and the older subjects. Scotland has not experienced in the same degree the pull of conflicting interests, and regarding her Universities the following sentences of the University Grants Committee's report for Session 1924-1924 are especially appropriate:-

"The/

"The old antagonism of Science and the Humanities has,  
 "in the light of a better mutual understanding, sensibly  
 "declined; and there are few who would now deny that a narrow  
 "specialised education in the Classics and a narrow specialised  
 "education in Physical Science are both equally unsuited to  
 "the needs of the student. A University education that is  
 "worthy of the name cannot dispense with exact knowledge and  
 "intellectual thoroughness, but its value lies perhaps less  
 "in the details of the subjects taught than in the spirit  
 "which informs the teaching of them. A well designed course  
 "in a branch of Technology can leave a student, at the end of  
 "it, an educated man as well as a properly grounded technolog-  
 "ist, just as a badly designed course in a subject labelled  
 "'humane' can leave him an illiberal pedant. There has,  
 "therefore, been a growing disposition among the best  
 "university teachers to broaden the basis of the studies in  
 "all faculties, to break down the rigid barriers that special-  
 "isation tends to erect between different subjects, and to  
 "insist upon giving the students a clear sight of the wood as  
 "well as of the trees. Teachers of Science on the one hand  
 "and of the Humanities on the other are coming to lay more  
 "and more stress on the fact that the proper relationship of  
 "Science and the Humanities to one another is one of active  
 "friendship, not of cold suspicion, and still less open  
 "hostility/

"Hostility. This does not mean that they propose to add to  
"an already heavy course of Science a smattering of the  
"Humanities, or to import into the Arts course a certain  
"number of set lectures on elementary Science, but that their  
"aim is to teach Science and the Humanities in such a way as  
"to reveal their relationship to one another and their  
"respective places in the wide world of human knowledge and  
"endeavour. There has also been manifest of late a  
"greater readiness to recognise the claims of the aesthetic  
"subjects to inclusion in the university curriculum, and an  
"example of this is to be seen in the growing interest shown  
"in Music. At a recent University conference one of the  
"four items of discussion was "Music as a University Subject"  
"and speaker after speaker paid a tribute to its value and  
"importance as a cultural element in University education.  
"It is interesting to note that a strong plea for the  
"cultivation of the aesthetic subjects at our Universities  
"was made 50 years ago by no less ardent a champion of the  
"physical sciences than T.H. Huxley. In his Rectorial  
"Address at Aberdeen in 1874, after an eloquent reference  
"to the way in which a University education should develop  
"the student's morality and intellect, he proceeded in these  
"words: "But the man who is all morality and intellect,  
"although he may be good and even great, is, after all, only  
"half/

"half a man. There is beauty in the moral world and in  
 "the intellectual world; but there is also a beauty which  
 "is neither moral nor intellectual - the beauty of the world  
 "of Art. There are men who are devoid of the power of  
 "seeing it, as there are men who are born deaf and blind,  
 "and the loss of those, as of these, is simply infinite.  
 "There are others in whom it is an overpowering passion;  
 "happy men, born with the productive, or at lowest, the  
 "appreciative, genius of the Artist. But, in the mass of  
 "mankind, the aesthetic faculty, like the reasoning power  
 "and the moral sense, needs to be roused, directed, and  
 "cultivated; and I know not why the development of that  
 "side of his nature, through which man has access to a  
 "perennial spring of ennobling pleasure, should be omitted  
 "from any comprehensive scheme of University education".<sup>1.</sup>

It is with ideals such as are outlined above that the Committee have sought to foster every means for the furtherance of University education. Notably their attention has been drawn to the condition of Libraries and of Laboratories. The Libraries of the Scottish Universities have always been of good quality owing to the care bestowed upon them by the Courts and Senates, but penury has worked its/

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1. University Grants Committee: Report, Academic Year, 1923-1924, pp. 9-10.



its will in the past in depriving them of a steady flow of new works. Periodical journals, of which there has been a great increase within the past twenty years, could not be procured to the extent desired, and the Committee rightly have set such importance upon a really adequate supply of books and learned periodicals, that they have placed this aspect of University affairs second only to the need for proper conditions of service for teachers and fitting conditions under which to work. They have recommended an enhanced status for the post of University Librarian, expressing the conviction that he should be an officer of professorial standing and an ex officio member of Senate; the policy of recent years adopted by the several Universities would appear to indicate that the views of the Committee will, within a short time, be carried into effect.

When one adds to the above such salient features of University education as post-graduate research and adult instruction, both of which have the warm support of the Committee, it is possible to envisage the magnitude and variety of the tasks that confront the Universities in the immediate future.

It has been essential in narrating the foregoing to dwell to a considerable degree on the numbers of students attending the Scottish Universities. In making any comment on this aspect of development the operation of the Act of 1889/

1889 in relation to women must be kept continuously in mind, since these numbers could never have reached their present point but for the admission of the female sex to equal rights with their male brethren in all University facilities. The position when the 1889 Commission began its tasks was that, in Glasgow and Edinburgh, classes for the education of women on a University standard in Arts and Medicine had for some years been conducted outside the University. Ten years after the appointment of the 1858 Commission, Queen Margaret College in Glasgow had its origin in the efforts of a body of women among whom notably was Mrs. Campbell of Tulliehewan. In 1877 the Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women was founded and the movement received a great impetus in 1883 by the presentation of a fine mansion and grounds in the west end of Glasgow by Mrs. Elder, whereupon the Association became incorporated as a College and took the name of Queen Margaret, the earliest patroness of Scottish art and literature. In 1889 when it was determined that University education should be thrown open to women on equal terms with men, it seemed fitting that the College should become an integral part of the University. In 1892, at which date women were first admitted to graduation, negotiations were successfully carried out with the result that, while the College remained for women as an institution to be used exclusively, its students enjoyed all/

all the privileges of fully matriculated <sup>member</sup> ~~persons~~ of the University, its teachers were appointed by the University Court, and its maintenance provided for by the University. In Edinburgh, women interested in higher education, particularly on the side of Medicine, had been no less active, and, in their anxiety to procure the advantages which up till 1889 were open only to male students, had experienced many vicissitudes.<sup>1.</sup> In St. Andrews, examinations for women were held and a certificate (L.L.A.) granted, but no actual instruction/

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1. Sir Alexander Grant in the second volume of his History of the University of Edinburgh, describes (pp.159-163) the system of Local Examinations instituted by the University of Edinburgh in 1860 and subsequently adopted by the other Scottish Universities. He shows that the stimulus given by these Examinations to schools and to private students, especially of the female sex, had a considerable influence in fostering the movement for the higher education of women. In Edinburgh an "Association for the Higher Education of Women" was started in 1867. The author also gives, on the same pages, an account of the case - "Jex-Blake versus the Chancellor and Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh". Miss Jex-Blake, a lady belonging to an old Norfolk family, applied in 1869 to the University authorities to allow her "as an experiment" to attend some of the Medical Classes. After various vicissitudes the whole matter, which, stage by stage, had reached the point not merely of Medical Classes, but Medical degrees, for women, was taken before the Lord Ordinary, who decided in favour of the pursuer. The judgment was, however, reversed on appeal on the ground that the University had no power of admitting women to its degrees.

instruction had been given.

As a result of Ordinances based upon the Act of 1889, freedom of entrance for women was secured, and nothing is more significant of the conditions of the past quarter of a century than the rapid rise in the numbers of women proceeding to degrees in the Scottish Universities. In 1892 at St. Andrews there were 20 women out of a total of 197 students: by 1905 the number of women had increased to 119 out of a total of 317. By 1925 the ratio of women to men was 3 to 4.

The other Universities in even greater degree show the same results. At Glasgow, for example, there were 139 women in 1892 out of a total of 2207: 1905 saw that number increase to 503; twenty years later the number was no less than 1429 out of a total of 4498. At Aberdeen in 1892, there were 9 women students; in 1924 there were 585. Similarly in Edinburgh, 70 women in 1892 had grown to 370 by 1905, and by 1924 to 1104.

These numbers are not likely to decrease. During the years 1914-1918, an excessive number of women embarked upon Courses in Medicine, but the difficulty of securing posts upon graduation has acted as a deterrent, and the entrants in this Faculty have been reduced to the level of pre-war years - in Glasgow about 10 to 15 per session, and Edinburgh 20 to 30.

The/

The growing demands of the teaching profession are such as to make for a future in which, save in the cases of specialists in Art and like subjects, all women teachers may require to be graduates, thus aligning themselves with the male teacher, who must now possess a University degree; and, accordingly, it is highly probable that the Faculty of Arts in particular will be recruited preponderatingly from women entrants. Whether or not this will be in the best interests of the Universities, it would be unwise, at this juncture, to say, for even if ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> too large influx of women were considered undesirable it would now be impossible to retrace the steps taken before 1889 to procure a consummation so ardently desired and for which so strenuous a fight was made.

CHAPTER VI.A NOTE ON PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS OF ENTRANCE  
TO THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

At frequent intervals in the foregoing pages reference has of necessity been made to the problems respecting entrance or preliminary examinations which confronted the various Commissions, and the regulations promulgated by the 1889 Commission have already been described in detail.<sup>1.</sup> From personal knowledge of the cases of thousands of students, the writer is able to affirm that these regulations proved to be admirably adapted to meet the needs of entrance to every Faculty. In Arts the normal combination of subjects with which pupils came up from the schools permitted the official Advisers of Studies to lay down the lines of study towards Ordinary and Honours degrees, in the knowledge that the preliminary equipment of students bore a direct relationship to the studies upon which they were about to engage. In Science and Engineering, the substitution of a modern language for the classical language required in Arts was sound in principle and operated satisfactorily. Equally, the arrangement made/

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1. See p.54.

made in 1921 by which Medical students required either the Arts or the Science preliminary qualification before beginning study gave scope and freedom, and was, from every point of view, a sane arrangement. The retention of a higher grade pass in Latin as a necessity for the degree of Bachelor of Law was dictated by common-sense. Administratively the 1889 scheme of a Joint Board of Examiners worked well, and permitted the Scottish Universities to retain in their own hands the standard to be exacted from entrants. To the Preliminary Examination passes of the Joint Board there were many exempting certificates, the chief of which were the Leaving Certificates of the Scottish Education Department, and with the rapid development of secondary education in Scotland in the twentieth century, the proportion of students who claimed exemption on the ground of their success in the examinations of the Scottish Education Department markedly increased. So great indeed became the preponderance of students entering direct from the secondary schools with Leaving Certificates that the supersession of the Preliminary Examination by the group Certificates of the Scottish Education Department became the subject of serious discussion particularly in the General Councils of the Universities. These "group" Certificates attested the successful completion of a course of secondary education, and, accordingly it was strongly held that the links binding Scottish schools/

schools to the Universities would be more strongly forged by the recognition in their own right of the Scottish Education Department's Certificates and not merely as exempting <sup>alternatives to</sup> ~~forces from~~ the Preliminary Examination of the Universities. Advocacy of the claims of the Leaving Certificates began early in the twentieth century and gathered strength in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Great War. One notable cause for ensuring that entrants should enter the University with a certificate attesting the successful completion of a regular course of study in a secondary school was found in the repercussion of the Carnegie Trust upon the Universities. It was discovered that, in certain instances, parents were taking their boys and girls away from school before the Leaving Certificate stage was completed and were sending them to "cramming" institutions for the Preliminary Examinations in order that they might the sooner obtain the benefits of the Carnegie Trust benefactions. Finally, in 1918, an Ordinance was passed after many conferences between representatives of the Universities, the Privy Council, and the Scottish Education Department, by which in place of the Joint Board established in 1889 there was substituted a Scottish Universities Entrance Board for the administration of new Ordinances which had imprimis the effect of making the group Certificate of the Scottish Education Department the main passport to a University/



University education.

This Ordinance of the four University Courts (No.70, General No.3) has, within the eight years of its existence, become so notorious by reason of the conflicts that have arisen over the carrying out of its provisions, that there is difficulty in writing dispassionately and with a just sense of proportion on what are still matters of contention. It will be sufficient to note some of the main factors in the disputes which have gained unenviable fame. Undeniably, the time of the passing into law of this Ordinance was distinctly unfortunate. The Universities in the years of war were denuded of their younger members, who returned to their posts to find that, in their absence, a notable change of policy had occurred. The irritation to which this gave rise would have subsided had the provisions of the Ordinance been drawn with greater consideration of the practical issues. When it was discovered, for example, that a Scottish schoolboy from a Scottish secondary school normally presenting candidates for the Leaving Certificate, who had failed to gain this certificate, was to be deprived of entrance and must return to school until he had obtained this certificate, while an English or Colonial schoolboy who wished to come to a Scottish University could gain entrance partly by the University Preliminary Examination and partly, let us say, by the examinations/

examination of the Oxford and Cambridge School Examination Board, the changed position of the hitherto unassailable supremacy of the University Preliminary Examinations in relation to Scottish entrants caused grave anxiety. Refuge from a situation so manifestly unjust was taken in a clause in the preamble to the Ordinance which had reference to students who, on account of exceptional circumstances, were unable to fulfil the normal conditions (i.e., for Scottish students from schools under the Department, the possession of the group Leaving Certificate); and at present "exceptional circumstances" are taken to imply that individual passes gained at the Leaving Certificate examination may be supplemented by passes at the University Preliminary Examinations.

Of not less importance was the relationship of the Universities Entrance Board to the <sup>Scottish Education</sup> Department. Frequently in the Ordinance joint consultation between the two bodies is laid down as requisite, but the Universities, owing to the imperfect liaison existing between the Scottish Education Department and themselves, felt that they would have, in effect, little power in arranging the scope and standard of the examinations now to form the main avenue to entrance. Furthermore, the complication between the general tests to be imposed by the regulations of the Entrance Board and each individual University's requirements for entrance to particular/

particular classes, as provided by the Ordinance, was felt to be a source of weakness. That the Entrance Board should impose general regulations which might be rendered useless, as far as the student was concerned, owing to special regulations framed by the respective Senates anent entrance to particular classes, gave rise to the gibe that the Entrance Board could admit a student no further than the quadrangle. The statement was not robbed of all its sting by the fact that such a position was not likely in practice to emerge.

The technical difficulties of the Ordinance, revealed as soon as the Entrance Board, consisting of sixteen members<sup>1</sup>. began its operations, are susceptible of amendment. The deeper cause of strife was the recrudescence of the struggle which, for nearly fifty years, had been maintained between classical culture in the Scottish Universities and the encroachments of modern studies, linguistic and scientific, although in the twentieth century the violence of the conflict had been sensibly diminished.

The heart of the contest lay in the continuance or non-continuance of a classical language as a compulsory part of entrance to the University. General regulations required that Science and Engineering no less than Arts and Law/

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1. Each University Court appoints four members, two of whom must be Professors or Lecturers who conduct classes qualifying for graduation.

*A in Arts*

Law be considered. There was no place in the new Ordinance for the "Faculty" test, and the powers given to the Senates to impose conditions of entrance to particular classes could result only in a sorry makeshift, irritating alike to the schoolmaster who was preparing the pupil for a University career and to University authorities faced with the task of guiding the intellectual destinies of their students. Following on eight years of labour, and only after repeated efforts to frame general regulations in terms of the Ordinance had been brought to naught by the refusal of one or other of the Universities to accept them, did the Entrance Board finally succeed in making regulations which were accepted by all the Universities and by which a classical language became no longer compulsory. These regulations<sup>1.</sup> come/

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1. General Regulations under Section V.(1) of Ordinance No.70.

In the case of applicants for admission to the Universities of Scotland who have been pupils in Schools in Scotland which regularly present candidates for the Group Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department a Group Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department will be accepted by the Scottish Universities Entrance Board as entitling the holder to enter upon a course of study qualifying for graduation, provided that the following conditions are fulfilled:-

(1) That the Group Leaving Certificate shows passes in at least four of the following subjects:-

- Group I. English (including Literature and History).
- Group II. Mathematics, Science.
- Group III. Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Gaelic.
- Group IV. Art, Music, Applied Science.

(2)/

come into force in 1927, but so strong are the marks of compromise upon their features, that one cannot ~~hope~~<sup>expect</sup> for them the comparative permanence awarded to the regulations of the 1889 Commission. When one adds to this the fact that the Senates of the four Universities have taken steps to safeguard the position of classical studies it will be realised that the makeshift already referred to is actually about to operate. What the future holds in respect of this important aspect of University and secondary school education in Scotland, it would be futile to attempt to ~~discern~~<sup>predict</sup>. The present situation cannot be other than transient, because of its unwieldy and cumbrous nature. The writer has attempted to hold no/

(2) That one of the passes is in Mathematics or an approved Science, and another in one of the languages of Group III.

