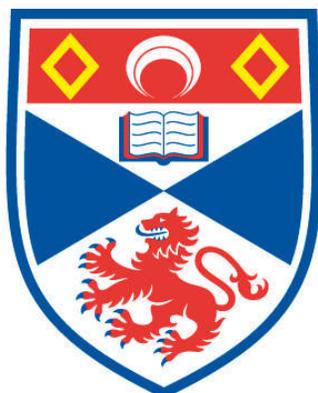


**TREASURES OF THE UNIVERSITY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE
IDENTIFICATION, PRESENTATION AND RESPONSES TO
ARTEFACTS OF SIGNIFICANCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ST
ANDREWS, FROM 1410 TO THE MID-19TH CENTURY; WITH AN
ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
PORTRAIT COLLECTION TO THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY**

Helen C. Rawson

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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Treasures of the University: an examination of the identification, presentation and responses to artefacts of significance at the University of St Andrews, from 1410 to the mid-19th century; with an additional consideration of the development of the portrait collection to the early 21st century

Helen Caroline Rawson

Submitted in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, 20 January 2010

I, Helen Caroline Rawson, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 111,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2001 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in June 2003; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2001 and 2010.

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Abstract

Treasures of the University: an examination of the identification, presentation and responses to artefacts of significance at the University of St Andrews, from 1410 to the mid-19th century; with an additional consideration of the development of the portrait collection to the early 21st century

A thesis submitted by Helen Caroline Rawson for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of St Andrews

Since its foundation between 1410 and 1414 the University of St Andrews has acquired what can be considered to be ‘artefacts of significance’. This somewhat nebulous phrase is used to denote items that have, for a variety of reasons, been deemed to have some special import by the University, and have been displayed or otherwise presented in a context in which this status has been made apparent.

The types of artefacts in which particular meaning has been vested during the centuries under consideration include items of silver and gold (including the maces, sacramental vessels of the Collegiate Church of St Salvator, collegiate plate and relics of the Silver Arrow archery competition); church and college furnishings; artworks (particularly portraits); sculpture; and ethnographic specimens and other items described in University records as ‘curiosities’ held in the University Library from c. 1700-1838.

The identification of particular artefacts as significant for certain reasons in certain periods, and their presentation and display, may to some extent reflect the University's values, preoccupations and aspirations in these periods, and, to some degree, its identity. Consciously or subconsciously, the objects can be employed or operate as signifiers of meaning, representing or reflecting matters such as the status, authority and history of the University, its breadth of learning and its interest and influence in spheres from science, art and world cultures to national affairs.

This thesis provides a comprehensive examination of the growth and development of the University's holdings of 'artefacts of significance' from its foundation to the mid-19th century, and in some cases (especially portraits) beyond this date. It also offers insights into how the University viewed and presented these items and what this reveals about the University of St Andrews, its identity, which changed and developed as the living institution evolved, and the impressions that it wished to project.

Table of Contents

Chapter		Page
	Abstract	i
	Table of contents	iii
	List of plates	v
	Acknowledgements	ix
	List of abbreviations	xi
	Introduction	1
I	The collections and buildings of the University of St Andrews, as perceived by visitors, from the medieval period to the mid-19th century	11
II	The silver and furnishings of the University of St Andrews, 15 th to 18 th centuries	69
III	The portrait and other fine art collections of the University of St Andrews	151
IV	Scientific instruments of the University of St Andrews	199
V	The Library ‘Curiosities’, and the establishment of the Museum of the University of St Andrews and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews	241
	Conclusion	279
Appendix A	Inventories of silver of the colleges, from the Reformation to the mid-18 th century	293

Appendix B	Catalogue of extant portraits and sculpture busts	311
Appendix C	Inventories of scientific instruments held in the University Library, c. 1699-1718	337
Appendix D	List of extant items referred to (excluding portraits and sculpture busts)	345
	Bibliography	353

List of Plates

Plate

- 1 View of St Andrews from the south-east in John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiæ*, London, 1718
- 2 *A View of the City of St Andrews taken from the South East* by John Oliphant, c. 1767
- 3 *St. Salvators Colledge St. Andrews* by John Oliphant, c. 1767
- 4 *St. Salvators Colledge Church St. Andrews* by John Oliphant, c. 1767
- 5 Bishop Kennedy's Tomb in R.W. Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1845-52
- 6 *St. Leonards Colledge St. Andrews* by John Oliphant, c. 1767
- 7 *St. Leonards Colledge Chapel St. Andrews* by John Oliphant, c. 1767
- 8 *St. Marys Colledge St. Andrews* by John Oliphant, c. 1767
- 9 *The Library* by John Oliphant, c. 1767
- 10 *A View of the Ruins of the Cathedral of St. Andrews taken from the West* by John Oliphant, c. 1767
- 11 *Ruins of Cathedral & Chapel of St Regulus* in *Handy Book of St Andrews*, Cupar and St Andrews, 1865
- 12 Capriccio view of the ruins of St Andrews, unknown artist, mid-18th century
- 13 Photograph of the old St Salvator's College site, c. 1845

- 14 Blackstone, 15th century
- 15 'Parliament chair', mid-17th century
- 16 Head of the French Faculty Mace [Mace of the Faculty of Arts], c. 1416-19
- 17 Head of the Scottish Faculty Mace [Mace of the Faculty of Canon Law], mid-15th century
- 18 Head of the Mace of St Salvator's College, made by Johne Maiel, 1461
- 19 Silver Arrow archery competition medal of James Graham, 5th Earl of Montrose (later 1st Marquis of Montrose), 1628
- 20 Silver Arrow archery competition medal of Thomas Gourlay of Kincaig, 1642
- 21 Silver Arrow archery competition medal of William Murray (later Marquis of Tullibardine), 1706
- 22 Silver Arrow archery competition medal of Francis Murray, Lord Doune (later 8th Earl of Moray), 1754(?)
- 23 St Mary's Mazer made by Alexander Auchinleck, Edinburgh, 1552-62
- 24 St Leonard's Mazer, mid-16th – early 17th century
- 25 Detail of St Leonard's Mazer
- 26 The Bruce Cup, remade 1727 by Henry Bethune, Edinburgh
- 27 Murray Cup or St Leonard's College Communion Cup, made by William Law, Edinburgh, 1679-81
- 28 The Guild Cup, made in London 1613-14

- 29 'Capstan' salt made by Patrick Gardyne, St Andrews, mid-17th century
- 30 St Andrews Cupboard, c. 1500
- 31 Tombstone of Hugh Spens (Provost of St Salvator's College 1503-34)
- 32 Portrait of David Steuart Erskine, Lord Cardross, by unknown artist after Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1764 or 1765
- 33 Portrait of Thomas Hay, 9th Earl of Kinnoull, by David Martin, mid-18th century
- 34 Portrait of Robert Saunders Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville, by David Wilkie, 1831
- 35 Portrait of Sir David Brewster by William Salter Herrick, c. 1859
- 36 Portrait of George Buchanan by or after Arnold van Brounckhorst, ?1580
- 37 Portrait of Archbishop James Sharp by Sir Peter Lely, c. 1666
- 38 Portrait of John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquis of Bute, by E.T. Haynes, 1895
- 39 Portrait of Andrew Carnegie by Edward Arthur Walton, 1911
- 40 Photograph of the University Library by James Fairweather, c. 1898
- 41 'Great Astrolabe' made by Humphrey Cole, London, 1575
- 42 Universal Instrument made by Humphrey Cole, London, 1582
- 43 Mariner's Astrolabe made by Elias Allen, London, 1616
- 44 Circumferentor, Dutch, 17th century
- 45 Sundial made by Hilkieah Bedford, London, c. 1660-80

- 46 Split seconds pendulum clock made by Joseph Knibb, London, 1673
- 47 Microscope made by Andrew Ross & Co., London, c. 1840
- 48 Model Watt beam engine, probably made by Duncan, 1824/25
- 49 Orrery made by Benjamin Cole, London, c. 1750
- 50 Reflecting telescope made by James Short, Edinburgh, 1736
- 51 Birch bark basket, North American Algonquin (Cree) origin
- 52 'Zodiac' bowl, thought to be of Burmese origin
- 53 Photograph of portrait of Mary Sabina
- 54 Photograph of the Museum of the University of St Andrews and the
Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews, ?early 20th century

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It would not have been possible to complete this thesis while working as a curator of the Museum Collections Unit and with two very small children without help and support of a different kind, and for this I would like to thank my husband David George Smith.

List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes to this thesis:

SAUL University of St Andrews Library

Manuscript Sources

Within the University of St Andrews Library (SAUL) are held:

'Acta' UYUY411/1, 'Acta Facultatis Artium', 1413-1728. The volume contains the Minutes of the Faculty of Arts from 1413 to 2 November 1588 (fols 1-211r.) and other material, including the election of the Deans of the Faculty from 1615-1728 (fols 211r.-224r.)

CM UYUY505, Minutes of the University Court, University of St Andrews

MSALPS UYUY8525/1, 'Minutes of the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society 16 April 1838-13 April 1861'

SM UYUY452, Minutes of the *Senatus Academicus*, University of St Andrews

UCM UYUC400, United College Minutes, University of St Andrews

Published Sources

JGTMV Turnbull, Herbert Westren (ed.), *James Gregory Tercentenary Memorial Volume*, London, 1939

Introduction

The University of St Andrews was the first university to be established in Scotland. It was founded in stages between 1410 and 1414. Teaching began in May 1410 when a school of higher studies was established by a group of masters, mainly graduates of Paris. On 28 February 1411/12, Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews, conferred privileges and a charter of incorporation. Application was then made to the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII, in Peniscola, for full university status. This application was made not only in the name of the fledgling institution, but also the Church of St Andrews and the King and Estates of Scotland. Pope Benedict XIII confirmed Wardlaw's charter and amplified it in a series of six Papal Bulls, issued on 28 August 1413. These reached St Andrews on 3 February 1413/14. On the following day, a Sunday, the Bulls were promulgated before a great assembly in the Refectory of the Priory, followed by a solemn *Te Deum* in the Cathedral, marking the formal creation of the country's first university.¹

Since its foundation the University of St Andrews has acquired what can be considered to be 'artefacts of significance'. This somewhat nebulous phrase is used to denote items which have, for a variety of reasons, been deemed to have some special import by the University, and have been displayed or otherwise presented in a context in which this status has been made apparent.

The reasons why certain artefacts or classes of objects have been imbued with particular meaning at particular points in time include their ceremonial or religious role; their connection to the history of the University and its traditions; their relation to individuals, whether University members (including alumni), patrons and benefactors or prominent or admired outsiders; their decorative role and aesthetic impact, often directly connected to the craftsmanship inherent in their production; their monetary value; their fascination as rarities and curiosities; and the ways in which they can illustrate the breadth of learning in

¹ Ronald G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, St Andrews, 1992, pp.1-7. James Maitland Anderson, 'The Beginnings of St Andrews University 1410-1418', Part I in *The Scottish Historical Review*, VIII, no. 31, April 1911, pp.225-248; Part II in *The Scottish Historical Review*, VIII, no. 32, July 1911, pp.333-360

the University and its interest and influence in spheres ranging from science and the arts to world cultures. Perhaps most importantly of all, items might be deemed to be significant because they could be used to present, reflect or reaffirm the prestige and authority of the University of St Andrews. In relation to any one artefact or group of objects, of course, several of these reasons for significance could operate simultaneously. Indeed, provided that these could be made explicit, the greater the number and higher the value of the themes of significance assigned to an object, the more important it would be likely to be, and the more powerful as a signifier of the University's status.

It has not been uncommon for the University to reassess the significance of its artefacts, particularly in the long term. The splendid furnishings, statues and relics (including a cross of gold said to contain two pieces of the true cross) of the Collegiate Church of St Salvator in the 15th and early 16th centuries are believed, almost without exception, to have been lost at the Reformation. In any case, they would not have been viewed with the reverence and awe they once inspired by post-Reformation generations. Items such as the painting of a 'Spotted Negro', and a 'Calculus from a Mare', acquired by the University during the 18th century, and prominently displayed in the University Library from at least the 1780s to 1820s, do not appear to be extant: though transferred to the newly established joint Museum of the University and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews in November 1838, together with other items from the Library denoted in the Minutes of the Literary and Philosophical Society as 'Curiosities', they seem eventually to have fallen out of favour and been removed from display as tastes changed.² A group of scientific instruments thought to have been acquired about 1673 for the planned University observatory by James Gregory, then Regius Professor of Mathematics, seems largely to have been overlooked until the 1920s, when Robert Gunther, curator of the history of science collections at Oxford University, rediscovered them. He declared of one of their number, the 'Great Astrolabe', made by Humphrey Cole of London in 1575: 'I

² SAUL, UYUY8525/1, 'Minutes of the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society 16 April 1838-13 April 1861', Minute of 30 November 1838, fol. 17r.-17v. The University gained sole control of the Museum and most of the collections in 1904, and the painting was among the items formally transferred back into University ownership: however, it cannot now be traced. SAUL, UYUY852, 'University

know of no finer example of the work of an Elizabethan instrument-maker'.³ These instruments, which include a rare universal instrument of 1582, also by Cole, and an exceptionally large mariner's astrolabe dated 1616, by Elias Allen, are now considered to be among the University's most precious artefacts, both in terms of significance and monetary value. In every period, certain objects have been prioritised over others as tastes and attitudes have altered and new information, objective and subjective, about their history or comparative importance, has been presented. The process is still continuing, as research progresses and the University's Museum Collections Unit makes decisions about which of the many artefacts and specimens held in departments should be formally accessioned into the Collections and whether, how and in what context they should be displayed and interpreted.

There is no doubt that external forces have influenced the University's perceptions of, and responses to, its artefacts. The Reformation, the Enlightenment, the Age of Empire; alterations in fashionable taste; intellectual developments; advances in the sciences; changes in the *zeitgeist* and world-view; and many other factors, have all had a fundamental impact on the University's outlook. They have affected its concept of its own role, its attempts to position itself within a certain framework, and how it has sought, collectively as an institution, to be perceived by others. As the University's perspective has changed, so too has its attitude to its individual artefacts and its interpretation of their meaning, or attempts to impose meaning upon them. Matters such as the modern development of museums, from their beginnings as 'cabinets of curiosities' to attempts to present and classify the world, encyclopaedic in their scope; and improvements in travel systems, which enabled St Andrews to be more closely connected to the rest of Britain and indeed the world, have influenced how the University viewed and presented its artefacts. So, too, have more local factors. Rivalry within the University, between faculties and colleges, and competition with the other Scottish institutions may have affected how artefacts were utilised as signifiers of meaning. The identification of particular items as

Museum. Minute of Agreement between the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews and the University Court of the University of St Andrews', 17 December 1904, p.845.

³ R.T. Gunther, 'The Great Astrolabe and other Scientific Instruments of Humphrey Cole' in *Archaeologia*, 76, 1926-29, pp.273-317, p.277

significant for certain reasons in certain periods may reflect the University's pre-occupations and ambitions in those times. Consciously and sub-consciously, by selecting particular artefacts for presentation and display, and excluding others, it has revealed facets of its identity through them.

The types of artefacts in which particular meaning has been vested during the centuries under consideration include items of silver and gold, from the sacramental vessels, crosses and decorative pieces in the Collegiate Church of St Salvator to the University's maces, the college mazers and other plate, and the medals and arrows of the Silver Arrow archery competition; church and college furnishings; artworks (particularly portraits); sculpture; ethnographic specimens and 'curiosities'. A study of the architecture and the library holdings (books, manuscripts, archives, muniments and other documents) of the University of St Andrews is beyond the scope of this thesis and, although occasional reference will be made to these elements, they will not be considered in depth. Objects and collections acquired specifically for teaching and research purposes, whether as equipment or specimens (for example scientific apparatus, geological and zoological specimens), are also excluded from this study, except in general terms, unless they later came to be considered significant in a context beyond the functional use for which they were originally acquired: for instance, as illustrative of the history of science; for their connection to prominent individuals or important research and discoveries; or because they are unique or outstanding examples of their type. The Museum of the University and the Literary and Philosophical Society, established in the United College buildings in 1838, will be discussed, in the context of the development of museums and with particular reference to the re-evaluation and classification into scientific categories of the miscellaneous collection of 'curiosities' once displayed in the University Library on their transferral to the new institution. However, because the holdings of the Museum primarily comprised teaching and research collections in the fields of natural and human history (zoology, botany, geology, human anatomy, archaeology and ethnography), an examination of which is not the focus of this thesis and which it necessarily cannot encompass, they will not be given detailed attention.

The period under detailed consideration extends from the University's foundation to the mid-19th century. A date slightly after the establishment of the Museum of the University and the Literary and Philosophical Society is an appropriate point of cessation, for in many ways, as I will discuss, the institution of the Museum marks a fundamental change in approaches to, the use of, and perceptions of the value of the collections. The decision to separate the collections into the broad spheres of natural history, ethnography and archaeology, displayed in the Museum, and the largely arts-based material, relating to the history of the University, remaining in the University Library and on other University sites is indicative both of the value placed on institutional history and of the growing divisions between the sciences and the arts in Europe at this time. Although the University Court became the sole proprietor of the Museum in 1904, the separation of the collections left an enduring legacy. Until very recently, the collections were divided physically, in terms of storage and display, and administratively, for the purposes of the Museum Registration scheme, into categories relating to the sciences ('Historic Scientific Instruments', 'Chemistry', 'Psychology', 'Anatomy and Pathology', 'Geology' and, in the Bell Pettigrew Museum, zoology); anthropology ('Ethnographic and Amerindian'); and 'Heritage' (largely arts-based collections connected to the University's history, encompassing fine and decorative art - paintings, prints, sculpture, silver, furniture, etc - , costume and textiles, numismatics and miscellanea). Particular strands of research will continue beyond the mid-19th century. In the case of the portraits, this is necessary to understand how the collection, which was in its infancy in the first half of the 19th century, developed, particularly after the removal of the 'curiosities' from the Library, where they had been exhibited with the portraits. With regard to items such as the scientific instruments associated with Gregory, it is only by considering their re-evaluation in the 20th century and the underlying reasons for this that historical perceptions of them can be put into context and their current status be understood.

This thesis will examine how and why the University identified particular artefacts as being of significance in different periods. It will consider how and in what context the objects were acquired (deliberately, through purchase, commission or encouragement of a certain form of patronage, with the object in question being deemed from the beginning to

be of special import; or more incidentally, objects becoming incorporated into the notional roll of privileged items when the value of items which the University happened to own for a variety of reasons was reassessed) and, particularly from c. 1700, when a distinct collection of 'curiosities' began to be formed in the Library, and from the late 18th century, when portrait holdings began to develop, the extent to which the University controlled its collecting. I will examine how the University chose to present, display and interpret its artefacts of significance, and how the identification and presentation of objects of significance altered over time, perhaps due to the University's changing values and outlook. I will explore the extent to which objects do act as signifiers of meaning, providing information on the University's values, identity and aspirations in particular periods. I will consider the provision of access to objects, for people ranging from staff, students, Royal Commissioners and eminent guests, to tourists and other visitors, and the extent to which this was varied, perhaps in relation to individuals' expectations or the desire of the University to convey particular concepts and messages. I will discuss responses to the artefacts and their presentation, and to the ideas and values represented through them.

Although, as cited in the footnotes and bibliography, detailed studies of specific objects have previously been produced, particularly of the three medieval maces, extant early silver, and certain scientific instruments thought to have been purchased by James Gregory, these have generally focused on the physical objects themselves, their design and iconography, and their place within the wider history of particular subject areas, such as Scottish or British silver and the history of science and technology. There has been no previous examination of the development of the artefact holdings of the University over several centuries, or in relation to one another. There has often been little investigation of archival material held in and beyond the University relating to the artefacts: the maces and archery medals are a notable exception; however, early inventories of silver and scientific instruments have been largely overlooked. I have therefore included certain of these inventories in the appendices to this thesis. In the case of certain objects, in particular the two medieval Faculty maces, although individuals had studied particular aspects of their provenance and style, and uncovered new material, no one had for many

decades undertaken an overview of the evidence as a whole; such an approach led me, in the course of research for this thesis, to offer a re-identification of which mace belonged to which Faculty that has been generally accepted both within the University and among art historians and specialist curators of silver. Perhaps surprisingly, no formal catalogue exists of the University's portrait holdings, and often information on the creation, history and provenance of works, and occasionally even the identification of subjects and artists, has had to be extracted from a patient examination of Court and Senate Minutes and other archival papers. I am fortunate that the late Ronald G. Cant, Scottish historian and former Keeper of Muniments of the University, had already begun a manuscript handlist of the portrait collection, detailing references in the University's archives as he came across them, and I have been able to build on this through my own research to produce a history of the development of the collection for the first time. A brief catalogue of the extant institutional portrait collection is given in Appendix B.

This thesis serves two main purposes. It provides a comprehensive examination of the growth and development of the University's holdings of 'artefacts of significance' from its foundation to the mid-19th century, and in some cases, beyond this date. It also offers insights into how the University viewed and presented these items and what this reveals about the University of St Andrews, its identity, which changed and developed as the living institution evolved, and the impressions that it wished to project. To some degree it therefore provides a commentary on the priorities and influences on the University in different periods.

The primary sources that I have consulted include extant inventories of the University's artefact holdings dating from the mid-15th century onwards; the formal Minutes of the Faculty of Arts, *Senatus Academicus*, University Court and individual colleges; associated papers and other records, including accounts and receipts, which provide evidence of purchases and repairs to artefacts; the reports of Commissioners to the University from 1574 onwards; material relating to the joint Museum of the University and Literary and Philosophical Society, including the Minutes and other papers of the Literary and Philosophical Society; documents produced for a court case between the University Court

and the Kirk Session of St Leonard's parish in relation to the ownership of certain items of early silver, 1904; and other material as detailed in the footnotes and bibliography; and, of course, the extant artefacts themselves.⁴ Travellers' and visitors' accounts from 1677 onwards and 19th century town guides to St Andrews have proved particularly useful sources of information on the display of, and responses to, the University's collections; while the accounts of early Scottish chroniclers such as Bower, Boece and Lindsay of Pitscottie are useful for contextual information on the early years of the University. Illustrative material consulted includes maps and plans of St Andrews from c. 1580 onwards; engravings and unpublished sketches of St Andrews, University buildings, and monuments such as the tombs of Bishop Kennedy and Archbishop Sharp (including the sketches of John Oliphant, c. 1767 and John Cook, c. 1797); and photographs from c. 1839 onwards. Much of this primary material is held within the St Andrews University Library's Special Collections Department. Secondary sources include studies of the history of the University and its colleges by Ronald G. Cant, James Maitland Anderson, James B. Salmond and John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, among others; Annie Dunlop's authoritative introduction to the *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588*; transcriptions of earlier, non-extant University records produced in the 17th and 18th centuries by Robert Howie, Principal of St Mary's College, and Professor Francis Pringle; articles on and exhibition catalogues featuring particular extant objects from the collections of the University of St Andrews, as cited in the bibliography; and various publications on the history and collections of other institutions, the development of museums, and other relevant subject areas, also as cited.⁵

When I began this thesis in 2001, as Assistant Curator of the University's Museum Collections Unit, there was (with the exception of the Bell Pettigrew Museum of zoology), no central display area for the objects in the University's Museum Collections. Artefacts and specimens were largely stored in the departments to which they were most obviously related (the 'Collection of Historic Scientific Instruments' in the School of Physics,

⁴ The early years of the Minutes of the Faculty of Arts, 1413-1588, are published in Annie I. Dunlop, *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588*, Edinburgh, 1964. I have used Dunlop's publication for this period.

⁵ Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.xi-clx

'Anatomy and Pathology' in the School of Medicine, etc), with small displays in departmental foyers and seminar rooms. Though the art collection was hung in formal rooms and academic schools, administrative units and halls of residence across the University site, the silver plate was housed in safes and shown only on specific public open days, perhaps once a year, while the medieval maces generally appeared only for important events such as graduation or rectorial installations. In 2005, temporary exhibition galleries, the Gateway Galleries, were opened in the University. In 2008, by which time I was Senior Curator (Collections), the new Museum of the University of St Andrews, MUSA, opened to the public, displaying a broad selection of objects from the University's 600-year history, including the maces and archery medals, early college silver, and scientific instruments from the 16th century onwards, plus costume, art, geological and zoological specimens and many other types of artefacts. In 2010, the majority of the stored collections will be transferred into two new central stores, one to be open to the public, and on-line access will be provided to the electronic collections catalogue. Public access to the collections has increased, and continues to do so, exponentially. These developments, and my role within the Museum Collections Unit, have meant that, with Professor Ian Carradice, Director of Museum Collections, and my other colleagues, I have become directly involved in selecting, presenting and interpreting objects for public exhibition. The research undertaken for this thesis has been beneficial to this work, providing a historical context to the selection and display of artefacts. It has also made me very much aware that I, too, however objective I seek to be, am a participant in a process in which particular objects are, for a range of reasons, accorded a certain status and importance. This process of identifying and presenting certain objects as significant will surely continue for as long as the University maintains artefact collections.

Chapter I

The collections and buildings of the University of St Andrews, as perceived by visitors, from the medieval period to the mid-19th century

The accounts of visitors to St Andrews are important sources of evidence on the holdings of ‘artefacts of significance’ by the University and their presentation and display. They are also valuable in relation to the history of both the University and the city as a whole. Descriptions of St Andrews, its buildings and streets, economic and commercial activities and the lives of its townsfolk, give details of the condition of the city in particular periods. Accounts of the state, layout and interior of the colleges, the imposition of regulations on the students, the curriculum, the academic dress and the characteristics and manners of various individuals connected to the University provide information that has not necessarily been retained elsewhere. The accounts can also elucidate University records, for example basic inventories of objects or reports of the cost of repair to buildings, by describing the objects and the context in which they were presented or making the contemporary condition of the buildings explicit.

The pre-Reformation period

The earliest distinct group of visitors to St Andrews, apart from traders and those in holy orders, were the pilgrims who flocked to worship at the Cathedral, which housed the relics of Scotland’s patron saint. Very little detailed evidence regarding the pilgrims survives, though it is clear that they were numerous and had in many cases travelled considerable distances: early accounts mention Romans, Greeks, Armenians, Teutons, Alemans [Germanic peoples occupying the territory between the Rhine, the Main, and the Danube], Saxons, Danes, English, Gauls, Franks, Normans, Flemish weavers and Dutchmen all coming to the shrine.¹ The Reformation and the consequent attack on the Cathedral in

¹ Latin verses quoted in *Scotichronicon* 2:60, and Version A of the Foundation Legend, as cited in Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland*, St Andrews, 1994, p.151.

1559 and the loss of the relics brought an end to the pilgrimages. There are no known extant accounts of pilgrims visiting the University. It is, however, inconceivable that individuals among them did not visit University sites, in particular the Collegiate Church of St Salvator.

The College of St Salvator was founded in 1450 by Bishop James Kennedy, Chancellor of the University 1440-1465, as a college of Arts and Theology. Kennedy believed that true learning and religion, the intellectual and spiritual life, were inextricably linked. The College was established, as its Charter of Foundation states, for 'the praise of God, the strengthening of the Church, and the increase of the Christian religion'. Masters, who were in holy orders, and students had specific religious duties: the most junior were choristers.² Naturally, the College Church lay at the heart of this foundation. All the colleges of the University were, of course, established on a religious basis and each had its own collegiate church.³ None, however, could compete with the splendour of St Salvator's Church. It had been conceived as more than a college chapel: it was a place where the services of the medieval church were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence and the Word of God preached 'to the people'.⁴ A screen would have separated the public nave in the west end from the collegiate choir in the east in order to allow its two roles as a public and a college church to be served.⁵ Standing higher than St Rule's tower in the Cathedral grounds, its tower was a prominent feature of the city's medieval skyline, as it still is today. Unusually for a Scottish or English college foundation, its main doors face outwards to the street rather than inwards to the quadrangle, inviting the people of St Andrews and beyond to come into the church. The street is no back wynd, but the exceptionally wide North Street, one of the two main

² Ronald Gordon Cant, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development*, Edinburgh, 1950, pp.1-5, 10. Cant provides a transcription of the 'Charter of Foundation of St Salvator's College', 27 August 1450, pp.54-60. The original is held in SAUL, UYSS110/A2. The quotation from the Charter, cited above, is given in translation by Cant, p.1 and transcribed p.55, lines 1-2.