Note:- A pass in Higher Science which does not include Physics will only count as a pass on the Lower Standard, and the recognition of Science on either a Higher or a Lower Standard is conditional on Mathematics having been studied at least to the end of the third year of the post-qualifying stage.

(3) That two at least of the subjects have been passed on the Higher Standard.

(4) That, if the Certificate shows only two passes on the Higher Standard, it shows either (a) passes in Latin (or Greek) and in Mathematics, or (b) a pass on the Higher Standard in Latin (or Greek) or in Mathematics; and that all the four passes are in subjects taken from Groups I., II., and III.

(5) That a Certificate, which does not satisfy the requirements of either 4(a) or 4(b) above, will be accepted only if it shows three passes on the Higher Standard.

no briefs in this vexed question of the desirability of Ordinance No.70. Nevertheless, it would be foolish to evade the expression of the strong conviction, gained through personal experiences in the guidance of thousands of students of all Faculties, that these Faculties, and through them, the Universities, would have suffered nothing had this Ordinance never obtained the sanction of His Majesty in Council. The administrative arrangements and regulations of the 1889 Commission, as has already been said, worked admirably in actual practice; and it is doubtful whether the Leaving Certificates have, by this Ordinance, received any greater prestige than they, in point of fact, had long held under the regulations of the now defunct Joint Board.

It is indeed possible that, at no far distant date, the wheel may come full circle, and once again, though for very different reasons, the Scottish Universities will be open, without preliminary test of any kind, to all who believe themselves capable of reaching the standard required in the degree examinations. Before 1889 inequality of opportunity for school education proved the stumbling-block to legislation in regard to entrance examinations. To-day the plenitude of opportunity is a commonplace; and if, as some aver, any group of subjects composing a Leaving Certificate is sufficient evidence of ability to study at a University, entrance tests may become unnecessary, since virtually/

virtually the Leaving Certificate or its equivalent would come to be regarded as the sine qua non of success, and only the foolhardy would come up non-equipped to its standard: while for those of maturer years who wished to study for a degree, ample provision is already made by Ordinance No.70, which enacts that for persons of twenty-one years and upwards, production of evidence of a good general education is sufficient to exempt from preliminary tests.

CHAPTER VII.THE CARNEGIE TRUST AND THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

Any account of the development of the Scottish Universities within the last quarter of the period under review in these pages would be altogether incomplete without reference to the great gift of the late Andrew Carnegie. The story of Carnegie's early life<sup>1</sup> in Dunfermline, and his rise in America to extraordinary affluence are now among the commonplaces of our modern annals. Remarkable as the career itself of this man was, the incidents in the life story are less noteworthy than the high and generous impulses with which he was dowered. Indeed, so prodigal was he, both in this country and in America, in good works that their very numbers have tended to obscure the ideals that prompted the ~~requests~~ <sup>foundations</sup>, and it may be well to recall at the outset the motives which set Carnegie to dream of free education at the Universities of Scotland for those of his countrymen who were qualified to gain entrance. In his own early days the possibility of a University education was altogether without his purview. He never forgot what barriers poverty could erect/

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See the Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie: London 1920.



erect to the schemes of deserving and ambitious youth, and, therefore, it was an easy matter for his friend Baron Shaw of Dunfermline<sup>1</sup>. to sow in Carnegie's mind the seed of a great project. Substantially, the grand idea was that Carnegie should give such help to the Scottish Universities that no really worthy aspirant for entrance should be deprived of his chance on the ground of lack of means. When the scheme developed in his mind and in those of his friends, it was seen that two main objects were possible of fulfilment - (1) the improvement of the means for scientific study and research and (2) the payment of class fees. By a Trust Deed, dated 7th June 1901, Mr. Carnegie conveyed to Trustees appointed for the purpose of administration 10,000,000 dollars *in Gold* Bonds of the United States Steel Corporation bearing interest at five per cent., and in a constitution, incorporated in the Trust Deed, defined the objects of the Trust under three main Clauses.

Clause A. is as follows:-

"One half of the net annual income shall be applied  
 "towards the improvement and expansion of the Universities  
 "of Scotland, in the Faculties of Science and Medicine; also  
 "for improving and extending the opportunities for scientific  
 "study and research, and for increasing the facilities for  
 "acquiring a knowledge of History, Economics, English Liter-  
 "ature and Modern Languages, and such other subjects cognate  
 "to a technical or commercial education, as can be brought  
 "within the scope of the University curriculum, by the  
 "erection and maintenance of buildings, laboratories, class-  
 "rooms, museums or libraries, the providing of efficient  
 "apparatus/

1. See Shaw, Letters to Isabel: London 1921.

"apparatus, books and equipment, the institution and endowment of Professorships and Lectureships, including post-graduate Lectureships and Scholarships, more especially Scholarships for the purpose of encouraging research, or in such other manner as the Committee may from time to time decide; The Committee being always entitled, if they deem it proper, to make any grant allotted to any of the aforesaid purposes conditional on the provision by any other person, trust, or corporation, of such additional sums as they may consider reasonable, or as may be required to attain the desired object.

"Further, in the event of the Committee deciding to provide any such buildings, endowments, or apparatus, at a cost in excess of the income available for the time, the future income of the Trust may be mortgaged, subject to the consent of a majority of the Trustees being obtained thereto, to such an extent as may be considered necessary".

Clause B. is as follows:-

"The other half of the income, or such part thereof as in each year may be found requisite, shall be devoted to the payment of the whole or part of the ordinary class fees exigible by the Universities from students of Scottish birth or extraction, and of 16 years of age or upwards, or scholars who have given two years' attendance after the age of 14 years, at such schools and institutions in Scotland as are under inspection by the Scotch Education Department."

Clause C. deals with surplus income and may be left unquoted.

The Trustees were partly nominated, and partly ex officio and elected members. For the nominated members, the Trust was fortunate in having at the outset, a distinguished array of gentlemen eminent in many walks of life who, under the chairmanship of the Earl of Elgin, brought to their duties a breadth of vision and a depth of experience that marked/

marked the Trust from the beginning of its duties as a new factor of potency in Scottish University affairs. Throughout the twenty-five years of its history, the Trust has been able to maintain in its nominated Trustees the high standards set at the initiation of the schemes. The ex-officio members are the Secretary for Scotland, the Lord Provosts of Glasgow and Edinburgh and the Provost of Dunfermline. The elected members, four in number, are chosen by the University Court of each of the Scottish Universities. These hold office for periods of four years. The administration of the Trust is conducted by a permanent Secretary, and an Executive Committee of nine members, one of whom is chairman of the Trust.

Two of the four Trustees elected by the Universities are members of the Executive Committee for the first two years, and the other two for the next two years.

It need hardly be said that the magnificence of the gift fired the imagination of the country. Legends grew apace about the rosy future of the Scottish Universities and their students as a consequence of this munificence, and, inevitably, misconceptions gathered fast. Almost equally quickly a volume of criticism grew. Of the misconceptions the chief was that all students of Scottish birth or extraction of sixteen years and upwards, or scholars who after the age of fourteen had given two years' attendance at schools and institutions/

institutions in Scotland under the inspection of the Scottish Education Department were to have their fees paid in whole or part from the Trust funds. The significant phrase in the earlier part of the Trust Deed, to wit, "deserving and qualified youth" was forgotten, and, as a consequence, one of the primary duties of the Trust was to make it amply clear that evidence of fitness to proceed to a degree would be required by entrants before they could become beneficiaries. The Trust was in a difficult position. The entrance regulations of 1889 made it possible for a person to enter the University and to take certain classes before the preliminary examination was completed, and many took advantage of this relaxation, most of them students to whom the preliminary examinations were hurdles not easily surmountable. Were such students "qualified" in the terms of the Trust Deed? It was early determined that they were not, for the Trust could not take upon themselves to subsidise those whose ability to proceed to a degree had not yet been fully demonstrated. Only when the preliminary requirements were complete could the Trust act with some sense of security. Further, in 1905, they determined that applicants for assistance in Medicine should show themselves equipped to a standard of entrance not less than that required in Arts or Science. They thereby dealt the final blow to the Medical preliminary examination which was considerably/

considerably lower than the Arts or Science. So strongly marked did the standard of entrance become in the deliberations of the Trust that, in 1909, anticipating the terms of Ordinance No.70, discussed in the previous chapter, the Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department, provided it conformed in the individual passes to the requirements of the Joint Board of Examiners of the Scottish Universities, was taken as the basis of eligibility, the University Preliminary Examinations themselves being regarded as means of supplementing Leaving Certificate passes. The Trustees saw in the possession of the Leaving Certificate evidence of the completion of a well ordered course of secondary education. In the University Preliminary Examinations they were conscious of the influence of "cramming" and of methods alien to the original conceptions of the founder. With no intention deliberately to do so, the Trustees could not but influence vitally many aspects of University governance and practice. The ancient custom of taking four sessions or less at a University without any real intention to proceed to a degree was fast dying by 1901, but the traces remained. The 1889 Ordinances had made examinations in each subject possible immediately at the close of the session in which the class was taken. Many students, however, were by no means off with the old loves before they were on with the new. It/

It was argued that capacity, health, and natural disposition rendered it inevitable that many students could not clear off each session's subjects in the years in which they were taken.<sup>1</sup> Here again was vexatious material from the Trust's point of view. How were they to judge whether a student had delayed his current examinations from genuine cause or merely out of laziness or inability? After full consideration of all these circumstances, whether educational or administrative, the Trustees were obliged to lay down that applicants must have passed the graduation examinations belonging to the previous stage of their curriculum before becoming eligible for assistance in the payment of fees of classes belonging to a further stage. At once they sharpened the atmosphere of the Universities, and while they have made severe the lot of some of the older students, who had come to the Universities after a prolonged absence from sustained study in languages or science or philosophy, they by no means cut the laggard off from all hope of future assistance since they tempered the rigour of their rule by paying to a student upon his eventual passing of the examinations part of the fees which he had had himself to pay through his non-success at the appropriate time. This enactment of the Trust, as has already/

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1. See Memoranda on the Carnegie Trust and its Administration. Sir James Donaldson, St. Andrews 1913.

already been observed, did not pass without criticism. For the purposes of the ordinary degree it has served well, and provided a wise latitude is observed by the Trust in the progress of the intensive studies of an Honours student, there seems no good reason to wish for its annulment.

In point of fact, every public body known to the writer, which is charged with the administration of funds for behoof of students at Universities and other similar institutions, has been obliged to demand from its beneficiaries proof of steady success in examinations along the same lines as those determined upon by the Carnegie Trust.

Of even greater importance than the above, is the part played by the Trustees in effecting within the Universities a system of inclusive or composite fees exigible for the various degrees. Four years after the Trust had begun to operate, certain class fees which, from 1858 onwards, had been fixed at £3:3/- were, in the University of Edinburgh, increased to £4:4/-. The other Universities followed suit, with the consequence that the Trustees foresaw the impossibility of meeting in full, from the £50,000 per annum at their disposal, the demand made upon them for class fee payments. They had the further difficulty of placing a limit upon the number of classes which students wished to take. They were undesirous of hampering the genuine/

genuine activities of a good student: equally, they could not afford to pander to the wishes of the dilettante. It seemed to the Trust, therefore, that if the Universities could fix an inclusive sum, payable annually, for class-fees and, at the same time, permit under such a system the taking of classes in ~~considerable~~ excess of the minimum required for the degree, they would be performing a service useful alike to themselves, to their students, and to the Trust. Under such a plan the whole method of fee collection in the Universities would be immensely simplified, the activities of first-rate students would be stimulated, while the Trustees, by the introduction of a composite annual payment, would be enabled to budget with a certainty hitherto denied them. This important matter was splendidly illumined in the evidence given before the Elgin Committee<sup>1</sup> by the then Secretary to the Trust, Dr. (now Sir) W.S. McCormick, who demonstrated that the whole trend and experience of the Trust's work made some form of composition fee on their part a virtual necessity.

In Session 1910-1911 the Trust adopted a form of composite fee, paying annually towards the sum required by the qualified student for his fees a settled proportion which had a direct relationship to the total required. Thus, in Arts, the/

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1. Minutes of Evidence, pp.55-59.



the proportion paid by the Trust was less than that in Science or Engineering, inasmuch as the total fees in Arts were considerably smaller than in the other Faculties named. In 1912-1913, the Universities followed the lead of the Trust, for the most part with willingness, although there were some dissentients. The inclusive fee system, in the experience of the writer, has been of the utmost service to the University administration, to the student and to his parent, and few would wish to return to the older régime. The scheme is now in operation in all the Faculties of the Universities, save in the case of the Medical Faculties of Edinburgh and Glasgow where the amount of extra-mural work demanded from the student prevents the easy operation of an inclusive system. At present also, students in Agriculture at Glasgow, who do a large part of their work at the West of Scotland College of Agriculture, continue to pay individual class fees. A few examples of the actual amounts payable may be cited. In Arts, the inclusive fee is 45 guineas for ordinary degrees and 60 for Honours. The annual payment is 15 guineas, and of this the Trust pays £9. In Science and Engineering, the fee is 90 guineas, payable at the rate of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  guineas annually for four years, or 30 guineas annually for three years according to the kind of degree taken. Here the Trust is enabled to give assistance to the amount of £18 annually. Payment is made by voucher, the official advisers of/

of studies having previously certified to the Trust that the applicants' classes are in order.

Before leaving the aspect of the Trust's activities, it will be well to say something on the criticisms which emerged on the whole Carnegie benefaction. By certain educationists, both inside the Universities and out, the gift was viewed with grave suspicion, and the opinion was freely hazarded that the assistance given by the Trust would pauperise the student and render him and his parents ~~but~~ <sup>unworthy</sup> ~~respectable~~ descendants of those thousands in Scotland who had struggled against poverty and, amid great privation, had achieved a University education. It was a definite part of Carnegie's plans that the student should not be called upon to reveal his private circumstances, but that he should be put upon his honour. If he felt in later life that he could make repayment in part or whole of the sums given him during his studentship, the Trust would gratefully acknowledge the spirit that impelled the return of the monies, but there was no obligation to regard the assistance given by the Trust strictly as a loan.

The whole matter is very difficult, and the experiences of the writer in dealing with thousands of Carnegie Trust applicants have been very mixed. Undoubtedly the small nature of the amounts returned annually by past recipients is  
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a deep disappointment. The student of to-day tends to look upon the Carnegie benefaction as something perilously like his right,<sup>1.</sup> and pays little heed to the ideals outlined by the donor in his letter to Lord Elgin, and in the formation of the Trust Deed. The parent, also, is frequently a ~~subject~~ <sup>cause of</sup> mortification.<sup>2.</sup> Compelled since 1921 to sign a declaration attesting in good round terms that, but for the help of the Trust, he could not send his son or daughter to the University, he appends his name with apparent ease of mind. Hundreds of cases have come before the writer, in which, to judge from all outward appearances, and from the many activities, involving money payments, pursued by the person during his University career, there was no justification for utilising the Trust's assistance: while, on the other hand, in a few instances, where the question was made by the parent a moral issue, the strict letter of the declaration has prevented many deserving parents from making application. But if one reviews the whole matter in its broadest application, if one recalls the financial position in which the Scottish people has found itself, especially since the close of the Great War, one comes to the conclusion that it is very hard to gauge at what point in the financial scales/

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1. Absolutely accurate figures are hard to obtain, but the writer estimates that 90 per cent. of eligible Scottish students take advantage of the Trust's grants.
  2. Since this Chapter was written the Carnegie Trustees have been compelled, with great reluctance, to take steps towards the inclusion of a statement of the parent's financial position.

scales of living, the barrier should, in decency, be placed; and the truth is that, but for the help of the Carnegie Trust, the Universities would be deprived to a very large extent of those students who constitute the life-blood of these great institutions. The great developments in Scottish secondary education, by which boys and girls are enabled to remain at school till the age of eighteen years, would have suffered enormous retardation in its higher application but for the vital stimulus and help afforded by the benefaction under review. With this significant factor in mind, it is impossible to do otherwise than to affirm that any loss of Scottish independence which the Trust may have engendered, is completely outweighed by the real and undeniable helpfulness which it has been able to proffer.

It is, unfortunately, inherent in the nature of the Carnegie Trust's operations that the fee-payment aspect should, in the purview of the average person, almost completely blot out the other side of the Trust's activities. It is not that the Trustees do good by stealth and blush to find it fame, for their Annual Reports show with what admirable vigour and foresight they have fulfilled the intentions of Clause A. of the Trust Deed (see p.110). Almost at once, after the formation of the Trust, the Executive Committee set to work on a comprehensive scheme for improving and extending the opportunities for scientific study and research and for increasing/

increasing the facilities for acquiring a knowledge of History, Economics, English, Literature, and Modern Languages, and by 1903-4 the first awards were made to Carnegie Fellowships and Scholarships while, at the same time, grants in aid of research were given.