³ The church of St Mary's College was possibly never fully completed, but does seem to have been in partial use by the College prior to the Reformation. See Ronald Gordon Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, St Andrews, 1992, p.45. NB: All references to Cant, *University of St Andrews* are to the 3rd edition (1992) unless otherwise specified.

⁴ 'Charter of Foundation' as transcribed in Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.56, line 17. The observation is Cant's, p.109.

⁵ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.109

routes which converge directly on the Cathedral. Pilgrims would have passed by its very door.

Inventories from the medieval period show the particular splendour with which St Salvator's Church was furnished.⁶ They detail the vestments of the ministers, the cloths and hangings for the altars, the crosses, candles and other ornaments which were placed on the altars or borne in procession, the monstrances and vessels for the celebration of mass, the books for the choir, the paintings, statues and lecterns and the other items which served and embellished the church. The inventories will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II. However, they are mentioned here in order to place their contents within the context of artefacts which visitors to the University may have seen. Among the most impressive ornaments of the Church were 'a gret cruss gylyt with ane crucifix Mare and John and the tuelf Apostolys about standand apoun a gret futh closit with a pyn of siluer', 'ane gret sepultur with ane ymage off our Saluioir liand therwithin', 'ane gret ymage of syluyr of our Saluioir with ane louss diadem set with preciouss stanis closyt with ane pin of siluer', and an alabaster image of Our Lady with two candles of brass before it.⁷ Most important of all to the medieval mindset were surely the relics, which included a 'litill cors [cross] of gold with precious stanis and perlus contenand tua pecis of the haly cross set in a fut of siluer our gylyt' and 'ane gret monstir of siluer with ane burrell in the myddis contenand diuers relikis'. Some of these items and relics would have been in use only at particular seasons of the church calendar, and beyond their visible employment in specific ceremonies and processions, may not have been readily accessible to non-college members. The University's maces or 'beddell wandis' also feature in the inventories,

⁶ There are three main texts. Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.117-119, notes that the earliest (A) dates from c. 1500 and the second (B), which is virtually identical, from about or prior to 1537-47. The third (C), a new inventory based on the older text, is dated 1552. SAUL: (A) UYSS150/1 fol. 17-18; (B) UYUY150/1 fol. 87v.-89v.; (C) UYSS150/1 fol.31r.-v. The text of the earliest inventory and any additions to or substantial divergences from it given in the other inventories have been published in Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.151-163: a commentary on the inventories by Francis C. Eeles is provided pp.120-150. Unless otherwise noted, direct references are to text (A).

⁷ Eeles, in Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.127, 133, notes that the closing of the foot of the 'gret cruss' with a silver pin suggests a moveable base, which may imply that it could be used as a processional cross. The 'gret sepultur' is the Easter Sepulchre.

although two of the three did not belong to St Salvator's College (plates 16-18).⁸ It is not clear whether they were normally displayed in the church: they too may have appeared only for particular ceremonies, or may simply have been stored with other items of value. St Salvator's Church by no means approached the splendour or significance of St Andrews Cathedral. To well-travelled pilgrims, who had perhaps seen the 400 or so relics at Canterbury Cathedral, including the bed of the Virgin Mary, her robe, Christ's manger, the table at which the Last Supper was served, Aaron's rod and a sample of the clay from which God made Adam, the contents of the Church would not have seemed extraordinary.⁹ Nevertheless, the rich furnishings were sufficiently magnificent to convey to visitors a strong sense of the College's wealth and status.

The form of visits to Scotland and St Andrews, 17th to 19th centuries

Accounts of visitors to St Andrews do survive from the 17th century onwards. The earliest I have been able to locate is that of Thomas Kirk, of Cookridge, Yorkshire, who spent two nights in St Andrews in 1677, during a tour of Scotland lasting about three months.¹⁰ He was followed by others, including John Macky (c. 1723), Daniel Defoe (early 18th century), John Loveday (1732), Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath (1760), Thomas Pennant (1772), Samuel Johnson and James Boswell (1773), Francis Douglas (1780), Bartélemy Faujas de Saint Fond (1784) and Reverend James Hall (1803).¹¹ All these

⁸ The University's three medieval maces are now known as the Mace of St Salvator's College, the Mace of the Faculty of Arts and the Mace of the Faculty of Canon Law. See Chapter II, pp.78-79 for a discussion of the references to the maces in the inventories.

⁹ Adrian Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste*, Oxford, 1989, p.17

¹⁰ P. Hume Brown (ed.), *Tours In Scotland 1677 & 1681 by Thomas Kirk and Ralph Thoresby*, Edinburgh, 1892

¹¹ John Macky, *A Journey Through Scotland*, London, 1723; John Loveday, *Diary of a Tour in 1732 Through Parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland made by John Loveday of Caversham*, Roxburghe Club, 1890; Daniel William Kemp (ed.), *Tours In Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760, By Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath*, Edinburgh, 1887; Thomas Pennant, *A Tour In Scotland, 1772*, Vol. II, London, 1776; Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. J.D. Fleeman, Oxford, 1985; James Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, London, 1908; Francis Douglas, *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland from Edinburgh to Cullen, Including a Brief Account of the Universities of Saint Andrews and Aberdeen*, Paisley, 1782; B. Faujas de Saint Fond, *A Journey through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784*, trans. Sir Archibald Geikie, Vol. II, Glasgow, 1907; Reverend James Hall, *Travels in Scotland*, London, 1807.

individuals were undertaking tours of Scotland of which a visit to St Andrews, as the former ecclesiastical capital and the site of Scotland's first university, formed an important part.

Until the second half of the 18th century, the numbers of people travelling in Scotland for pleasure and interest, rather than business, commercial, political or religious reasons, were small. Outsiders, particularly the English, tended to see Scotland as a barbarous and rebellious country, while relatively few Scots journeyed far beyond their native settlements. Poor transportation and rough roads made travelling extremely arduous. Loveday, at least, considered journeying by sea rather than land to Edinburgh, St Andrews and Aberdeen.¹²

Such tours as were undertaken were generally motivated by a desire to broaden the mind, see different modes of life and gain knowledge about the more remote parts of Britain. During the planning of Loveday's tour, the Oxford tutor Thomas Hearne described him as 'a young gentleman that is inquisitive and curious; and being satisfied that most antiquities lye hid in bye-places, he hath a desire of seeing what remains there are at Pict's wall, and in other bye-places'.¹³ This curiosity was just the attribute that was required to gain the most from the experience. The culture of the Grand Tour, of learning about foreign countries and societies through a personal experience of them, undoubtedly had an influence on the approach, expectations and responses of the visitors to Scotland and St Andrews in this period. Accounts of tours generally cover topics as diverse, and as instructive, as history, topography, architecture, agriculture, natural history, the state of the country and the habits, form of religion and superstitions of its people. Yet the travellers could not simply disinterestedly observe Scotland and her people, nor, in many cases, did they wish to. Armed with letters of introduction to eminent men, they came to participate in local events, engage with local folk and see local sights. Travelling north to Scotland, Kirk and his companions came across a wedding party at Belford (Northumberland) 'dancing on the green'. Seeing that there were 'three or four lairds amongst them, such as

¹² Loveday, *Diary*, p.xiii. Letter from Thomas Hearne to Dr Richardson, Oxford, 13 May 1732, regarding Loveday's planned tour.

¹³ Loveday, *Diary*, p.xiii. Letter from Thomas Hearne to Dr Richardson, Oxford, 13 May 1732.

I had never seen before’, who ‘enjoyed the pleasure of dancing with the ladies’, some of the party ‘went snips with them’. In the same place one of their grooms ‘beat a boy for riding a horse too fast’: when the boy’s mother threatened revenge, they thought it politic to move on swiftly.¹⁴ At Anoch, Johnson presented his landlord’s attractive daughter with a book, ‘and should not be pleased to think that she forgets me’.¹⁵

In most cases, the eventual publication of the journeys was the end in view and this must be remembered when considering the accounts. An exception is Loveday’s *Diary*, a personal record which was not printed until 1890, his great-grandson having made the manuscript available to the Roxburghe Club. Kirk’s journal of his 1677 tour was indeed not published until 1830, as an appendix to the *Diary of Ralph Thoresby*.¹⁶ However, it formed the basis for his venomous *Modern Account of Scotland by an English Gentleman*, published in 1679, which does not specifically describe St Andrews.¹⁷ Pococke’s account, in the form of letters to his mother and sister, was not actually published until 127 years after his visit, by the Scottish History Society, after being discovered in manuscript form in the British Museum. However, it had been intended for earlier release. The Bishop had already produced *A Description of the East and of some other countries* (sic) (1743-5) which, in two volumes, dealt with his travels through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Cyprus. He was engaged in editing his ‘Scotch Tours’ from 1761, but died in 1765 before this work was complete.

Macky, Pennant, Johnson, Boswell, Douglas, Saint Fond and Hall all produced accounts of their journeys, for public consumption, within a few years of travelling to Scotland (and sometimes much sooner: Johnson’s *Journey* was released less than six months after his return to London, and was said to have been written in twenty days). The title of Hall’s work demonstrates a clear desire to maximise commercial appeal: in full it is *Travels In Scotland By An Unusual Route With A Trip to the Orkneys and Hebrides Containing Hints*

¹⁴ Hume Brown, *Tours in Scotland*, pp.5-6

¹⁵ Johnson, *Journey*, p.28

¹⁶ Reverend Joseph Hunter (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S.*, London, 1830

¹⁷ Reprinted in P. Hume Brown (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1891.

For Improvements in Agriculture and Commerce. With Characters and Anecdotes. Embellished With Striking Views of Objects and A Map.

Defoe's *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, first published 1724-6, proved extremely popular, and was to run to nine editions by 1778, revised at the hands of various editors including Samuel Richardson. His observations of Scotland had been undertaken during visits there in the first two decades of the 18th century, as a journalist, pamphleteer and confidential agent. It is now known, as the editor of the 1962 Everyman edition of the work remarks, that Defoe cannot have undertaken his circuits exactly as he described them. Moreover, I have found that sections of the description of St Andrews as it appears in the 1738 and 1748 editions, published after Defoe's death, are borrowed directly from William Douglass's *Some Historical Remarks on the City of St Andrews* (1728), a short publication produced to encourage people to fund improvements to the harbour of St Andrews that provides a detailed account of the town and its University in this period.¹⁸ The descriptions of the city, the initial view of it, the physician Cardan's opinion of its healthful benefits, the streets, the number of inhabited houses, the University, St Salvator's College, Holy Trinity Church and St Rule's tower, with the suggestion that the Knights of the Thistle should be based there, are virtually lifted in their entirety. This makes the later editions, at least, of Defoe's work unreliable sources of evidence, for though presented as his own observations, they are based on secondary evidence, the veracity of which the editors cannot have been certain. Therefore all references to Defoe's *Tour* are to the first edition, unless otherwise specified: though this contains several errors, expunged in later editions (for example, Defoe's belief that St Salvator's College is called St Salvadore's, from the Portuguese), it is likely that the account given there does largely relate to his own experience.¹⁹

Although the other accounts of St Andrews which I am examining from this period do not demonstrate such direct plagiarism as later editions of Defoe's *Tour*, it is clear that the

¹⁸ William Douglass, *Some Historical Remarks on the City of St Andrews in North-Britain with a Particular Account of the Ruinous Condition of the Harbour in that Place; and of what importance the Repairing of it will be, to all concern'd in Trade and Navigation*, London, 1728

authors of later publications were aware of, and influenced by, earlier ones. Common themes pervade the accounts of St Andrews and the same errors are often perpetuated. The city is often said to be in a healthy location: it is noted that Archbishop Hamilton's physician, the great Italian Cardan, esteemed it as the healthiest town he had lived in, and that the ill Queen Magdalen, wife of James V, was to have been sent there to benefit from its wholesome air, but died before arriving. The former extent of the ruined Cathedral is exaggerated: in publications into the 19th century, it is frequently, and erroneously, reported to have been larger than various major European cathedrals.²⁰ Some details were perhaps based on information provided by University or town spokesmen, rather than, or as well as, the accounts of other visitors. Loveday and Pococke both report, inaccurately, that James Gregory, the famous Professor of Mathematics, left St Andrews for Oxford University: it was in fact Edinburgh. Loveday seems to have been given this information by the University Librarian, James Angus. Pococke, who cannot have had access to Loveday's diary, reiterates it 28 years later, perhaps from a similar source.²¹ Pennant and Johnson, and, two decades later, the author of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, expound in very similar terms on the advantages of a university education in St Andrews, far from the corrupting influence of commerce and within a secluded society.²² Either Johnson has been influenced by Pennant's account, or both by the University's self-promotion.

¹⁹ 1st edition, 1724-6, as reprinted in Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain divided into Circuits or Journeys, &c*, Everyman, London, 1962.

²⁰ For example, John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, London, 1718, p.19: 'St Andrews Cathedral was reckon'd the largest in Christendom, being seven Foot longer and two broader than St Peter's at Rome'. There is no sense that the author disagrees with this opinion: the past tense refers to the cathedral's pre-ruinous size.

²¹ Loveday, *Diary*, p.143; Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.271. Angus had retired in 1747.

²² Pennant, *Tour*, p.198: 'This place possesses several very great advantages respecting the education of youth. The air is pure and salubrious; the place for exercise, dry and extensive; the exercises themselves healthy and innocent. The university is fixed in a peninsulated county, remote from all commerce with the world, the haunt of dissipation. From the smallness of the society every student's character is perfectly known. No little irregularity can be committed, but it is instantly discovered and checked: vice cannot attain a head in the place, for the incorrigible are never permitted to remain corrupters of the rest'. Johnson, *Journey*, pp.4-5: Saint Andrews seems to be a place eminently adapted to study and education, being in a populous yet cheap country and exposing the minds of young men neither to the levity and dissoluteness of a capital city, nor to the gross luxury of a town of commerce, places naturally unpropitious to learning; in one the desire of knowledge easily gives way to the love of pleasure, and in the other, is in danger of yielding to the love of money'.

John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, Vol. X (Fife), Wakefield, 1978, pp.709-710: 'The person, character, and actions of every student, are well known by the masters; so that any tendency to riot or dissipation is immediately checked; attention, diligence and good behaviour, are observed, encouraged and honoured and the public examination in each class ... excites and maintains a spirit of application and emulation. The situation of the place is very healthy'.

Boswell and Johnson did carry and consult Pennant's work on their journey. Of a passage on Fort George, Johnson was moved to comment "How seldom descriptions correspond with realities; and the reason is, the people do not write them till some time after, and then their imagination has added circumstances", though in Dunvegan he praised Pennant warmly.²³ Loveday certainly compared his personal account to those of other visitors. He notes of St Salvator's Chapel: 'This handsome room, all one length, has a lofty Stone-Roof; it is now entirely disus'd, & suffer'd to lie scandalously in a poor condition: But in 1773 This was remarkably neat, v. *Boswell's* "Tour", p.63'.²⁴ Saint Fond likewise quotes Johnson on the decline of the Scottish universities.²⁵ Visitors were, then, actively engaged in comparing their own experiences and impressions with those of others. By producing their own accounts they entered into an ongoing discourse which not only reveals how the city and university altered over the centuries, but how responses to particular sights and received information changed, perhaps influenced by the prevailing *zeitgeist*.

Other useful accounts of St Andrews in this period are provided by John Slezer and John Wesley. Slezer produced *Theatrum Scotiae* (editions from 1693), a volume of descriptions and copperplate engravings of Scottish towns and monuments, in which views of St Andrews feature, including (in the 1718 edition) the Cathedral, St Rule's tower, Holy Trinity Church and St Salvator's Church and a perspective of the city from the South East (plate 1).²⁶ Wesley travelled throughout Britain promoting Methodism. His description of St Andrews from his journal entry of 27 May 1776 survives.²⁷

From the last quarter of the 18th century onwards, the numbers of people undertaking pleasure tours of Scotland rapidly increased. This was partly due to the curtailment of the Grand Tour caused by political events such as the French Revolution and the Napoleonic

²³ Boswell, *Journal*, pp.123, 222

²⁴ Loveday, *Diary*, p.141

²⁵ Saint Fond, *Journey*, p.206

²⁶ I have consulted John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, London, 1718, and this is the edition referred to in all subsequent references, unless otherwise stated. The first edition of *Theatrum Scotiae* was published in 1693: the text is thought to have been provided by Robert Sibbald, though this was not acknowledged by Slezer. This text is replicated, with other additions, in the 1718 description of St Andrews (Information from the National Library of Scotland: <http://www.nls.uk/slezer/index.html> 13 November 2009).

²⁷ John Wesley, *John Wesley's Journal*, abridged by Percy Livingstone Parker, London, 1902

Wars which hindered entry to, and travel on, the Continent. Forced to remain in the British Isles, some of those who would once have gone abroad to see the sights instead travelled within them. However, greater influences were the development of the transport system, which rendered Scotland more accessible to her own people and to English and other visitors alike; the popularisation of Scotland as a tourist destination, influenced by royal patronage and a great public interest in the works of Ossian, Robert Burns and particularly Walter Scott; and the establishment of leisure time and holidays as part of the routine for all classes. From the late 18th century, annual tourism for amusement or health became commonplace for the upper and propertied classes, and as the 19th century progressed, a reduction in hours of labour for the working classes meant that they too, could take day trips and outings. As Scotland and its regions became increasing familiar, through travel literature, fiction, and the personal testimonies of visitors, it became seen as a safe and respectable destination, rather than a barbarous and inhospitable land. Even its mountains, which had once seemed so forbidding, were admired as sublime and picturesque as the influence of Romanticism grew. Scotland was found to have many attractions, from majestic scenery, history and antiquities, to sports including golf, shooting and fishing, and occupations for those interested in geology, botany and natural history. A belief that salt-water bathing was beneficial to health stimulated its spas and coastal resorts, while the preservation and exploitation of the physical remains of its past, from castles to abbeys, became an obviously profitable exercise.

An increasing number of travel journals, itineraries and guide books were produced to meet, and in turn further stimulated, the interest in Scotland. Durie, analysing the numbers of tours and travels in Scotland published in Scotland, England and Europe, in periods of 10 years from 1740 to 1819, found that they steadily increased, from 3 in 1740-49 and 14 in 1770-79 to 21 in 1780-89, 46 in 1800-09 and 53 in 1810-19.²⁸ Late 18th and 19th century publications tend to differ in a number of important ways from 17th and earlier 18th century travel journals. The perception of Scotland as a remote and foreign country, which readers are unlikely to visit, rapidly wanes throughout the period. There is

²⁸ Alastair J. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: A History of Tourism in Scotland, 1780-1939*, East Linton, 2003, p.21

less emphasis on the habits and customs peculiar to Scotland, presumably because many of these have been eroded, and an increased assumption that readers will be familiar with the country, either through existing literature or personal experience. This can lead to the glossing over of details of history and topography, with the reader being referred either to specific works or the general volume of travel literature. There is some fear of tediously repeating, or challenging, authoritative descriptions of Scotland. Acknowledged borrowings from respected authors may be used to authenticate a publication. The anonymous author of *Scotland Delineated* notes that his work is intended to provide ‘instruction to youth’, though those who have neither time nor leisure to consult a variety of sources may also find it useful. He writes:

The topography or description of places has, in general, been derived from respectable sources. ... The splendid productions of Pennant and Gilpin, with some others, are well known to the public; and the reader will not be displeased to see, that we have frequently borrowed the spirited language of these ingenious writers.²⁹

The description of St Andrews indeed owes much to Pennant. The author’s first-hand experience of the places he is describing is no longer seen as paramount, because their state is believed to be already well-known. It is clear that not every writer has visited every place in Scotland he or she describes, though not all acknowledge their sources, and this could lead to readers being misinformed, for mistakes and outdated information are perpetuated between works.

Although some of the travel literature of this period is intended for, and much could be enjoyed by, armchair readers, a considerable proportion is aimed at those who will personally travel through Scotland. Suggested tours are given, with itineraries of the places to be visited, the distances between them, transport timetables and inns to stay in. In these itineraries, descriptions of particular sights may be very brief, partly because of lack of space, but also because there is an assumption that the visitor will rely on other

²⁹ Anon., *Scotland Delineated*, Edinburgh, 1791, pp.1, 4

sources of information, including the guidebooks to individual cities and sites which were increasingly being produced. Grierson's *Delineations of St Andrews* (editions from 1807), *Fletcher's Guide to St Andrews* (from 1845) and, slightly outside the period I am studying, the *Handy Book of St Andrews* (2nd edition 1865) provide detailed information on the city.³⁰ Lyon's scholarly *History of St Andrews* (1843), to which Fletcher directs his readers, is another very useful source.³¹ St Andrews does not feature in many of the early itineraries, which tend to focus on Edinburgh, the Borders and the Highlands. Wade (1822) thought that despite its fine amenities, including good beaches, elegant baths, plentiful antiquities, and apartments for letting, poor access by road and sea hindered the tourist trade.³² *The Scottish Tourist* (1852) noted that St Andrews also suffered from largely having been ignored by eminent writers. 'Had it been written into popular notice by Burns, Byron or Scott, it would have been drawing far more wealth from the visits of fashionable visitors'.³³ St Andrews did, however, become more favoured as a destination as railway links improved and holidays in coastal resorts became popular. In addition to the guidebooks, accounts such as Heron's *Scotland Described* (1797), Forsyth's *Beauties of Scotland* (1806) and Duncan's *Scotch Itinerary* (1808) provide useful information on the University and city in this period, not least because they identify, in condensed form, what are perceived to be the most important facts and monuments for visitors to consider.³⁴

The various descriptions of the University and its collections to be found in visitors' accounts and travel literature from the 17th to the 19th centuries not only reveal the state of the University and its buildings and what 'artefacts of significance' it held. They also reflect something of how the University was trying to present itself. To the University as

³⁰ Reverend James Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews*, 1st edition Edinburgh, 1807; 2nd edition Cupar, 1823; 3rd edition Cupar, 1838; *Fletcher's Guide to St Andrews With Historical and Descriptive Letterpress*, 1st edition, 1845; 2nd edition [by Dr Charles Rogers] St Andrews, 1853; *Handy Book of St Andrews*, 2nd edition Cupar and St Andrews, 1865.

³¹ C.J. Lyon, *History of St Andrews, Episcopal, Monastic, Academic and Civil*, Edinburgh, 1843

³² Reverend W.M. Wade, *Delineations, Historical, Topographical and Descriptive of the Watering and Sea-Bathing Places of Scotland*, Paisley, 1822

³³ As cited in Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*, p.47.

³⁴ Robert Heron, *Scotland Described Or, A Topographical Description of All the Counties of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1797; Robert Forsyth, *The Beauties of Scotland*, Vol. IV, Edinburgh, 1806; James Duncan, *The Scotch Itinerary*, Glasgow, 1808.

an institutional body, eager to establish its power and prestige in turbulent times, both in terms of political events and periods of decline in student numbers, the presence of visitors, who might, moreover, publish or otherwise broadcast their experiences, must have seemed an opportunity to exhibit and hopefully confirm its credentials and status. Boswell tellingly reports how Principal Murison, when showing the University Library, informed Johnson, an Oxford alumnus, that 'You have not such a one in England'.³⁵ As I will discuss, many visitors were effectively guided round the colleges, with the staff controlling what was shown. Through accounts of what visitors saw at the University we therefore learn not only their own responses to it, but also gain an insight into something of the University's aspirations and perceptions of its own identity.

Accounts of visitors to St Andrews, 1677 - c. 1800

The accounts of 17th and 18th century visitors to St Andrews do suggest that a visit to the colleges of the University was viewed as an integral part of a tour of the city in this period, along with seeing the town kirk of Holy Trinity, the remains of the Cathedral, castle and Blackfriar's Chapel and occasionally the harbour and links. In this context, the perception of the state of the city as a whole was likely to influence responses to the University and to the image it was seeking to project.

The overriding impression of visitors to St Andrews in the 17th and 18th centuries seems to have been of a city in decay. Thomas Kirk, writing of his visit to St Andrews on Friday 8th June 1677, finds little of interest in the city itself. He notes the ruins of the Cathedral and comments: 'There is nothing in the town worth remark; it has formerly been a town of trade, but is now in a poor condition'.³⁶ As will become apparent, Kirk, whose *Modern Account of Scotland* (1679) was undeniably prejudicial and malignant, seems to have been determinedly unimpressed by anything he saw in St Andrews. Nevertheless, his report of

³⁵ Boswell, *Journal*, p.56

³⁶ Hume Brown, *Tours in Scotland*, p.19

the state of the city is supported by other visitors. Often, this belied their expectations and initial impressions. Macky, visiting in 1723, reports:

St Andrews at three Miles distance makes a very august appearance. ... It appears much like Bruges in Flanders at a distance, its Colleges and five Steeples making a goodly Appearance.³⁷

Douglass, Poccoke and Pennant also found the beauty and location of the city striking on first sight. Douglass writes:

St Andrews is remarkable for a free Air and fine Situation: ... here are fine Corn-Fields of a very long extent, abounding in excellent Wheat and Barley; and the pleasant Downs call'd the Links, lying upon the Sea-side on the North, contribute very much towards the Agreeableness of it.³⁸

Poccoke informs his sister:

This City is most pleasantly situated on the high ground to the Sea, two miles to the South of Eden, and on a hanging ground over a small Brook to the South of the town which might be of great use in carrying on any manufacture.³⁹

Pennant writes:

Full in front, at the bottom of a long descent, appears the city, placed at the extremity of a plain at the water's edge. Its numerous towers and spires give it an air of vast magnificence, and serve to raise the expectations of strangers to the highest pitch.⁴⁰

³⁷ Macky, *Journey*, pp.83-84

³⁸ Douglass, *Historical Remarks*, p.6

³⁹ Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.266

⁴⁰ Pennant, *Tour*, p.188

However, the state of the city itself was soon revealed. Of the five magnificent ‘Steeple’s glimpsed from a distance, two were found to be the ruined remains of the Cathedral and St Rule’s tower. Two others were the towers of the churches of the University’s College of St Salvator and College of St Leonard, which ceased to be used as places of worship from 1560 to 1761 and from 1761 to 1952 respectively. The roof of St Leonard’s Church, which was in poor condition, had been removed by 1767 and the tower itself was demolished within a few more years. Only the spire of the town kirk, Holy Trinity, belonged to a building which remained in use for its intended purpose throughout the whole of the 17th and 18th centuries (see plates 2-4 and 6-10 for sketches by John Oliphant of the town and University and college buildings c. 1767).

The visitors in this period cannot have been unduly surprised by the ruined state of the castle and Cathedral. This is not to say that they approved of it. When Boswell asked where John Knox was buried, Johnson ‘burst out: “I hope in the highway. I have been looking at his reformatiions”’.⁴¹ They were perturbed by the condition of the streets and houses. Passing into the city in 1723, Macky, describing either North Street or South Street, found that it was ‘broad and well pav’d; but the Buildings on each side, which have been pretty magnificent are much in decay’.⁴² Almost fifty years later, Pennant found ‘On entering the west port, a well-built street, strait and of a vast length and breadth appears; but so grass-grown, and such a dreary solitude lay before us, that it formed the perfect idea of having been laid waste by the pestilence’.⁴³ Douglass notes that in the ‘antient, and once flourishing City of St Andrews’, where there were once, ‘by the most exact survey that can be made ... about 2000 Houses’, there remain ‘only 945 houses, and of these 159 are ruinous and not habitable. ... The number of inhabitants still amounts to above 4000, but many of them are idle and half starved, there being neither Trade nor Manufacture in the Place’.⁴⁴ That the harbour had declined and one of the main streets of the city had been lost was also noted. Pococke mentions, as do many of the visitors, the houses of this

⁴¹ Boswell, *Journal*, p.54

⁴² Macky, *Journey*, p.83

⁴³ Pennant, *Tour*, p.189. South Street is being described.

⁴⁴ Douglass, *Historical Remarks*, pp.1, 7-8

lost Swallow Street, 'which faced to the North Sea, and must have been very pleasant'.⁴⁵ The 1738 edition of Defoe's *Tour* describes, in an elegiac phrase, how in 'the Metropolis of all Scotland, and the seat of the first University', the three remaining streets 'look upon one another and seem to lament their decaying condition.'⁴⁶

The widely circulated report of Dr Johnson, published in *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, eloquently expresses the general impressions of his fellow visitors. With that of Defoe, it did most to inform English perceptions of St Andrews in the 18th century.

In the morning we rose to perambulate a city, which only history shews to have once flourished, and surveyed the ruins of ancient magnificence, of which even the ruins cannot long be visible, unless some care is take to preserve them. ... One of its streets is now lost; and in those that remain, there is the silence and solitude of inactive indigence and gloomy depopulation.⁴⁷

The response of one young English student, George Monck Berkeley, who arrived in St Andrews in 1781, is equally telling: 'On a full sight of this dreary deserted city, Mr Berkeley wept to think that he was to remain, if God spared his life, three long years in it'.⁴⁸

The University itself was conscious of the decaying state of the town in which it was based. In 1697 it was proposed that the University should relocate to Perth. This was partly for political reasons and problems connected to a breakdown in town and gown

⁴⁵ Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.266. The extent both of the importance and subsequent destruction of Swallow Street was perhaps exaggerated. Geddy's view of c.1580 shows very few houses on this street, the majority being opposite the Castle, with a port marking the entrance to the town just before them. See Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Ms. 20996, John Geddy, *S. Andre sive Andreapolis Scotiae Universitas Metropolitana*, c.1580. Certainly it is doubtful that the great hall and piazza for the merchants imaginatively described by Douglass, *Historical Remarks*, p.8, ever existed.

⁴⁶ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain divided into Circuits or Journeys, &c.*, 1738 edition, as reprinted St Andrews 1867. It is, however, notable that in the 1st edition, 1724-6, op.cit., p.384, St Andrews is described as 'still a handsome city, and well built, the streets straight and large'.

⁴⁷ Johnson, *Journey*, pp.3-4

⁴⁸ *Poems by the late George Monck Berkeley*, London, 1797, p.lxi. As cited in Matthew Simpson, "'You have not such a one in England": St Andrews University Library as an Eighteenth-Century Mission Statement' in *Library History*, 17, March 2001, pp.41-56, p.42.

relations and a dispute over the University's jurisdiction. However, in preparing a case to support the transfer, the masters produced a vitriolic attack on the city. It was in a remote corner, provisions were expensive, the water supply was poor and unwholesome, and the air 'thin and piercing' so that 'old men coming to the place are instantly cutt off'. 'The whole Streets [were] filled with Dunghills' and herring guts, which bred infectious and fatal diseases. The townsmen were belligerent and unprincipled, to the extent that the Provost of St Salvator's, Dr Skene, had been attacked and threatened with murder within his own college, taxes and annuities were imposed upon University 'Vassals', and the safety of the students could not be guaranteed.⁴⁹ Moreover, the inhabitants had an 'aversion and hatred ... to Learning and to Learned men'.⁵⁰

Ultimately, the University did not move to Perth. This was largely due to the resolution of the dispute with the townspeople and the almost simultaneous fall from power of the University's Chancellor, the Earl of Tullibardine, who had been Secretary of State for Scotland and had suggested the scheme. The state of the city had perhaps been somewhat exaggerated to achieve a particular end. In 1734 Francis Pringle, Professor of Greek in St Leonard's College 1702-47, gave the pleasant environment of St Andrews as his reason for declining a much better remunerated post at the University of Edinburgh:

Here I live in a healthful place, sweet & clean, surrounded with gardens ... with dry walks abroad, with spacious Sands bordering the fair Ocean, & quiet ample fields for Exercise & Diversion, profusely blessed (to give you Cardan's words) with purest Vernal Air⁵¹

This was hardly the city of horrors described by his colleagues: even allowing for improvements by the 1730s, the truth probably lies somewhere between the two extreme

⁴⁹ This last was because it was feared that the students might seek revenge by rising against the 'rabble' or by burning the town as they had previously attempted to do – a interesting insight into why the locals might be aggrieved. The initial dispute, it must be noted, had begun when a University servant had violently assaulted a townsman.

⁵⁰ 'Copies of Papers Relative to a Projected Translation of the University of St Andrews to the City of Perth, in the years 1697-98' in *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth*, I, 1827, pp.1-29

⁵¹ SAUL, msLF1111.P81C99, 'Commonplace Book of Francis Pringle', c. 1699-1746, p.137

perspectives. There is, however, no doubt that following the Reformation the city had declined.

The University had likewise diminished from its medieval splendour. After the Reformation the original religious functions of St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges, as envisaged by the founders, ceased. Under the terms of 'The New Foundation and Erection of the three colleges in the University of St Andrews', ratified by the King and Parliament in November 1579, they were re-formed as colleges of Arts and Philosophy (law, medicine and mathematics were also initially taught at St Salvator's), while the teaching of theology was concentrated into St Mary's College.⁵² Worship in St Salvator's Church ceased in 1560, and was not resumed until 1761, the reformers taking the view that the members of a college should not stand apart, but worship with the rest of the community in the town kirk, Holy Trinity. In the meantime the town's Commissary Court met in the building, to the dissatisfaction of the masters, who tried and failed to have them evicted on several occasions.⁵³ St Salvator's College was badly affected by a reduction in revenue and the loss of income from worshippers, and the college buildings lapsed into a semi-ruinous state. In 1681, Provost Alexander Skene raised a remarkable £12,000 Scots to restore them, working on the church in particular. He also re-cast the college bell and repaired the college mace.⁵⁴ However, because of the University's support for the deposed James VII / II, Skene was removed from his post after the Revolution of 1688, along with almost all the University staff, his work still incomplete. The buildings fell into disrepair again within a generation. St Leonard's College was better endowed than St Salvator's and did not suffer to the same extent. Following a devastating fire in 1702, the college was renovated, work continuing into the 1720s. A spacious third storey was added to an existing building for the college library, and a new bell tower for the church and a block for teaching and students' lodgings were constructed.⁵⁵ However, after the poverty of the University and the decline in student numbers forced the union of the two Arts colleges in 1747, its buildings were abandoned and, with the exception of the college church, sold off

⁵² Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.58-59

⁵³ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.201-202

⁵⁴ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.202-208

⁵⁵ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.103

to Professor Robert Watson in 1772.⁵⁶ The church had served the parish of St Leonard, as well as members of the college, and though the parishioners continued to use the church until 1761, in 1750 the masters and students transferred into the St Salvator's College loft in the town kirk.⁵⁷

After the Union of the Colleges the buildings on the St Salvator's College site were repaired, to make them a fit home for the new United College of St Salvator and St Leonard. An entirely new building was constructed at the north side of the enlarged court. Much of the silver of St Salvator's College, and some of that of St Leonard's College, was sold off to supplement the building fund. The construction of this new building was flawed: it was badly affected by damp and the roof had to be entirely replaced in 1769. Through the demolition of various buildings, the three old courts of the college were replaced by one much larger court with the Great Hall on the west, the new building on the north, the ruins of the former cloister court on the east and the reconstructed remains of the southern side of the cloister court on the south (see plates 3 and 13).⁵⁸ The general appearance does not seem to have been particularly impressive. The church was refurbished 1759-61, with the roof being repaired, the floor re-laid, new pews facing east installed, a western gallery built, a cross wall, which may have been the medieval screen, removed, and the windows cleared of their mullions and tracery and given new wooden frames and shutters. After the members of the United College had transferred there from Holy Trinity in 1761, together with the parishioners of St Leonard's, it was discovered that the great vaulted roof gave an unpleasant echo. Inspections raised concerns about its security. James Craig, architect of Edinburgh's New Town, found that water had permeated the roof and into the walls, which, due to the force exerted upon them, were leaning. He recommended that the stone roof be replaced by a timber and slate one. In 1773, during removal, it was apparently allowed to fall into the Church itself, damaging the tomb of the college founder, Bishop Kennedy. The Church had to be re-seated and the gallery replaced.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.111-112

⁵⁷ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.213-214

⁵⁸ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.212-213

⁵⁹ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.213-215

The visitors were all too conscious of the dilapidated state of the college buildings during much of this period. Kirk (1677) describes St Salvator's College as 'but small and very mean, yet of the oldest foundation'.⁶⁰ Macky (c. 1723) admired the 'spacious Courts ... very fine Stone Spire ... handsome Church or Chapel ... neat Cloister', spacious Common Schools and 'very good Apartments for the Masters and Scholars' of St Salvator's. However, he felt that neither the cloister nor the church were 'so well preserv'd as in the Colleges of England, but seem rather entirely neglected', while the apartments were 'unaccountably out of Repair, they being hardly at the Pains of keeping out Rain, or mending their Windows'. He concluded 'In short, if ever a College wanted a Visitation, this does'.⁶¹ This impression was shared by Douglass (1728):

It is a most stately Pile of fine hewn Stone, has a large vaulted Chapel covered with Free-Stone, and over it a very high and lofty Spire. The common Hall and Schools are vastly large; and the Cloysters and private lodgings for Masters and Scholars have been very magnificent and convenient. The Fabrick is of late become very much out of repair; neither is the College Revenue able to support it. ...Wherefore, a Royal Visitation, in order to lay the distressed Condition of this poor College before his Majesty, would be a great Blessing and Happiness to that Society; seeing, without his gracious Aid and Assistance, that stately Fabrick must inevitably perish, and go to ruin, in a little time.⁶²

Half a century after Macky's visit, Wesley too was to note, with considerable disgust, the smashed windows of St Salvator's: 'the windows are broke, like those of a brothel. We were informed, the students do this before they leave the college'.⁶³ This seems to have been correct. Cant notes that it was the custom to extract 'caution money' from the students at the beginning of each session to cover possible damage to the college buildings. As this was apparently never refunded, it became a regular practice for them to

⁶⁰ Hume Brown, *Tours in Scotland*, p.18

⁶¹ Macky, *Journey*, p.85

⁶² Douglass, *Historical Remarks*, pp.14-15

⁶³ Wesley, *John Wesley's Journal*, p.410

break all the windows at the end of the session, to get their money's worth.⁶⁴ This can be considered a forerunner of the 'lose-the-deposit' party not uncommon among students in rented accommodation in the city today.

Student vandalism aside, matters seem to have generally improved on the St Salvator's site after the Union of the Colleges. Pockocke noted the ongoing repairs to St Salvator's Church during his visit in 1760.⁶⁵ Pennant, visiting after the refurbishment of the college buildings, found the college 'handsome', though he did note the 'unfinished' aspect of the east side.⁶⁶ Boswell reports Johnson as declaring in 1773 that the renovated church was the 'neatest place of worship he had seen'. Boswell himself felt that the new accommodation for students at the United College 'seemed very commodious'.⁶⁷

Before the Union of the Arts Colleges, most visitors had concluded that the physical state of the colleges of St Leonard and St Mary was superior to that of St Salvator's. Macky, while noting the disrepair of one building at St Leonard's, commented on its 'better Revenue' and described the 'spacious and well-kept' gardens and the ongoing construction of 'new good Apartments'. Of the three colleges, he declared that St Mary's was 'the best kept'.⁶⁸ Defoe wrote that St Leonard's 'is not so large and magnificent as St. Salvador (sic) originally was; but 'tis kept in much better repair. It has but one court or square, but it is very large'. He too noted the building work and praised the 'gardens, or rather orchards, well planted, and good walks in them as well as good fruit'.⁶⁹ Douglass wrote 'The two other Colleges ... of St Mary's and St Leonard's, are in good repair, they having a better Foundation, and revenue to support them'.⁷⁰ There was a tendency among visitors up to and including Johnson and Boswell to consider the elegant building next to St Mary's to be part of that college, when in fact it belonged to the University as a whole, and this may account for some of the praise the college attracted. (This belief was not shared by Loveday, who seems to have thoroughly investigated matters with the

⁶⁴ R.G. Cant, *A Short History of the University of St Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1970, p.89

⁶⁵ Kemp, *Tours In Scotland*, p.271

⁶⁶ Pennant, *Tour*, p.197

⁶⁷ Boswell, *Journal*, p.58

⁶⁸ Macky, *Journey*, pp.87-89

⁶⁹ Defoe, *Tour*, p.382

Librarian).⁷¹ Otherwise the physical state of St Mary's College is scarcely described. The University building, which had been constructed in 1612-18, but was not furnished and brought into use until 1643, consisted of the University Library (as distinct from the individual college libraries) on the upper floor, and a spacious hall below, the 'public school', used for formal University meetings and occasionally as an exercise room for the students. The Scottish Parliament had met in this lower room, in 1645-46, there being plague in Scotland's other major cities, and it was thereafter dignified by the name of the 'Parliament Hall'. The visitors' responses to the interior of these rooms and their contents will be discussed below.

Johnson, visiting the St Leonard's College site after the Union of the Colleges and their removal to St Salvator's, noted that he was civilly hindered from entering the college church, and had since heard that an attempt had been made to convert it into a 'kind of greenhouse', without success. He was critical of what he termed the 'dissolution' and 'alienation' of St Leonard's College, 'a church profaned' and a nation which 'suffers its universities to moulder into dust'.⁷² Reverend James Hall who had, by his own account, been a student at both the United College and St Mary's more than twenty years previously, in 1806 produced an even more vitriolic attack on the abandonment of the St Leonard's site. This was described as 'pleasantly sheltered in the south-east quarter of the town, in a sheltered, warm and pleasing aspect, where there are some planes, ashes, and elms, of a very large size; and through the college garden there runs a copious stream of water'. It was contrasted to St Salvator's, which was said to be affected by:

The spray or foam [of the German Ocean] ... which is often wafted by the north wind, and falls like snow on this college ... where it will lie for some time even in summer. A colder and bleaker situation can scarcely be imagined. In the college garden some vegetables are raised for the use of the kitchen; but not a tree, and

⁷⁰ Douglass, *Historical Remarks*, pp.15-16

⁷¹ Loveday, *Diary*, p.142. Unlike the other visitors up to 1773, Douglass and Pennant do not refer specifically to the building, so whether they thought it belonged to St Mary's cannot be ascertained.

⁷² Johnson, *Journey*, pp.4-6

scarcely a shrub, will grow so near and so much under the influence of the sea-breezes in that part of this island.⁷³

A stranger to St Andrews would scarcely have imagined from this description that the colleges were within about quarter of a mile of each other. Hall's prejudicial and (thus far) largely inaccurate description of St Salvator's was grounded in his animosity towards the current regime at the University and the indisputable nepotism among the professors. Not altogether unfairly, he attributed the selection of the St Salvator's site, instead of St Leonard's, as the home for the United College, to 'trifling interests and prejudices of a local nature'. Certainly in many ways, St Leonard's would have been the more logical choice, its buildings being in a better state. However, Hall's conclusion that the St Salvator's professors prevailed because 'several of the regents ... of St Leonards, were superannuated, and one or two in a state of dotage' is positively inflammatory and though it refers back sixty years, fits into his attack on current teaching standards in the University.⁷⁴ For all that much of Hall's description of the St Salvator's site is certainly exaggerated, his declaration that the 'general aspect' of the city and colleges suggests 'nothing but the melancholy idea of former magnificence and grandeur now in ruins' may in essence be correct.⁷⁵ Both the United College and St Mary's seem to have had difficulty in maintaining their buildings. The Royal Commissioners who inspected the University in 1827 found that the western part of the United College buildings, the Common Hall and School, was 'entirely ruinous and incapable of repair', while the classrooms were unfit for their purpose. The relatively new north building was said to be 'in a most dilapidated state'. At St Mary's, the north building was discovered to be derelict and incapable of repair and the west building, containing the common hall, 'wholly unsuitable for the purpose of academic instruction'. It was thought that the University building, containing the Parliament Hall and Library, was damp and in many ways unsuitable, but if extra accommodation could be found for the Library, could probably be made to serve.⁷⁶

⁷³ Hall, *Travels*, p.111

⁷⁴ Hall, *Travels*, p.112

⁷⁵ Hall, *Travels*, p.104

⁷⁶ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.126-127

Throughout this period then, the city itself and one or other of the colleges were generally found to be in a poor state. As the physical structure and fabric of the colleges comprised the most visible aspects of the University, this was unlikely to produce favourable initial impressions of the institution among visitors. It would obviously be of importance to the University that it should be positively represented, particularly in published texts, which might be widely distributed. With student numbers in decline for much of this period, it could ill-afford to lose potential entrants to the rival institutions in Scotland, which those journeying through the country were also inspecting and reporting on, or to universities even further afield. Among the steps taken by the Principals and Professors of the University to mitigate against unfortunate impressions in the minds of visitors to the city, personal contact and the provision of hospitality seem to have been of crucial importance.

The usual form for those undertaking a prolonged tour of Scotland in this period was to obtain letters of introduction to prominent persons in certain places along the planned route, with the intention of gaining entry into the society of that area, to learn more of the particular history, habits and customs of the region, and often, to enjoy their hospitality as a welcome break from inns. James Hall describes how, before leaving Edinburgh, he ‘procured letters of recommendation to some of the best informed men in the places I meant to visit’.⁷⁷ These introductions certainly seem to have been welcomed by the University staff, and not only for the opportunity which they presented for the promotion of their institution. Thomas Jackson, a student at St Leonard’s College, described in a letter to Ralph Thoresby dated 1691 how ‘the Regents, and all people, are very inquisitive about news’, ‘for we never hear any here, being a town of a very small trade’.⁷⁸ Visitors to St Andrews would bring information from the outside world. Guests seem to have been handsomely entertained. Kirk was ‘treated with wine’ by the regents in one of their chambers at St Salvator’s College.⁷⁹ Loveday found the Librarian, James Angus, ‘so obliging as to shew us all yt was curious in ye Town, and to afford Us much of his

⁷⁷ Hall, *Travels*, p.1

⁷⁸ Letter from Thomas Jackson to Ralph Thoresby, St Andrews, 19 May 1691, in Hume Brown, *Tours In Scotland*, p.59

⁷⁹ Hume Brown, *Tours In Scotland*, p.18

company at our house'.⁸⁰ Poccoke, who 'had a letter to one of the professors', was taken to the library 'where the Rector and all who were in town met me, showed me everything about the town, dined with me and invited me to the divinity hall to sit with them and take some refreshments'.⁸¹ Saint Fond and his party likewise 'had letters of recommendation to Mr George Hill, professor of Greek and Mr Charles Wilson, professor of Hebrew' who 'were both most eager to oblige us, and to procure us such information as could gratify our tastes and curiosity'.⁸² Samuel Johnson and James Boswell, as famous guests from London, enjoyed particularly lavish hospitality. This was satirised by the Scots poet Robert Fergusson, an alumnus, in *To the Principal and Professors of the University of St Andrews, On Their Superb Treat to Dr Samuel Johnson*. Their accounts record that 'by the interposition of some invisible friend' (Robert Arbuthnot), arrangements had been made for them to stay at the home of Professor Robert Watson, later Principal of the United College, in the old St Leonard's College buildings.⁸³ They breakfasted with Watson, his daughter and Mr Nairne, who owned the grotto against the wall of St Leonard's Chapel. They were entertained to dinner in an inn by Professors Murison (Principal of St Mary's), Cook, Shaw, Hill, Hadow, Watson, Flint and Brown and later that afternoon took tea with some of them. At supper, in Professor Watson's home, they met the great-granddaughter of Archbishop Sharp and the architect James Craig, who was at that time working on the replacement of the roof of St Salvator's Church. This day of feasting was interspersed by a fairly typical itinerary of visits to the Cathedral, castle, University Library, St Mary's College, United College, St Salvator's Church and the town kirk, Holy Trinity. The next day they breakfasted with Dr Shaw, Professor of Divinity, who accompanied them out of town.

There appears to have been a standard tour of the colleges for visitors in this period. Kirk, Poccoke, Loveday, Johnson and Boswell and Saint Fond were certainly shown around by the professors or librarian. Although Macky, Defoe and Francis Douglas do not specifically mention a conducted visit, that there was one is implied, for access to what

⁸⁰ Loveday, *Diary*, p.142

⁸¹ Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.272

⁸² Saint Fond, *Journey*, p.193

⁸³ Johnson, *Journey*, p.3

were surely restricted places was provided. It is unclear whether Slezer (or Sibbald) visited the University himself, or requested and was sent information on it, including the library contents, for *Theatrum Scotiae*. Hall already knew the University well, having been a student there. Only Douglass and Wesley do not describe the University's interior at all, perhaps not having entered it. Neither was, in any case, primarily concerned with tourism.

The order in which the colleges were visited varied, perhaps depending on who was conducting the tour and which college they were allied to. Where a tour is not directly referred to, or the specific order not given, the visitors tend to describe the St Salvator's College site first, perhaps because, despite its dilapidation, it was architecturally the most impressive, with the college church and its great tower. Kirk ascended this tower to view the surrounding countryside.⁸⁴ In addition to the history, constitution and endowments of the University, the guides and visitors seem to have discussed such matters as the course of study, length of terms, fees, diet and accommodation of the students.⁸⁵ Johnson reports how cheaply a student might keep his 'annual session', Loveday the gift of the Duke of Chandos 'ingenuously' used to fund a new Professorship, and Pococke that the students are 'kept strict to their studies' and for the most part live and eat under the supervision of the professors (doubtless reassuring to anxious parents, if not to the students themselves).⁸⁶ In St Salvator's College, Kirk was shown the public room for disputations and the blackstone (plate 14) on which candidates sat for examinations.⁸⁷ As formerly noted, Pennant and Johnson, and later the author of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, seem to have gained a remarkably similar notion of the advantages of a university education in St Andrews. This, and the depth of the other, overwhelmingly positive, information gleaned by the visitors suggests not just an attempt to satisfy their 'tastes and curiosity', but some fairly blatant self-publicising on the part of the University.

⁸⁴ Hume Brown, *Tours In Scotland*, p.18

⁸⁵ See in particular Pococke's account (Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, pp.271-272).

⁸⁶ Johnson, *Journey*, p.5; Loveday, *Diary*, p.140; Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, pp.271-272. The Duke of Chandos, who later became Chancellor of the University, had presented £1000 in 1720 to found a Chair of Eloquence. The University desired instead a Chair of Medicine and Anatomy; the professors seem to have been particularly proud of their successful efforts to convince their benefactor to amend the purpose of his gift, the latter Chair being established in 1721.

⁸⁷ Hume Brown, *Tours In Scotland*, p.18

Certain artefacts were shown regularly to visitors. The selection of these is significant, for it reveals what the University considered to be its most important, interesting or impressive objects. Moreover, in choosing to present particular items for the attention of guests, the University was, consciously or subconsciously, using them as signifiers of meaning. In much the same way as an exposition of the curriculum might reveal not only what subjects the University taught, but how it taught them and beyond this, what it perceived their value to be and therefore, what its own values were at a particular point in time, so the presentation of objects can convey not only what precious items the University owns, but also indicate why it prizes them and, through them, give a sense of the value it places on its own history, its pride in its association with particular individuals, its intellectual outlook, and so on. These themes may not necessarily be made explicit by the presenter. The objects as symbols can therefore be interrogated to reveal something of the University's perceptions of its own identity and status, its aspirations, and its attempts to negotiate a suitable position for itself in the minds of others and in the world at large.

Of the visitors who mention the University's interior, all except Slezer, Francis Douglas and Hall saw at least one of the University's three medieval maces.⁸⁸ These are described and discussed in much greater depth in Chapter II. They were created in the 15th century for the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Canon Law and St Salvator's College. In January 1415/16, not long after the foundation of the University, the Faculty of Arts set aside money to procure a mace: it was completed by 1418-19. The mace of St Salvator's College was commissioned by Bishop Kennedy, and was made in Paris in 1461 by Johne Maiel, as the inscription on it reveals. The date of the Canon Law mace is uncertain, but it was probably made about the mid-15th century. Each mace is of fine silverwork, the mace of St Salvator's College, which alone has a heavy iron core, displaying the most complex and striking craftsmanship. Although once closely associated with their commissioning bodies, after the Reformation the Faculty maces in particular came to be seen as the

⁸⁸ Boswell and Johnson saw the archery medals and a mace, but do not mention them in their respective published accounts of their travels in Scotland. Boswell's draft of his *Journal* records that 'We saw the mace and silver arrows' on the St Salvator's College site. See Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett

common honours of the University. The maces represent the authority of the University, and, so far as can be ascertained, have been in continuous ceremonial use, for events such as graduation, from the 15th century to the present day.

Several visitors (Macky, Pococke, Pennant, Johnson, Boswell and Francis Douglas) also saw the Silver Arrow archery competition arrows and medals (plates 19-22). (As in the case of all the contemporarily extant artefacts, it is possible that others did, but did not describe them, unless they specifically declare otherwise, or it is known that they cannot have done so). These are also discussed more fully in Chapter II. The Silver Arrow archery competition was an annual event held, possibly with one or more breaks, from about 1618 to the mid-1750s. The winner commissioned, and paid for, a silver medal commemorating his victory. Each year before the competition the medals of previous victors were attached to silver arrows and paraded down to the Bow Butts, the archery range. Three silver arrows and seventy medals survive. Although the design of the medals is formulaic, most bearing the coat of arms of the victor [if they held one, and most did] on the obverse and the figure of an archer on the reverse, each is unique. Some are engraved with a Latin quotation, expressing the victor's attitude to his triumph. In their design, size and inscription, the medals can reflect the winner's social position, wealth and learning. There are gaps in the sequence of medals, some possibly due to the temporary suspension of the competition, but others probably representing losses, or years when the victor could not afford to commission one. After 1707 the size of the medals was restricted, to prevent pressure to better preceding ones, which had grown to a tremendous size. Several of the medal winners were to become prominent figures in Scottish history, for example Archibald Campbell, later 1st Marquis of Argyll (1623) and James Graham, later 1st Marquis of Montrose (1628), who played leading roles, on opposing sides, in the Civil War; and William Murray, later Marquis of Tullibardine (1706), who unfurled Prince Charles's standard at Glenfinnan in 1745.

(eds), *Boswell's Journal of A Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Now First Published from the Original Manuscript*, London, 1936, p.44.

The maces and archery medals were stored and displayed in more than one location. Kirk viewed all three maces in St Mary's College in 1677, while Macky, Defoe and apparently Pennant saw them at St Salvator's. Loveday and, after the Union of the Colleges, the visitors except Pennant report seeing just one mace, that of St Salvator's College, always on the St Salvator's site: it was surely retained there because of its historical connection to the College. The Senate Minutes reveal that the Faculty maces were stored in the University Library from the summer of 1737, and on 20 February 1738 it was ordered that they should remain there 'under lock and key for safe custody, till the usual or necessary business of the University or Faculties therein require the use of them'.⁸⁹ The archery medals were seen in St Leonard's College Library by Macky and in the United College Library or buildings by Pococke, Pennant and Johnson and Boswell. Though it is not very clear, Francis Douglas's account suggests he saw them in the University Library. This movement is unlikely to have been due to mere vagaries. Only the Arts colleges seem to have taken part in the archery competition: in almost 140 years there is no record of a St Mary's victory, the students at that college in any case differentiated by being graduates. Therefore the medals would logically have been displayed in St Leonard's or St Salvator's Colleges. It is intriguing to consider that the most recently victorious college might have displayed the medals, but unfortunately there is insufficient data on their location in the years before the Union of the Colleges to investigate this. After the Colleges united, the medals naturally came with the United College to the St Salvator's site. The competition died out within a few years of the Union, perhaps because the stimulus of collegiate rivalry had been removed. If Douglas did indeed see the medals in the University Library in 1780, it may be that it was by then considered the correct place to display them, for it had, by this date, become the home of various 'curiosities'. However, Saint Fond, who saw the Library and its contents just four years after Douglas, does not mention them. Like the Faculty maces, the arrows and medals may have been kept in storage, and got out on occasion, rather than placed on public display. This theory is given credence by the account of James Hall, who as a student of the United College and St Mary's 'for many

⁸⁹ SM 3 May 1737, 20 February 1738, as cited in Alexander J.S. Brook, 'An Account of the Maces of the Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, the College of Justice, the City of Edinburgh, &c' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXVI, 1891-92, pp.440-514 , pp.473-474.

years' about the 1770s or 1780s, seems never to have seen the medals. Writing in 1807, he incorrectly supposes the medals to be 'balls', probably because he was familiar with the practice of the city's Royal and Ancient golf club of attaching medals in the form of golf balls to ceremonial clubs. He states 'What has become of these accumulated balls, is, I believe, not very generally or publicly known'.⁹⁰ It would seem that in Hall's day, students did not enjoy the same access to the medals as honoured guests.