In order to procure absolute fairness in dealing with applications from the several Universities, the Trust decided to keep in its own hands the awards, and, accordingly, the plan adopted was as follows:-

Applicants for Scholarships required nomination by a Professor or Lecturer in a Scottish University under whose supervision their work was to be carried out. They applied by 1st April of each year. The nominators and the authorities referred to by the applicants furnished private information regarding qualifications and suitability. Thereafter, the applications were submitted to an expert in the particular department of study, and after scrutiny of all these reports by a Committee of the Trust, the awards were finally made by the Executive Committee acting upon the recommendations of the smaller Committee. Scholars and supervisors reported quarterly to the Trust.

The plans outlined above have not been altered materially since their first arrangement, and continue to work satisfactorily. Up till 1923 Carnegie Fellowships. as distinct/

distinct from the Scholarships, carried with them no obligation of supervision, nor was a nomination required by a University Professor or other head of a University department. Since 1923, however, Fellows<sup>1.</sup> as well as Scholars require to be duly nominated.

Within the limits of this chapter, it is impossible adequately to convey the vast amount of work accomplished by distinguished graduates in many fields of research with the help of funds from the Trust, whether in Fellowships, Scholarships, or Grants-in-aid. In 1923, when the scheme had been in operation for twenty years, a record was compiled of those investigators to whom Fellowships and Scholarships had been awarded during the period, and a catalogue was made of the recipients of grants.<sup>2.</sup> 905 awards had by that time been made (306 Fellowships and 599 Scholarships), this number including renewals for a second year, and, in some/

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1. The Fellowships are valued at £250 and are tenable for one year, the Scholarships at £175 tenable for the same period. In both cases they may be renewed for a second year if the Executive Committee deem this expedient.
  2. See Record of Fellows and Scholars and Catalogue of Publications under the Research Scheme of the Carnegie Trust:1903-1923: Edited, with introduction, by J. Robb, Secretary to the Trust: Edinburgh 1924.

some instances, promotion to a Fellowship. On this side of the Trust's work any criticism would be merely niggling. The Trustees have long recognised that not every graduate of distinction who applies is, by habit of mind and proclivities, adapted for the work of research, and, consequently, failures are now very infrequent since the standards of selection have become, by experience, very high. Taken in the mass, the records, so far from spelling failure, give a triumphant vindication of the supreme value of the Carnegie benefaction. It may be said without fear of contradiction that the impetus given to research by the Trust and the opportunities unfolded to investigators, already distinguished in their various spheres of work, have opened out a new era in the Scottish Universities. Of all the significant features in the survey of development through the century from 1826 to 1926, this is, in the opinion of the writer, one of the most remarkable, and the pity is that the immense value of this aspect of the work of the Trust has never been appreciated in Scotland at its true worth.

It remains now, in this connection, to add a word on the work of the Trust in relation to that portion of Clause A. of the Trust Deed which deals with the increase of facilities "by the erection and maintenance of buildings, laboratories, class-rooms, museums or libraries, the providing/

providing of efficient apparatus, books and equipment, the institution and endowment of Professorships and Lectureships". In the early stages, this part of the Trust's work must have been in the highest degree troublesome. As has been noted in an earlier chapter<sup>1</sup> the Universities at the beginning of the twentieth century were embarrassed for lack of adequate funds, and, therefore, the temptation to regard this new source as a convenient bank from which to supplement current revenue as the need arose, was irresistible. The Trust found, for example, that a sum of, say, £200 given as a temporary help to a new Lectureship was rapidly looked upon as sufficiently permanent to warrant a cessation of worry on the part of the University: and, accordingly, it was determined that piece-meal giving of such a nature would require to be altered so that the Universities might not settle down to look upon the Trust as a source of additional annual income for current expenditure. The Trust, therefore, made it clear that they regarded the grants from their available income as being in the main for capital expenditure on buildings and endowments of Chairs and lectureships. After prolonged deliberation they settled upon a system of quinquennial distribution of their available income and impressed/

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1. See pp. 84-87



impressed upon the Universities the need for regarding these quinquennial grants as sums for assistance in meeting capital outlay, or extensions and new developments.

The immense benefit of this policy was speedily realised by the Universities, some of which were in urgent need of capital sums for new buildings and equipment, and others in equally great need of endowments towards additional Chairs and lectureships. Thus at St. Andrews during the first quinquennium, new buildings for the departments of Chemistry and Physics, and at Dundee, extensions of the Physics department, received primary attention. Similarly in Glasgow, existing funds for new buildings for the department of Physiology, Materia Medica and Forensic Medicine were substantially augmented. In Edinburgh, £11,200 was voted for the needs of the departments of Natural Philosophy and Engineering, for alteration in the Library, for the Pathological Bacteriology department, and for a Catalogue of the Anatomical Museum. In Aberdeen, on the other hand, where a new building scheme had been practically completed before the Trust began to function, the major sums were devoted to the endowment of a Chair of History, and lectureships in Modern Languages. In the case of each University, £1,000 per annum was devoted to the maintenance of the Libraries.

By the time of the second quinquennium (1908-1913),  
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the scheme was in full operation, and by it St. Andrews received during the period, £37,500, of which one-third was utilised towards additional buildings and equipment, and two-thirds to the endowment of new lectureships and to augmenting the stipends of several already in existence. In Glasgow, £50,000 was voted, £18,000 of which went to buildings, new equipment, and the Library, the remainder being devoted to endowment and income purposes. In Aberdeen, the major portion of £40,000 was given over to endowments, and in Edinburgh, £27,500 went to building, new equipment and Libraries, £25,000 being utilised for endowment and income. Within this period we note that the Trust did vital service in many departments. Geology, History, Economics, French, German, English Language, Bacteriology, Education, Diseases of Tropical Climates, Mercantile Law, Technical Mathematics, Forest Botany, all these came within the scope of the Trust's endowments.

The above examples taken from the second quinquennial period have been given in order to demonstrate the great value of the Trust in the expansion of the Universities. With the development of schemes for the betterment of the conditions under which students live, it is noticeable that the Trust rendered enormous help, £60,000 being allocated to the provision of Students' Hostels and Unions. In the 24th Annual Report/

Report of the Trust, the opportunity was taken of summarising the various distributions of the Trust covering the period 1st October 1902 to 30th September 1930. How real and permanent is the enrichment is convincingly demonstrated when it is realised that, by the close of 1930, Trust grants will have been applied to the endowment of 14 Chairs and 31 Lectureships. The story of this period is told not less imperishably in the fine new buildings and laboratories which are to be found at each University centre. The total disbursements, as at 1930, will amount to the gigantic sum of £1,394,029 allocated as follows:- For libraries, provision of books, etc., £127,925; for buildings and permanent equipment, £817,267; for endowment of Chairs, Lectureships and other purposes, £448,837.

Such, in brief, is the record of the Carnegie Trust. Within the compass of this chapter it has not been possible to give greater detail, nor was there any intention on the writer's part to do so. The influence on the Universities by the Carnegie Trust, in its widest application, transcends the minutiae of administration and disbursement. In the earlier years of the life of the Trust it was impossible altogether to avoid some friction with the Universities, and compromise was essential to smoothness of working. Those who, in the Universities at the beginning of the Trust's activities/

activities, would fain have had a larger domination and greater influence in the allocation of grants, etc., have now, for several years, found in the policy of the Trust ample justification of the beliefs of the first Trustees in relation to the great tasks set them by the donor; and no University administrator known to the writer would to-day view, with any degree of equanimity, a return to that harassed condition of University finance which it has been the great service of the Trust to alleviate in a manner not less prudent than enlightened.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.TEACHERS AND STUDENTS IN THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

Thus far in this record of the development of the Scottish Universities in the past century, matters pertaining to administration, curricula, finance, have of necessity occupied pride of place. The reader, however, may well, at this point, demand something of more human interest. He will enquire with an impatience perfectly justifiable, what manner of men (and women) they were and are, on whose behalf the reforms discussed in preceding chapters were carried out by dint of earnest thought and at the cost of much honest controversy.

Let it be said at the outset of this chapter that the writer would be the last to deny that the true greatness of a University depends upon the quality and character of its teachers and of its students. Administrators may do much. They are indispensable adjuncts to greatness: but renown comes with the good fame procured for a University by its instructors of European reputation; and by its students, who alike in their scholarship and in their corporate life and activities bring honour to their Alma Mater.

## I.

The changes which have occurred in the conditions of life within a century, not less than the development in the Universities, make any remarks on the Scottish professoriate a business of great difficulty and delicacy. Long before the period under discussion opened, the Professors in the Scottish Universities had attained a celebrity that extended far beyond the bounds of their own country;<sup>1.</sup> and in the eighteenth century, a dead epoch when contrasted with the nineteenth as far as vital University life is concerned, whether in England or Scotland, their writings and their marked personal characteristics set a tradition which, fortunately, their nineteenth century successors were able to maintain. To a generation older than the present, one needs only to mention the familiar names - here one cites only a few at random - Veitch, Caird, Blackie, Fyfe, Fuller, Masson, Tulloch, Lushington, Jebb, Kelvin, Lister, Buchanan - for a host of memories to rise of men so distinguished in their outward habits and circumstances no less than in their great and abounding scholarship that they go down to posterity as men of no ordinary mould. Towards the grandeur of their stature/

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1. Oliver Goldsmith in noting the renown of the Scottish professoriate in his Enquiry into the State of Polite Learning in Europe suggested that their acknowledged efficiency is the fruit of industry stimulated by the fact of slender incomes.

stature as we see it to-day, many factors were contributory. In a less lettered age than our own they stood, for their students and for the public at large, as pillars of light; and that they might be eccentric in temperament and unusual in deportment did but add to their distinction. Furthermore, the majority of them had reached eminence after a struggle as severe as it was prolonged, a fact that to all Scotsmen was a source of satisfaction. To this we may add that, while they worked hard, and performed toil almost menial in its aspect as we envisage it to-day, labouring with their ill-equipped students over the elements of languages and sciences, in a fashion now completely gone, they also enjoyed long periods of leisure, without which their real scholarship would have lain in rust so long as eventually to have been destroyed. The passing of the six months' session (it was barely six in the early years of the period under review) is an element in Scottish University life to which sufficient attention is rarely drawn, and the miracle of the present day is that so great a quantity of first-rate material continues to issue from the pens of the Scottish professoriate and the lecturing staffs.

Almost universally the comparative absence to-day of the seeming giants of the nineteenth century is made the subject of comment. What has happened? Or is the change as/



as real and fundamental as it appears at first glance? Towards an answer to a query so beset with pitfalls, it should first be said that the conditions of to-day make magnificence of stature in the public eye excessively difficult for all but a few favoured politicians and other public personages who readily invite journalistic curiosity. The day is well-nigh over when the University Professor is able to be the mouthpiece of doctrines and sentiments easy of assimilation by a large body of people. The wider diffusion of knowledge, the enormous output of books and periodicals ~~that~~ <sup>which</sup> survey every branch of human knowledge, and to which readers, both amateur and professional, apply themselves with rigour, have a significant reaction on anyone who professes a subject from a University Chair. Whether it be in literature of **T** history, languages or philosophy, chemistry or engineering, the modern professor must of necessity proceed from a standpoint essentially different from that of his predecessors. Frequently in earlier days he stood practically alone in his subject: now he is but one in a fairly numerous company. He feels himself an investigator in fields not unexplored. He is aware that other workers on the same ground are equipped not less fully than himself, and, accordingly, he approaches his work from a point of view which, for want of a better word, we may call scientific/

scientific. To say so of the professor of to-day is to utter nothing disrespectful of those who went before. Further, since this discussion must always be subject to qualification, it is fair to say that there are still, in certain subjects, University professors who may claim for themselves fields of study almost untouched by others: but they are rare exceptions.

Mention has already been made of the comparative lack of leisure enjoyed by the professors of to-day. In the Scottish Universities with their three-term Arts session (two of ten weeks and one of five), with their Science and Medical three-term sessions of ten weeks each, the actual amount of real cessation from University teaching and examining is very small. In Arts the Degree examinations run on into May and June and there are further examinations in September. Two clear months then is, in the larger Scottish Universities, the maximum time that can safely be counted upon, and, with the pressure of numbers, it seems essential that a system should be devised whereby the Scottish professor should be permitted to enjoy a 'Sabbatical' year in the manner devised by the modern American Universities: or, if a year be too much to expect under the prevailing conditions, it should not be impossible to arrange that, once in five years, a professor should be allowed two terms' complete absence/

absence from duty. The presence of a highly qualified lecturing staff makes this plan feasible. Only by some such means can he be expected to avoid that staleness which is the inevitable portion of all who are compelled to teach the same or similar things year in, year out.

A further development may here be outlined. In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to show that one of the most remarkable features of development in all Universities is the growth of the spirit of research. Monetary resources have, in part, made this possible to a degree unknown in the nineteenth century, but, finance apart, the upward trend of education in Scotland, has made investigation on a large scale a factor in University education which cannot and must not be evaded. While not wishing, now, to infer that the good teacher is not also a sound investigator, the writer has been increasingly impressed of late years by the fact that many men and women, who receive University staff appointments, are magnificent research students but are poor communicants of their knowledge to their students. Their inability to lecture well distracts them: their private work suffers, and, in consequence, neither side of their activities gets scope and satisfaction. On the other hand, many are admirable teachers; vivid and alert in their manner, they attract and hold the attention of their students, and communicate to them their own enthusiasm. For such men and/  
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and women actual instruction becomes a task so engaging and engrossing that, while they do not discontinue study in fresh fields, they feel themselves unable to enter upon detailed investigations. The difference in the two types is largely a matter of temperament, and it is not beyond the region of possibility that, in the near future, this difference will receive more definite care and attention than has hitherto been bestowed upon it. Much has been done by the creation of research fellowships, tenable for a limited number of years, but the permanent endowment, by staff appointments, of <sup>those</sup> whose natural bent is research and of those to whom teaching is the primary concern, has not yet been attempted in the Scottish Universities. The Scottish tradition of high scholarship allied to great powers as a teacher is one which it is acknowledgedly hard to break, even if one would wish to break it, and the Universities would be infinitely the poorer were such notable exponents of both sides suddenly <sup>to</sup> cease to exist. Nevertheless the Scottish Universities have now, as it seems to the writer, reached such a point in evolution that some such sharp division in the staffs between research and teaching, both held in equal honour, would vastly enhance their prestige in the many departments of learning where Universities in the Dominions and in America vie with those of this country in the excellence and importance of their work, whether <sup>it be</sup> instruction or/

or research.

It is here also permissible to say that the new ~~Ordinances~~ <sup>advances</sup> made by the Scottish Universities in the direction of Adult Education make the problems attendant on sound and efficient teaching not less pressing. Within the past few years the Universities, by means of free public lectures, and in alliance with such organisations as the Workers' Educational Association, have brought their professors and lecturers into contact with a student body drawn from many divergent classes in society. Within these classes are to be found persons of varying intellectual equipment and interest. Many are frankly badly educated and their honest desire is for betterment. Others have read widely but without guidance, and feel the crying need of a solid foundation on which to build. Others again are political and social propagandists, meeting the lecturer less than half-way in his discourses, and bent, rather, in finding support for their own particular nostrums. They form a combative element in which a lecturer of keenness, and with sufficient resilience of mind, finds a splendid stimulus. For these classes a technique in teaching fundamentally different from that employed in lecturing to graduating students of the University is essential for success. In presenting material to a University class, a background of information is pre-supposed:  
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in adult education work, within the writer's experience, no such background can be presumed, hence the necessity of starting from a different standpoint. For this work, accordingly, new methods have to be devised and often improvised in the lecture-room itself; and if a lecturer brings to his task in adult education no equipment beyond that which has had a measure of success in the ordinary routine of University lecturing, he not infrequently fails to convey his message with any degree of adequacy. It is sufficient, in the light of the above, to remark that the problems of efficiency in teaching not less than the right choice of research students are factors which, in the near future, must inevitably come before the Universities with ever increasing prominence.

In the course of making the foregoing observations, the writer may seem to have evaded a definite answer to the query on the comparative greatness of the professors of to-day when placed in contrast with their predecessors of the nineteenth century. To attempt a categorical answer would be folly. The great names of the past, it is true, loom large and formidable. But of their lesser brethren nought is heard. Thus to-day, reviewing the position in its broadest aspects, it would not be unfair to say that to secure real eminence is now harder than it previously was; and/

and, indeed, in width of interest, in sheer depth of scholarship, in energy and in initiative, the present representatives of the subjects, ancient and modern, in the Scottish Universities are <sup>with few exceptions,</sup> the living embodiments of those vast and far-reaching developments which it has been the duty of the writer to chronicle in this record.