The maces produced a broad range of responses from visitors. Kirk was thoroughly underwhelmed by these items which a recent scholar has described as 'the most important pieces of metalwork to have survived from the late Middle Ages in Scotland'.⁹¹ Kirk writes: 'one of them is a good one, being all massy; the other two are mean ones, being hollow'.⁹² The mace of St Salvator's College was described by Macky as 'of the finest Workmanship I ever saw', by Defoe as 'of fine imagery and curious workmanship', by Loveday as 'a curious piece of workmanship' and by Pococke as 'very fine'.⁹³ Saint Fond, however, was appalled by the extravagance of detail which others delighted in:

[It] is charged with gothic ornaments finely executed, but in bad taste. It is covered with small steeples, and niches in which are cowed and praying monks, also winged angels gesticulating in pulpits placed at angles. Gothic medallions suspended all round serve as ornament, and the whole is surmounted with a figure of Christ on foot, standing upright in a pyramidal niche. This work, to judge by its style, may be at most two hundred and sixty or three hundred years old; it can only serve to give us an idea of the arts and of the bad taste of these times.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Hall, *Travels*, p.123

⁹¹ Michael Michael, 'The First Maces of St Andrews University' in *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1986*, XIV, Leeds, 1994, pp.185-196, p.185

⁹² Hume Brown, *Tours in Scotland*, p.18

⁹³ Macky, *Journey*, p.86; Defoe, *Tour*, p.381; Loveday, *Diary*, p.142; Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.273

⁹⁴ Saint Fond, *Journey*, pp.197-198. This account was perhaps rooted in a reaction against the revival of Gothicism in the contemporary neo-Gothic movement. However, elsewhere Saint Fond seems to positively embrace this aspect of Romanticism, providing a description of the emotional effects of seeing the ruins of St Andrews Cathedral, which he believed to have been destroyed at the Reformation by 'religious and fanatical fury', worthy of Ann Radcliffe herself: 'In view of such a scene one is soon led, in spite of oneself, into a train of melancholy reflections, on the maladies of the human mind, which degenerate into madness and mortify the reason. Are these frenzies, these deliriums of the understanding, like corporeal diseases, inseparable from humanity? If they are so, man is, on the whole, the most ferocious, and at the same time

The visitors were intrigued by the archery medals, which Pococke describes as ‘large pieces of silver with the Arms embossed and many engraved’.⁹⁵ The medals are not discussed in terms of their aesthetic appearance and workmanship, which are striking. Instead, Macky, Pococke and Pennant (the visitors who mention them in detail) focus on them as representations of sporting prowess and nobility: the ‘noble ancient Exercise’ of archery and the arms and names of the victorious ‘noble youth’ are commented on.⁹⁶ The costliness of the medals is also emphasised. Macky is interested to note that as this ‘was discouraging the poorer sort, who, altho’ good Archers, durst not shoot their best for fear of winning and so exposing their Poverty’, the University restricted the permitted size of the medals.⁹⁷ In a period when the University was having difficulty attracting students of any sort, the guide who divulged this information was perhaps seeking to emphasise that all-comers could expect due consideration to be given to their needs and circumstances.

From their creation the maces could be said to be the most important artefacts owned by the University. This was certainly the case after the loss of the relics in St Salvator’s Church at the Reformation. As symbols of the authority of the University they are visible representations of its power, and in their great craftsmanship, its wealth and status. Having been borne in ceremonies since the 15th century, they are intimately connected to the history of Scotland’s first university. It is these values of wealth, power, status and history that the University was surely hoping to impress visitors with by revealing a mace or maces to them. The great symbolic significance of the maces to the University is implied by a tale told to visitor after visitor, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, of either six or nine maces being discovered in the tomb of Bishop Kennedy during the reign of Charles II (in later accounts the date is specifically given as 1683). The usual interpretation is that they had been placed there for safekeeping at the Reformation and forgotten. Three maces were retained; the remainder were distributed to the other

the most unfortunate of animals; this life might be renounced at once, were it not for a few chosen individuals who make us endure it’ (pp.202-204). In point of fact, though the Cathedral had been attacked at the Reformation, its fabric had escaped serious damage: neglect, weather and time, and the later stripping of its stones for other buildings in the town had caused its physical deterioration.

⁹⁵ Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.272

⁹⁶ Macky, *Journey*, p.88; Pennant, *Tour*, p.195

Scottish universities.⁹⁸ This tale cannot be literally true. Kirk saw the three maces in 1677, before they were supposedly found, and they were in use at Archbishop Sharp's funeral in 1679.⁹⁹ Though it is not impossible that the maces were concealed in Bishop Kennedy's tomb at some point, the medieval inventories suggest that the University never owned more than three maces, and those of the other Scottish universities each have their own provenance. The date of 1683 for the discovery may come from the known restoration work of Skene on the college church about this time: a medallion attached to the St Salvator's mace attests to its own restoration by Skene in 1685.

The symbolism of the tale can be interpreted as follows. The University has a long and glorious history, stretching back before the Reformation to great wealth and prestige, as denoted by its expensive, multiple, staves of authority. It is now wealthy and generous enough to be able to donate a good percentage of its newly found treasure to its younger, sister institutions who have not, by implication, themselves been in possession of the riches and power denoted by mace ownership. Most tellingly, to a Christian audience, the history, wealth and authority of the University was buried at the Reformation but has now been resurrected, literally coming out of the tomb, and the largess can be shared across Scotland. Interestingly, a proto-version of the story is given by Kirk, who says of Kennedy's tomb: 'about it were placed many maces, three whereof we saw'.¹⁰⁰ The tale evolves from the loss of 'many' maces to their rediscovery. As the story developed and became established, it was believed by many, presumably including the University exponents, to be factual. It became part of the accepted history of the institution. When Saint Fond records that the mace of St Salvator's College was found within the tomb, his editor interposes the correction that six maces were discovered, three being given to the

⁹⁷ Macky, *Journey*, p.88

⁹⁸ For example, Macky, *Journey* (1723), p.87: 'These Maces to the Number of nine, were found in the Archbishop's Tomb, in the reign of Charles the Second. ... The other six Maces they sent to the other Colleges in Scotland'. Pennant, *Tour* (1776), p.195: 'Within the tomb were discovered six magnificent maces, which had been concealed in troublesome times. One was given to each of the three Scotch universities, and three are preserved here'. *Handy Book of St Andrews* (1865), p.65: 'In 1683, the tomb was opened and in it were found six splendidly decorated maces, which must have been hidden there at the Reformation. One of them was presented to each of the other three Scottish Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen'.

⁹⁹ Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, pp.395-396

¹⁰⁰ Hume Brown, *Tours in Scotland*, p.18

other universities.¹⁰¹ The St Andrews historian, Lyon, expresses some doubts about the veracity of the story, but notes that the tomb was found to have been disturbed when it was entered in 1842, implying that there may be something in it.¹⁰² Some remained sceptical: the architect Robert Billings writes: ‘This species of corporate generosity is not a common occurrence, and would require some confirmation’.¹⁰³ However, if in the face of all this, visitors responded to the mace or maces merely as ‘curious’ or even as an example of bad art, this cannot have been the University’s intention. More pleasing must have been the responses to the archery medals, with the recognition of their size and costliness, the social standing of the victors and the sporting prowess they embodied.

Naturally, the visitors were often shown the tomb of Bishop Kennedy (plate 5) in conjunction with seeing the mace or maces. The tomb had been commissioned by Kennedy and had probably been largely completed by his death in 1465. Although now much damaged, the detail and complexity of the stone carvings, probably produced by the Tournai school, make it one of the most important monuments of its date in Europe. The iconography of the surviving upper part may relate to Heaven as the ‘House of Many Mansions’, but so extensive are the losses that certainty is impossible.¹⁰⁴ Partly because of its association with the maces and with the college founder, this architectural piece effectively functioned as a University artefact. Loveday notes the ‘curious carv’d stonework Canopy’ and Hall that it ‘is greatly and justly admired as a fine piece of sculpture’.¹⁰⁵ Pococke writes of ‘a very fine Gothick tomb in freestone of the founder Kennedy, erected by himself; A Couchant Statue of him seems to have lain on it’.¹⁰⁶ Even Kirk recorded that there ‘has been a good tomb of Bishop Canadi’.¹⁰⁷ Although it is clear

¹⁰¹ Saint Fond, *Journey*, p.197

¹⁰² Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, pp.197-201. When Robert Chambers opened the tomb in 1842 he found that the bones of Kennedy were ‘all in such confusion as plainly indicated that they had been dislodged from their resting place on some former occasion and hurled back promiscuously with the earth’. Chambers himself seems to have thought the legend of the discovery of the six maces in the tomb in 1683 to be factual. See Robert Chambers, ‘Memorandum respecting the tomb of Bishop Kennedy, in the chapel of St Salvator’s College, St Andrews’ in *Archaeologia Scotica*, IV, 1857, pp.382-384.

¹⁰³ Robert William Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, Vol. I, Edinburgh and London, 1845-52, ‘St Salvator’s Church’ p.1

¹⁰⁴ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.88-89

¹⁰⁵ Loveday, *Diary*, p.140; Hall, *Travels*, p.159

¹⁰⁶ Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.271

¹⁰⁷ Hume Brown, *Tours in Scotland*, p.18

that the tomb had already degraded somewhat from its medieval magnificence, if considerable damage to it was indeed caused by the collapse of the church roof in 1773, then visitors up to and including Boswell and Johnson were seeing it in a much better state than we do now. Unfortunately, the descriptions are not detailed enough to ascertain what was lost at this point.¹⁰⁸

Several visitors were also shown the Parliament Hall and the University and college libraries. Macky provides a detailed description of the interior of the former: ‘There are three Rows of seats above one another round the room, which will contain four hundred Persons, besides the area, in which is a Table for Clerks and other Officers. There is also a Pulpit for Prayers’. The room was in essence probably little changed since the Parliament had used it. Defoe’s account even suggests that it had been deliberately preserved this way: ‘the form is reserv’d very plain, and the place, where the tables for the clarks and other officers were set, is to be seen’. Macky found the University Library above to be a ‘very spacious Room’. Defoe felt it was ‘not ... so well furnish’d as that of St Leonard’s’, for which a new room had recently been completed.¹⁰⁹ However, in 1765-7, the University Library was extended, with the height of the walls and extent of the galleries being increased (plate 9). In 1773, Johnson found it to be ‘elegant and luminous’.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Pennant’s account of seeing the maces and tomb in 1772 inadvertently caused confusion for readers. Having characterised the tomb as ‘uncommonly elegant’ and noted that six maces were discovered in it, of which three remain here, he ambiguously writes: ‘In the top is represented our Saviour; around are angels with instruments of the passion’, before going on to state that the archery medals are shown with ‘them’ [the maces]. (Pennant, *Tour*, p.195). Although it has often been noted that there is a close association of detail between the mace of St Salvator’s College and the remaining ornamentation of the tomb (a literal example of the mace coming out of the tomb), this is almost certainly a (very accurate) description of the St Salvator’s mace rather than the tomb itself. There are, regrettably, no known illustrations of the tomb before 1788, and such descriptions as do survive, as those given above show, are lacking in detail. In the absence of more concrete evidence, it must be assumed that Pennant was not meaning to infer that, at this date, the tomb contained an image of Christ. It is probably this confusion which caused the authors of Grierson’s *Delineations* (1807, p.176) and *Fletcher’s Guide* (2nd edition, 1853, p.31) to record, as *Fletcher’s Guide* put it, that ‘the tomb was once ornamented by a representation of our Saviour, surmounted by seraphs’.

¹⁰⁹ Macky, *Journey*, p.89; Defoe, *Tour*, pp.382-383

¹¹⁰ Johnson, *Journey*, p.4

The visitors were somewhat disappointed by the library holdings. Macky noted that the University Library was ‘full of old Books, but no curious Manuscripts’.¹¹¹ Defoe felt that the holdings were ‘not very valuable’.¹¹² Loveday, familiar with the Bodleian, found that the University Library ‘contains no very large number of books, for there is no Fund’: this despite the Copyright Act of 1710 by which it should have received a copy of every book entered at Stationer’s Hall.¹¹³ Pococke wrote: ‘In the Library is a Manuscript of one or two of the Classicks not very old, one is a poem, the other a part of Cicero’s Works, and some Church books’.¹¹⁴ Saint Fond stated that there were ‘not more than eleven or twelve thousand [books], almost all modern, except several bibles and some devotional books, among which there are only common things’. Only a ‘thirteenth century’ manuscript of Saint Augustine interested him, and this solely ‘on account of its excellent preservation’.¹¹⁵ Of this library, Johnson, an Oxford alumnus, was famously surprised to be informed that ‘we had no such repository of books in England’.¹¹⁶ The colleges had initially been better supplied with books than the University Library, and in the first part of the 18th century, that of St Leonard’s College attracted some attention from visitors.¹¹⁷ The donations of volumes to this library by John Scot of Scots Tarvit and Sir John Wedderburn are noted in *Theatrum Scotiae*, and the gift of folios by Francis, Earl of Buccleugh by Macky.¹¹⁸ Interestingly, none of the visitors mention that the University Library had been established with the donation of 228 books from James VI / I and his family: this information does not seem to have been given to them. The libraries of St Salvator’s College and the United College are scarcely commented upon. Boswell and

¹¹¹ Macky, *Journey*, p.89

¹¹² Defoe, *Tour*, p.383

¹¹³ Loveday, *Diary*, p.142. Although the University certainly profited by this arrangement, by no means all the books to which it was entitled were received. The entitlement ended in 1837, the Library instead being provided with £630 per annum from the Treasury. This was not equal to the value of the privilege it was losing, but was the best deal that could be made. See James Maitland Anderson, ‘The Library’, in Anon., *Votiva Tabella*, Glasgow, 1911, pp.93-112.

¹¹⁴ Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.271

¹¹⁵ Saint Fond, *Journey*, p.196

¹¹⁶ Johnson, *Journey*, p.4

¹¹⁷ At the end of 17th century, St Leonard’s held approximately 5000 books, and the University Library c. 2000. However, there is some evidence that St Leonard’s Library suffered losses in the fire of 1702. St Salvator’s College Library held c. 1100 volumes in 1744. See Maitland Anderson, ‘The Library’, pp.96-97, 103.

¹¹⁸ Scot personally gave volumes in 1620 and 1646, and induced his contemporaries to make donations too. Wedderburn bequeathed 1098 volumes in 1679 and the 2nd Earl of Buccleugh gave 113 volumes in 1645.

Johnson were unable to gain entry to the latter, the key being with Professor Hill, who was out of town.¹¹⁹ Hall notes approvingly that after the refurbishment of the University Library, the contents of the old college libraries were brought together there: that this improved access is implied.¹²⁰

If the visitors were disappointed by the contents of the libraries, this was not because they thought them inadequate for the purposes of the University, but because they had hoped to see and record 'curiosities' rather than standard teaching aids. Macky had noted that the library of the 'Marshallion Academy' at Aberdeen was 'furnished with divers Mathematical Instruments', in addition to books. He was interested to find that Edinburgh University Library contained 'Pictures of most of the kings of Scotland and of all the Reformers both at home and abroad. Here is kept Buchanan's skull and the original Bohemian Protest against the Council of Constance for burning John Huss and Jerome of Prague, 1417, with 105 Seals of the great Men of Bohemia and Moravia appended to it'.¹²¹ Defoe also saw the instruments at Marischal College and was intrigued by the 'Chamber of Rarities' at the College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, which contained 'several skeletons of strange creatures, a mummy, and other curious things, too many to be particular in them here'. He tellingly notes that although the library of Edinburgh University is 'not famous for number of books, [it] is yet so for its being a valuable collection of antiquity'.¹²² Antiquities and curiosities had a value that could bring fame and prestige to an institution. Loveday saw 'Pictures, as of Abp. Law' in Glasgow University; a collection of Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Scottish coins, a silver medallion of the Duke of Lauderdale and pictures of Archbishop Spottiswood and George Mackenzie in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh; and more portraits in the 'College of Physicians'. In the Upper Library at Edinburgh University he found 'no large number of books, but enough of natural Curiosities; here are Sceletons, Geo: Buchanan's Scull; a pair of very large Globes ... some Mss'. In the Lower Library, which 'has a good Collection of Books', he saw the

(Information from Maitland Anderson, 'The Library', p.96 and an unpublished roll of benefactions compiled by Robert Smart).

¹¹⁹ Boswell, *Journal*, p.58

¹²⁰ Hall, *Travels*, p.109

¹²¹ Macky, *Journey*, pp.69, 113

¹²² Defoe, *Tour*, p.307

Bohemian Protest, a folio manuscript of the Scots chronicler Fordun, a manuscript Greek Testament, and portraits of Napier, the Prince of Palatine, and the reformers, some of these, according to the Keeper, by Hans Holbein.¹²³ The silver arrows and medals held for some time in St Leonard's College library, and the mace of St Salvator's College, later seen with the archery medals in the United College library by Pococke, compared favourably with the artefacts seen in the libraries of Glasgow University and Marischal College.¹²⁴ However, they represented nothing like the range of curiosities shown in comparable Edinburgh institutions, particularly Edinburgh University. Travellers to Scotland usually visited Edinburgh before St Andrews, and so this was the standard against which the University Library was being judged.

Not until after the University Library was refurbished in 1765-7 do the numbers and variety of items on display apparently increase. In 1780, Francis Douglas was able to write:

Here they shew a concretion, taken from the bladder of a mare, five or six inches diameter, perfectly smooth, and much resembling what is called plumb-pudding stone. The picture of a child, spotted all over like a leopard; and a very fine skeleton of one who was the college carrier'.¹²⁵

In 1784, Saint Fond noted:

There is ... shown as an object of curiosity, an Egyptian mummy in very bad condition, without even its ancient case, and appearing to me to be one of those which the Arabs fabricate out of patches and fragments, for the purpose of selling them to such as are unable to detect the imposition'.¹²⁶

¹²³ Loveday, *Diary*, pp.119, 152-154

¹²⁴ Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.271

¹²⁵ Douglas, *General Description*, p.31

¹²⁶ Saint Fond, *Journey*, p.196. The mummy had been acquired in 1781: SM 17 July 1781.

Whether unidentified fabrications or not, the range of ethnographic, anthropological and natural history material entering the University expanded throughout the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It was to include 'a curious criture called a bittle' (acquired 19 November 1773), a sea cocoa-nut (4 November 1776), a spear from the Sandwich Islands (3 January 1792), Chinese shoes, the teeth of a North American Indian, a bat, a stalactite, a Burmese sabre and silver scabbard (3 March 1827), a 'New Zealanders Head' (20 July 1831), various 'Burmese idols' (3 March and 3 May 1827) and 'the model of a Canoe sent from India' (26 November 1831).¹²⁷ I will discuss the 'curiosities' held in the Library, and how the artefact holdings of the University compared to those of other universities and academic institutions in Scotland and further afield in greater depth later in this thesis. However, it is worth noting at this stage that this expansion of the collections does seem to be related to intellectual curiosity and the University looking outwards during the Age of Empire: what Matthew Simpson refers to as the 'established metropolitan tradition of polite learning and ... the newer but related culture of British imperialism'.¹²⁸

It is interesting to note that in the late 17th and 18th centuries the University possessed various objects, some of which survive in its Museum Collections, which are (or would be) now regarded as items of immense value and importance, but which were apparently not presented to, or recognised by, visitors as 'objects of significance'. This does not necessarily mean that they were not identified as such within the University and its colleges. These objects (surviving and otherwise) include the college silver, the 'St Andrews Cupboard' and the various scientific instruments known and thought to have been purchased by James Gregory (1638-75), Professor of Mathematics 1668-74, in 1673. The St Andrews Cupboard (plate 30), with its complex iconography of a rose, thistle and marguerite, has been convincingly associated with the marriage of James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor of England in 1503.¹²⁹ James IV confirmed the foundation charter of

¹²⁷ Information from SM 19 November 1773, 4 November 1776, 3 January 1792, 3 March 1827, 20 July 1831, 3 May 1827 and 26 November 1831; and from SAUL, UYUY8525/1, 'Minutes of the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society 16 April 1838-13 April 1861', minute of 30 November 1838, fols 17r.-17v., a list of 'curiosities' transferred from the University Library to the new Museum of the University and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews.

¹²⁸ Simpson, "'You have not such a one'", p.51

¹²⁹ David Jones, 'A sixteenth century oak cupboard at the University of St Andrews' in *Regional Furniture*, IV, 1900, pp.71-80

St Leonard's College in February 1513, and, though the early location of the cupboard is not known, it is conceivable that this was a royal gift to the college. Among the college silver was the fine St Mary's Mazer (plate 23), now recognised as the earliest known extant piece of fully hall-marked Edinburgh silver; the St Leonard's Mazer (plate 24); and the delicate and intricately decorated Guild Cup (plate 28), made in London, 1613-14 and presented to the Faculty of Theology by Dr William Guild, later Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1628. The St Mary's Mazer dates from 1552-5, 1556-7 or 1561-2 (the years when Thomas Ewing, whose mark it bears, was deacon); the dating of the St Leonard's Mazer is more complex, but it is probably 16th or early 17th century. These and other items of the silver of the three colleges, including many pieces now lost, were recognised as being of value, for individual objects appear upon various carefully composed inventories from the 16th century onwards. To some extent, this systematic logging reflects the monetary worth of the pieces, and certainly this seems to have been the prime concern when silver was sold off in 1754 to fund the new buildings for the United College. However, as I will discuss, the college silver, with its connections to patrons and college history, played a role in promoting the colleges' unique identities and traditions within the corporate University body. It is likely that it was primarily used and displayed on high occasions, such as celebratory banquets, within the colleges. The visitors do not record having attended such occasions, and even if individuals did, or if the college silver was employed in association with the hospitality that was provided to them, not being initiated into college history they may have missed its subtle connotations and not thought it particularly exceptional, but merely a part of the standard trappings of any corporate institution.

James Gregory was one of the most eminent scientists of his period. Inventor of the reflecting (or Gregorian) telescope, and a fellow of the Royal Society in London (established in 1660), he was the first Regius Professor of Mathematics in the University. He planned to build an observatory, the first in Britain, in St Andrews, and on 10 June 1673 received a commission from the University authorities 'to goe for London, and there to provide ... such instruments and utensils as he, with advice of other skilful persons, shall judge most necessary and usefull' for the observatory, so that 'we may be enabled to

keep correspondence with learned and inquisitive persons in solid philosophy every where'.¹³⁰ During this visit, Gregory commissioned three clocks from Joseph Knibb of London, two regulator clocks and one of the world's earliest split seconds clocks (plate 46), to aid his observations: he describes them in a surviving letter to John Flamsteed, later the first Astronomer Royal.¹³¹ Although it has never been conclusively established, it seems extremely likely that other extant instruments were also bought for the University at this time. These include the magnificent 'Great Astrolabe' by Humphrey Cole of London, dated 1575 (plate 41), a universal instrument, also by Cole, of 1582 (plate 42), an unusually large mariner's astrolabe by Elias Allen, 1616 (plate 43), and an example of Oughtred's double horizontal dial, by Hilckiah Bedford, c.1660-80 (plate 45). Tantalisingly, in 1677 Kirk did see 'some mathematical instruments' in a room in St Mary's College (perhaps the University Library: Gregory recorded that the instruments were kept in the 'bibliothek' in his day) but does not describe them.¹³² *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693 and 1718 editions) and Defoe (visiting before 1720) note the existence of mathematical instruments purchased by Gregory, but the authors perhaps did not see them.¹³³ Like Kirk, *Theatrum Scotiae* and Defoe mention the observatory building at the foot of St Mary's College gardens. Kirk describes it as 'not yet finished' in 1677, and Defoe found that 'it is not now made use of, for what reason I know not'.¹³⁴ In fact the observatory may never have been completed. When Gregory departed to take up the Chair in Mathematics at Edinburgh University in 1674, the momentum behind its conception seems to have been removed. The observatory was derelict by the 1720s, and was partially dismantled in 1761.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ The Commission is published in *Archaeologia Scotica*, III, 1831, pp.285-286 and in Herbert Westren Turnbull (ed.), *James Gregory Tercentenary Memorial Volume*, London, 1939, pp.273-274.

¹³¹ Gregory to Flamsteed, London, 19 July 1673. Letter published in Eric G. Forbes, Lesley Murdin and Frances Willmoth (eds), *The Correspondence of John Flamsteed, The First Astronomer Royal*, Vol. I 1666-1682, Bristol, 1995, pp.225-226.

¹³² Hume Brown, *Tours in Scotland*, p.18. Letter from Gregory to Campbell, St Andrews, 30 April 1674, JGTMV, p.281

¹³³ Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1718, p.18; Defoe, *Tour*, p.383. Information on 1693 edition from the National Library of Scotland: <http://www.nls.uk/slezer/index.html> 13 November 2009.

¹³⁴ Hume Brown, *Tours in Scotland*, p.18; Defoe, *Tour*, p.383

¹³⁵ SM 10 June 1729, 17 October 1761

I have found no evidence of visitors after Defoe referring to the clocks or scientific instruments, during the course of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. Perhaps the scientific instruments were not shown. The clocks, however, do seem to have been visible: University records suggest that they were kept in the University Library throughout this period, and were well cared for, with routine maintenance work occurring. That neither the clocks nor instruments are mentioned suggests that if they were seen at all, they were not presented in a context which impressed visitors with their significance. The clocks were perhaps viewed as merely rather nice items of furniture. In the case of the instruments, their lack of prominence may be because they were seen as items of teaching equipment rather than objects of historical or aesthetic interest; and moreover, items which became outdated as science and technology progressed, somewhat negating their useful scientific value. It is notable that Kirk was shown the instruments by 'the mathematic professor' (Gregory's successor, William Saunders): if the instruments he saw were indeed those brought from London just four years earlier, the professor would rightfully have some pride in displaying these splendid recent purchases. In 1714, however, the Senate authorised a course in 'Experimental Philosophy' to demonstrate the 'great Improvements that have been made of last years in natural philosophy & ye mixt parts of Mathematics chiefly by means of Experiments', and appealed for sponsors of new equipment. St Salvator's College launched a similar course in the mid-1720s, with the same appeal for instruments.¹³⁶ From about this time, no specific notice appears to be given to Gregory's instruments. Though the 'Great Astrolabe', universal instrument and other pieces believed to have been purchased by Gregory must have been thought interesting enough to retain, they disappear from public view until the mid-1920s when they were discovered in the Natural Philosophy Department by the astounded Robert Gunther of Oxford University, whereupon the 'Great Astrolabe' was hailed as 'The Finest Extant Elizabethan Scientific Instrument'.¹³⁷

Visitors who do not record seeing any scientific instruments did see the observatory, including Loveday in 1732 and Pococke as late as 1760.¹³⁸ Macky (c. 1723), observing

¹³⁶ SM 23 February 1714; SAUL UYSS800/4

¹³⁷ *The Illustrated London News*, 14 August 1926, p.293

¹³⁸ Loveday, *Diary*, p.143; Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.271

that it is a ‘fine [building] of Free-stone’, comments ‘it is neither finish’d, nor ever made use of, which is a pity, considering the Expense the Building cost’.¹³⁹ It may seem strange that the dilapidated observatory building should receive more attention than the instruments purchased for it, which combined some degree of usefulness with rarity and magnificence. However, the size of the building meant that it became something of a landmark. It is marked on a map of St Andrews of 1802, published in Grierson's *Delineations of St Andrews* (1823).¹⁴⁰ The cost and scale of endeavour implicit in constructing an observatory made it something of a curiosity, and as such, it attracted interest from visitors.

In the 18th century the word ‘curiosity’ or ‘curiosities’ could apply to individual items or collections of objects, often disparate in nature, of interest to the curious mind. The Oxford English Dictionary offers the definition ‘an object of interest; any object valued as curious, rare, or strange’. Other usages of the word ‘curiosity’ given by the OED include: (as a personal attribute) a ‘desire to know or learn’, and ‘scientific and artistic interest; the quality of a curioso or virtuoso; connoisseurship’; (as a quality of things) ‘careful or elaborate workmanship’.¹⁴¹ It is in all these senses of the word that visitors responded to the artefacts and buildings of the University of St Andrews. The maces attract attention because they are unusual, of great craftsmanship (‘curious workmanship’) and fascinating to (to use the phrase applied to visitors to the British Museum) ‘studious and curious persons’.¹⁴² The archery medals and certain of the library holdings similarly excite interest because they are in some way rare or distinctive. Though the college buildings, Parliament Hall, Upper Library and observatory are clearly very different from the artefacts in their form and function, yet they too do effectively operate as such ‘curiosities’ in the visitors' accounts: they are described precisely because they embody information that is of interest to the curious author, and is presumed to be so to his wider audience. Their condition and appearance implicitly convey details, for example regarding the

¹³⁹ Macky, *Journey*, p.89

¹⁴⁰ Grierson, *Delineations*, 1823

¹⁴¹ On-line version of Oxford English Dictionary: <http://dictionary.oed.com>. The site notes that the definition of ‘curiosity’ come from the 2nd edition, 1989.

¹⁴² *Statutes and Rules Relating to the Inspection and Use of the British Museum, etc*, London, 1759, p.7, cited in Edward Miller, *That Noble Cabinet: A History of the British Museum*, London, 1973, p.63

historical and current state of the University, which ‘inquisitive and curious’ persons, as Loveday was said to be when preparing for his tour, will naturally be concerned with.

In choosing to show to visitors, as part of a standard tour, the maces, archery medals, St Salvator’s Church and the tomb of the founder of St Salvator’s College, the libraries and their holdings and Parliament Hall, the University was deliberately emphasising its wealth, status, history, authority, learning, the importance it placed on intellectual and sporting prowess (exemplified by the archery medals with their carefully constructed Latin inscriptions), position at the centre of national affairs and associations with great men (from Kennedy to the donors to the St Leonard’s Library and the scions of noble families who won the archery competition and who would themselves, in several cases, achieve national renown in their later lives), and seeking to vest its identity in these concepts. The keenness to excite favourable responses to the University is attested to by the provision of generous hospitality to the visitors, and the eagerness to oblige them by procuring ‘such information as could gratify our tastes and curiosity’. Professor Watson, with whom Johnson and Boswell stayed, is specifically acknowledged by Pennant at the start of his *Tour in Scotland* (1772) as one of the gentlemen who supplied materials or gave comments which assisted him to correct his account.¹⁴³ However, this conspicuous display of ‘objects of significance’ and what Johnson refers to as ‘all the elegance of lettered hospitality’ could not fully counteract the negative impression of the state of the city and the University which the visitors received.¹⁴⁴ Although Pennant, among others, might record that ‘This place possesses several very great advantages respecting the education of youth’, the disadvantages could certainly not be overlooked.¹⁴⁵ Across a century, Douglass and Macky calling for a Visitation to remedy the ills of St Salvator’s College (‘if ever a College wanted a Visitation, this does’), Hall suggesting that the University was infested by ‘trifling interests and prejudices’, and more seriously, that teaching standards were unacceptably poor, Saint Fond declaring that the people of this university city were ‘in ignorance of commerce and the arts’ and even Pennant describing the appearance of the city as giving ‘the perfect idea of having been laid waste by the

¹⁴³ Pennant, *Tour*, ‘Advertisement’ at the beginning of Vol. II

¹⁴⁴ Johnson, *Journey*, p.3

¹⁴⁵ Pennant, *Tour*, p.198

pestilence', would leave strong impressions in the minds of readers, particularly parents of potential students.¹⁴⁶ Most damning of all is the response of the most influential and highly feted visitor, Dr Johnson, who, though shown the mace and archery medals, does not even mention them:

The kindness of the professors did not contribute to abate the uneasy remembrance of a university declining, a college alienated, and a church profaned and hastening to the ground.

St Andrews indeed has formerly suffered more atrocious ravages and more extensive destruction, but recent evils affect with greater force. We were reconciled to the sight of archiepiscopal ruins. The distance of a calamity from the present time seems to preclude the mind from contact or sympathy. ... Had the university been destroyed two centuries ago, we should not have regretted it; but to see it pining in decay and struggling for life, fills the mind with mournful images and ineffectual wishes.¹⁴⁷

The experiences of visitors to St Andrews, c. 1800-1865

Visitors to St Andrews in the 19th century generally gained a more positive impression of the city than had their 17th and 18th century predecessors. One reason for this is that throughout the century, the state of the city improved. By 1823 the Reverend James Grierson, author of the first guide book to St Andrews, published in 1807, was able to note in a revised edition of this work:

The principal streets have very recently been repaved at considerable expense, and are lighted with lamps during the winter months. The city is plentifully supplied with excellent water, conveyed in pipes from a considerable distance.

¹⁴⁶ Saint Fond, *Journey*, p.206

¹⁴⁷ Johnson, *Journey*, pp.5-6

However, it was still the case that:

Although a few individuals have of late years made great and laudable exertions to revive in it something like a spirit of industry, yet the description given of it by Dr Johnson [regarding the decline of the city from its 'archi-episcopal pre-eminence' and 'the silence and solitude of inactive indigence and gloomy depopulation'] is still, we are sorry to say, but too applicable'.¹⁴⁸

The efforts of Hugh Lyon Playfair, Provost of St Andrews 1842-1861, to reform the state of the city were particularly impressive. From 1842 he systematically improved the condition and appearance of the streets and buildings, sometimes funding the work himself. He was also responsible for the renovation of the harbour and West Port, the placing of railings round the town kirk, the erection of the Martyrs' Monument, and the establishment of the new Town Hall. In 1853 the author of the 2nd edition of *Fletcher's Guide to St Andrews* noted:

Of late, all the streets and thoroughfares have been greatly improved, through the zeal and activity of Provost Playfair, aided by the liberality of the citizens, and the proceeds of a fund left by the philanthropic founder of the Madras Seminary. So much, indeed, has the spirit for street improvement been manifested during the last eight or ten years, that St Andrews may now be safely taken as a provincial model of cleanliness, comfort and elegance. In this work of regeneration, some deeds of questionable taste have certainly been committed, but we believe the inhabitants, on the whole, are well contented to exchange a few of their antiquarian relics for the comforts of modern arrangement.¹⁴⁹

Improved transport links and the popularisation of coastal resorts also helped the city to prosper, bringing visitors with money to spend to the area. As numbers of day-trippers

¹⁴⁸ Grierson, *Delineations*, 1823, pp.90, 92

¹⁴⁹ *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, p.2

and longer-term visitors, perhaps taking houses or lodgings for weeks or months at the summer, increased, so facilities and amenities developed to meet their needs and interests. By 1853 *Fletcher's Guide* could claim: 'St Andrews affords numerous resorts for public recreation – perhaps more than any other town in Scotland of similar extent'.¹⁵⁰

Undoubtedly, there was a fair element of self-interested marketing here. Yet the range of attractions was broad. Golf, of course, was popular. Indeed a poem printed in *Fletcher's Guide* attributed the renewed distinction of the city to this game: the first four lines read:

St Andrews! They say that thy glories are gone,
That thy streets are deserted, thy castles o'erthrown
If thy glories *be* gone, they are only methinks,
As it were, by enchantment, transferr'd to thy Links.¹⁵¹

In addition to enjoying coastal walks, botanical and geological excursions, sea-bathing and inspecting the antiquities, visitors, including invalids, could try Mr Pratt's hot and cold baths, where the water was raised from the sea by four-horse-power engine, and so 'avoid the disagreeableness connected with a plunge on the open beach'. Afterwards, they could admire the enterprising Mrs Pratt's work in wool, try to solve a problem the Queen of Sheba put to Solomon, and attempt to distinguish between her real and wax flowers. On a fine day they might visit Provost Playfair's garden, where could be seen marvels including 'rather fanciful portraits' of Chaos and the sun; a chronological table of the principal events in the world's history; models of the planets and solar system; a pagoda, over 90 feet high, containing figures given motion by water; a revolving platform bearing busts of illustrious orators and poets, including Voltaire; a band of fiddling bears, dancing masters and gentlemen bowing; and scale models of the highest buildings of the world including the Great Pyramid, St Peter's, St Paul's, Windsor Castle and the Great Exhibition, and, of course, the towers and steeples of St Andrews.¹⁵² By the second half of the century, the

¹⁵⁰ *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, p.2

¹⁵¹ George Fullerton Carnegie, *Golfiana: Address to St Andrews*, 1842, lines 1-4, reproduced in *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, p.4.

¹⁵² *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, pp.55-56. Lord Cockburn disapproved of this garden: 'the childish and elaborate gimcracks that deform the garden show that a man may be sensible in some things, and a fool in others'. Henry Cockburn, *Circuit Journeys by the late Lord Cockburn*, Edinburgh, 1889, p.234.

impact of improvements, tourism and responsive development on the city was such that in 1865 the author of the *Handy Book of St Andrews* could, with some justification, hail St Andrews as ‘the Scarborough – the fashionable sea-side of Scotland’.¹⁵³

A second reason why visitors responded more favourably to the city may have been the impact of Romanticism. The movement’s effects were perhaps particularly felt in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when its influence was strongest, and improvements to the public amenities in St Andrews were still at an early stage. Romanticism, and the related interest in the sublime and the picturesque, allowed visitors to move away from the neo-classical perception of the city’s ruins as symbols of the failure of the social order, caused by the limitations of human beings. Instead they had value, both for their intrinsic beauty and as a stimulus for individuals’ expressions of sensibility and meditations on the human condition. Even while deploring the destruction of the Cathedral, Saint Fond is excited by the ruins, ‘which fill with astonishment and chill with horror the mind of one who looks on them for the first time. The traveller is lost in conjecturing whether it was a terrible earthquake, a long siege, or an invasion of barbarians which wrought so much devastation’. The Cathedral ‘is one of the most remarkable and interesting ruins that can be seen’ precisely because ‘it not only [bears] the impression of time and neglect, but [combines] also the most striking evidence of a religious and fanatical fury which rose to the most abominable madness and phrenzy’.¹⁵⁴ Visitors were eager to display emotional responses to the city, which would demonstrate that they were both sensitive and cultured, even if these were somewhat illogical. In *The Beauties of Scotland*, Robert Forsyth observed that because of the presence of ‘the striking remains of ancient ecclesiastical magnificence’, ‘Travellers have often said, that on entering [St Andrews] they are in some degree impressed with similar feelings to those produced on entering the city of Rome’. This was despite the fact that ‘In point of magnitude there is no comparison, nor even in point of history, seeing this was never the seat of empire’.¹⁵⁵ Lord Cockburn, who visited St Andrews in 1844 during his circuit journeys as a judge, wrote that ‘There is no place in

¹⁵³ *Handy Book*, 1865, p.92

¹⁵⁴ Saint Fond, *Journey*, pp.202-203

¹⁵⁵ Forsyth, *Beauties of Scotland*, pp.87-88

this country over which the genius of Antiquity lingers so impressively'. The ruins appealed to him because he could impress his own imagination upon them.

Few of them have left even their outlines more than discoverable. But this improves the mysteriousness of the fragments ... They all breathe of literary and ecclesiastical events, and of such political transactions as were anciently involved in the Church. There is no feeling here of mere feudal war.

Indeed, in his enthusiasm for antiquarian matters, he went on to criticise the foundation of Madras College ('There should have been no commonplace, vulgar bare-legged school here'), rejoice that there is little trade or manufacture in St Andrews, and regret that there is any city at all, beyond the ruins and the University, with its historical associations.¹⁵⁶ This was an extreme view, but demonstrates that although some inhabitants may well have been 'contented to exchange a few of their antiquarian relics for the comforts of modern arrangement', not all visitors were. There was a tension between developing the city's amenities to provide modern comforts and sanitary arrangements, and maintaining the physical remains of its past, which were admired by both locals and tourists and attracted to St Andrews visitors whose spending might benefit the local economy.

Artworks attest to the city's increased prosperity. The shabbily clothed vagrant-like characters in Oliphant's sketches of c. 1767 (plate 10) and the capriccio view of St Andrews by an unknown artist of the same period (plate 12), are succeeded by elegant, well-dressed figures in the engravings of W. Banks and Son of Edinburgh, published as illustrations to the *Handy Book of St Andrews* (1865) (plate 11).¹⁵⁷ Although they stand before buildings whose physical condition has manifestly not improved over the course of a century, such as the castle and Cathedral, the grounds of these now appear neat and well-tended: the aspect of neglect suggested by the earlier works is not apparent.

¹⁵⁶ Cockburn, *Circuit Journeys*, pp.228-229

¹⁵⁷ I propose that the capriccio view of the ruins of St Andrews (HC502) is, in fact, by Oliphant. The style of the buildings, depiction of the sky and attitude of the figures in this oil painting is strikingly similar to known sketches by him.

The state of the University itself also improved during the 19th century. Student numbers had greatly increased, from just over 100 at certain points during the 18th century to about 200 in 1827. Following the inspection by the Royal Commissioners in 1827, various changes were made to teaching practices and the Arts curriculum, with standards being raised and more frequent tests throughout the course and carefully graded examinations at its conclusion being imposed.¹⁵⁸ Substantial alterations were made to the buildings. At St Mary's College the dilapidated north building was removed and an extension to the University Library erected in its place. The other buildings of the college were completely remodelled. At the United College, all the buildings except the church, tower, and block to the west of the church were replaced. The project did not go exactly to plan. The new east building, completed in 1831, provided little more than four classrooms, too large for the college's needs, at a cost which put the rest of the scheme in jeopardy. In view of this mismanagement, the remainder of the allocated government grant was transferred to Marischal College, Aberdeen. The construction of the north building was delayed until 1844, when the energetic Provost Playfair succeeded in obtaining a new government grant: the building was completed 1845-6 and contained four medium sized classrooms and a College Hall and Museum. At the same time various alterations were carried out to St Salvator's Church, including the removal of the shutters from the windows and the installation of new pews, a 'tastefully executed new pulpit' and gas lights. The north and west wings of the old college buildings were then demolished, repairs made to the street frontage, and a 'cloister' erected behind the church.¹⁵⁹ Despite the difficulties which attended the scheme, the overall effect was attractive, as modern visitors can judge for themselves, the exterior of the buildings remaining largely unaltered to this day.

The University continued to be a major attraction to visitors to St Andrews. Few of the published itineraries of Scotland which describe the city make no mention of it (a notable exception is James Harris Brown's *Scenes in Scotland*, which refers only to the Cathedral).¹⁶⁰ In addition to (or occasionally instead of) describing the buildings and artefacts which the visitor might inspect, several discuss the University's history and

¹⁵⁸ See Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.120, 130

¹⁵⁹ See Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.127-129; Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.218-220

¹⁶⁰ James Harris Brown, *Scenes in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1833

constitution in some depth. Considerable proportions of the guides to the city of St Andrews are devoted to the University: in the case of *Fletcher's Guide* (1853), this amounts to nineteen of the fifty-one pages of text, over one third of the volume.

Faced with increasing numbers of tourists, it was not to be expected that the professors could escort any but the most eminent visitors, or those to whom they had personal or professional connections, around the University. Instead, the duty was entrusted to the college janitors. *Fletcher's Guide* (1853) advises the visitor to seek the United College janitor in the lodge adjoining St Salvator's Church. Having conducted a tour of the church and the 'new and commodious buildings' of the United College, including the Museum, 'the same intelligent functionary' would lead the visitor round the former St Leonard's College buildings and the ruined church. The visitor should then seek out the St Mary's College porter who would direct him or her to the University Library, Parliament Hall, and the college buildings.¹⁶¹ The museum in the United College was a joint venture between the University and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews. The Society was established in 1838: members included the University Principal, Sir David Brewster, and several professors. After the construction of the new north building the Museum was situated in the large room above the College Hall, and in various smaller apartments on three floors and on the stair landing: in the mid-19th century, the public were admitted only to the main hall itself.¹⁶² The Museum housed zoological, geological, botanical, ethnographic and archaeological specimens, including the 'curiosities' formerly held in the University Library, which were transferred to it in November 1838.¹⁶³ Lyon (1843) describes the Museum as holding: 'mineralogical specimens, fossil remains, shells, skeletons, anatomical preparations, a mummy, insects, stuffed birds, quadrupeds, fishes and snakes, coins, Indian deities, oriental implements' and a remarkable stone coffin (the St Andrews Sarcophagus).¹⁶⁴ The new Museum was a rational, organised institution, with items classified along scientific lines: objects once considered to be 'curiosities', while still of course individually interesting, were incorporated into

¹⁶¹ *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, pp.26-34, 51

¹⁶² In the Museum's earliest days, specimens seem to have been arranged in the 'old Humanity classroom' in the United College. SM 2 June 1838.

¹⁶³ SM 5 November 1838; MSALPS, minute of 30 November 1838, fols 17r.-17v.

particular categories. The holdings functioned as teaching and research collections, particularly in the later 19th century. From the foundation of the Museum in 1838, friends of the Society and University (often alumni), travelling abroad for various reasons during the Age of Empire, were to send items of interest back to St Andrews for it. The founding agreement stipulated that should the Society fall into abeyance, or the University be removed from St Andrews, control of the Museum would pass to the other body: this occurred in 1904, the Society having decided that it was no longer practicable for it to support the collections.¹⁶⁵ As discussed in the introduction, a study of the holdings of the Museum as teaching and research collections in the fields of natural and human history is not a focal point of this thesis. The extent to which the institution of the Museum marked a fundamental change in approaches to, the use of, and perceptions of the value of the collections, is interesting and will be much more fully discussed in Chapter V. However, in terms of how the collections were presented and what visitors to the University might see, it is important to consider the Museum's existence here.

Beyond the items in the Museum, what artefacts did visitors to the University now see? The maces and archery medals remained the highlights: of all the items in the University and the Museum, it is these which are most frequently described in itineraries and guide books, with most attention being given to the mace of St Salvator's College. From at least the 1820s this mace and the archery medals appear to have been shown together in the United College: the other two maces, which do not always seem to have been displayed, were sometimes to be found in St Mary's College and sometimes in the United College. St Salvator's Church and Bishop Kennedy's tomb are also much mentioned. By the latter part of the 19th century, tours of the United College had been formalised to the extent that there was a set tariff for seeing the 'Museum, Hall, College Church, Mace, Archery Medals Etc'. Charges ranged from 1s for one visitor to 2s 6d for parties of nine to twelve persons: larger parties were to be split into smaller groups, excursion parties admitted only by special prior arrangement, and extra fees incurred for visits exceeding thirty minutes. Reductions applied for seeing either the Museum alone, or the 'college church,

¹⁶⁴ Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, p.205

¹⁶⁵ William Carmichael McIntosh, *Brief Sketch of the Natural History Museum of the University of St Andrews*, St Andrews, 1913, p.27-28

mace &c, &c'.¹⁶⁶ The existence of this tariff shows that by the late 19th century, the opportunity to see the church (containing the tomb), mace of St Salvator's College and archery medals, which had once been freely provided, was in such demand that charges could be levied for the privilege. The demands visitors placed on the janitors' time was perhaps an important factor in the decision to introduce fees. McIntosh notes that on one single summer day in the 1850s, visitors to the Museum numbered 237, and were to far exceed this in later years. He attributed the numbers partly to the proximity of the Museum to the church, maces and archery medals: visitors who came to see them found the Museum 'easy of access', and proceeded to visit it too.¹⁶⁷

The guidebooks encourage visitors to inspect the architecture of the University buildings, particularly the United College. The tombstone of Hugh Spens in St Salvator's Chapel (which bears the only known illustration of medieval academic dress at St Andrews) (plate 31) and the various monuments in St Leonard's Chapel are discussed.¹⁶⁸ The pulpit from which John Knox was said to have preached the sermons in Holy Trinity, which encouraged the townsfolk to rise against the Cathedral, is also mentioned: once situated in the old College Hall of St Salvator's, it had been moved to the Museum by 1853.¹⁶⁹

The University Library and its contents are also frequently discussed. Until the establishment of the Museum, it continued to hold 'curiosities', particularly interesting and unusual specimens of natural history and ethnography. Like earlier visitors, Reverend Wade, writing in 1822, describes the mummy, human skeleton, concretion from the body of a mare and picture of a spotted child.¹⁷⁰ After these items (with the exception of the skeleton), and many others besides, were transferred to the Museum in 1838, the items on

¹⁶⁶ SAUL, UYUC705 415/6s

¹⁶⁷ McIntosh, *Brief Sketch*, pp.13-14. MSALPS, minute of 1 October 1855, fol. 144r.: Dr Adamson reported that the Museum had been open to the public on Saturdays over the summer, and on one day the names of no fewer than 247 visitors were taken.

¹⁶⁸ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.24 n.2. Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, p.195; *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, p.28; *Handy Book*, 1865, p.65

¹⁶⁹ Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, p.204; *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, p.34; *Handy Book*, 1865, p.65. The pulpit, which is now in St Salvator's Chapel, is now thought to date from slightly after Knox's time.

¹⁷⁰ Wade, *Delineations*, p.10

display in the University Library have a different focus.¹⁷¹ By 1845, there was an ‘admirable’ portrait over the principal entrance door by Sir John Watson Gordon, of John Hunter, Principal of the United College 1835-7 and Professor of Humanity in the United College 1775-1835. At the far end of the room was another portrait by Watson Gordon, of Robert Haldane, Principal of St Mary’s College 1820-54, with portraits of the statesman Thomas Hay, 9th Earl of Kinnoull (Chancellor of the University 1765-87) by David Martin (plate 33), and Lord Cardross (a prominent alumnus, later 11th Earl of Buchan) by an unknown artist, after Sir Joshua Reynolds (plate 32), elsewhere in the room. By 1865, there was also ‘a rude engraving’ of the incident in 1710 when seven students were swept out to sea in a boat, without provisions, sails or oars, landing near Aberdeen after six days. Two died, and for decades afterwards it was against University regulations for students to sail boats in the harbour, or on the open sea.¹⁷² In the western extension to the Library, in the room now known as the Senate Room, was a portrait of the statesman Robert Saunders Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville, Chancellor of the University 1814-51 by Sir David Wilkie (plate 34), and an engraving of Wilkie’s *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo*, presented by the artist himself in 1832. Downstairs in the Parliament Hall, visitors could see a chair believed to have been used in the Parliament and the blackstone, upon which examination candidates sat until the 18th century (plates 14 and 15).¹⁷³ These were not curiosities, gathered from across the globe, but items specifically connected to the history of the University. The paintings are of eminent individuals with a particular relationship to the University, by prominent artists. They were acquired either through patronage (Lord Cardross presented his own portrait, while that of the Earl of Kinnoull was given by his nephew), University commission (Melville) or public

¹⁷¹ The items transferred in 1838 are listed and discussed in Chapter V. They are also listed in MSALPS, minute of 30 November 1838, fols 17r.-17v. and Simpson, , "'You have not such a one'", pp.51-53.

¹⁷² The prohibition is given in Senatus Academicus, *The St Andrews University Calendar for the Year 1865-66*, Edinburgh, 1865.

¹⁷³ See *Fletcher’s Guide*, 1845, pp.56-57 and *Handy Book*, 1865, p.79. All the items mentioned, with the exception of the ‘rude engraving’ which is referred to in the *Handy Book*, are discussed in *Fletcher’s Guide* and hence were displayed in this manner in 1845. The portrait of Cardross was presented in 1765: the Senate Minutes record that it was ordered to be put up in the Library in 1768, after the refurbishment (SM 23 March 1768). Kinnoull’s nephew, the 10th Earl, donated his portrait in 1791. It was hung in the west end of the Library, the donor sending the artist, David Martin, ‘to see it properly placed’ (SM 16 September 1791). Melville’s portrait was commissioned in 1829 and hung in 1831 (SM 11 April 1829 and 8 October 1831). Haldane’s portrait was presented to him in 1841 (SM 10 April 1841); exactly when this work and the

subscription (Haldane), while the portrait of Hunter seems to have been given by his former students. In several of the portraits, the subject's connection to the University is made explicit. Kinnoull wears the Chancellor's robes; Haldane stands beside the Mace of the Faculty of Canon Law [the Scottish Faculty mace]; and Melville, also in the Chancellor's robes, sits before the new buildings of the United College which he was instrumental in persuading the government to fund.¹⁷⁴ In choosing to conspicuously display such portraits, the University is emphasising its links to distinguished men, in both academic and public spheres. Busts of George III and 'the late Principal Robertson of Edinburgh, the historian', were also held in the Library.¹⁷⁵ The former surely points to the University's desire to demonstrate its loyalty and respectability.

By the mid-19th century, the number of volumes held by the Library had greatly increased. *Fletcher's Guide* (1853) refers to over 56,000 works, 'extensive and well chosen in all the different departments of literature and science'.¹⁷⁶ Lord Cockburn comments that it houses 'a far better collection of books than I had any idea they possessed'.¹⁷⁷ Both Grierson (1823) and *Fletcher's Guide* (1853) note several large folio volumes on the ruins of Herculaneum, presented by the King of Naples, the 13th century manuscript of the works of St Augustine, previously mentioned by Saint Fond, and an illuminated Romish missal; Lyon additionally refers to a copy of the Koran which belonged to 'Tippoo Sahib', an old manuscript copy of Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, a copy of Juvenal, printed in Venice in 1475 and Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*, printed in St Andrews in 1552.¹⁷⁸ Interestingly, Grierson discusses at some length the meridian line marked in the Upper Library, which he erroneously believed to have been laid down by James Gregory (it actually seems to have been laid down by Thomas Short in 1748), and the accomplishments of the Gregory family, but makes no mention of the Knibb clocks or scientific instruments associated with Gregory, presumably because he was either not

portrait of Hunter were hung is not known. The donation by Wilkie of *Chelsea Pensioners* is recorded in SM 26 April 1832.

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter II, pp.71-86 for a discussion of the attribution of the Scottish mace as the mace of the Faculty of Canon Law.

¹⁷⁵ Grierson, *Delineations*, 1823, p.190. The bust of George III was acquired in 1774 (SM 6 June 1774).

¹⁷⁶ *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, p.51

¹⁷⁷ Cockburn, *Circuit Journeys*, p.228

aware of their existence, did not deem them to be interesting or significant, or because the instruments would not be readily accessible to readers of his guidebook.¹⁷⁹

In the 19th century then, whereas in the late 17th and 18th centuries visitors had come to St Andrews primarily because of its significance as a place of religion and learning, as ‘the Metropolis of all Scotland, and the seat of the first University’, they might now be drawn to it as a seaside resort, a place of health, relaxation and leisure. Once, the form of a visit to the city was largely confined to an inspection of the University, the most prominent ruins, the town kirk, the harbour and links, and occasionally, the silver keys to the city, headsman’s axe and charter of Malcolm II displayed in the Tolbooth; now there were many other recreational opportunities and rival attractions on offer and the University might no longer be a prime focus of visitors’ attentions.¹⁸⁰ However, the increasing volume of tourists coming to the city meant that the number of visits to the University rose dramatically. The formalisation of visits to several principal sites, including the University, Holy Trinity Church, the Cathedral and Madras College, into guided tours, those of the last three being conducted by a beadle, sexton and janitor respectively, was presumably due to visitor demand, coupled with a desire to limit the damage and disruption which considerable numbers of people wandering unaccompanied would undoubtedly cause.