## II.

To turn from the professors to the students themselves, is to open a page of social history of first-rate importance and interest. At the beginning of any disquisition on the Scottish students, it is essential again to remark upon the great democratic tradition which has, more than anything else, set the seal of individuality upon the Universities of Scotland. In Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk,<sup>1</sup> John Gibson Lockhart, son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott, and one of the greatest of the editors of the Quarterly ~~Review~~ <sup>Review</sup>, a gentleman who knew the Scottish cities and wrote upon them with a candid affection and humour, puts the facts regarding the students, as he knew them, in succinct fashion:- "The greater part of the students attending Scottish/

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1. Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk: J.G.Lockhart:  
3 Vols. London, 1819.

Scottish colleges consist of persons whose situation in life, had they been born in England, must have left them no chance of being able to share the advantages of an academical education"; and again (writing of Edinburgh College) "Any young man who can afford to wear a decent coat, and live in a garret upon herring or porridge, may, if he pleases, come to Edinburgh and pass through his academical career just as creditably as is required or expected", and in consequence, "the Universities of Scotland educate, in proportion to the size and wealth of the two countries, twenty times a larger number than those of England educate".<sup>1.</sup>

Lockhart's notes were written prior to the establishment of the English provincial Universities, and the figures quoted by him could not now stand. The fact of the great educational tradition is the important thing, and it is not going too far to assert that practically all the problems which faced the University Commissions in the nineteenth century had at their roots the student body, its character and general level of attainment.

The Commission of 1826 is, in a particular degree, utilisable for purposes of illustration in this connection, and/

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1. Ibid. Vol.I., p.187, 192, 198.



and one finds that the evidence given by the Principals and Professors recurs continually to the lives led by the student body and the financial limits within which they were circumscribed. True there was a marked gulf between teacher and taught, and little of that intimacy which, in many instances to-day, exists between a Professor and his students, particularly those who read for Honours. The Professor might readily be accused, from the evidence led before the 1826 Commission, of a desire to feather his own nest and to look upon his teaching work as a necessary evil. To regard the evidence in that light would be to misrepresent the attendant facts. A writer in the Quarterly Review of 1856 gives a vivid description of life at Glasgow College, and what he says may be taken as typical of all Scottish University life in the first half of the nineteenth century.

After giving a humorous description of the timorous youths attending at the house of his Professor for the purpose of paying his fee, the writer exclaims:- "And what a strange mixed company the thirteen or fourteen hundred students of Glasgow College make up! Boys of eleven or twelve years old (Thomas Campbell entered at the latter age); men with grey hair, up to the age of fifty or sixty; great stout fellows from the plough; men in considerable number from the north of Ireland; lads from counting houses in town, who wish/

wish to improve their minds by a session at the Logic class; English dissenters, excluded from the Universities of England who have come down to the enlightened country where a Turk or a Bhuddist may graduate if he will; young men with high scholarship from the best public schools; and others not knowing a letter of Greek and hardly a word of Latin".<sup>1</sup>.

Such was the material upon which the professor was required to work. Small wonder that he groaned in spirit and revealed his plight when a University Commission enquired into his University's affairs. To the Englishman of the day, ignorant of the spirit which had sent the students to College, the Scottish Universities were "tag-rag and bob-tail concerns" and Lockhart draws a sad picture of the mean condition of the students herded together in what he calls a "contaminating atmosphere".<sup>2</sup>.

The Classes were held, as a rule, early in the morning so that the Professor, who had generally two lectures per day, might get his work over by the end of the forenoon. The early start in the Scottish Universities was maintained till recent years, but now the eight o'clock classes have practically/

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1. Quarterly Review, 1856, pp.506, 507.

2. Peter's Letters, p.187.

practically disappeared and now the following description has ceased to have any semblance <sup>of</sup> ~~to~~ reality:-

"Through darkness and sleet we make our way to the College, which we reach, say at twenty minutes past seven, a.m. A crowd of students, old and young, wrapped in the red mantles, shivering and sleepy, is pouring in at the low archway. The lights shining through the little windows point out the class-rooms which are now to be occupied. At the door of each stands an unshaven servant, in whose vicinity a fragrance as of whiskey pervades the air. The servants are always shabby and generally dirty; not infrequently drunk. They wear no livery of any kind. By long intercourse with many generations of students they have acquired the power of receiving and returning any amount of chaff. At length a miserable tinkling is heard from the steeple; the students pour into the class-rooms and arrange themselves on benches, like the pews of a church. A low pulpit is occupied by the Professor. The business of the day is commenced by a short prayer . . . After prayer, a student, placed in a subsidiary pulpit, calls over the names of the students, who severally signify their presence by saying Adsum. The work of the class then goes on till the hour is finished".<sup>1.</sup>

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1. Quarterly Review, 1856. p. 508.

It is not difficult to see amid that crowd the tall, ungainly figure of Dominie Sampson, with lexicon under arm, sprawling with long mis-shapen legs, and making awkward play with his immense shoulders.

The description here given of the students at Glasgow University holds true in general of all the Universities. There were still Reuben Butlers in plenty at St. Andrews in the nineteenth century, and in Aberdeen the highly-coloured works of George Macdonald and that classic of student days in the College of the Crown and Tower, Life in a Northern University, by Neil K. MacLean, M.A., abundantly, and often distressingly, demonstrate the shifts and stratagems to which poor students were put to maintain themselves through the session.

The poverty of a large proportion of the Scottish students need not be dwelt upon further at this moment though it will be necessary to recur to it later. To stress it unduly would be to paint a picture from which everything was dismissed except the hard task of mere living. Without organisation of any elaborate sort, they, nevertheless, maintained free intercourse outside of the class-rooms, and successive generations suffered their minds to collide one with another, in debating and speculative societies, in no languid fashion. Their essential seriousness deceived, at the beginning of his career in Scotland, so keen a judge as Masson/

Masson<sup>1</sup>. who thought the students to be either jesters or prigs with their mouthings over 'the absolute and the infinite', 'the laws of thought as thought', 'the thinkable in space and time', but it was not long ere he realised that these lads were keen exponents or critics of their professors' doctrines.

The late William Keith Leask in his charming preface to a 1906 (quatercentenary) edition of MacLean's book, mentioned above, gives a happy picture of the Debating Society at King's College, Aberdeen, from 1848 to 1860.

"The debates that from 1848 to 1860 occupied our fathers and grandfathers are naturally somewhat different from those in the present day, just as the place is itself altered. The 1848 session opens with the rules and a happy pen-and-ink sketch of King's College, by the Rev. Dr. Joass of Golspie, which shows with perfect accuracy the cows grazing in University Road, quite close to the now demolished buildings. The debates appear session after session as hardy annuals. You find Total Abstinence (never carried), the Abolition of Gaelic, of Capital Punishment; the Influence of Burns, of the Stage, National Education; Classics v. Mathematics, Savage v. Civilised Life, The Claims of Britain and America in the War of Independence. Lord Rosebery, the old Lord Rector, will rejoice/

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1. Article in MacMillan's Magazine, May 1864.

rejoice that the stock subject of Cromwell never finds the Protector defeated - perhaps the memories of the Tower, where the Society met, and its foundation by the Oliverian Principal of 1658, John Row, kept them sound. The Slave Trade, Free Trade v. Protection, exercised them greatly. Mr. Birrell says the characters of Henry VIII. and of Mary Queen of Scots will be with us as long as the schoolmaster. Along with Charles I. they both turn up as stock subjects of debate, but never as favourite characters. Chartism was in the air - hence the Franchise, Electoral (sic) Districts, and Paid Members find eager discussion. But Female Suffrage or Women's Rights in any form - never appears, and the excited "Suffragette" had not yet appeared to mob Prime Ministers. Questions about the Fusion of the Colleges are always rejected "by a large majority".

The tone and atmosphere of this passage are admirable inasmuch as they render at once the importance of the debate and the conscious knowledge that it was but a happy game. Here one is almost baffled in any attempt to describe what was and is true of the Scottish students - the ability at once to play seriously and to work seriously with humour as the all-pervasive background of the mind. In the earlier attempts at University student magazines this is, it is true, not easily discernible except in the case of Maga, an Edinburgh/

Edinburgh production of the thirties, where clever wit over the professoriate in the fashion of to-day is inter-mingled with a certain Rabelaisian humour quite foreign to twentieth century efforts. The Glasgow University Albums of 1836 and 1837 make pretentious reading, and in their turgid solemnity show that the humour of the class-rooms and the 'yards' was not translatable to the printed page.

In respect of games the Universities seem to have existed until late in the nineteenth century only in a disorganised fashion. The writer<sup>1</sup> on Students of the Past at St. Andrews University narrates that golf, as may readily be imagined, had many devotees, and that football was well maintained and enjoyed by a large number, but the records of the other Universities up till nearly 1889 are very barren.

From the point of view of to-day it is important to recollect that, as at the English Universities, there was, through the greater part of the period, constant warfare between Town and Gown. "The College ~~do~~ dogs are come again" was shouted down the High Street of Glasgow when, each succeeding November, the red gowns appeared on the streets, and in much later days the advent of a students' procession or a theatre night was viewed with apprehension and annoyance by/

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See Votiva Tabella, St. Andrews.

by the citizens. To score off the police, to remove wheels from carts, to wrench handles from doors, was part of the recognised duty of every real student at Aberdeen in the fifties and sixties of last century; and a St. Andrews writer in Votiva Tabella notes the awe and fear with which any strange and sudden noise was greeted. "It's the students" said the citizens and prepared for trouble. In serious vein Mr. (now the Rt.Hon.) James Ian Macpherson in his book, Twenty-one Years of Corporate Life at Edinburgh University (1884-1905) describes with vigour, but without over-emphasis, the position in Edinburgh as lately as the time of the 1889 Commission.

"The student was regarded with suspicion, much as one regards a horse of uncertain temper, of which the only thing you can safely affirm is that he will shy when you least expect him to do so. And really there was some ground for this suspicion. For what were the facts? For years before there was no conceivable public gathering of students at which it was not likely that a perfect pandemonium would reign. It is on record that one of the best Lord Rectors the University has had did not find his sacred and honourable name immune from insults, verbal and tangible. Rule and order were unknown. Venerable Principals had made it a custom to deliver early in October inaugural addresses: but this had to be stopped/



stopped because of the behaviour of the students. And the authorities took into very serious consideration the advisability of taking away what many believed (see the then Lord Advocate's remarks to the deputation of Scottish students in 1888), and believe now, to be the raison d'être of the Lord Rector's existence - the opportunity of delivering an address to his constituency. But that does not complete the picture. There was a deadly enmity between what, for conciseness' sake, we may term the Town and Gown. This feud arose chiefly from the behaviour of the students - behaviour which, had it not almost invariably been singularly serious and ill-advised, might lend itself to humorous description. As a consequence, the rumour that the students were to have, let us say, a "torchlight" in honour of the Lord Rector's address, was the signal among the citizens for a show of howling hostility. Long before the hour of departure, Chambers Street used to be crowded with adventurous citizens, and through this seething mass the students had to fight their way with the first-comers as leaders, and so on through the streets; while the police preserved an attitude of armed and distrustful neutrality; and not infrequently the services of some young and sympathetic advocate were required next morning.<sup>1.</sup>

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1. Twenty-one Years of Corporate Life at Edinburgh University:  
J.I. MacPherson, Edinburgh, 1905. ██████. pp.10-11.

The foregoing quotations illustrating the life of students in the several Universities at various times in the period of this study have been purposely combined so that the immensely valuable enactments of the 1889 Commission in relation to the power of the student constituencies may be placed in the greater relief. Before proceeding to do so, however, it may be well to draw together various salient matters, upon which comment has in some degree already been made from time to time in the narrative.

First, it should be emphasised that if we are to obtain a just estimate of the profound nature of the changes and developments from 1826 to 1926, it is essential to dwell upon the fact that the Universities for three-fourths of the nineteenth century took the place of the secondary schools. If the "school" atmosphere be consistently kept in mind, it will explain the crudity of the students, the vexatious nature of the work upon which the professors had to exercise themselves, and the perplexities of successive Commissions in relation to schemes for improving entrance. Again, the absence of any impetus towards graduation must of necessity have engendered a spirit, both in professors and students, essentially different from that which pervades the institutions of to-day. In his evidence before the 1876 Commission, Principal Caird gave the following remarkable figures for the/

the University of Glasgow in respect of graduation in Arts, and, for all practical purposes, we may take it that these were representative of the condition of things at the other Universities:

	<u>Total Arts</u> <u>Students.</u>	<u>Number who</u> <u>graduated.</u>
1861-1862	- - - 691	- - - - 24
1862-1863	- - - 784	- - - - 21
1863-1864	- - - 789	- - - - 9
1864-1865	- - - 748	- - - - 17
1865-1866	- - - 780	- - - - 29
1866-1867	- - - 739	- - - - 27
1867-1868	- - - 754	- - - - 23
1868-1869	- - - 754	- - - - 36
1869-1870	- - - 734	- - - - 34
1870-1871	- - - 772	- - - - 34
1871-1872	- - - 817	- - - - 44
1872-1873	- - - 742	- - - - 34
1873-1874	- - - 805	- - - - 34
1874-1875	- - - 904	- - - - 39
1875-1876	- - - 942	- - - - 50. 1.

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1. Minutes of Evidence 1876 Commission: Edinburgh 1878.  
 [redacted] p.40.

Not less embarrassing was the admixture of boys of twelve years and upwards with grown men; and if we add to diversity of age, equal diversity of capability and equipment at the time of entrance, we get the measure of the intense difficulties in raising and levelling the general standard.<sup>1.</sup> It must be remembered too that for the majority of the students their University career was far from being their only concern during their student days. How great were the other pre-occupations are well recorded by the investigations of Professor George G. Ramsay of Glasgow University, who presented the following significant figures<sup>2.</sup> to the 1876 Commissioners, regarding his junior Latin class of 283 students which met at 8 a.m. and 11 a.m. 97 of this class attended the 8 o'clock lectures only and then went to their business, 56 were clerks in law offices, 30 were school teachers, 2 were missionaries, and the remainder in miscellaneous employment.

Of the 186 who attended at both 8 a.m. and 11 a.m., 44 were in business part of the day, 7 being in trade, 7 in offices, 12 teachers, 8 missionaries, and 10 in other employments. 142 students, therefore, or just one-half of the/

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1. e.g. "The educational value of Philosophy was reduced to a minimum: the professors were occupied with teaching composition, comparative grammar and empirical rules of thinking". Life and Letters of John Cairns: A.R. MacEwan London, 1895. [redacted]. p.37.
  2. Minutes of Evidence, 1876 Commission: Edinburgh 1878. [redacted]. pp. 965-966.

the whole class were able to give undivided attention to their ~~classes~~<sup>studies</sup>.

Again, of the 142 mentioned above, no less than 74 awaited the close of each session with some anxiety so that they could get back to such work as would procure for them the means of livelihood for the next winter. 21 were in trade or business, 14 in offices, 17 were teachers mostly from Highland schools, and 22 were variously employed.

In his senior class of 1876, out of 167 students, no fewer than 107 had their summer practically cut off from study, 39 being occupied as teachers, 14 in law and other offices, 7 in mission work, 4 in farm work, 43 in miscellaneous employment.

Reviewing the above, it is not hard to see that if the Scottish Education Department had, since 1872, been less diligent, if it had been less keenly conscious of the need for the steady development of secondary education; if, too, public bodies in Scotland had been less willing to place the burden of higher rates upon the people, and the rate-payer less ready to meet the ever increasing demands, all the enactments of University Commissions and all the labours of professors would have been without effect. By the year 1908, when the Department finally asserted ~~their~~<sup>its</sup> powers/

powers in relation to secondary schools, a change had been effected in the student body of the Scottish Universities so all-embracing and profound as to make the nineteenth century student a person, in many significant ways, utterly different from his twentieth century successor, and one must now ask what these differences are.

### III.

The fact of the rapid development of secondary education in Scotland does not in itself account for the sum of the changes in the Scottish student body. That young men and women for the past thirty years have come to the Universities better prepared, that their ages have approximated to between 16 and 18 in nearly every case, that all are to-day potential graduates, and that the elderly student is a comparative rarity, would not have made them necessarily less irresponsible, less rowdy than their forerunners. The salutary change that came upon the University student emerges with the institution, by the 1889 Commissioners, of Students' Representative Councils and by the development of corporate life by the provision of Students' Unions. Here let it be said that the writer wishes to proceed in these remarks with the utmost caution. To paint the student of to-day as a namby/

namby-pamby creature, devoid of the spirit of his predecessors would be farcical: and to say that all irresponsibility has gone from him would be equally ludicrous. One wishes to make manifest a trend rather than a decisive alteration.