Although improvements to the University’s physical state and reputation meant it no longer had the same need to extend personal hospitality to visitors to assuage poor impressions, it is clear that visitors were still welcomed, and indeed encouraged to inspect particular objects. In the case of the Museum, in the later 19th century public access was made a condition of the government grants it received for exhibition cases.¹⁸¹ However, with regard to the collections as a whole, the University seems to have welcomed the opportunity to present to a fairly wide audience objects which reflected well on its

¹⁷⁸ Grierson, *Delineations*, 1823, p.191, *Fletcher’s Guide*, 1853, p.52; Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, p.189

¹⁷⁹ SM 14 September 1748; Grierson, *Delineations*, 1823, pp.191-192

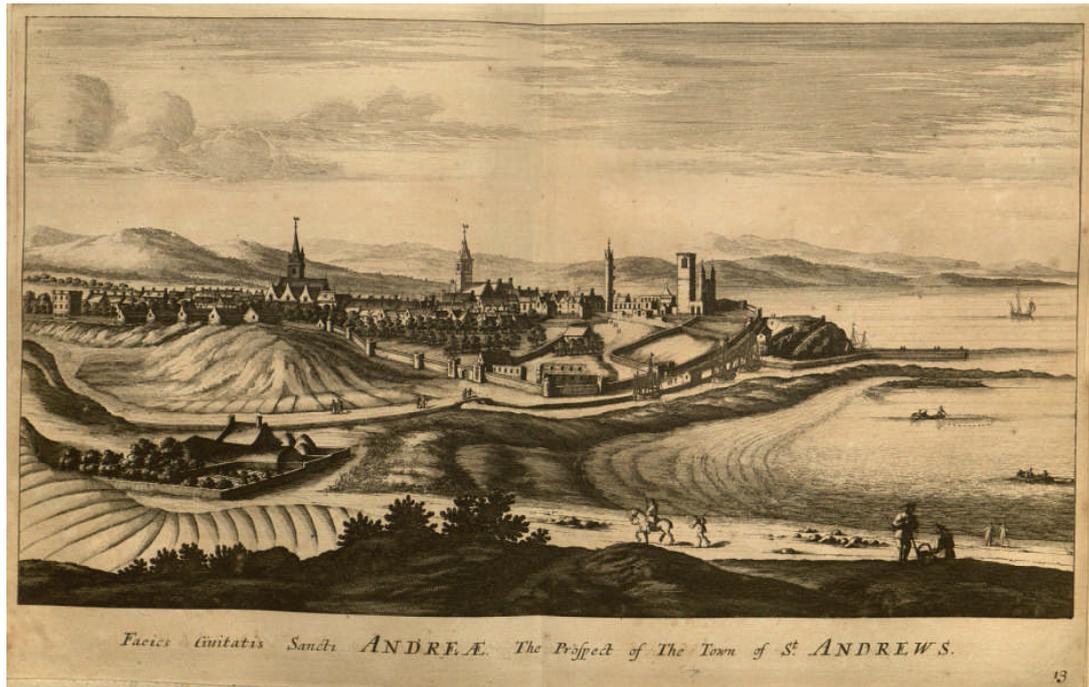
¹⁸⁰ Pennant, *Tour*, p.196

¹⁸¹ Alexander Thoms, *Paper Giving a Brief Account of the Origin and Work of the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews During the Last 56 Years*, printed St Andrews, [c. 1894], pp.3-5.

authority and status. As previously, the maces, archery medals, St Salvator's Church, with the tomb of Bishop Kennedy, Parliament Hall and the University Library and its contents, plus now the Museum, were key among the artefacts and sites shown to visitors. The value placed on them, both by the University, which presented them, and those who saw them, is manifest from their prominence in guidebooks and itineraries. The meaning vested in them would generally seem to be the same as previously. The decision to guide visitors round the ruins of St Leonard's Church, where various tombs could be inspected, is in contrast to the civil hindrance of entrance shown to Samuel Johnson, who was appalled by the abandonment of the church. The descriptions of the church suggest it is now perceived as an interesting illustration of the University's history, rather than as an emblem of its decline, or a matter for shame or sorrow. In more prosperous times, the very real threats to its existence that the University had faced in the 18th century must have seemed remote, to the University and visitors alike. The establishment of the Museum, and the separation of the collections displayed there, which mainly related to natural and human history, from the objects displayed elsewhere in the University, largely arts-related and with associations to the history of the institution, is intrinsically connected to the modern development of museums and the increasing divisions between the arts and sciences in Europe at this time, and will be discussed in depth in later chapters. It is, however, clear that what the University chose to present, and in what context, and what visitors wanted to see, and how they responded to the experience, were all informed by shifting social and cultural patterns, as well as by constants such as a desire to reflect and enhance the status of the institution.

From the medieval period onwards, then, the University chose to present and display certain artefacts, and to make particular sites accessible to approved visitors. The accounts of visitors from 1677 onwards not only reveal what was presented and how individual visitors responded to the experience. By describing what was shown and in what context, they also suggest something of the University's values, aspirations and how it wished to be perceived in particular periods. That the University consistently chose to present objects and sites which suggested its history, wealth, status, learning, connections

to eminent figures and national events and the importance it placed on intellectual and sporting prowess is indicative of its desire to vest its identity in these concepts. Of course, it could not fully control what visitors saw, nor how they responded to it: it could, however, attempt, if not always very successfully, to counter the negative impressions which visitors might gain of the institution from sights such as the dilapidated buildings, by focusing their attention on more positive stimuli. The artefacts and buildings of the University, so different in their form and function, are in one sense closely connected. They are both parts of a living, developing institution and, as such, to the extent that the University has acquired, prioritised, maintained and neglected them, to some degree embody its spirit and outlook and reflect its condition in specific periods. In different ways, part of their value to the University and to visitors lies in their revelatory nature.



John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiæ*, London, 1718
 View of St Andrews from the south-east
 Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews

Plate 1



John Oliphant, *A View of the City of St Andrews taken from the South East*, c.1767
 Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, Gra DA890.S106

Plate 2



John Oliphant, *St. Salvators Colledge St. Andrews*, about 1767

The old college hall is on the west (left). The north building (centre) contained lecture rooms on the ground floor, with the students' living quarters above them. Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, Gra DA890.S106

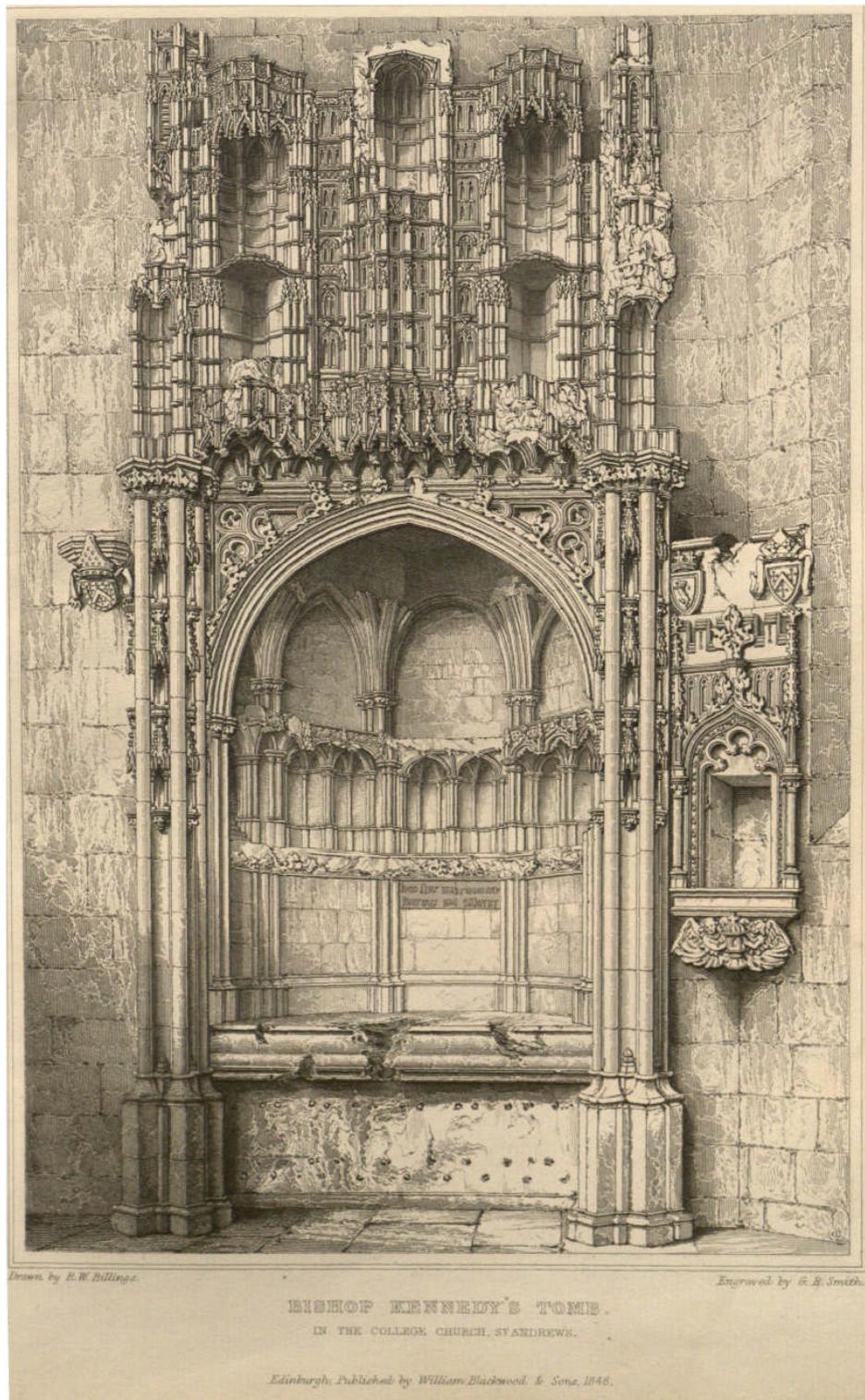
Plate 3



John Oliphant, *St. Salvators Colledge Church St. Andrews*, about 1767

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, Gra DA890.S106

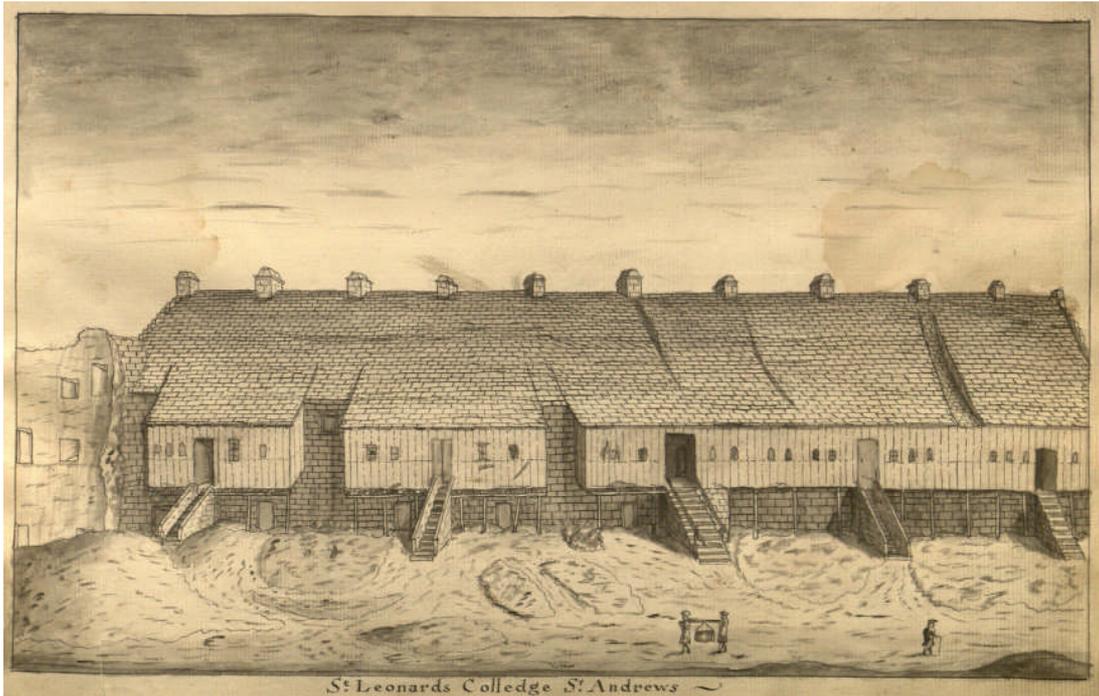
Plate 4



**Robert William Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*
Volume I, Edinburgh, 1845-52**

Bishop Kennedy's tomb

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews

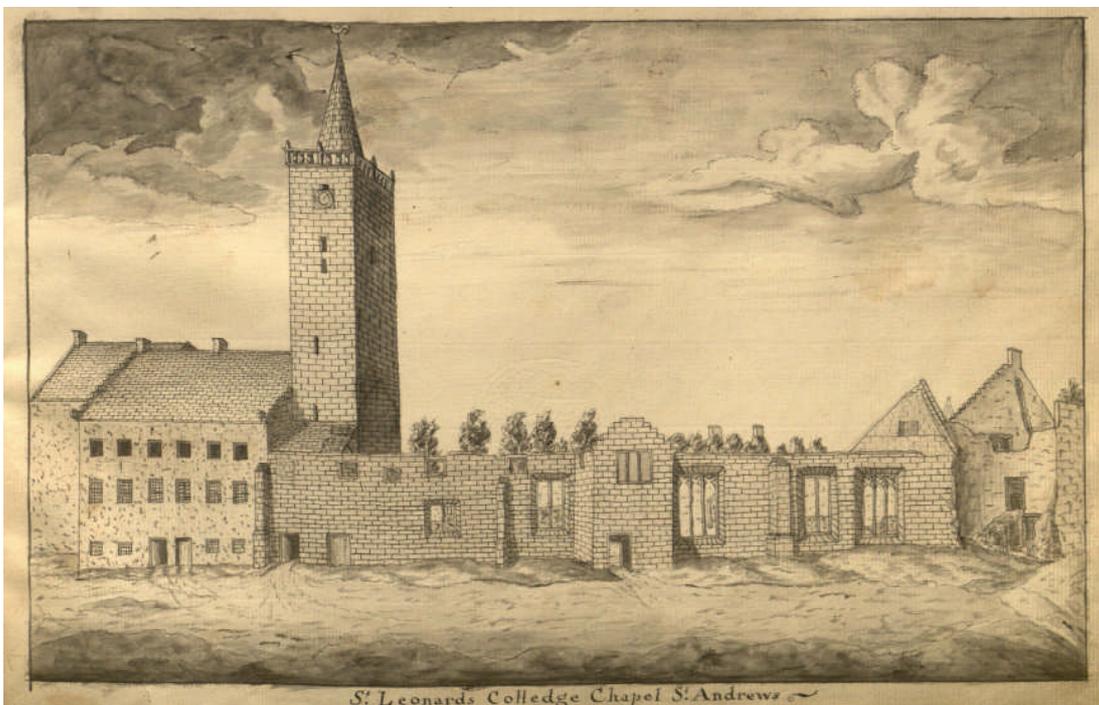


John Oliphant, *St. Leonard's Colledge St. Andrews*, about 1767

The students' living quarters are shown.

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, Gra DA890.S106

Plate 6



John Oliphant, *St. Leonard's Colledge Chapel St. Andrews*, about 1767

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, Gra DA890.S106

Plate 7



John Oliphant, *St. Marys Colledge St. Andrews*, about 1767

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, Gra DA890.S1O6

Plate 8



John Oliphant, *The Library*, about 1767

The Library building, with Parliament Hall on the ground floor, is depicted.

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, Gra DA890.S1O6

Plate 9



John Oliphant, *A View of the Ruins of the Cathedral of St. Andrews taken from the West*, about 1767

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, Gra DA890.S106

Plate 10



W. Banks and Sons, Edinburgh, *Ruins of Cathedral & Chapel of St Regulus in Anon., Handy Book of St Andrews*, 2nd edition, Cupar and St Andrews, 1865

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews

Plate 11



Capriccio view of the ruins of St Andrews, unknown artist (possibly John Oliphant?), mid 18th century, oil on canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC502

Plate 12



Photograph of the St Salvator's College site, about 1845

The old college hall (centre) and north building (right) were demolished shortly after this early photograph was taken.

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews / Hay Fleming Trustees, ALB66-4

Plate 13



Blackstone, 15th century
Museum Collections, HC825



The 'Parliament chair'
The chair is said to have been used by the Presiding Officer when the Scottish Parliament met in St Andrews 1645-46.
Museum Collections, HC790

Chapter II

The silver and furnishings of the University of St Andrews, 15th to 18th centuries

In its first years, although it had a definite, though developing, structure and regulations, the University of St Andrews had no official buildings of its own. In this, it was not atypical of medieval university foundations, for universities were in essence conceived as societies of students and teachers dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge, not institutions attached to particular architectural sites. In St Andrews, congregations and faculty meetings were held in the Priory and other ecclesiastical buildings, with lectures also taking place there or in the private pedagogies of the masters, while the masters and students lodged wherever they could obtain rooms.¹ In 1419 the first academic buildings were established with the foundation of the College and Chapel of St John the Evangelist. This was followed by the creation of a Pedagogy for the use of the Faculty of Arts, in 1430. The College of St John was not a college in the conventional university sense, but rather a form of chantry. It does, however, seem to have provided accommodation for lectures and meetings, while the Pedagogy was employed for lectures and residence.² Although neither institution provided a definite focus for University life, and both were to prove short-lived, it is clear that from the date of their establishment, the University must have required certain functional items: at the very least forms on which masters and students could sit and the rudiments of furnishings for sleeping quarters. With the foundation of the more formal college structures of St Salvator's (1450), St Leonard's (1512) and St Mary's (1538), this need would have intensified. In the early years the three colleges were monastic in character, and inventories show that their furnishings were sparse, if not uncomfortable: in St Leonard's College in 1599 there was:

¹ Ronald Gordon Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, St Andrews, 1992, pp.16-17

² Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.18-19

In every chamber ane Board & ane furme plain and thereto [Lee and Herkless and Hannay have 'pertainand thereto], w^t glassen windows, and the maist part of all the chambers cieller'd above, & the floors beneath laid w^t buirdis.³

Kitchen equipment would have been a necessity, and plates and vessels to eat and drink from, as well as the accoutrements of worship for the college churches. It is, however, clear that over time, the three later colleges, at least, the Pedagogy and the Faculties of Arts, Theology and Canon Law acquired certain items which were not merely functional or related to the fundamental business of teaching, learning and worship, but had some special import, or aesthetic or monetary value. These included pieces of metalwork (particularly silver), textiles, woodwork and, perhaps, furniture, used in the domestic and religious contexts. It is these items which I will consider in this chapter.

Gold and silver have certain attributes which have caused them to be regarded as particularly appropriate materials for sacramental vessels and other components of the rituals of religious practice, and for secular ceremonial pieces. Both are of high value and relatively rare (gold being the rarest, and therefore costliest of the two, which is why silver was frequently gilded - covered with a thin layer of the more expensive metal – to give it the appearance of gold). Only the wealthiest in Western European societies were able to afford to possess gold and silver in any great quantities, and they have thus become associated with status and honour, making them fit for divine usage, as well as for dignified secular purposes and those in which the conspicuous display of valuable goods is

³ This information is given in 'The Rental of St Leonard's College within St Androis Given Up by Mr Robert Wilkie, Rector', 1599. The 'rental' details are followed by a 'Compt of Insight' and 'Compt of Vessel', which provide information on the furnishings and silver of the College respectively. I have been unable to locate the original document within the University of St Andrews Library, but (slightly variant) transcriptions are provided by Francis Pringle, Professor of Philosophy (1699-1702) and Professor of Greek (1702-1747) at St Leonard's College, in the volume of transcripts of papers relating to the land, privileges and titles of the University, in particular St Leonard's College, known as 'Pringle's Book' (SAUL UYSL156, p.93) and by Robert Howie, Principal of St Mary's College (1607-47) in a similar volume entitled 'Records University' (SAUL UYUY152/2, pp.169-171). The information is published in Reverend William Lee (ed.) *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland From the Reformation to the Revolution Settlement by the Late Very Reverend John Lee, D.D., LL.D., Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, Vol. II, 1860, p.352, and in John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, *The College of St Leonard*, Edinburgh 1905, pp.218-219, the latter citing the former as the source, which implies that the authors of this detailed history of the college were also unable to locate the original. There are variations of spelling between all four

considered important. Both metals are regarded as a symbol of purity, because of the rigorous assaying to which they are subjected, due to their associations with the coinage. (Silver is also pure in the sense of being sterile and anti-bacterial, a property which was appreciated, if not scientifically understood, in the medieval period, hence its use in drinking vessels and medical equipment.)⁴ Both retain their value and can be melted down and refashioned into new forms, and so have historically functioned as reserves of cash. Gold and silver objects have a distinct beauty and aesthetic appeal. In a dimly lit church, they would have reflected and gleamed in the candlelight and therefore been visible to the congregation at a distance during the celebration of the mass and other ceremonies. Borne in solemn procession, or arranged on a buffet, they would have been equally conspicuous. The symbolic connection of the purity, beauty and value of silver and gold to the divine is expressed in Psalms 12:6:

the words of the Lord are unalloyed; silver refined in a crucible, gold purified seven times over.⁵

Costly items of gold and silver have been employed in ecclesiastical and ceremonial roles in the University almost from its foundation, as church vessels and, as most prominently exemplified by the maces, as emblems of its authority and status.

Ostensibly functional domestic objects could also have a symbolic role. Decorative and even plain items, handled in a manner which set them apart from mere utilitarian pieces, could encourage a sense of collegiality. The college mazers, passed from hand to hand and lip to lip at high occasions, fostered a feeling of community and conviviality, heightened no doubt by the libations they contained. The annual Silver Arrow archery competition, organised by the Faculty of Arts for the students of St Salvator's and St

sources, and for the sake of consistency, in all references to this material I have followed the version given by Pringle.

⁴ Philippa Glanville (ed.), *Silver*, London, 1996, pp.7-9. Glanville notes, p.8: 'The Knights of St John of Jerusalem equipped each bed in their grand hospital in Valetta with a silver bowl, cup and spoon and well-equipped nurseries had silver papboats, 'sucking bottles' and spoons for feeding infants. In the colonnade of the Amber Palace in Jaipur stands a pair of massive four-handled silver water pots which travelled with the Maharajah to ensure a supply of pure water for ritual and hygienic purposes'.

⁵ Marion Campbell, 'Plate and Piety' in Glanville, *Silver*, pp.16-18, p.16

Leonard's colleges, was perhaps intended to play a similar role, by encouraging friendly inter-collegiate rivalry. The setting, however, was public rather than domestic, the parade to the archery butts, in which the medals of previous victors were borne on the silver arrows, providing an opportunity to display to admiring bystanders these highly decorative tokens, redolent of glory, victory, and in their craftsmanship and armorial designs, costliness and noble prowess, just as the competition itself allowed the students to display their skill with the bow. Patrons sought to support, and associate themselves more closely with, the colleges, faculties and University through the presentation of particular pieces, for example the cup given to the Faculty of Theology by Dr William Guild in 1628; the Communion cup presented to St Leonard's Church by 'a devout widow', Anne Murray, Lady Halkett, in 1681; and the 'Silver Cup with a Cover, both gilded' given by 'John Earl of Sutherland' (presumably John Gordon, 14th Earl of Sutherland, 1609-1679) to St Salvator's College in 1630, the year John Gordon left the University. The assignation of particular meaning to objects, in terms perhaps of their relationship to the history of an institution and its traditions or their connection to prominent alumni or benefactors, could be instrumental in establishing the particular identity of the college or faculty body which possessed them, within the University as a whole, while the use or display of the significant objects could promote or reinforce, in individual members, pride in and association with the corporate body.

The pre-Reformation holdings of the University of St Andrews

Losses to the records of the various constituent bodies of the University of St Andrews are a considerable hindrance to any attempt to ascertain the artefact holdings of the University in the pre-Reformation period. The three extant inventories of the furnishings of St Salvator's Church dating from c. 1500 to 1552 provide crucial information on its contents, including the sacramental vessels and the vestments of the ministers. However, no parallel sources exist for the pre-Reformation contents of the Chapel of St John, the Church of St Leonard and the Collegiate Church or Chapel of St Mary, and any sense of their furnishings must be deduced from the merest fragmentary references. An account of

the business and concerns of the Faculty of Arts from the early years of the University until after the Reformation is provided by the 'Acta Facultatis Artium', the records of the meetings of the General Congregation of the Faculty.⁶ Comparative records do not survive for the Faculties of Canon Law and Theology, and consequently far less is known about the activities of these higher faculties, and with this loss information that would illuminate the context of the development of the University as a whole has disappeared.⁷

This paucity of records means that it can be difficult to correctly identify and attribute surviving artefacts, much less non-extant ones known from inventories and other sources, which tend to denote the existence of pieces in minimal terms. In both the pre- and post-Reformation periods, accounts of artefacts were usually kept for routine administrative purposes, such as to register the entrusting of items to various custodians and their return, or to record the benefaction of a patron, rather than to give a detailed description of individual objects for posterity. They are therefore often little more than lists which would enable someone reasonably familiar with the pieces to recognise and check off each when they were set before them. Problems of identification extend to, and are best illustrated by, the items which have from their creation onwards (with the possible exception of the relics in St Salvator's Church) been regarded as the most significant of all the University's artefact holdings, because they represent the honour, dignity and authority of its constituent bodies: the medieval maces.

⁶ SAUL, UYUY411/1. The volume contains the Minutes of the Faculty of Arts from 1413 to 2 November 1588 (fols 1-211r.) and other material, including the record of the election of the Deans of the Faculty from 1615-1728 (fols 211r.-224r.). The first part of the volume (fols 1-211r.) has been published by the University of St Andrews, under the editorship of, and with an authoritative introduction by, Dr Dunlop. See Annie I. Dunlop (ed.), *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588*, Edinburgh, 1964. It is Dunlop's publication, her transcription of the Latin text of the 'Acta' and her English synopsis of it, pp.clxxv-ccxli, that I have consulted. In the footnotes below, the 'Acta' are referred to by date rather than folio or page numbers, so that they might easily be located in either source.

⁷ The Bull of Foundation granted the University the right to teach Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law, Medicine and Arts, and other 'lawful subjects'. However, it is doubtful whether formally organised faculties came into being for all these, though practitioners of Civil Law were found in St Andrews in much of the pre-Reformation period, and Medicine was occasionally taught. See Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.13; Dunlop, *Acta*, clvii.

The maces

The provenance of the mace of St Salvator's College (plate 18) is well-attested, for it is recorded on the mace itself. A circular band, inserted just above the base terminal of the shaft, is inscribed:

Johne Maiel govldsm[it]he and verlete off chamer til ye Lord ye Dalfyne hes made
this masse in ye toune of Paris ye yer of our lorde mccccxix

A pendant, once attached to the mace by a chain but now displayed beside it, bears Kennedy's motto 'avisses a la fin' [avise la fin – consider the end] and the legend:

Jacobus / kanedi illustris / san[c]ti andree antistes / ac fu[n]dator Collegii S[anc]ti
Saluatoris cui me dona/-bit me fecit fieri Pari-/[s]iis an[n]o d[omi]ni M / cccc lxi

[James Kennedy, the illustrious Bishop of St Andrews and founder of the College of St Salvator, to which he donated me, had me made in Paris in the year of our Lord 1461]. There is no reason to doubt the information contained in these inscriptions, or that they are contemporaneous with the dates to which they refer. However, the maces of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Canon Law (see plates 16 and 17) bear no such identifying texts, and there is considerable doubt and debate as to which rod pertains to which faculty.

There are various references to the mace of the Faculty of Arts in the 'Acta Facultatis Artium'. These have been summarised by Michael Michael in his article 'The First Maces of St Andrews University'.⁸ Brook discusses aspects of the references in some depth in 'An Account of the Maces of the Universities of St Andrews ... &c', as does Dunlop in her introduction to the 'Acta'.⁹ The 'Acta' record that on 17 January 1415/16, the Faculty

⁸ Michael Michael, 'The First Maces of St Andrews University' in *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1986*, XIV, Leeds, 1994, pp.185-196, plates xxx-xxxi

⁹ Alexander J.S. Brook, 'An Account of the Maces of the Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, the College of Justice, the City of Edinburgh, &c' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXVI, 1891-92, pp.440-514; Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.xv-xvi, xix n.1, xx-xxii, xxvi, lxi, lxiii, lxxxii n.3, cxxxv, cxlvi-cxlvii.

assigned £5 for the purchase of books from Paris and £5 for procuring a mace. On 21 May 1416 the £5 previously allocated for books was diverted to the mace fund. On 6 October 1416 it was decided that Laurence of Lindores, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, would deliver 10 marks to a goldsmith for the making of the head of the mace, ‘quod statim fecit’ [‘which he immediately did’]. This was on the advice of the Bishop of St Andrews, Henry Wardlaw, founder and Chancellor of the University, who seems to have had some acquaintance with the goldsmith, for it is recorded that he said that he would answer for him and for his trustworthiness. Though the phrase is not quite clear, it also seems to have been agreed that the goldsmith would receive 10 nobles for making the mace and for his labour. The next mention of the mace is at the important meeting on 9 August 1418, when the Faculty of Arts took the decision to transfer obedience to the Roman Pope Martin V, from the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII, who had issued the Papal Bulls founding the University of St Andrews just five years earlier, in August 1413. An envoy was dispatched to inform the Governor and Council of Scotland of this resolution. It was also decided to send a dependable and distinguished person to the goldsmith, if necessary at the expense of the Faculty, to persuade him to bring the mace to St Andrews and finish it in the city, or if he was unwilling to do so, to send the mace with the envoy after he had been given something as security for his labours. This seems to have been in anticipation of the meeting of the General Council, which took place in Perth on 2 and 3 October 1418, at which the allegiance of Scotland to Benedict XIII was debated and revoked: the mace was presumably desired so that it might be borne in attendance on the University Rector, as a symbol of the University’s authority.¹⁰ Unfortunately, there is no record of whether the mace was actually present on this occasion.¹¹ It is, however, somewhat ironic that the

¹⁰ The Great Schism in the Papacy of 1378 had divided the countries of Europe into two factions: France, Scotland and the Spanish kingdoms, who supported the Avignon Popes, and Italy, Germany, England and the kingdoms of eastern and north-eastern Europe, who supported the Roman line. France withdrew support from the Avignon papacy in 1408. The Great Schism hindered Scots from studying in England and in continental centres, particularly Paris, as previously, and was a major influencing factor in the decision to establish a university in St Andrews. By 1418, Scotland was almost alone in continuing to support the Avignon line. See Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.4-5, 25-26; Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.xv, cxlvii, clxxvii; and R. Swanson, ‘The University of St Andrews and the Great Schism, 1410-1419’ in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XXVI, 1975, pp.223-245.

¹¹ *Scotichronicon* mentions the presence of the Rector, John Elward and theologians from the University of St Andrews at the Council, but not of the mace. See Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D.E.R. Watt, Aberdeen, 1987, Vol. 8, Book XV, pp.86-93. Boece does not discuss the occasion. Nor, so far as I can ascertain, do other chroniclers: this is supported by Swanson, ‘Great Schism’, who writes ‘The only

earliest usage of this emblem of the status of the institution which Benedict XIII had established may well have been on the event of the formal withdrawal of Scotland's loyalty to him.

Exactly when, how and from what place the mace of the Faculty of Arts arrived in St Andrews is not known. It was certainly in the city by 9 December 1419, when it was agreed at a meeting of the Faculty that it would be placed in the custody of Laurence of Lindores, as a form of security, until he had received the money he had advanced for its production (which may have been more than the 10 marks previously mentioned). The same minute reveals that the final cost of the mace was 45 marks and 20 pence, plus two shillings for the cost of a cover and case and also for the charcoal, and that the Earl of Douglas had assisted in procuring it. The reference to the charcoal may suggest that the mace was indeed completed in St Andrews, as a goldsmith putting the finishing touches to a complex piece outside his own workshop might well find it necessary to charge separately for suitable charcoal for firing a local forge to the required temperature, when ordinarily this would have been included in the total.¹² The Faculty attempted to redeem the mace from Laurence in June 1426, but despite repaying the money did not manage to recover it at this time, apparently due to a dispute over accounts.¹³ The mace was allowed to appear in public, as when it was taken to the King in Parliament at Perth in March 1429/30 on a University mission, supported by the Faculty of Arts, to work for privileges, and again when it accompanied the University Rector and his assessors on an unknown errand to Perth in January 1436/37.¹⁴ However, it was still in Laurence's custody at his death in 1437, and was finally recovered from his executors with legal formalities on the intervention of the Chancellor.¹⁵ On 9 April 1439 the Faculty agreed the purchase of a common chest for its mace, muniments and other valuables. Until at least the 1450s, the

chroniclers to record this meeting seem to be Bower and his followers. There are occasional references in *Copiale* and in the *Acta* of the artists', p.239 n.1. I have examined *Copiale* with the assistance of Rachel Hart, Muniments Archivist, University of St Andrews Library, and as far as we can ascertain, there are no references to the mace being present at the meeting. See James Haldenstone, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree : the letter-book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St Andrews (1418-1443)*, trans. and ed. James Houston Baxter, London, 1930.

¹² Brook, 'Maces', p.459

¹³ 'Acta', 20 June 1426

¹⁴ 'Acta', 9 March 1429/30; 21 January 1436/37

¹⁵ 'Acta', 16 September 1437; Dunlop, *Acta*, p.xxi

Arts mace seems to have been employed as a symbol of the authority of the University as well as the Faculty, as when it was taken in attendance on the Rector to meetings outwith St Andrews.¹⁶ The Faculty of Theology, which had no mace of its own, seems to have assumed an interest in the Arts mace. In 1457 this interest became too presumptuous for the liking of the Faculty of Arts, which on 10 May cited the claims made on the mace by Masters John Athilmer and John Lok in the name of the Faculty of Theology as the reason for removing the mace from the custody of Theology and for refusing to allow its attendance on Lok in his inaugural lecture, as was apparently customary.¹⁷ The arrival of the mace of St Salvator's College in St Andrews a few years later may have reduced the pressure on the artists to allow their mace to be used by other elements of the University for particular occasions. However, it may be that their resentment over the temerity of the theologians related less to a certain jealousy regarding the mace which they had purchased at such expense, than to a fear that its potency as an emblem of the authority of the Faculty of Arts would be diminished if it was employed by all and sundry. During 1457, the artists appear to have been particularly determined to assert their rights and their independence: in April and May, orders were given relating to the commissioning of a distinctive seal for the Dean; in August, they refused permission for the Faculty of Canon Law to make a window in the School of Decrets overlooking their grounds; and in

¹⁶ In discussions with myself, Robert Smart, retired Keeper of Muniments at the University of St Andrews, pointed out that the Rector, who was elected annually, was sometimes one and the same as the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, also elected annually, and that this may to some extent account for this use of the mace. However, in October 1418, the Rector was not a member of the Arts Faculty, but a theologian, John Elward. The identity of the Rector in March 1429/30 is uncertain, but in the minutes of 21 January 1436/37 he is named as Alexander Lychton, while the Dean of the Faculty of Arts at this time is thought to have been Laurence of Lindores. See Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.xx, cxlvii, ccxlv, ccxlix.

The Rector was the head of the society of 'Doctors, Masters and Scholars', referred to on the common seal, that constituted the University of St Andrews. He was elected annually at a general congregation, or *Comitia*, of the University. The Bull of Foundation provided that the Rector should be a graduate and in holy orders, but from 1625, the candidates for the rectorship were limited to heads of colleges and, from 1642, also Professors of Divinity. Cant, *University of St Andrews*, states that the Rector 'was a figure of great power and dignity. In his person he embodied the corporate authority of the university. He presided over its general congregations, supervised its order and discipline, and exercised an extensive civil and criminal jurisdiction over cases affecting its members' (p.9). Above the Rector was the Chancellor, who exercised 'a general supervision over the whole society, but from without' (p.9). From 1413 to 1689, with two brief intervals, the Chancellors were the Bishops and Archbishops of St Andrews. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts was elected by the Faculty and normally held office for one year: 'under his presidency [the Faculty] drew up its own *Statutes*, regulated teaching, supervised the work of students and examined them for their degrees' (p.14). For a discussion of the constitution and organisation of the University, see Cant, pp.7-16.

¹⁷ Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.cxlvi-cxlviii

October the Faculty repudiated University statutes which were felt to infringe on its liberty.¹⁸ Although the date of the mace of the Faculty of Canon Law is by no means certain, stylistically it seems to best accord with the work of the mid-15th century.¹⁹ Michael has pointed out that if the Faculty of Canon Law had received its mace in this period 'this might ... account for the fact that Theology was not allowed to use the Arts mace in 1457. If these two rival faculties were trying to assert their independence, they might not have been willing to lend the main symbol of their authority to another faculty'.²⁰ Certainly, if the Canon Law mace was indeed created about this time, it is possible to posit that the Arts Faculty interpreted the commissioning of a new mace (which, significantly, if this order of production is accepted, must have been based on its own mace but proved larger in size) as a challenge to its pre-eminence and resolved to assert its privileges.²¹

The first surviving reference to the mace of the Faculty of Canon Law occurs in the second inventory (B) of the furnishings of St Salvator's Church, where, in addition to the mace of St Salvator's College, are recorded 'tua wther beddell wandis of siluer pertening to the Universitie, ane for the facultie of Art and the tother for the facultie of Canoun'. The first inventory (A) describes the mace of St Salvator's College: 'ane beddell wand siluer and our gilt with ane chenye and ane sell of the sam'; while the third inventory (C), dated 1552, refers to 'Item thre beddell wandis siluer and ourgilt, ane thairof with ane cheyne and sele all siluer, in manibus'.²² The dating of the earlier two inventories is complex and is discussed below. When Brook produced his 'Account of the Maces of the Universities of St Andrews ... &c' (1892), he noted that the second inventory was 'drawn

¹⁸ Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.cxlvii, cl, cxci-cxcii

¹⁹ I am indebted to Dr Julian Luxford, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, for advice on this point. See also Michael, 'First Maces', p.194.

²⁰ Michael, 'First Maces', p.194

²¹ As Cant discusses, although in terms of medieval convention the Faculty of Arts was junior to the higher faculties of Theology, Law and Medicine, it was in reality the most important of the faculties at St Andrews, and at certain other institutions, including Paris. The Mastership in Arts conferred the full rights of university membership. It was also the normal requirement of study in the higher faculties, meaning that members of the other faculties might have a sense of loyalty and obligation to the Arts Faculty. See Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.13-14.

²² Ronald Gordon Cant, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development*, Edinburgh, 1950, p.161. See below, p.98 and n.77 for ms. references. See also Chapter I, n.6.

up shortly after 1461'; it is now believed to date from 'about or prior to 1537-1547'.²³ This means that the mace of the Faculty of Canon Law may have been in existence for many decades, possibly even a century or so, before its first appearance in the extant records, and crucial information on its commissioning, manufacture and early history is now lost. It is partly this lack of documentary evidence which has led to such confusion over which mace should be identified with which faculty. Before the attributions are discussed, it will be useful to describe briefly the Faculty maces.²⁴

The two Faculty maces are both of silver, partially gilt, with a wooden core to the shaft. They are executed to a similar design; however, one is of superior quality to the other. It is generally accepted that the superior mace is of French manufacture, the inferior one Scottish.²⁵ This attribution, which was first proposed by Alexander J.S. Brook, a professional goldsmith, in his seminal article of 1892 on the maces of the Scottish universities and other institutions, provides a useful shorthand for discussing the maces. The head of the 'French' mace (plate 16) is of a hexagonal, three-tiered construction. On each face of the lowest stage are angels bearing the shields of the King of Scots / arms of Scotland, Archbishop Spottiswoode, Bishop Wardlaw, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Douglas and the Duke of Albany: the latter may relate to Robert, Regent of Scotland (d.1420) or his son Murdoch, but on the basis of power and influence, particularly as pertaining to the University, it is thought more likely that the father is represented.²⁶ Depicted on panels on the second stage, on which (as on all the shields except that of Spottiswoode) traces of enamel remain, are St Michael, a figure who may represent St Margaret of Antioch, St John the Baptist, the Virgin and Child, St Andrew and St Leonard

²³ Brook, 'Maces', p.454; Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.119

²⁴ A more comprehensive description is provided by Brook, 'Maces', pp.444-455.

²⁵ Brook, 'Maces', p.444; Michael, 'First Maces', p.188; *French Connections: Scotland & The Arts of France*, exh. cat., Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1985, p.24; Ian Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, London, 1956, pp.41-42; Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.194. Despite the general consensus on the appropriateness of the terms 'French' and 'Scottish' to describe the maces, there is no definite proof that the maces were actually produced in France or Scotland respectively. Michael, pp.188, notes similarities between the enamelling technique on the 'French' mace and that used on a reliquary now in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, which bears a depiction of St Hedwig of Silesia. Of the reliquary he comments 'Stylistically it falls into the area of the influence of Bohemia c. 1400, but the training of the goldsmith ... must have been far from Silesia itself'. He associates it with French work. He points out that 'It is equally possible ... that a French-trained artist produced the 'so-called 'French' mace in a centre other than that in which he was trained', including Scotland.

or St Ninian. The final stage consists of a 'lantern' with traceried 'windows'. The head of the 'Scottish' mace (plate 17) likewise consists of three ascending and receding stages in hexagonal form. On the first stage are angels, with outstretched arms but no shields. On the next level are six panels representing St Andrew, St Peter, The Holy Trinity, the Virgin and Child, St Mungo and St John the Baptist. The uppermost stage again forms a 'lantern' with traceried 'windows': however, while the windows of the 'French' mace are uniform in style, except for that over the arms of Spottiswoode, these are all distinctive. There is no evidence of enamelling on the 'Scottish' mace. Neither mace bears any visible maker's marks.²⁷

During the late 19th century, the 'Scottish' mace was stored as the Arts mace, the 'French' one as Canon Law. Brook reversed this identification in his detailed study of 1892, without acknowledging the existing tradition.²⁸ (However, the inclusion of the 'Scottish' mace in the portrait of Robert Haldane, Principal of St Mary's College and Primarius Professor of Divinity, by John Watson Gordon, c.1841, suggests that it was at that point regarded as the Canon Law mace). During her researches on the 'Acta Facultatis Artium', Dunlop became convinced that the timescale for the completion and delivery of the Arts mace (sent for in August 1418, possibly in ceremonial use at the Council in Perth two months later) meant that it could not have been manufactured in France, but must have been produced more locally.²⁹ On this basis, the identifications of the maces were again revised. Subsequent writers, while, like Dunlop, acknowledging ambiguities in the available evidence, accepted and supported the view that the 'Scottish' mace pertains to the Arts faculty and the 'French' one to the Canon Law faculty.³⁰ In his article 'The First

²⁶ Brook, 'Maces', p.457

²⁷ However, on the back of the halo of an angel on the 'Scottish' mace, which has clearly been renewed, is the stamp of Patrick Gardyne, goldsmith in St Andrews in the mid-17th century. George Dalgleish and Henry Stuart Fotheringham, *Silver: Made in Scotland*, exh. cat., National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2008, p.163. Brook notes that the foot of the 'Scottish' mace also appears to date from the 17th century, indicating that attention was paid to restoring the mace in this period. Brook, 'Maces', p.452.

²⁸ See SAUL UYUY199, Correspondence from Brook to James Maitland Anderson, University Librarian, regarding maces.

²⁹ Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.xv-xvi, xvi n.1, n.2

³⁰ R. N. Smart, 'The University Treasures' in *Alumnus Chronicle*, 62, 1971, pp.13-17; *French Connections*, p.24; Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.194-195. The 1991 edition of Finlay's *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, revised by Henry Fotheringham, accepts this identification (p.37), reversing that given in the 1956 edition (pp.41-43), which followed Brook. However, in the exhibition 'Mittelalterliche Universitätszepter',

Maces of St Andrews University', Michael cautiously challenged aspects of this argument, contending that:

although there is much to recommend a reinterpretation of the documents, the order of production suggested by Brook, if not the original labelling of the two maces, should be retained.³¹

However, until I undertook the review of evidence and research outlined in this chapter (from 2004), in the University of St Andrews itself and beyond, the 'Scottish' mace officially retained the appellation of the Arts mace, and the 'French' one, the Canon Law mace.

Any study of the Faculty maces is necessarily heavily indebted to the work of previous researchers, in particular Brook, Dunlop and Michael. It is unlikely, unless documentary evidence relating to the production of the Canon Law mace is discovered, that there can ever be absolute certainty about the identification of the Faculty maces. However, I feel that the theory that the Arts mace is the inferior 'Scottish' mace, involves an overcomplication of all the other available physical and documentary evidence to fit the central premise that the Arts mace cannot have been brought from France in two months. All the indications are that the 'French' mace is the Arts mace. Despite various distinctive differences between the two pieces, one mace is clearly based on the other. The 'French' mace, with its fine enamelling, expressive angels and more delicate and refined rendering of detail is superior in execution to the 'Scottish' mace, where the askew trefoil arches, clumsier angels and rough finish to the gilding typify the lesser skill of the goldsmith. As Michael has pointed out, it is typologically unacceptable that the accomplished 'French' mace should be based on the cruder 'Scottish' mace. Indeed, stylistically the 'French' mace best fits the period c.1400-1420 (coinciding with the production of the Arts mace) and the 'Scottish' mace c.1437-57.³² It is also more likely, in terms both of levels of skill

held in Heidelberg in 1986, the French mace was described as the Arts mace. See *Mittelalterliche Universitätszepter*, exh. cat., Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg, 1986, pp.32-33.

³¹ Michael, 'First Maces', p.185

³² Michael, 'First Maces', pp.188, 191, 194

and geographical convenience, that an example of French or Continental craftsmanship, imported into Scotland, should be copied by a Scottish goldsmith than *vice versa*. In the 15th century, the technical skills of goldsmiths in Continental centres such as Paris and Bruges, and in London, were far in advance of those in Scotland. In this period the goldsmiths of Edinburgh, the centre of the Scottish trade, were not, as Finlay notes, ‘numerous enough to form a craft of their own ... [but instead] belonged to the craft of hammermen’, workers in metals, ‘which embraced pewterers, armourers, locksmiths, cutlers [and] blacksmiths’.³³ The Scottish goldsmiths do not make their first appearance in the records as an organised craft until 1457, in an Act of Parliament dated 6 March, which set standards for gold and silver work, with control of quality to be enforced by the dean of the craft, who was to place his mark on approved pieces. At this time, they were still associated with the hammermen, and not until the last years of the century do they seem to have become independent from them. By contrast, the London goldsmiths had been organised into a craft since 1180, with an assaying system in place in England since 1300.³⁴ (At this juncture, it should be noted that Brook remarked that the absence of any form of hallmark on the ‘Scottish’ mace ‘points to its being antecedent to 1457’.

However, this is countered by Michael, who notes that ‘privately commissioned objects, such as these maces, rarely display any hallmarks at any date’.)³⁵ To overcome the typological problem, it has been suggested that the ‘French’ ‘Canon Law’ mace predates the ‘Scottish’ ‘Arts’ mace; however, as the Faculty of Canon Law would have been hard pressed to acquire its mace before the commissioning of the Arts mace in 1416, the supposed prior existence of the Canon Law mace has required explanation. Based on ‘the relative smallness of the head and the fact that the summit is pierced by an aperture’ which, it has been argued, may have accommodated the crook of a crozier, it has been suggested that the original form of the piece may not have been a mace, but a crozier.

³³ Ian Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, revised and ed. Henry Fotheringham, Stevenage, 1991, p.36

³⁴ Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, revised Fotheringham, 1991, pp.34-38; George Dalglish and Stuart Maxwell, *The Lovable Craft 1687-1987*, exh. cat., National Museums of Scotland and the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1987, pp.4-5; *Jackson’s Silver and Gold Marks of England Scotland and Ireland*, ed. Ian Pickford, 3rd edition, Woodbridge, 1989, pp.20-21, 532-3.

³⁵ Brook, ‘Maces’, p.454; Michael, ‘First Maces’, pp.185, 194 n.5

If so, the most likely owner would be Bishop Wardlaw, and it may be suggested that it might have been presented to him by the nobles whose shields are included in the design and that it passed after his death in 1440 (with some modification of the design) to the Faculty of Canon Law.³⁶

It is difficult to reconcile this rather contrived argument with the evidence on several grounds. Firstly, there is no firm indication that the aperture at the top of the mace ever supported the pastoral crook of a crozier. There is little doubt, as Smart and Michael have discussed, that the Faculty maces are a development of the crozier form. In particular, comparisons can be drawn with the Limerick crozier, now in the Hunt Museum, Limerick, made to the order of Conor O’Dea, Bishop of Limerick, in 1418, and the crozier of William of Wykeham (1366/7-1404), bequeathed to New College, Oxford in 1403.³⁷ However, in their function and design, as it survives, the maces are not croziers. The maces also bear comparison to the mace given to Erfurt University by the Emperor Sigismund in 1412.³⁸ Secondly, although Wardlaw seems to have had some connection, however vague, to the goldsmith commissioned to make the Arts mace, whose trustworthiness he vouched for, there is no evidence that the said goldsmith had produced a crozier for the Bishop, and no evidence that the crozier, if it existed, was bequeathed by Wardlaw to the Faculty of Canon Law, or that his successor as Chancellor of the University and Bishop of St Andrews, James Kennedy, presented it on his behalf. A crozier of the Bishop of St Andrews may in any case have been regarded as belonging to the Cathedral rather than the individual bishop: the dispute which attended Kennedy’s bequest of his goods to St Salvator’s College attests to the determination of the episcopal see to retain the effects of its bishops.³⁹ Finally, there is no need to posit that the mace

³⁶ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, 1992, p.194

³⁷ Smart, 'University Treasures', pp.14-15; Michael, 'First Maces', pp.186-187. The place of manufacture of these croziers is not known: Michael, p.187, notes: 'both pieces may well be of English production'. John Hunt, *The Limerick Mitre and Crozier*, Dublin, [1953], p.4, suggests that the modelling of the figures on the Limerick crozier 'would be equally at home in England or France at that time'.

³⁸ Michael, 'Maces', p.187; Walter Paatz, *Sceptrum Universitatis: die europäischen Universitätszepter*, Heidelberg, 1953, pp.95-97, plates V, VI

³⁹ Kennedy’s testamentary deposition, dated 14 March 1453/54 is held in SAUL, UYSS/110/B1. The bequest was challenged by Kennedy’s successor, Bishop Patrick Graham, but declared valid on 22 March 1470/1. See Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.120 n.1 and Annie I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1950, p.296.

was presented to Bishop Wardlaw by the nobles represented on the shields: the presence of their arms may be explained by their connections to the University or by the desire of the commissioning body to honour patrons or powerful, eminent men.

The shields on the 'French' mace seem to be contemporaneous with the mace itself, with the exception of that bearing the arms of John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews and Chancellor of the University 1615-1639, which was most likely added during this period (possibly in preparation for the visit of James VI to St Andrews on 11 July 1617, when he was received with great ceremony).⁴⁰ Brook suggests that Spottiswoode's arms may replace those of Benedict XIII: certainly if the 'French' mace is the Arts mace, it is logical to suppose that the arms of the founder of the University would have been included in its design when it was commissioned in 1416, and equally logical that they would have been removed when allegiance was revoked in 1418, leaving a gap to be filled.⁴¹ The arms of Scotland require no explanation. There is also no need to invoke complex theories to account for the presence of the arms of Wardlaw on a mace belonging to a body within the University which he established. As Brook has discussed, the arms of the remaining individuals, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Douglas and the Duke of Albany, assist in dating the mace to which they pertain. These three were politically prominent during the first two decades of the 15th century and the captivity of James I in England, with Albany acting as Regent. Albany died in 1420 and Mar in 1435, while Douglas was killed at the battle of Verneuil in Normandy in 1424. In times of rapidly changing political allegiances, there was unlikely to have been any benefit to, or desire for, honouring such figures posthumously: the arms of Albany would certainly not have been employed after 1425, when Murdoch was executed and the family estates forfeited. Therefore, the mace bearing the shields was almost certainly created by 1424 and probably before 1420. As Brook writes, 'The conclusion ... on historical grounds alone, that the mace with the shields of arms is that of the Faculty of Arts, is almost irresistible'.⁴² It is also notable that

⁴⁰ Brook, 'Maces', pp.446, 470

⁴¹ Brook, 'Maces', pp.469-470. It is notable that the 'window' over these arms differs in style from the others. In discussions with myself, George Dalgleish and Henry Fotheringham suggested that if the arms of the founding pope of the University had indeed been positioned here, perhaps this was intended as the 'front' of the mace.

⁴² Brook, 'Maces', pp.456-457

Douglas is recorded as having been instrumental in the acquisition of the Arts mace: the presence of his arms on the Arts mace as a patron or friend of the Faculty would have been entirely fitting.

Adherents of the theory that the 'Scottish' mace is the Arts mace have attempted to overcome the difficulties presented by the presence of the shields on the 'French' mace by proposing that they were once affixed to the 'Scottish' mace.⁴³ Certainly, the fastenings of the shields are modern, indicating that they have been removed and reattached at some point. Also, the shields may not be in their original positions: not all fit entirely neatly within their current places. It is, however, evident from a close examination of the maces that the shields cannot have been attached originally to the 'Scottish' mace. Stylistically and in quality of execution, they correspond to the 'French' mace, not the 'Scottish' one (and the shields, like the figures on the French maces, and unlike those on the Scottish mace, bear traces of enamel).⁴⁴ Physically, the dimensions of the shields and the posture of the angels on the 'Scottish' mace are incompatible: the angels' arms are in the wrong position to visibly 'support' the shields, while the arrangement of their bodies, in particular their lower garments, means that the shields would have to be placed at a very awkward and unsightly protruding angle to fit upon the mace. If the positioning of the shields has been altered, it can only have been upon the 'French' mace itself, perhaps when they were refitted after removal for cleaning, repair or even investigation of the reverse. Although the association of design between the two maces leads to the supposition that the 'Scottish' mace once bore shields which are now lost, this is not necessarily the case. Julian Luxford has pointed out to me that careful attention has been paid to the folds of the angels' vestments, a degree of detail unnecessary if shields were to hide much of the design. Few suggestions of fittings for shields now remain, and those that do – the odd small circular indentation, unevenly spaced- are of uncertain status; however, when Brook produced his article, there seem to have been evident holes for fixings in the centre of the figures, where there are now raised boss-like structures.⁴⁵ This

⁴³ View advanced by Robert Smart in discussions with myself, May 2004. See also Michael, 'First Maces', p.190.

⁴⁴ Michael, 'First Maces', p.190

⁴⁵ Brook, 'Maces', p.453 plate v

would seem to indicate that shields were certainly intended for the mace, though it is harder, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain at what point they were removed, and indeed, whether they were actually fitted. The retention of shields on the 'Scottish' mace would almost certainly have been instrumental in resolving many of the problems which have so perplexed interpretation of the Faculty maces.