To Edinburgh University belongs the honour of instituting the first Students' Representative Council in 1884. How it arose no man actually knows. It seemed as though a spark had kindled a torch that had lain cold for centuries, yet not too cold to be readily lit. By some of the older persons among the University authorities, this upstart body was looked upon with suspicion, as all bodies are who wish to "defend their rights". The visits of Lord Rectors and the humiliation attendant on them for the Lord Rector himself and for the Principal and Senatus did not make for a propitious beginning, and it was only when it was realised that the students were not organising for any such unamiable purpose as to "fight the Senate" that the strength and worthiness of the new movement became the subject of appreciation. Fortunately for the promoters of this then unofficial Students' Representative Council, a great occasion gave them a fitting opportunity to show that, in helping themselves, they might assist the whole University. It was the year of the Tercentenary of Edinburgh University. The/

The students availed themselves of every possible chance to help: they managed to maintain order among the mass of the students: they procured privileges that had hitherto been denied to their fellows, and when the long-drawn ceremonies were at length ended, the Principal and Senate realised that, towards the triumph of the whole occasion, this student organisation had been one of the main factors.

The example of Edinburgh was quickly followed by the other Universities, and when the representatives of the students came before the 1889 Commissioners, they were able to make out so good a case, that, in spite of certain misgivings, they were recognised by statute<sup>1.</sup> (1) to represent the students in matters affecting their interests, (2) to afford a recognised means of communication between the students and the University authorities, and (3) to promote social life and academic unity among the students. The actual constitutions of the four Students' Representative Councils vary considerably. Each has been approved by its own University Court, and has now become a fully recognised part of the administrative machinery of the University.

The example set by their unofficial predecessors between 1884 and 1889 was not lost upon the new statutory Students' /

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1. Ordinance No.60, Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889.



Students' Representative Councils, while the University authorities having, in these years, seen the great possibilities for good contained in these organisations, gave hearty support and supplied annually a sum sufficient for the administrative requirements of the Councils. So pervasive an influence as that exercised by them is difficult properly to assess on paper. In many minor ways they gave positive help to the details of University administration, but their greatest effect has been to act as a stabilising and steady-  
ing force in student life. Progress was slow, it is true, and has been intermittent, since the Councils have not been uniformly well served by their officials, and on occasion there has been the danger that the young counsellors would dissipate their opportunities in requests whose eccentric or frivolous nature could not command the attention of their Senates and Courts. Their positive usefulness is best seen in (1) the improvement in student discipline at public ceremonies, (2) the ~~substitution~~<sup>transformation</sup> of a spirit of enmity ~~by~~<sup>into</sup> a spirit of camaraderie with the citizens, (3) the development and enrichment of the spirit and traditions of the Scottish students by the institution of University Magazines, <sup>and a common Song Book</sup> (4) the better understanding of the word civis as applied to the students, (5) the strengthening of the bonds between the professoriate and the students, (6) the great educative opportunities/

opportunities afforded through the necessity of conducting, with dignity and prudence, the affairs of a body officially recognised and subsidised by the University, and (7) the expansion of interest in problems common to all the Universities by means of inter-University conferences held in turn at the several University centres.

The work which the Students' Representative Councils were able to accomplish would, however, have been rendered feeble and ineffective had a centre for <sup>the</sup> social life of the students been lacking. It is not surprising to find that, hard upon the establishment of the Councils, came the demand for Students Unions. Envious eyes had long been cast by Scottish students at the Unions of Oxford and Cambridge, giving, as they did, facilities for debate to an extent unrealisable in Scotland. But apart altogether from the desire to have a place where a talent for formal disputation might exercise itself, there was the more urgent demand for a centrally situated building where student might meet with student, where relief might be found from the loneliness of dingy lodgings, and where, in general, the students might educate themselves. It is a curious fact that, in the records of the Commissions with which we have dealt, practically no cognisance is taken of what is now regarded as a primary need in any University; apparently it was deemed sufficient/

sufficient that the students should meet in their lodgings for lengthy bouts of argumentation and discussion, and that on their walks abroad, they should find ample means for sealing those student friendships which are the delight and solace of a University man's whole after life. To diminish the value of such precious avenues to friendship was never the intention of the promoters of University Unions: but that these institutions would prove an antidote to the solid individualism of the Scottish student and make him a person less uncouth and angular in his habit and character was a proposition which none were found to doubt.

The Councils, animated by the greatness of the ideals contained in the prospects of a finer social and corporate life, worked with great enthusiasm. Glasgow was singularly fortunate in finding an enlightened donor in John McIntyre, Esq., M.D., of Odiham, Hampshire. By means of a Bazaar, £12,000 was raised in 1889 by which time the Union had been built, and this sum was devoted to furnishing and endowment. By 1893, the demands on accommodation were so great that further building was necessary, and again in 1908 another large extension was made. Edinburgh, with no donation upon which to work, engaged itself in so vital a fashion upon every form of money-making entertainment that it was able to follow Glasgow's lead, and in time to complete a/  
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a building more spacious than that of the sister University. The year 1892 saw both Aberdeen and St. Andrews equipped with Unions, and early in the twentieth century Women Students' Unions had also been established.

The casual enquirer into any of the Scottish University Calendars will quickly gain some conception of the impetus given by these Unions to social intercourse among the students. In addition to the pomp and pageantry of the Union debates, where the setting of the House of Commons in miniature, week by week throughout the winter session, is reproduced, there are the famous societies such as the Dialectic in Glasgow and the Philomathic in Edinburgh which attract the finest of the student body. Side by side with these, there flourish innumerable small societies dedicated to intellectual pursuits - religious, medical, philosophical, dramatic - where a student may push off, for the first time, his frail craft whether in extempore speech or carefully prepared essay; or if he is no speaker, he will find an outlet for his administrative talents, his organising powers, his abilities to preserve, amid the heat of debate, a heart dedicated to the essential humours of the situation.

If the writer should now be accused of painting a glamorous picture of resorts which are conducive, as the uninitiated world <sup>“</sup>aver, to sloth and inattention to the work of/  
of/

of the class-room, he may be permitted to retort that, from long experience of one University Union, he has found that only a minimum, a mere fraction of the students, are in the slightest degree rendered less fit for work by the pleasures which the Union afford. Prior to the War, there always were the few for whom the charm of the billiard room far exceeded that of the classes themselves, and who lingered, in consequence, about the University long after their contemporaries had gone their ways. The Great War killed that type, and now the "chronic" has become a relic of less strenuous days when apparently parents of means kept their sons well supplied with pocket-money in the confident hope that, eventually, be the space eight years or ten, their offspring would at last emerge as graduates, which, mirabile dictu, they generally did.

With the desire for Unions there went also the very natural demand for better conditions under which organised games could be held, and each University, in turn, either directly through its Students' Representative Council, or at its meetings in the Unions sought means to equip playing fields so that to-day the Athletic Clubs are in a position to play themselves and to receive their guests under auspices which would have appeared incredible to the graduates of a century ago. There are probably more baths in the Athletic Club pavilions of the four Scottish Universities to-day than there/

there were in all the student lodgings of all four University cities a hundred years ago,

The records of athletic prowess in the Scottish Universities are hard to come by. Older men than the writer recall with pride the great doings of individual athletes, and, within narrow compass, the Scottish Universities took a high place in football and in amateur sports of every kind. With the development of organised games in the schools, the Universities found themselves pitted against former-pupil clubs, and undergraduates were torn between two loyalties, one to the school, the other to the University. In Aberdeen the Grammar School and Robert Gordon's College competed with the University for adherence; St. Andrews, by its geographical situation, found games difficult to arrange, and costly to carry through away from home; Glasgow was faced with the tremendous spirit shown by Glasgow Academy, Glasgow High School, and Kelvinside Academy, while Edinburgh, begirt as it was and is by great scholastic institutions - Watsons, Heriots, the Academy, Stewarts - found that it could keep its place only by the fortunate infusion of colonial students, who in fact, were the means of giving Edinburgh University<sup>in</sup>/the earlier years of the present century its high place in the annals of Scottish Rugby football.

The/

The problem of loyalty on the playing field to school or University, is one which is a source of vexation to many, and it would, indeed, be a happy day for the Universities if it could be arranged that, for the first three years of his or her undergraduate life, the student gave his services to the University in preference to the <sup>old</sup> school. But the writer has never unduly worried over this question, believing that a far greater necessity exists in procuring that the maximum number of students get opportunities for regular exercise and for comradeship on the playing field; and that, to seek to develop the gladiatorial exhibitions of the American University stamp is to plunge after a false ideal. As much real enjoyment is to be obtained from being a 4th XV "nobody" as from mounting to the pinnacle of fame conferred by newspaper notoriety upon the giants of the 1st XV.

These remarks are called forth from the recollection of discussions that are <sup>ripe at the</sup> present day; and, now, thinking of the present and of the past that is still very fresh, one finds one's-self drawn to the discussion of that stupendous event in this country's history, the Great War (1914-1918) which had an influence upon the Scottish Universities profound and far-reaching, consolidating and enriching many features of that corporate life and activity which sprang into organised existence about 1884. It will, accordingly, not/

not be out of place to treat of this matter in a separate chapter and to show what repercussions it had upon the student body.



CHAPTER II.THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES AND THE GREAT WAR.

## I.

Reference should first be made, in a chapter dealing with war and its effects, to one very significant factor in modern University life, to wit, the Officers' Training Corps. When, in 1906, Lord Haldane, then Secretary of State for War, commenced his great task of the re-organisation of the British Army, he was faced, as one of his main pre-occupations, with the problem of securing a sufficient supply of officers for his newly formed "Special Reserve" and for the Territorial Force, which supplanted the older Volunteers. The Scottish Universities had supplied at least one company to a Volunteer battalion in their respective cities, but these companies represented only a handful of the students. In 1908, Lord Haldane took the important step of inviting all the Universities together with the Public Schools to co-operate with the Army Council in the institution of contingents of a new arm of the service - the Officers' Training Corps, the Senior Divisions being in the Universities and the Junior in the Schools. Happily, in the Universities and Schools, individuals among the staff were found who saw the great possibilities/

possibilities contained in such an organisation, not merely from the military standpoint but as great social factors, and were certain that with the direct intention of securing an ample supply of officers there would also accrue the great benefits which regular training and discipline would afford. Those who feared <sup>to find,</sup> in this new feature of University life, a malevolent Prussianism, did not know the Scottish student. He made of the organisation a great and happy club; and at drill in the University Headquarters, on route-marches, and in the annual summer camps, he formed friendships and laid up a store of happy memories of great days and nights such as could be obtained by hardly any other University agency. In the days immediately preceding the War, not to be a member of the O.T.C. was to mark one's-self as a person of self-admitted <sup>or</sup> ~~no~~ importance. The blending of sound discipline, orderliness, and definite military study on the one hand, with a joyous abandon to great merriment, prank and jest when off parade, set the seal of success upon the whole movement; and nothing has been finer in the Scottish Universities than the spirit and traditions with which the contingents have been endowed, largely owing to the splendid conceptions of responsibility and good fellowship with which the original cadets were animated.

When/

When War descended upon the country in that beautiful August of 1914, the Universities found themselves with a centre of <sup>military</sup> activity ready made. Faced with a situation which was without parallel in our history, the War Office could not at once settle the details of administration for the Officers' Training Corps, although a complete and ordered system for the supply of officers from the contingents was speedily evolved, but not quickly enough for hundreds of the Scottish students, who, impatient of the smallest delay, left the contingents and joined the ranks as privates. For those who had not been members of the O.T.C. recruiting stations were established in the University Unions, and by September 1914, hundreds of the best known men in the Universities had gone either (through the O.T.C.) to regular battalions as "special reserve" officers, or to commissions in the Territorial Force and the new Armies; or, (through the recruiting stations) to swell the ranks of the new battalions that, day by day, were being multiplied.

After the first great burst of activity spent itself in the Universities, the Officers' Training Corps settled down to the hard, steady grind of training new men. By day, and far into the evening, the training proceeded, and gradually the Universities found themselves denuded of the flower of their youth. To the pessimist who, in 1914, saw signs/

signs of effeteness everywhere, the rejoinder made by the youths of the Universities, as of the country in general, was more than sufficient in its triumphant quality. Many memories of University life in Scotland must fade, but this at least is ineffaceable, the spirit of grim good humour and of light-hearted courage shown by the students of those years of war.

With the rapid thinning of the student ranks in 1915, the Officers' Training Corps found themselves able to cope with schools of instruction for young officers who came from all walks and stations of life, and to whom it was necessary to give, as quickly as possible, the first principles of their new profession of arms. By the close of 1916, the O.T.Cs had performed a large part of their tasks, and thereafter they were principally concerned with the training of young students and members of the Junior Contingents who, at the age of  $18\frac{1}{2}$  years, were passed on to Cadet Battalions established in various parts of the country for the training of officers.

The complete history of the part played by the Officers' Training Corps in the war years has yet to be written. Our primary purpose at present is not to present a history so much as to note the advent of a means within the Universities for the quickening of corporate activity and for fostering/

fostering that sense of citizenship without which the undergraduate of to-day must be a poor and insufficient creature.

## II.

During the years 1914 to 1918, the Universities were dormant in many of their ordinary activities. The years 1916-1917 saw a huge number of women students, far more than the situation warranted, especially in the Faculty of Medicine, and a correspondingly slender number of men, the large proportion of whom were medical students who, having advanced a certain distance in their studies before war broke out, were compelled by the authorities to remain in order to complete the curriculum. During these years of war there was hardly a member of the University staffs from the Principals downwards who did not make his (or her) contribution to the great cause, the younger on the field of battle, the older in laboratories, in propaganda work and in government offices, while large portions of the Universities were given over to war work of various kinds.

The awakening after the Armistice was a phenomenon in University life which any participator is not likely to forget. Students poured back in their thousands, the University staff returned to its normal duties, invigorated, it would seem, by its absence from the ordinary routine, the Principals and their coadjutors on the Courts and Senates were/

were beset by problems that demanded not less financial sagacity than wisdom in drawing a just balance between leniency to the returned soldier and the necessity of maintaining a fitting academic standard. It was a time of renovation, and hardly a Faculty but was strengthened and re-animated by new Ordinances and regulations.

It is on the students, however, that the effect was most remarkable. One has now to envisage a University Union in 1919 filled to overflowing with men, older in years, and infinitely older in human experience, than their predecessors of the days of peace. Many of them had commanded battalions of Infantry, many had fought in mortal combat with their enemies in the air, many had braved all the vicissitudes of a naval career, with assurance and esteem; and thus there came upon the University scene a huge fellowship, who had come from forth the jaws of death, endowed with powers of command and with a sense of discipline to which their forerunners could lay no claim. They were filled too, these men, with a determination to add play to work, to make up, in some measure, for the loss of ordinary enjoyments of their young manhood. To a few the reaction from the stress of war proved a strain equally severe, and they were unable to settle down to regular study; but in the great majority of the returned students, the resolve to make/

make good in civil life surmounted all the obstacles which absence from study had created.

In a fashion which <sup>it</sup> is hard accurately to describe, the student who resumed academic study after the prolonged bout of war, seized upon all the various means towards corporate life with the definite intention of enlarging their scope. Thus when he saw that private lodgings were expensive and bad, he turned his attention to the provision of hostels; when he found his University Union overcrowded he made plans to have it enlarged or <sup>to</sup> build a new one; when he wanted exercise and found that playing field and pavilion were insufficient for his needs, he set about raising money for extensions.

In all these enterprises, the students had the good fortune to find in the Principals, <sup>Professors,</sup> and other officials at the head of the administrative side of the Universities, men who were not merely willing to stand aside and applaud, but whose interest was as active and as vital as that of the students themselves, and, as a consequence, teachers, administrators and students were drawn together in a common bond of sustained effort. Here the happy effects of legislation which had been carried through in 1889, <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ brought to a culminating point; and the old days of the comparative remoteness of the teacher from the student passed from the atmosphere/

atmosphere of the Universities.

In a very decided manner, likewise, the relationships between Town and Gown were improved by the undergraduates. The gradual amelioration of the situation between the students and the citizens had been in process for twenty years before the war, but the efforts at rapprochement were feeble. Acting upon the example of the senior members of the Universities whose relations with the officials of the cities had become of the most cordial nature, the post-war juniors devised plans whereby they could enjoy themselves and at the same time benefit the city. The result was seen in the organisation of giant fancy-dress processions in which the students made an assault upon the pockets of the population for behoof of the cities' Infirmaries and for various philanthropic objects. The days are now past when stupid and ill-mannered horse-play was regarded as the legitimate outlet for the effervescence of student youth, and organised merriment has taken its place. This the citizens enjoy no less than the students, and in a manner altogether delightful there is nowadays a sense of mutual understanding between Town and Gown that cannot fail to have permanently beneficial effects.. For this much-to-be-desired consummation the post-war students are responsible. Their organising ability, easily and quickly recaptured from the days when many/



many of them were adjutants to battalions of infantry and held posts of great responsibility in many war activities, was given heartily and without stint on these gay occasions, and of what might have been a sorry and bedraggled spectacles they have made great and triumphant carnivals.

If one now takes into broad perspective the general attitude of those returned soldiers and sailors whose activities have been chronicled above, it will be seen that they made a wise citizenship their great objective. To suppose that they did so according to a formula, and of set design, would be to endow them with a smugness which was to them, in actual fact, completely foreign. Their manifold activities at play in the Athletic Club grounds, at dinner and dance and debate in the Union, at work in the Students' Representative Councils and in their Student Day processions were the issue, it seemed, of a spontaneous generation. No one knew whence all the activity arose, or why they planned so vigorously and so well. Nevertheless, any analysis of the post-war situation and of the character of the leading students will make it apparent that to definite academic work and the pursuit of a degree they felt it necessary to add some form of service which would definitely enlarge their horizons and give them strength and confidence in meeting easily and comfortably a wide generality of men. They/

They became the exponents of a new ideal, a new connotation of the word "student", and by their lives made explicit and plain to the observer what had, in previous generations, been only dimly perceived in the Scottish Universities. Thus to-day training in character is no less a definite part of University education than the pursuit of learning, and in this twin aspect of things there lie many problems for the future, the more pressing of which must now be outlined.

CHAPTER III.SOME STUDENT PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY.

Side by side with the returned soldiers and sailors there entered the Universities boys fresh from school, who had been too young to take any part in the War, and, very naturally, they were completely overshadowed by the older men. The wiser among the officials of clubs and societies were aware of the lack of opportunity for the younger students, and took what steps were possible to give them a share of responsibility. Nevertheless, the anxiety remained, and, in view of the great benefits conferred on the student body by the ex-soldiers and sailors, it has been a source of satisfaction to note that the fears have been groundless, that, indeed, the younger men have quickly adapted themselves to the outlook of a somewhat older generation, and show every likelihood of developing still further the excellent traditions formed during the years immediately succeeding the Armistice.

Of late, however, the larger Universities have felt deeply conscious of the fact that a very considerable number of the students remained outside any corporate activity, except on one or two occasions in the session. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 gave powers to the Education Authorities to grant maintenance allowances for use at the Universities. These grants have been assessed on the basis of the/  
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the parents' income and general family circumstances. In Glasgow particularly, and to a lesser degree in Edinburgh, a large class of students has grown up who, by means of these Authority grants and by those of the Carnegie Trust are enabled to travel from a distance daily to the University. Their whole tendency is to devote themselves exclusively to the class-room and the library. With the ~~time~~<sup>time</sup> at their disposal each day in the city, it is hardly possible for them to take any other course. Thus, in a very significant degree, it is borne in upon University authorities that of a full and genuine student life such students are altogether deprived, and that from the tremendous character-making opportunities available through the numerous student agencies they are completely severed.

There is no final solution to the vexed question. The provision of a large hostel system might mitigate the difficulties, but would not cause them to disappear, since the financial circumstances of many students would render living at home and travelling daily to the University a condition of their being able to attend the University at all.

How to ~~manage~~<sup>encourage</sup> these students, and also many who live in private lodgings in the cities but take no part in the student life, to become participants in the wide and generous society of their fellows is the immediate problem. Here it should/

should be said that the method recently adopted of transforming large dwelling-houses into hostels will be successful only if such halls of residence can be so endowed for purposes of general upkeep as to allow the weekly rate of payment for board to be similar to that paid for private lodgings. If the hostel budgets require to include provision for rates, taxes, repairs and renovations, the ~~rates~~<sup>fees</sup> for the residents must be such as can be paid only by the wealthier students, who are generally least in need of organised social life.

Further, the whole question of hostels in the Scottish Universities is one on which the greatest caution must needs be exercised. The tradition of lodgings is very strong: the Scottish students' lodging is his castle. If he were housed in large buildings with, say, one hundred of his fellows, he would be a difficult character when he came to face disciplinary rules and regulations, and, therefore, ~~as a result~~<sup>as a result</sup> towards a fuller social life, the present writer would press for attention, in the first instance, not ~~to~~<sup>to</sup> hostels but ~~in~~<sup>to</sup> University Unions.

The past thirty years has implanted very deeply the tradition of the University Union as a club, membership of which is open to matriculated students and to graduate life-members. No one has been compelled to join the Unions, and if a love of solitariness or if the baleful pressure of poverty kept men and women outside their walls, regret was expressed/

expressed but no action was taken. Costs of maintenance of these Unions have risen, and as a consequence the annual subscription has had to be increased. In Glasgow and Edinburgh the increase has been much more pronounced than at St. Andrews and Aberdeen. From one cause or another, a very large proportion of the ~~total~~ <sup>total</sup> students are not members;<sup>1.</sup> and, moreover, the very students who are admittedly in most need of comradeship and of bracing contact with their fellows, are prevailingy non-users of Unions.

Such a position calls imperatively for action by University authorities, and if the splendid influences of the Unions are not to be confined indefinitely to a minority the present system must be changed. At the risk of formulating schemes which will possibly be unpopular, the writer would make the annual subscription low enough to be within the reach of the poorest students, and would urge that the adequate maintenance of the Unions be made by the University Courts their direct concern. The plan to be adopted in such a case would be as follows:- At the time of matriculation the student would indicate on his form whether he wished to become a member of the Union. To those who so desired, a card/

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1. In Glasgow University in 1924, only about one-third of the total male students were members of the Union.

card would be issued with which the recipient would go to the Union and enrol as a member paying the small fee necessary. At the close of matriculation, the numbers who had joined the Unions would be totalled, and a per capita grant made by the University Court, such grants to be handed over to the student officials of the Union for administration by them under the Boards of Management which at present exist. If the student paid 5/- as his subscription, the University Court might be called upon to grant, say, 15/- per student or whatever sum would adequately maintain the fabric and general equipment of the Unions. Doubtless, in the larger Universities, a substantial annual sum would require to be ear-marked for the purpose, but the manifest advantages which it would ensure, would more than compensate for the outlay. It is, in fact, open to doubt whether the Universities will properly fulfil their obligations towards their students if some such plan as the above is not adopted. Everywhere in the avenues leading from the Universities to the Church, the school, the civil-service, to commercial and industrial life, it is abundantly demonstrated that character is expected to go with specific academic attainment. "The University has set its academic seal upon you by conferring its degree: it remains to enquire what manner of man or woman you are" - this is the proposition universally set, in the writer's experience/

experience, by employers and electors for all posts available to University graduates; and the enactments of the Civil Service Commissioners for their higher examinations, in which a generous proportion of the marks are allotted for a viva voce test, bear ample testimony to the changed outlook upon the requirements that may legitimately be demanded from a University candidate. The writer puts forward the above plan in the profound conviction that the greatest aid to citizenship to be found in Scottish University life, the University Union, should be made available for the maximum number of under-graduates.

In making the above comments on the situation as he sees it to-day, one has in mind particularly the students of the Faculty of Arts. In Science, Medicine, and Engineering, the prolonged hours spent in the laboratory, the clinic, and at the drawing bench promote friendship and reveal the attractive vagaries of human nature. But in the larger Universities, where in some cases, <sup>single</sup> ~~the~~ Arts classes are attended by over 200 students, and where, in one single department of study there may be found 700 to 900 students, the formal lecture system, followed by the dispersal of the class, and the small amount of tutorial work possible with numbers so huge, give to the student no sense of his being an individual in a community. The mediocre student finds himself/



himself or herself merely an insignificant unit of a mass of men and women. Further, unless students are by temperament curious and anxious to explore for themselves, they tend to rely to a very great extent on the lecture notes taken down in class and to rest content with a repetition of these notes in the examination hall. Here the problem is as much one for the teacher as for the student. In certain subjects it is impossible to get away from the formal lecture, and failing an immense increase in the junior staff, tutorial work with small groups of students remains, of necessity, ill-developed. Nevertheless, it may reasonably be urged that it would be no bad thing for the Arts Faculties in the Scottish Universities if the present system were so extended as to create a greater sense of responsibility and initiative in the individual by the prescription of work upon which no formal lecturing was given, and by making evidence of successful study of such work an integral part of the degree examinations.

The writer has consciously stressed the note of responsibility, for, undeniably, the ease with which many students in all the Faculties find themselves shepherded to the University by the aid of maintenance grants and Carnegie Trust fee-vouchers is in itself a bad thing, breeding indifference to great opportunities, and making of a University/

University career merely a passage through classes towards the goal of a degree which will, in the professions, increase the salary of the holder. No sane person would wish that the real gaiety and seeming irresponsibility of student life should disappear from the Scottish Universities or from those of any country. But it is to be remembered that those students who, to the outward view, appear to be dissipating their energies in the activities of University social life, and who seem to give less attention to strictly academical pursuits than they ought, are frequently the very students who gain high distinction in their degree examinations, and, by a wise partition of their time, learn, at the University, the fruitful use of leisure. Their outward irrelevancies do not hide from the discerning observer that they are, in fact, stretching forth towards responsible citizenship. To work hard, to play hard, to make great and permanent friendships, to become a sound and dispassionate judge of humanity, to love the things of the spirit and to abhor the evil that materialism brings in train - all these things are possible to the student who learns how to use his precious University days; and if, amid the splendid companionship of his fellows, he can preserve and extend his own individuality, adding to a full and active life the power of quiet meditation, he may be reasonably assured that/

that he will go forth from the shelter of his Alma Mater prepared to meet with equanimity those vicissitudes which the years in their passage must inevitably present.

POSTSCRIPT.

The impulse to prophesy is the common heritage of all who seek to write upon great living institutions, and to pierce the future would be a task as alluring as it would be perilous. To be quite honest, the writer confesses himself unable to give even a ~~remote~~<sup>Vague</sup> forecast of eventual developments. But in respect of one important matter over which there has been much recent discussion, to those who would fain see, in the near future, the Universities of Scotland engaged by right upon the teaching of adults, who, after their day's work, wish to study for a degree, he would say that the real demand for this has yet to be proved. If professors and lecturers are to double their present work merely that certain students may be possessed of a degree to the end that their financial position may be improved, the demand is unreal. When it can be convincingly shown that Scottish education has developed to the extent that, from a passion for learning, men and women who cannot afford to become students by day are willing to utilise their leisure hours in lecture classes and laboratories towards the passing of degree examinations, of a standard no less severe than that exacted in the cases of ordinary whole-time students, the whole position must command the serious attention of all University legislators. But,  
for/

for the present, the urgent need, especially in the larger Universities, is for <sup>the staffs</sup> greater leisure and <sup>in the student</sup> a stronger development of individuality. The fear of mass production as opposed to genuine individualism is, even now, not remote from the thoughts of all who have observed the tendencies of recent years in the Scottish Universities. Unless very considerable accretions of money came to the Universities it is impossible that they can enlarge their staffs sufficiently to cope with students, both day and evening. An over-driven staff, harassed by the unending business of lecturing, correcting and examining, to the extinction of their ~~leisure~~ <sup>freedom</sup> for reflection and private preparation would be the negation of all that the Scottish Universities have stood for in the past. No one dreams to-day of a revival of those narrower nineteenth century days, some record of which has been made in these pages; nor would wish to revert to that older régime, as simple as the present is complicated. Nevertheless, if research is to extend its domain, if the technique of instruction is to be improved, if teachers are to preserve their high places in the republic of letters and in the transactions of the scientific and medical worlds, it is imperative that the Universities be permitted to maintain something of that atmosphere of calmness, even of detachment, which they are in danger of losing. It will not be the least/

least of their great service to humanity if, dispassionately and effectively, they can continue, in a fretful and distracted age, to manifest, in the decrees of their administrators, in the personalities of their teachers and the conduct of their students, a wise moderation and a fundamental sanity, exemplars of which the times are so sorely in need.

## A P P E N D I C E S.

- A. Proposed University at Dumfries (1826 Commission) and the Proposed National University (1858 Commission).
  
  - B. Scottish Universities and the Tutorial System of Instruction.
  
  - C. The Faculties of Arts and Science and the Teaching Profession in Scotland.
  
  - D. Notes on the Provision of Hostels in the Scottish Universities.
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APPENDIX A.

THE PROPOSED UNIVERSITY AT DUMFRIES<sup>1</sup>. (1826 COMMISSION)  
AND THE PROPOSED NATIONAL UNIVERSITY (1858 COMMISSION).<sup>2</sup>.

The proposals tentatively put forward in 1858 for a National University of Scotland<sup>2</sup>, with the four Scottish Universities as constituent Colleges, are fairly well known, as also is the unanimity with which they were rejected. The spokesmen of the Scottish Universities possessed on the matter a sound instinct. In rejecting the proposals they were actuated not merely by the sense that the strong individuality of each University would suffer partial extinction, but by the knowledge that strife, particularly in relation to financial matters, would be almost certain to arise. The Commissioners, having achieved much in the union of the two Universities at Aberdeen, were in no mood to press the question of the advisability of a National University, and, accordingly, the project was dropped. Experience has shown that the "federal" type of University is, on the whole, unsatisfactory, and the newer English Universities have hastened to free themselves as soon as ever they felt themselves sufficiently powerful to stand on their own legs.

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1. See General Report of 1826 Commission, pp.85-88.

2. See General Report of Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858, pp.xlv - xlvi.



The Charter of 1880 by which the Victoria University, Manchester, was founded established a federal constitution, Owens College being made a constituent college of the University. Subsequently, University College, Liverpool, (1884), and Yorkshire College, Leeds (1887), were admitted as constituents, but the cumbrous nature of the University machinery, not less than local patriotism, resulted in the issue in 1903 of a new Charter, whereby each of the three cities obtained their own autonomous Universities. A further example of the difficulties inherent in the federal system is seen in Ireland. Queen's Colleges were founded at Belfast, Cork and Galway in 1845. They were united for examining purposes and for the conferring of degrees in 1850, under the name Queen's University. Thirty years later the University was superseded by the Royal University of Ireland, a body whose main duty was the conduct of examinations. That in turn gave place, in 1908, to the National University of Ireland, with colleges at Cork, Galway and Dublin. Belfast was freed from this federation in 1909 and became the Queen's University of Belfast. The religious situation in Ireland necessarily made for a set of circumstances to which there was no parallel in Scotland. Nevertheless, religion apart, few will be found to claim any significant advantages which have accrued to Ireland from the maintenance of a federal system.

Scotland, then, may be said to have escaped from a "national" ideal that has little to commend it in actual practice. But one wonders whether the idea of a National University would have commanded greater attention had there been six Scottish Universities in existence in 1858, instead of five (i.e., St. Andrews, Glasgow, King's College, Aberdeen, Marischal College, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Dumfries).

In 1829, when the Commissioners were still sitting, formal proposals were put before them for the establishment of a University at Dumfries. The proposals commanded an attention so serious and so sustained that complete plans were submitted in the General Report.

The circumstances were as follows:- About the year 1829, Mrs. Elizabeth Crichton, widow of John Crichton of Friar's Carse in the county of Dumfries and the Trustees of Mr. Crichton offered the sum of £85,000 for the establishment of a University at Dumfries. The capital was not immediately available, there being annuities, depending on the lives of individuals, which constituted burdens on the fund. Two annuitants stood in the way. They received between them £1,500 annually and their ages were 45 and 54 respectively.

The Commissioners, despite the fact that any plans made/

made by them were unlikely to be capable of immediate realisation, gave it as their considered judgment that "the establishment of a University at Dumfries would conduce to the propagation of sound Academical Instruction in Scotland". They acknowledged themselves as being particularly influenced by the local circumstances adverted to in the communications made to them and accordingly they proceeded to devise a University having two Faculties, Arts and Theology, the staff to consist of a Principal, "who shall be a clergyman", Professors of Systematic Theology, Church History, Oriental Languages, Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, Logic, Greek, Latin, and - a Teacher of Modern Languages. They decreed that the Principal should also be Professor of Biblical Criticism, and must belong to the Established Church. The University was to be a Body Corporate with powers to grant degrees and to have the privileges of all the extant Scottish Universities.

In conforming with their proposals for the other Universities they recommended the establishment of a University Court consisting of (1) a Rector, chosen by the Principal, Professors and Graduates, (2) the Principal, (3) an Assessor nominated by the Chancellor, (4) an Assessor nominated by the Rector, (5) an Assessor nominated by the Crown, three to form a quorum.

The/

The appointments to the staff were to be made by the Crown, with the temporary exception that Mrs. Crichton during her lifetime, was to nominate the Professors of Theology and Moral Philosophy. Until the University should be fairly set on its feet, a Board of Commissioners was appointed consisting of local officials holding posts of public eminence. The Commissioners were of the opinion that £10,000 or £11,000 would be ample for the erection of buildings and the purchase of ground for the recreation of the students; and that, from the remaining capital, the Principal and Professors would obtain a fixed minimum stipend which would be augmented by the fees of the students.

The fate of the whole report of the 1826 Commissioners has already been narrated, and the Dumfries proposal fell into oblivion with the other recommendations of the Commission. It may not be without interest to the cynical to observe that the funds originally intended for a University were eventually applied to the establishment and partial endowment of a model house for the treatment of the insane.<sup>1.</sup> The famous Crichton Institute near Dumfries, owes its existence to the fact that in and about the years 1826-1830, Scotland was not ready for any considerable changes in the governance of her Universities.

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1. See McDowall's History of Dumfries, 1867.

## APPENDIX B.

### THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES AND THE TUTORIAL SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION.

From an examination of the work done by the several Scottish University Commissions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is obvious that while they were fully alive to the necessity for financial and administrative reform, and to the necessity for the development and improvement of existing curricula in the various Faculties, they at no time considered the possibility of any drastic change in the teaching system itself. Their aim was rather to augment staffs, and, generally, to take such steps as would bring the Universities into line with the growing needs of the community at large. Not until the Elgin Committee of 1909 does one find mention of a tutorial system in the Scottish Universities, and even then, in the remarks made by the witnesses before the Committee, there was no implication that any complete reversal of the existing lecturing system was in contemplation. Such tutorial or seminar work as could be undertaken, was to be utilised as a supplement to the professorial lecture and as a means of bringing teacher and student into more intimate relationships than was possible by the formal discourse.

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The recent growth in the numbers of students in the various Faculties, particularly at Glasgow and Edinburgh, has raised anew and in a more pressing form, questions of high importance on the teaching methods which are traditional in the Scottish Universities.

It is generally acknowledged that in the Faculties of Science, Medicine and Engineering, the problem of individual attention to students, or instruction to them in groups, is quite possible in the laboratory and in the clinic. The problem is indeed one centring to a very large extent upon the activities of the Arts Faculties. How is it possible for any Professor, however distinguished in the manner of his lecturing, or however strong as a personality, to gain genuine contact with a class of 250 students? The question is not easy of answer, but it cannot on that account be evaded.

In discussion of this topic, it should first be noticed that the Honours schools in the Arts Faculties of the Scottish Universities have arrived at their present high standard not only by the simple pressure of the numbers entering for Honours Degrees, but by the development of a tutorial system whereby it has been possible for the professors and lecturers in the various departments to meet their students either individually or in small groups,  
at/

at frequent intervals throughout the sessions devoted to Honours class work, and if any vindication is needed of the urgent necessity for supplementing the formal lecture by tutorial instruction, it is to be found in the present condition of these Honours classes. It may fairly be said that in respect of Honours, the problem of adequate tutorial instruction has, to a large extent, been solved, although at the cost of the legitimate leisure of the staffs. How to deal with the huge Ordinary classes is a problem which is as yet incompletely resolved. Here again, it should be said that in various ways, arrangements are made by the professors and lecturers for meeting sections of the classes for the discussion of subjects on which essays have been written or on which examination tests have been made. By this means valuable work is being done. Nevertheless, further development is urgently needed. There is a large measure of truth in that indictment of the whole system of Scottish education, as it is at present, which declares that ampler means of instruction, better schools, more highly qualified teachers, have not only not increased the initiative of the pupil, but have deadened it. The average student of to-day, seeking only a pass Degree, does not readily go beyond the limits of the work actually prescribed for him, and the weaker students proclaim him the best Professor/

Professor who gives the fullest notes, and who thereby renders recourse to individual investigation unnecessary.

The above statement may appear too sweeping to command universal assent, but few would care to affirm that genuine initiative on the part of a large proportion of the ordinary Arts students is to be seen either in essay work or in written examinations. It is immensely difficult, for example, under existing conditions, to ensure that students learn how to use the libraries at their disposal. They tend, accordingly, to resort only to such works as are definitely suggested for study, and are at a loss when they attempt to go further afield. Efforts are now being made in isolated subjects to make students read for themselves by requiring essays and examinations upon subjects and periods on which no formal lecturing is done until the essays are handed in and the examinations completed. The results have been excellent, and a new angle from which to judge capacity and achievement is created. Fundamentally, however, such methods can be only partially successful, and in the near future it is essential that further steps be taken to ensure that students proceeding to a pass (ordinary) degree receive greater individual attention. Financial difficulties stand in the way of advance no less than problems of teaching personnel.

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In any class of, say, 250 members, where there is no laboratory instruction, or instruction similar thereto, (i.e., in all non-scientific Arts subjects) an approach to genuine tutorial instruction could be made by a division of the class into groups of 30, or, at most, 40 students, who would be assigned to the definite charge of a lecturer or assistant. These seminars would require to meet at least twice in each week for discussion, reading of essays, questions and ~~the~~ general instruction in the "apparatus" of the subject. Such classes would, in no wise, supplant the formal class lecture of the professor. They would be designed to make certain, primarily, that, as nearly as possible, individual help and encouragement was afforded as a supplement to the mass inspiration given in the formal lecture.

In all discussion of this matter, one prominent objection is generally advanced. Assuming that the finances of the Universities could bear the burden of the very considerable increase of staffs to meet any development such as is outlined above, would not the holders of assistantships tend to find themselves in a profession to which there was no genuine outlet; and, accordingly, would it not be the case that the Universities would never get the best men or women in the several subjects?

The/

The objection is not fanciful, and the answer to it can be found only in the closer co-operation of the Universities with the Education Authorities of Scotland. A large proportion of the best Honours graduates in the several "school" subjects in Arts and Pure Science proceed to the profession of teaching, taking after graduation, one year's professional training under the National Committee for the Training of Teachers.<sup>1.</sup> It should not be impossible after the year of training has been completed, to draft into University assistantships the most suitable of the graduates, on the understanding (1) that their tenure of a University assistantship would in no case exceed five years and (2) that on proceeding to take up a position in a secondary school they would not lose seniority in respect either of salary or of pension. Co-operation with Education Authorities and with the Scottish Education Department on this matter would not be without the bounds of possibility; and the fact that certain graduates were chosen from among their fellows to do University work for a period of years prior to entering upon school work proper would bestow on those selected a certain prestige, which would undoubtedly make itself felt at all times in their scholastic career. Apart from that consideration, the inherent/

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1. See Appendix C.

inherent interest in University work would ensure a supply of young graduates willing to forgo in their ultimate profession of secondary school teachers, some possible slight loss in seniority, if indeed that was necessary.

It may further be argued that such instructors would be too immature for the work of seminar and tutorial classes, and here one would respond that, in the past, young assistants, fresh from graduation, have done excellent tutorial work. Furthermore, in the large majority of instances, they are given the arduous work of essay and examination correction, and it is seldom that the head of the department has had cause seriously to differ with the judgment of his young coadjutors. Working on a pre-arranged plan and towards the same objects, there is no sound reason for doubting that the vigour and enthusiasm which they would bring to their duties would compensate in ample measure for lack of experience.

The above proposal is put forward with due caution and in the full knowledge that, already, where classes are sufficiently small in numbers, a great deal of valuable tutorial work is being done. The writer, nevertheless, from his experience, is oppressed by the attitude assumed by so many ordinary graduates towards the individual subjects of their degree curriculum. Not the subject for the/

the subject's sake, but for the sake of the pass therein, is the primary objective of their efforts, and, where classes are large and unwieldy, the lack of any sense of individual responsibility towards the teacher of the subject is, in fact, responsible for the point of view taken by many student. The quickening of impulse and the full awakening of sustained interest in any University subject is to be obtained in these days not alone by the efforts of the Professor, however distinguished and inspiring his matter and personaility may be, but also by the development of such teaching resources as will permit, in the ordinary classes, the exhortation and admonition of individual students, and will allow time and opportunity for the open discussion of problems and difficulties presented by the many phases of each subject in the curriculum.

A further point on this topic may here be noted. It concerns the future of Adult Education in Scotland, which has increased steadily in the past ten years, and by the co-operation of the Universities with such voluntary bodies as the Workers' Educational Association is likely to develop very considerably in the near future. Hitherto the lecturing staffs for this Adult Education work have been, in large measure, recruited from the Universities, and much excellent work has been accomplished by University lecturers and/  
and/

and assistants, who, to their normal duties, have added the onerous task of lecturing in the evenings, the formal discourse being supplemented by an hour's discussion. The work of these classes is of absorbing interest, and to a person of some elasticity of mind and breadth of vision, stimulating in the highest degree. Nevertheless, it seems certain that, if Adult Education work continues to advance progressively, as it has done in the past ten years, lecturers or tutors will be required who can devote practically their whole time to the work. One suggests, accordingly, that while the University lecturers proper might retain the most advanced tutorial work in these Adult Classes, a great deal of the more elementary work could be done by the young assistants, procured from the ranks of secondary teachers, under the scheme outlined above. If it were found that young Honours graduates who had but recently emerged from their courses of professional training as teachers were too immature, a modification of the above scheme could be found in an arrangement whereby the graduates would proceed first to gain actual experience for a period of, say, five years in the highest classes of the secondary schools, and thereafter return to the Universities for a like period to undertake tutorial work with the ordinary University classes and with classes under Adult Education auspices.

## APPENDIX C.

### THE FACULTIES OF ARTS AND SCIENCE AND THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN SCOTLAND.

In the previous appendix and also at various places in the body of this work, mention has been made of the very considerable increase, within recent years, of the numbers of graduates in the Faculties of Arts and Science. It has been shown that several factors have contributed towards this end, notably the general expansion of secondary education in Scotland, together with the rise in actual numbers in attendance at the Universities, in particular at Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Of all the factors in operation, however, to produce the great increase mentioned above, the heightening of the general level of attainment in the teaching profession in Scotland has been, and will continue to be, the most important. For the past twenty-five years, there has been a steady upward trend in the practice of graduation on the part of men students proceeding to the teaching profession, the majority of them combining work at the Training Centre with University studies, and the Scottish Education Department has now (31st December 1926) deemed the time ripe for exacting that, with the exception of certain "specialist" teachers in Art, Music, Educational Handwork, Gymnastics, and like subjects of the curriculum/

curriculum, all males entering the Training Centres must be graduates. The same body has, further, determined that, as from the same date, the minimum requirements for entering the Training Centres direct, without any reference to possible University study, shall, on the part of women entrants to the profession, be the Scottish Leaving Certificate. The effect of this has been to induce many more women students than formerly to proceed to the Universities prior to entrance upon a course of professional training since the entrance tests for both University and Training Centre are practically the same. In the case of both men and women students the general practice is now to avoid concurrent attendance at University and Training Centre, and to give three years, at least, exclusively to academic study at the University, followed by a year's professional training.

The consequence of the development of a graduate personnel in Scottish schools has made the Faculties of Arts and Pure Science in the Scottish Universities to a very great extent the academic training ground of the teaching profession. On a very moderate estimate it may be safely asserted that 60 per cent of the men and 80 per cent. of the women students in the Faculty of Arts are prospective teachers: and in the Faculty of Science not less than 50 per cent. in the cases of both men and women. The following statistics of graduates in Arts/

Arts and Pure Science in the Scottish Universities from 1920 to 1926 inclusive will illumine the situation, and give added weight to the contentions proffered in Appendix B.

GRADUATION IN ARTS - SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES  
YEARS 1920 to 1926.

	Honours 1st Class		Honours 2nd Class		Honours 3rd Class			Ordinary		Total.		
	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	(a)	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	T.
<u>1920.</u>												
Andrews	1	3	2	11	5	-	3	26	15	34	32	66
Glasgow	6	6	3	14	1	2	4	135	58	147	82	229
Perth	6	-	7	12	1	-	3	54	48	68	63	131
Edinburgh	8	4	8	11	5	3	7	82	41	106	63	169
	21	13	20	48	12	5	17	297	162	355	240	595
<u>1921.</u>												
Andrews	5	1	3	8	3	1	6	21	13	33	28	61
Glasgow	16	5	13	25	7	2	10	104	60	142	100	242
Perth	6	2	4	13	1	-	3	49	34	60	52	112
Edinburgh	18	8	18	18	5	3	5	67	62	111	93	204
	45	16	38	64	16	6	24	241	169	346	273	619
<u>1922.</u>												
Andrews	5	2	4	9	3	-	6	12	19	24	36	60
Glasgow	18	4	28	5	5	-	4	140	74	191	87	278
Perth	9	4	8	15	2	-	4	51	44	70	67	137
Edinburgh	24	7	31	17	7	1	4	112	86	175	114	289
	56	17	71	46	17	1	18	315	223	460	304	764
<u>1923.</u>												
Andrews	6	4	9	5	3	-	5	9	21	27	35	62
Glasgow	11	3	32	22	3	-	6	107	136	153	167	320
Perth	7	6	15	13	1	-	1	39	74	62	94	156
Edinburgh	20	12	37	21	8	-	11*	92	127	157	171	328
	44	25	93	61	15	-	23	247	358	399	467	866
<u>1924.</u>												
Andrews	4	5	5	12	2	-	8	13	33	24	58	82
Glasgow	10	11	17	17	7	-	13	80	178	114	219	333
Perth	8	3	23	12	2	-	4	39	73	72	92	164
Edinburgh	16	7	22	27	3	2	8	74	129	117	171	288
	38	26	67	68	14	2	33	206	413	327	540	867
<u>1925/</u>												

\* 1 unclassified.



GRADUATION IN ARTS (Contd.)

	Honours 1st Class		Honours 2nd Class		Honours 3rd Class		Ordinary		Total.		
	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	(a) W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	T.
<u>1925.</u>											
Andrews	3	10	4	9	1	- 4	21	21	29	44	73
Glasgow	19	9	30	11	14	- 3	96	209	159	232	391
Perdeen	10	5	22	10	1	- 1	54	111	87	127	214
Edinburgh	25	9	21	25	5	- 6	78	156	129	196	325
	57	33	77	55	21	- 14	249	497	404	599	1003
<u>1926.</u>											
Andrews	1	2	4	12	2	- 5	15	34	22	53	75
Glasgow	15	9	27	18	15	- 7	148	255	205	289	494
Perdeen	10	8	14	10	4	- 1	52	91	80	110	190
Edinburgh	13	9	28	21	4	- 2	75	145	120	177	297
	39	28	73	61	25	- 15	290	525	427	629	1056

(a) Unclassed Honours.

GRADUATION IN PURE SCIENCE - SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

YEARS 1920 to 1926.

	Honours 1st Class		Honours 2nd Class		Honours 3rd Class		Ordinary		Total.		
	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	(a) W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	T.
<u>1920.</u>											
Andrews	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	5	12	5	17
Glasgow	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	4	31	4	35
Perdeen	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	7	8	7	15
Edinburgh	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	16	27	16	43
	-	-	-	-	-	-	78	32	78	32	110
<u>1921.</u>											
Andrews	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	5	23	5	28
Glasgow	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	13	35	13	48
Perdeen	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	6	12	6	18
Edinburgh	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	14	50	14	64
	-	-	-	-	-	-	120	38	120	38	158

1922/

GRADUATION IN PURE SCIENCE (Contd.)

	Honours 1st Class		Honours 2nd Class		Honours 3rd Class		Ordinary		Total.		
	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.	T.
<b>1922.</b>											
Andrews	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	9	20	9	29
sgow	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	22	40	22	62
rdeen	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	10	15	10	25
nburgh	-	-	-	-	-	-	66	24	66	24	90
	-	-	-	-	-	-	141	65	141	65	206
<b>1923.</b>											
Andrews	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	7	22	7	29
sgow	-	-	-	-	-	-	58	26	58	26	84
rdeen	1	-	-	-	-	-	28	13	29	13	42
nburgh	6	-	8	2	-	-	52	22	66	24	90
	7	-	8	2	-	-	160	68	175	70	245
<b>1924.</b>											
Andrews	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	11	2	11	13
sgow	2	-	2	-	1	-	36	27	41	27	68
rdeen	4	-	1	-	-	-	22	17	27	17	44
nburgh	4	1	4	-	-	-	23	25	31	26	57
	10	1	7	-	1	-	83	80	101	81	182
<b>1925.</b>											
Andrews	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	12	16	12	28
sgow	9	3	16	10	4	-	28	29	57	42	99
rdeen	2	-	1	3	-	1	17	14	20	18	38
nburgh	1	2	12	3	3	-	9	11	25	16	41
	12	5	29	16	7	1	70	66	118	88	206
<b>1926.</b>											
Andrews	5	3	5	4	2	3	6	1	18	11	29
sgow	10	-	12	11	7	1	43	21	72	33	105
rdeen	2	2	1	4	1	-	25	12	29	18	47
nburgh	9	1	20	4	1	-	6	6	36	11	47
	26	6	38	23	11	4	80	40	155	73	228

In drawing any general conclusions from the above, it should be noted (1) that the increase generally has been greatest at/

at Glasgow, supplying as it does the needs of a large industrial community in and around the city itself, (2) that, on the whole, the numbers taking Honours have, for the period under review (1920-1926) remained remarkably steady. This would seem to indicate that the development of the practice of going forward to Honours degrees on the part of Scottish students has now reached, for the time being, a limit in Arts, though it is as yet too soon after the institution of Honours degrees in Pure Science to make any comment of value.

In answer to a possible query as to whether the above statistics represent an abnormal situation, due to the rush to the Universities that followed the conclusion of the war period (1914-1919), the writer has thought it advisable to examine the statistics relative to the entrance of first year students in the sessions 1924-1925, 1925-1926, 1926-1927, so that an estimate may be made of the graduates likely to issue from the Universities in 1927, 1928 and 1929.

From the following figures it will be seen that, even when allowance has been made for failures and withdrawals to an extent of 25 per cent. of the total number of entrants, the figures demonstrate unmistakably a steady upward trend. Economic conditions may, in the future, operate adversely to a continuance of the large entries of the present, but, if one keeps prominently in mind the developments which have been discussed/

discussed above in connection with the teaching profession, and the fact that not less than 1300<sup>1.</sup> teachers of all grades, graduate and non-graduate, are required annually for the adequate staffing of the Scottish schools, it will be readily agreed that any serious diminution of entrants is unlikely.

(See next page for figures relative to first year entrants in Arts and Pure Science).

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1. Assessed from the Minutes of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers in Scotland. Of the total number of students at present in training under the National Committee, not less than 900 graduates will be ready for service in Scottish schools at the end of Session 1926-27.

STUDENTS IN ARTS AND PURE SCIENCE WHO ENTERED THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES  
FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE UNDER-NOTED SESSIONS.

University	Session 1924-25.			Session 1925-26.			Session 1926-27.											
	Pure Science.			Pure Science.			Pure Science.											
	M.	W.	T.	M.	W.	T.	M.	W.	T.									
St. Andrews	26	48	74	10	14	24	39	56	95	17	9	26	29	63	92	20	10	30
Glasgow	285	358	643	84 (20)	27 (10)	111 (30)	303	328	631	77 (31)	23 (13)	100 (44)	375	385	760	89 (22)	30 (2)	119 (24)
Aberdeen	89	125	214	21	6	27	108	140	248	14	9	23	(a)95	124	219	(a)8	6	14
Edinburgh	157	249	406	42	8	50	156	230	386	46	13	59	211	238	449	48	28	76
	557	780	1337	157 (20)	55 (10)	212 (30)	606	754	1360	154 (31)	54 (13)	208 (44)	710	810	1520	165 (22)	74 (2)	239 (24)
				177	65	242				185	67	252				187	76	263

1. (a) Winter Session.

2. ( ) Figures in brackets indicate students taking Arts and Pure Science.

In concluding this survey which, though primarily intended to show the influence of the modern requirements of the teaching profession in Scotland, has attempted to set forth the situation generally in ~~the~~ Arts and Pure Science - it is essential, in the writer's view, to re-emphasise the point already discussed in Chapter V. on the establishment of a nomenclature which shall seek to make clear the distinction between Ordinary degrees on the one hand and Honours on the other. The Honours degree candidates remain fairly steady in numbers: the Ordinary degree candidates have more than doubled themselves in number within seven years. Reviewing the very high standard of work and attainment now required for success in the Honours degrees and contrasting this with the very moderate standard exacted for Ordinary degree passes, where multiplicity of subjects inevitably leads to differences of standard in assessing the work of candidates in various departments of study; reviewing also the intensive nature of the Honours course as against the more general training procured by the Ordinary curriculum, it seems imperative that a distinction should be made, the B.A. degree to represent the "Pass" or "Ordinary" and the M.A. the "Honours" degree. By so doing, not merely the general public, but educational bodies in and furth of Scotland would, at once, have a straightforward means of assessing the intellectual standard/

standard of the degree holder and the rapidly growing confusion over the meaning and content of the present "M.A." degree would cease. Further, if it is desired that Science be placed on the same footing as Arts, there is the title "B.Sc." for Ordinary degree holders, and "M.Sc." for those who have succeeded in obtaining what is already the very high distinction of an Honours degree in Pure Science.

## APPENDIX D.

### NOTES ON THE PROVISION OF HOSTELS IN THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

The opinions of the writer on the provision of hostels in the Scottish Universities have already been indicated in Chapter III., Part II., pp.176-177. It will, however, be not inadvisable to demonstrate the general position in earlier days showing the fluctuations of interest and effort in regard to halls of residence, and to make some enquiry into the existing situation with a view to obtaining material for a more comprehensive survey.

The prevailing tradition in the Scottish Universities that students should be allowed to lodge where they pleased dates from mediaeval times, and, while the course of history shows, from time to time, the growth of residential institutions the poverty of the mass of the students seems to have defeated in Scotland any organic growth of such hostels.

"It is quite certain", says Rashdall, "that in the <sup>thirteenth</sup> ~~nineteenth~~ century the Parisian Arts student of 14 was, as far as the University was concerned, as free to live where and how he pleased as the Canon or Rector of 25 or 30".<sup>1.</sup>

The reason probably was simple. The large numbers in attendance made provision by the authorities of halls of residence financially/

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1. Rashdall, Universities of Europe, p.479.



financially impossible, and development came along the lines of self-interest, whereby students found it cheaper to unite under one roof, and so establish a community. By degrees these little societies gained recognition, and as Rashdall says, "Before the close of the mediaeval period most of the halls passed into the possession of monastic bodies or of colleges. This circumstance helped to give the aspect of public and permanent institutions to the few halls which survived the Reformation".<sup>1</sup>.

Compulsion, however, seems to have been absent, and not until the fifteenth century were measures taken at Oxford to insist upon residence on the part of students. The same insistence never operated in Scotland, and while bursars in the Scottish Universities had special privileges, mainly in regard to the common table, the large proportion of the students lived in private lodgings, or in small communities which were, in essence, self-governing, and existed without much effective supervision on the part of University authorities.

The Minutes of Evidence of the 1826 Commission are of great value in arriving at a general estimate of the position in Scotland.

ST. ANDREWS.

"In the College buildings there is accommodation for about 40 students, supposing two to lodge in each room; and about/

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1. Ibid. pp.467-468.

about forty years ago, when the Foundation bursars, as well as many other students, boarded at a public table in the College, and when the spirit of the age was not so averse to monastic seclusion, nor so alive to the comforts of domestic society, all the rooms were filled. Now, however, and for a considerable time back, only a very few, often not more than five or six students, reside within the College, and the rest live in lodgings or boarding houses in the town".

The above reply made by the Principal and Masters to the query of the 1826 Commissioners asking if any students lived within the precincts of the University was amplified by the Principal and Masters of St. Mary's College who pointed out that few students had resided within the College for twenty years before the date of the Commission. (St. Andrews Evidence, pp.342-403). Practically then, it may be said that College residence ceased at St. Andrews at the end of the eighteenth century, and no efforts were made to resuscitate the system until 1861 when a hall, intended mainly as a residence for the sons of gentlemen attending the University, was undertaken by a Joint Stock Company. It appeared to have all the elements of success, and from the preface to the Matriculation Roll of St. Andrews University (pp.xlvi-xlvi) we find that the venture was so successful, and during its early years prospered so well that the Company was induced to face the more/

more ambitious project of erecting a large building specially fitted for this purpose. This new hall, which cost more than £8,000, was opened in November 1868, but, unfortunately, did not succeed, and the Company was forced in 1874 to sell the building and cease all its activities.

GLASGOW.

In reply to the same question as that put forward by the 1826 Commissioners to the authorities of the University of St. Andrews, the Glasgow Senate said, "Till the revolution (1688) several of the students resided within the College, but, as after that period the public table was given up, few students continued to lodge in College chambers which now, from the increased number of students, have been converted into classrooms for teaching". (Glasgow Evidence, p.540).

The records of Glasgow University generally show that while the common table for Regent<sup>s</sup> and Foundation bursars, as established by the Nova Erectio, was retained until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the number of teachers, bursars and students, together with the limited accommodation available, caused the arrangement finally to break down, and there is little doubt that throughout the eighteenth century, the large proportion of the students at Glasgow lodged with some outside person.

ABERDEEN/

ABERDEEN.

The reply of the Aberdeen authorities on this matter to the 1826 Commissioners shows that with regard to Marischal College there is no evidence of living-in although it is probable that some students, before the <sup>(1689).</sup> Revolution, lived in a Franciscan convent nearby the College buildings themselves.

In his History Notes on the University of Aberdeen (1906) p.16, Mr. R. Walker, formerly Secretary to Aberdeen University Court, has it that at King's College residence continued to be the rule, although not the invariable practice, until late in the eighteenth century, and was not finally discontinued till the early part of the nineteenth century.

EDINBURGH.

"None of the students live within the buildings or precincts of the College, nor are they under the observation and inspection of the Professors by any University Statute or Regulation, further than while within the classrooms and public area". (Edinburgh Evidence, Appendix p.161).

The above brief reply of the Edinburgh authorities to the 1826 Commissioners, does not carry us far on any enquiry but we know from Grant's History of the University Vol./

Vol.II., p.471, that the Town Council in its original idea for the College had in mind a residential system with a common table. No funds were ever available for carrying out this project. At first a certain proportion of the students resided in chambers provided for them in College, catering for themselves. In the seventeenth century, the number of these chambers was, by the activity of the College authorities, increased considerably, but in spite thereof it seems certain that by the beginning of the eighteenth century, all College residence at Edinburgh had virtually ceased.

For the greater part of the nineteenth century there was no decided change in the general situation as presented to the 1826 Commissioners, but such attempts as have been made within the past forty years are of great interest and importance for any general survey of the whole problem. In 1887 Professor Patrick Geddes founded, for Edinburgh students, University Hall, which now consists of three houses, Ramsay Lodge, Blackie House and St. Giles House. The main feature of University Hall is that the purely internal affairs of each House are in the hands of the residents themselves, who have the right to decide by ballot who may become members of their particular House. This Hall has had many vicissitudes, and the rise in the general cost of living has put residence there/

there outwith the purview of the average student, since few Scottish students can afford £2:12/6d. per week for board and lodging, the amount required, apparently, to maintain the Hall in full activity. The right to decide membership by ballot of existing residents is open to grave objections, and the club-like constitution of this Hall is one which the other Universities have not sought to copy.

The admission of women to the Universities has given the opportunity for several excellent efforts. At St. Andrews it was determined by a few enthusiasts, chief of whom was the late Professor Knight, that if possible, a residential system as complete as limited funds would allow, should operate for the women students from the time of their first admission. Preliminary attempts in the first year (1892) in which women were admitted seemed to indicate that failure was not unlikely; but, aided by the fortunate choice of a far-seeing Warden, Miss (now Dame) Louisa Innes Lumsden, there was established in 1896 a University Hall for women which has long ere now become one of the recognised features of St. Andrews University life. Successive additions from time to time have made it possible to house nearly 100 women students at a minimum cost per session of £66. More recently, this University, undeterred by the failure of 1868-1874, has established a smaller hostel, Chattan House, for men students, the very moderate fee of £56 per/

per annum being charged for board and residence. At Glasgow, within a few years of the opening of the doors of the University to women, under the 1889 Act, Queen Margaret Hall was established. Until three years ago this Hall was ~~in charge~~ <sup>the property</sup> of a private ~~Committee~~ <sup>Company</sup> ~~in which the University was represented,~~ but now it has <sup>been transferred to the University and has</sup> come fully under the aegis of the Student Welfare Committee, ~~of the University~~. The success of Queen Margaret Hall encouraged a private donor to ~~prevent~~ <sup>establish</sup> South Park House, adjacent to the University, as a Hall of Residence, and this is still conducted on lines similar to those which obtained for Queen Margaret Hall. Other hostels for women students, such as Masson Hall and Muir Hall at Edinburgh have no difficulty in maintaining full activity. In all cases these Halls are under the charge of a Warden, and the charges for board and lodging, ranging from 33/6d. to 47/6d. weekly, bring them within the ~~reach~~ <sup>reach</sup> of the majority of the students.

At Aberdeen no hostels have so far been provided, but there are at present in erection by the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, on a fine site overlooking the city, two hostels capable of holding 60 students each. If it is found that full advantage is taken of the first two hostels, the National Committee hopes finally to establish five such Hostels; and since the connection between University and Training Centre for Teachers is now much closer than formerly (See/

(See Appendix C.), it is anticipated that the population of these hostels will in time be largely women graduates.

In addition to establishing two splendidly equipped hostels at their Glasgow Centre, the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, in co-operation with Edinburgh University, will by 1928 complete a magnificent scheme of hostel-building at Craigmillar Park, Edinburgh. Three hostels were completed a few years ago, the remaining two being at present under construction. Five-sevenths of the cost has been met by the National Committee and two-sevenths by the University. Here, under the most pleasant auspices and with every advantage for private study, it is anticipated that not fewer than 250 women students will have residence, at a ~~cost~~<sup>rate</sup> per annum of approximately £50. This joint effort of University and Training Authority is the most ambitious scheme of hostel-building yet entered upon in Scotland, but there seems no ground for believing that the promoters have in any way planned in a fashion too grandiose for the demands likely to be made upon them. A Principal Warden, with sub-Wardens at each individual hostel, is in charge of the scheme and acts as secretary to the Association, of which the two above-named bodies are joint members.

Since the Armistice, Glasgow University has been enabled, by private benefactions, to convert two private houses into Halls/



Halls of Residence for men students. So far they have been very successful, but, necessarily, the costs of maintenance have been such as to raise the board and lodging terms above the average paid by Glasgow students in private apartments; and it seems certain that any plan for the conversion of large houses into hostels can become operative on a large scale, in such a way as to secure the maximum benefit for students, only if these houses receive a small endowment, capable of meeting overhead charges of taxation, general upkeep and renovation. In each Hall is a Warden who is a University lecturer, responsible to the University Court for the proper maintenance of accounts and discipline. To aid him in disciplinary matters is a Committee of residents, and, already, these Committees have proved themselves capable of serious attention to the welfare of the institution. The arrangement of a Warden acting with the student committee gives every promise of being more fruitful than any system of complete self-government by the residents.

It may now be asked whether the advances made since 1887 represent an ideal which will become a reality when funds, sufficient for extensive building, are at the disposal of the Universities. Any answer to this query must be made with the utmost caution. It is fairly certain, on the one hand, that, with regard to the women students, a tradition has already been established/

established which, given generous financial support, is capable of very considerable development. With men students, however, the case is different. In the writer's experience, it has been found that, with reference to the Glasgow residences for men, the housing problem which followed in train of the war period had a great influence in giving impetus to the call for hostels as against private lodgings. Further, there was a genuine desire that the camaraderie of Army messes and camps should be extended to meet student needs in times of peace. But one factor was imperfectly realised. In war there was little privacy, and men hardly needed it. In peace - and especially the study that at the Universities must needs accompany peace - privacy is the first essential. Any building which may be undertaken in the future must, therefore, aim primarily at the ideal, already realised in the women's residences at St. Andrews and Edinburgh, of a separate study-bedroom for each student. Large buildings capable of accommodating upwards of one hundred students ought to be avoided, for the danger is that indiscipline, born of old Scottish student habits, would make these residential institutions excessively difficult to manage. The writer would fain be optimistic regarding hostels for men students, since no one can work for years among the male "cives" of Scotland's Universities without realising, sometimes in annoyance, but more/

more often in amusement, the clamant need of that humanitas, without which learning retains always something of crudity, and character much that is needlessly repellent. Yet any wide generalisation is impossible. The Scottish student of the past, living amid narrow circumstances, has achieved, both in intellect and character, triumphs not incomparable with those of his brethren in the older English Universities. It will be hard to make any genuine break with the past, and those Scottish opponents of the whole "hostel" idea have much to support them in their views. Only when there is fully realised in Scotland how much of real cheerfulness, of good companionship, of sound health and splendid character-forming influences are being lost to the youths of the Universities by the present habits of dwelling in private lodgings will any decided change in outlook arrive. The more recent experiments, many of them already proved successes, should be gradually extended; and as a step towards a further corporate life, the claims of the University Unions should receive primary attention along lines indicated in Chapter III., Part II., pp.178-179.

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