There are good grounds for disputing the hypothesis that the Arts mace cannot be the 'French' mace, because there was insufficient time for it to have arrived from Paris or another Continental centre two months after being sent for. Firstly, there is no evidence that the Arts mace actually was present at the meeting in Perth in October 1418. It is not mentioned in the 'Acta' until December 1419. Secondly, it is now known that trade routes from St Andrews and the East Neuk of Fife were such that it would have been no difficult matter for a ship to reach the northern coast of France within the time specified. Dr Robert Prescott of the Scottish Institute of Maritime Studies, University of St Andrews (since retired and closed, respectively) estimates that in good weather, a ship could have made the voyage in five days. Even allowing for poor weather, which might keep a boat in port for up to three weeks (though the worst storms would be unlikely in the summer months), and slower methods of transportation for the overland part of the journey, it is in theory possible that a trusted emissary starting out soon after the Faculty meeting on 9 August, could journey to Paris, persuade the goldsmith to hand over the mace or travel to St Andrews to complete it, and return to Fife with the mace within an eight-week timescale. Moreover, in all probability the messenger would not have had to wait long for a vessel to France: Crail and St Andrews were busy ports in this period. In discussions with myself, Dr Michael Brown of the Department of Scottish History, University of St Andrews, suggested that the political situation, and the presence of English armies in France, would not have caused undue difficulties to a messenger of the University of St Andrews journeying to Paris in the summer of 1418. Assuming a journey by the North Sea and a landing in an appropriate French port, the overland journey would be through lands controlled by John, Duke of Burgundy, with whom both Mar and Douglas, who is specifically said to have assisted with acquiring the mace, had connections. Mar had led a contingent of Scottish soldiers and bowmen for John during the Liège campaign of 1408,

while the Earl of Douglas had signed a treaty of allegiance with him on 11 April 1413, promising to bring 4,000 men to the assistance of the Duke in Flanders or Artois when needed.⁴⁶ If it is accepted that the documentary evidence does not rule out the possibility that the Arts mace was created in France, then many problematic issues are resolved. Stylistically and typologically it is most likely that the mace with shields was created by a French-trained craftsman in the early part of the 15th century, and that the mace served as a model for the later 'Scottish' mace. In terms of the individuals represented on the shields and the known date by which the Arts mace had been completed, it is probable that this 'French' mace is the Arts mace, and the 'Scottish' mace is, by implication, the Canon Law mace. Bishop Wardlaw, who vouched for the goldsmith who was to create the Arts mace certainly had strong connections to France, as did many of the earliest masters of the University, having been educated there. Wardlaw had 'graduated in arts at Paris, studied civil law at Orleans and attended the papal university at Avignon' and would have been familiar with the ceremonial use of maces within these institutions.⁴⁷ It is therefore natural that he should have recommended a French goldsmith for the production of the Arts mace, who would, moreover, also have been exposed to the tradition of using verges in the context of an institution of higher education, as Scottish goldsmiths could not have been (St Andrews being the first university in Scotland). It is worth remark that the first reference to the commissioning of the Arts mace in the 'Acta', on 17 January 1415/16, when £5 is set aside for acquiring a mace, is in the same minute in which the decision is recorded to order books from Paris (later cancelled in favour of the money being expended on the mace): clearly the Faculty was not averse to obtaining goods from France, and possibly the orders were sent together, the one being revoked when it was realised that the funds were insufficient for both.

On the basis of my work, the identification of the maces has again been reversed, and the 'French' mace described as the mace of the Faculty of Arts and the 'Scottish' mace as the mace of the Faculty of Canon Law, in the exhibition 'Silver: Made in Scotland' (National Museums of Scotland, 2008) and in MUSA, the new Museum of the University of St

⁴⁶ Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, Woodbridge, 2002, pp.55 n.58, 260

Andrews (opened Autumn 2008), where all three medieval maces are on long-term display.⁴⁸

Like those who commissioned the 'French' faculty mace, Bishop James Kennedy turned outside Scotland when arranging for the creation of a mace for the College of St Salvator, which he had founded in 1450. Like Wardlaw, Kennedy had connections to France. Following a period of study at the University of St Andrews, where he obtained his Master's degree in 1429 and proceeded to the higher faculties, he matriculated at Louvain University in 1430. Later, in 1436, he escorted his cousin, the Princess Margaret, to France for her marriage to the Dauphin. (Incidentally or not, Johne Maiel, who made the mace of St Salvator's College in 1461, was 'Verlete off chamber' to this Dauphin, as the inscription on the mace reveals, though Margaret herself had died in 1445). Kennedy was a strong supporter of the Franco-Scottish alliance and in 1459 appears to have sailed for France from Pittenweem in Fife to offer advice to Charles VII on a dispute between Norway and Scotland, over which Charles was acting as arbitrator. In 1460 he was given the task of escorting Alexander, Duke of Albany, second son of James II, to the Burgundian court, where he was to be educated, and where the Dauphin was now in exile, but fell ill at Bruges.⁴⁹ With these French associations, and the acknowledged superiority of the Parisian goldsmiths, it is not surprising that Kennedy should choose to employ a French craftsman to produce the beautiful, intricate, elaborate and technically accomplished rod that was to be the emblem of his college.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *French Connections*, p.23

⁴⁸ Dalgleish and Fotheringham, *Silver: Made in Scotland*, pp.162-163. The authors note, p.162, 'Helen Rawson has recently completed a review and study of all the relevant documents, and we are indebted to her for allowing us to read her paper prior to publication. All the available evidence seems to confirm that the earlier mace, which pertains to the Faculty of Arts, is the one commonly called the 'French' Mace; and that the later one, which pertains to the Faculty of Canon Law, was almost certainly made in Scotland, using the 'French' Mace as its model'.

⁴⁹ Annie Dunlop, 'The Founder of St Salvator's College' in *Veterum Laudes*, ed. James B. Salmond, Edinburgh, 1950, pp.5-20; Godfrey Evans, 'The Mace of St Salvator's College' in *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1986*, XIV, Leeds, 1994, pp.197-212, pp.199-201

⁵⁰ Although the inscriptions on the mace and pendant record the place of manufacture as Paris, McRoberts has raised the possibility that the goldsmith, Johne Maiel, may not have been French, but Scottish: 'The fact that the inscription is in Scots suggests that the goldsmith was a Scotsman and the Frenchified form, Maiel (or Mayelle), probably conceals some Scots name such as Maule or Meile' (David McRoberts, 'Bishop Kennedy's Mace' in *Innes Review*, XXV, 1974, pp.153-8, pp.153-4). It is possible that a Scotsman might have trained as an alien worker among the French goldsmiths and McRoberts surmises a connection

Since it was first discussed in detail by Brook in 'An Account of the Maces of the Universities of St Andrews ... &c', the gilded silver mace of St Salvator's College has been the subject of studies by Walter Coutts, David McRoberts and Godfrey Evans.⁵¹ The description of the mace by Lyon in his *History of St Andrews* (1843) is also useful, not least because it reveals the contemporary condition of the mace, some damage to which has since been repaired.⁵² In form the mace of St Salvator's College differs from the three-tiered structure of the heads of the Faculty maces. However, the symbolism of the number three, signifying the Trinity, is prominently evoked in the design of the mace and is discussed in detail by Evans. The hexagonal head of the mace takes the form of a shrine, containing at its centre the figure of the Holy Saviour, to whom the college was dedicated, standing on a globe. Three sides of the shrine are open. Interspaced between the open sides are three castellated projections, containing angels bearing three of the emblems of the Passion: the pillar, cross and spear. Below these are three dungeon entrances, each containing a chained wild-man or devil, who bear shields in their left hands, clubs in their right, and between their legs, shields representing the see of St Andrews, Bishop Kennedy and St Salvator's College. Between the wild-men, underneath the open sides of the shrine, are the figures of a king, a bishop and a merchant or Franciscan friar. At the base of the mace-head are six lions: four more feature on the foot of the rod. The rod has three knops, each of which consists of an arrangement of pulpits and balconies. On the uppermost knop are three angels, illustrating the parable of the talents and three students or monks with books. The second knop currently contains no figures: it appears that they have been lost at some point during the mace's history. The lowest portrays three preachers with scrolls, and above these, three figures turned inwards, looking upwards towards the Saviour in adoration. The rod has an iron core which lends it greater weight than the Faculty maces, literally and also figuratively, since it might be supposed by those not in the know that the heaviness related to larger quantities of silver,

between Maiel and the Scottish Princess Margaret. However, in the absence of more concrete evidence, the Scottish extraction of Maiel remains conjecture.

⁵¹Walter Coutts, *James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews: His Church, Tomb, and Mace*, St Andrews, 1901; McRoberts, 'Bishop Kennedy's Mace'; Godfrey Evans, 'Mace of St Salvator's College'.

⁵²C.J. Lyon, *History of St Andrews Episcopal, Monastic, Academic and Civil*, Edinburgh 1843, Vol. II, pp.197-200

and therefore to higher value: the weight, of course, influenced Kirk's judgement that: 'one of [the maces] is a good one, being all massy; the other two are mean ones, being hollow'.⁵³

The iconography of the mace is complex and has elicited various interpretations. Much has hinged on the identity of the third figure, here conventionally and conservatively described, following Cant, as 'a merchant or Franciscan friar'.⁵⁴ Lyon, in his *History of St Andrews*, interpreting it as 'an abbot in his cowl and cloak', proposed that:

Perhaps the Saviour and the angels may denote the church triumphant; the king, bishop, and abbot, the church militant; and the space below, with its demon guardians, hell.⁵⁵

Brook wrote:

The last figure has previously been described as that of an abbot or a dignitary of the University; but the dress leaves little room for doubt that it is intended for a mendicant of the Order of Observatines. ... The three figures may be symbolical of the universality of salvation, extending from the king and bishop to the mendicant.⁵⁶

Coutts regarded it as 'a trafficking merchant carrying a wallet suspended from a girdle at one side, and a bundle slung over his shoulder on the other, representing his merchandise'. However, his view of the essential symbolism of the figures relates to that of Brook. The three figures:

⁵³ P. Hume Brown (ed.), *Tours In Scotland 1677 & 1681 by Thomas Kirk and Ralph Thoresby*, Edinburgh, 1892, p.18

⁵⁴ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.196

⁵⁵ Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, p.199

⁵⁶ Brook, 'Maces', p.463

‘typify the common brotherhood of the human family in the ancient “Three Estates”, Nobles, Clergy and Commons, and emphasise the fact that the Saviour died for all men.’⁵⁷

McRoberts also felt that the figure represented a merchant or burgher and thus that ‘the Three Estates of the Christian realm’ are depicted.⁵⁸ Reviewing the evidence as regards the figures, Evans writes:

The idea that the Three Estates are represented on the macehead is extremely attractive, especially as we are clearly dealing (at least to some extent) with figures of order and authority contrasted with the three wildmen, symbolising disorder, chaos, violence and irrationality. Careful examination of the dress of the third figure followed by comparison with French and Burgundian paintings adds support to the proposition. ... The only other possible identifications would seem to be either the provost of St Salvator’s College or a general reference to a ‘champion of the Christian faith’ produced by the college. However, neither of these seems likely. On the one hand, the three figures form an excellent coherent group as the ‘Three Estates’, which were encouraged by Kennedy and played an important role in the life of the nation in the last years of James II’s reign. On the other, there seems to be no reason for a member of the college to impinge upon the macehead: as we shall see, the foundationers are treated on the knops.⁵⁹

The figures comprise just one element of the intricate design of the mace, and the problems of interpreting the fundamental symbolic meaning of the structure can be appreciated when the complexity of, and perplexed debate over, other component parts of the scheme are considered. Various aspects of the complicated iconography have been discussed in greater and lesser depth by Lyon, Brook, Coutts, McRoberts and Evans. Brook has tentatively remarked that ‘The whole design of the shrine is evidently symbolical, and may possibly represent the association of Christianity and learning’, while

⁵⁷ Coutts, *James Kennedy*, p.40

⁵⁸ McRoberts, ‘Bishop Kennedy’s Mace’, p.155

McRoberts has proposed that ‘The mace is entirely devoted to one theme, the triumph of Christ the Redeemer, the titular of Bishop Kennedy’s college, and the glory of the name Jesus, which Christ bore as Saviour of mankind’.⁶⁰ However, to date, no one authoritative and unified reading of the meaning of the scheme of the mace of St Salvator’s College has been achieved. The most comprehensive article on the symbolism of the mace is that by Godfrey Evans, and, as he acknowledges, ‘much more work still needs to be undertaken before the St Salvator’s mace can be said to have surrendered up all its secrets’.⁶¹ What is clear, however, is that the mace of St Salvator’s College is no mere decorative ceremonial rod, a token to be borne in colourful processions. It embodies a particular, carefully considered, theme, probably conceived by Kennedy himself, and skilfully realised by Mael.

The Faculty maces, with their angels and saints, have a conventional religious theme, but the religious symbolism of the mace of St Salvator’s College extends far beyond this. Evans has noted that in its design, the mace bears a resemblance to monstrances of the period, with the figure of Christ taking the place of the wafer which represents His transubstantiated body within the architectural shrine of the macehead.⁶² Christ is represented after the Resurrection, with the wounds of the Cross visible, except on His feet, which are hidden by His robe. As it relates to Kennedy’s great design for his college, the centrality of the figure of the Resurrected Christ, St Salvator, the Holy Saviour, can be no accident, any more than the name of the college itself, which it physically embodies, can have been casually chosen. As has been briefly discussed, St Salvator’s College was established on the foundation of Kennedy’s belief that true learning and religion, the intellectual and spiritual life, were inextricably interlinked: as Cant has expressed it:

⁵⁹ Evans, 'Mace of St Salvator's College', p.205

⁶⁰ Brook, 'Maces', p.463; McRoberts, 'Bishop Kennedy's Mace', p.155

⁶¹ Evans, 'Mace of St Salvator's College', p.209

⁶² Evans, 'Mace of St Salvator's College', pp.201-202

God could be most perfectly worshipped and glorified only where men's minds were illuminated by sacred truth, a truth in turn that could not be found save in the sanctuary of God's house.⁶³

The Charter of Foundation records that a great purpose of the College was 'the praise of God, the strengthening of the Church, and the increase of the Christian religion'.⁶⁴ The Collegiate Church of St Salvator was not an adjunct to the College, but a fundamental and intrinsic part of its overall design: 'as true learning and religion were inseparable, so Church and College were made one and the same foundation'.⁶⁵ The expression of the Christian faith permeated the structure of the college: the founder members comprised thirteen persons, in honour of Christ and the twelve Apostles.⁶⁶ In this context, the symbolism of the mace can be better understood. Christ and the central tenets of the Christian faith, the Resurrection and the salvation of all mankind through the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, represented by the angels bearing the symbols of the Passion, as well as the wounds, is placed right at the heart, and the central visual point, of the mace, just as the Christian faith lies at the heart of, and is the focus of, all the activities of the college. The mace is at one and the same time an academic rod and a religious symbol, and in its dual roles, an expression of the cohesiveness of learning and religion in the college which is itself directly represented in the figure of St Salvator. I tentatively suggest that with its bookish students, angels demonstrating the parable of the talents, preachers and adoring worshippers below the central figure of Christ, the mace of St Salvator's College is an allegory of the redemptive power of true learning and teaching, and well-applied work and faith, within the human community represented by the Three Estates, through the grace of Salvation, and as such, is entirely appropriate as an emblem of Kennedy's college, from which students, of noble and lesser birth alike, were to enter the Church, academia and the secular world.

⁶³ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.1

⁶⁴ SAUL, UYSS110/A2, 'Charter of Foundation of St Salvator's College', 27 August 1450. The quotation is given in translation by Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.1 and transcribed p.55, lines 1-2.

⁶⁵ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.30

⁶⁶ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.10

Whichever mace was actually identified with which faculty, the documentary records reveal something of the particular significance attached to the three medieval maces, individually and collectively, in the pre-Reformation period. The fact that the Arts Faculty was prepared to make a considerable commitment of expenditure towards the purchase of a mace as early as 17 January 1415/16, at a time when, as discussed, the Faculty, and the University as a whole, was in its earliest stages of development, had no buildings of its own and all kinds of essentials must have been in short supply, is indicative of the importance placed upon the acquisition of an emblem to publicly represent the status and corporate identity of the Faculty. The diversion, on 21 May 1416, of the £5 previously allocated for books to the mace fund, suggests that the aspiration to possess this symbol was prioritised even over the acquisition of study material. Indeed, it seems to have been viewed as a necessity. The apparent anxiety of the Faculty that the mace should be completed in time to be borne in attendance on the University Rector at the crucial meeting of the General Council in Perth in October 1418 demonstrates that the incorporation of a mace into the ceremony of solemn occasions was felt to be both fitting and desirable: its presence would impart the authority and dignity of the University delegation. The trouble and expense taken to equip both the Faculty of Canon Law and St Salvator's College with a mace, despite the existence of the Arts mace which evidently could be used to represent the University as a whole, and in particular, the effort which must have gone into working out the elaborate and extravagant scheme of the mace of St Salvator's College, suggests the importance of the maces to their commissioning bodies as symbols which could project and affirm their own prestige and identity within the wider University institution. On a broader scale, the acquisition of maces by bodies within the University of St Andrews in the early years of its foundation represented the assertion of its rights and position as a notable institution of higher studies, comparable to the older universities on the Continent, which themselves visibly exhibited their status through the ceremonial display of maces.

It is clear that specific measures were taken to safeguard the maces in times of threat and emergency. During the siege of St Andrews Castle in 1546-47, when the College of St Salvator suffered fire damage, two of the maces and some copes were sent to the country

residence of the Archbishops of St Andrews, Monimail, and Dunlop suggests that the college itself may have been partially evacuated there.⁶⁷ An undated list of ‘ye geir of Sanct Salvatoris College laid for kepine in the Castell of Sanctandrouis’ refers to:

Apud Johanem Vat Byschop James Kennedeis best wand with the seyll and the cheynze. Apud Dominum Rectorem the vther tua wandis, and the hwiddis and cappis apud bedellum.⁶⁸

As the list is undated, it is impossible to establish exactly what prompted this removal of the maces from their usual location. Cant suggests it may have been the attack of the English on the east of Scotland under Hertford in 1544, with express orders from Henry VIII to ‘spoyle and turne upset downe the Cardinalls town of St Andrews’.⁶⁹

Alternatively, it may have been the events of 1559, when not only did Knox preach in the city, but French troops under General D’Oysel marched from Stirling into Fife, with the aim of plundering St Andrews.⁷⁰ On the basis of the names of the chaplains and others mentioned in the list, Cant suggests that 1544 is the more likely date.⁷¹ Either way, the protection of the maces was a priority.

The other ‘ancient’ Scottish universities, Glasgow (founded 1451), King’s College (1495) and Marischal College (1593), Aberdeen, and Edinburgh (1582), imitated St Andrews in their early acquisition of maces as symbols of their identity. The most accessible (though

⁶⁷ Dunlop, *Acta*, p.lxi. Citing the reference ‘Bursar’s Book, fol. 35r,’ Dunlop notes, p.lxi n.5: ‘In a note, crushed in at the bottom of an account it is stated that they were taken away by Mr. Alexander Dik and Mr. Thomas Milis ‘at the time of the war of the English against the Scots’. In the audit of 24 February 1550-51, payment was made to Mr William Sanders, Beadle, for bringing back ‘some hoods’ from Monimail to St Andrews’. The siege is referred to as ‘the war of the English against the Scots’ because the Scottish Protestants holding the castle anticipated English help. However, although an army was sent across the Border, and won a victory at Pinkie, south of Edinburgh, in which the newly appointed principal of St Mary’s College, Archibald Hay, was killed, they did not succeed in relieving the ‘castellans’, who were overwhelmed by a French navy force in 1547. See Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.43.

⁶⁸ SAUL, UYSS110/AP/3(1)-(2). As cited in Brook, ‘Maces’, p.468. Despite the heading of the list, only the items on the second of the two sheets were consigned to the Castle, those on the first, including the maces, being distributed among various individuals, mainly chaplains of the Collegiate Church of St Salvator. See Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.151-152.

⁶⁹ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.119 n.2

⁷⁰ Brook, ‘Maces’, p.469

⁷¹ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.119 n.2

not the most current) description of these maces and their history is provided by Brook.⁷² All but two of these original maces of the other universities have now been lost. The only surviving mace to pre-date the Reformation, that of Glasgow University, has been extensively renovated, but bears a clear and close similarity to the 'French' faculty mace of St Andrews. It is interesting to speculate on the form of the lost maces; perhaps they too were based on the same model; but unfortunately very little information survives. The Glasgow mace is sometimes supposed to be French in manufacture, but given its evident connection to the St Andrews mace, it is possible that it was perhaps created more locally, with the 'French' faculty mace as a model.⁷³ The decision of Glasgow University to base its mace on the 'French' faculty mace of St Andrews, rather than commission a distinct design of its own, is slightly surprising: it may merely indicate convenience, parsimony and a lack of imagination (it is even possible, given that the 'Scottish' faculty mace was apparently based on the 'French' faculty mace, that sketches of the 'French' mace, suitable for adaptation by goldsmiths, were already in existence), but could equally be suggestive of the respect in which the 'French' mace was held, because of its beauty, carefully composed design, or its prominence at national and local events. It is not surprising that the mace of St Salvator's College was not used as a model: as discussed,

⁷² Brook, 'Maces', pp.475-482, 492-501. David Cadzow, Canon of Glasgow and Rector of Glasgow University, gave twenty nobles towards a mace for Glasgow University in October 1460; funds were collected for its completion in 1465 and it appears to have been in use by 1469. It was ordered to be reformed in 1490, though it is not clear how extensive the alterations were. It was taken to France during the Reformation, returned in 1590 and remains in the University's possession. King's College, Aberdeen held two maces prior to the Reformation. Both are recorded in the 'Registrum omnium Vasorum argenteorum' of King's College, dated 1542. One is described as a silver mace bearing the arms of the King and of Bishop Elphinstone. The other seems to have been a lesser mace, of five parts overlaid with silver. It was perhaps used on ordinary occasions, the great mace being reserved for high ones, as occurred at Glasgow, where a cane staff mounted with silver at the extremities and in the middle was presented to the University in 1519, to be borne before the Rector on Sundays and at minor feasts and common meetings, so that the safety of the great mace was not jeopardised. The fate of the King's College maces is not known, but it is possible that they did not survive the Reformation. The only extant mace of King's College is dated 1650. Brook surmises that it may have been created for the visit of Charles II to Aberdeen on 7 July 1650 or on 25 February 1651. This would surely not have been necessary if the 'Elphinstone' mace was still in existence at that time. The only known mace of Marischal College, Aberdeen, dates from 1671 and is extant. At Edinburgh University, a mace was provided for the Rector in 1640. It was stolen in 1787, suspicion falling on the infamous Deacon Brodie. The Town Council of Edinburgh presented a new mace to the University in 1789, which survives.

⁷³ 'French Connections', p.26: 'Paris is the likeliest source of the mace'; Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, revised Fotheringham, 1991, p.37: Fotheringham declares in his notes to Finlay's text that the mace of Glasgow University was 'made in France'. However, Michael, 'First Maces', p.189 notes: 'it is reasonable to conjecture that the Glasgow mace is ... of Scottish workmanship, and that it may have been inspired by the St Andrews [Faculty] maces'.

this has a specific relationship to the college which would not have the same meaning if taken out of context. Given the role of the maces as emblems of the authority and identity of the parent institutions, it is ironic that in so many cases, either the rods themselves or their identities should have been lost: in the case of the St Andrews Faculty maces, this seems to have been related to the changes to the structure of the University following the Reformation, a period in which, not incidentally, much less emphasis was placed on visual symbols.

Church furnishings

Although no detailed records survive of the pre-Reformation contents of St John's Chapel, the Collegiate Church or Chapel of St Mary's College and the Church of St Leonard's College, and the former two establishments may indeed not have developed very far, they were not intended as inconsiderable concerns. At the foundation of St John's College, the Master was given responsibility for appointing a chaplain or chaplains, who were to celebrate masses for the soul of the founder, Robert of Montrose, 'in the Chapel of the said College'. Cant notes:

This, in fact, seems to have been as much the concern of the Founder as the maintenance of an educational establishment. Indeed, should the original scheme fail for any reason, the revenues were to be devoted to the provision of a perpetual chaplainry.⁷⁴

St Leonard's Church existed prior to the foundation of the College, being attached to an ancient Culdee hospital within the Priory precinct, which had come to be used for the reception of pilgrims and, latterly, as an almshouse for elderly women. The hospital buildings and Church were re-established as 'the College of Poor Clerks of the Church of St Andrew' in 1512, which became known as the College of St Leonard, after the original

⁷⁴ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.17-18. The first 'Master, Rector, and Governor' of St John's was Laurence of Lindores.

designation of the Church. The buildings and Church were expanded before the Reformation. Prior to the Reformation, in addition to the high altar, the Church contained, at the east end of the nave, an altar of the Virgin on the north side and an altar of St John the Evangelist and St Mary Magdalene on the south side of the doorway in the screen leading from the nave to the choir.⁷⁵ Appropriate sacramental vessels and adornments would have been required for all the altars. At St Mary's, Cardinal Beaton obtained marble for an altar, and secured French masons from Falkland Palace to inspect the work.⁷⁶ However, none of the churches or chapels would have compared with the splendour of the Collegiate Church of St Salvator, on which work proceeded so rapidly that it was consecrated in 1460, a mere ten years after the foundation of the College.

The three extant inventories of the furnishings of St Salvator's Church prior to the Reformation are all written in the vernacular. The first (A), entitled 'Registrum Vestimentorum et Jocalium Colegii Sancti Salvatoris', is found in an early college cartulary containing documents of the later 15th and early 16th centuries, and probably dates from c. 1500, though it may be older. The second (B) occurs in a later university cartulary and is almost identical with, and only slightly later than, (A). It was probably produced about, or earlier than, 1537-1547, when the cartulary received notarial attestation on the instructions of the then Rector, James Strachan. The third text (C) is dated 1552. It is based on the older text, but is effectively a fresh inventory, prepared when a new Sacrist was taking over the furnishings of the church from his predecessor, who had charge of them *post loci combustionem*, after the burning of the college during the castle siege in 1547.⁷⁷ Cant notes that it is unlikely that the main body of the church, with its all-stone construction, can have suffered serious damage (though it is notable that the timber spire was destroyed), but that the furnishings may have been affected, and some seem to have been removed and placed in the custody of the Sacrist and his colleagues for

⁷⁵ Ronald Gordon Cant, *St Leonard's Chapel, St Andrews: The Kirk and College of St Leonard: A Short Account of the Building and Its History*, St Andrews, 1955, p.13

⁷⁶ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.45

⁷⁷ SAUL: (A) UYSS150/1 fols 17-18; (B) UYUY150/1 fols 87v.-89v.; (C) UYSS150/1 fol. 31r.-v. Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.117-120, pp.151-152, provides information on the inventories, including the dating of them.

greater safety.⁷⁸ The list of ‘ye geir of Sanct Salvatoris College laid for kepine in the Castell of Sanctandrois’ also contains details of vestments and articles from the church, as well as the three maces. The text of the earliest inventory and any additions to or substantial divergences from it given in the other inventories have been published in R.G. Cant, *The College of St Salvator*, 1950, pp.151-163: a commentary on the inventories by Francis C. Eeles is provided pp.120-150. (I have followed Cant's designation of (A), (B) and (C) to describe the inventories: unless otherwise mentioned, direct references are to (A)). Eeles also includes among his footnotes references to parallel items in the castle list and in the testamentary deposition of goods which Bishop Kennedy proposed to bequeath to the college, dated 14 March 1453/54.⁷⁹ Cant suggests that although ‘comparatively few of the articles [bequeathed by Kennedy] can be identified with certainty in the later inventories, there is at least a possibility that almost every item of the Founder’s bequest survived among the furnishings of his college almost to the eve of the Reformation’.⁸⁰ I have therefore not included these documents in the appendix to this chapter, and will refer only briefly to those items on them of particular value, interest or significance, in the context of the general holdings of the church.

Eeles writes that:

In general, the contents of the inventory substantiate the impression of St Salvator’s Church as a foundation, if not of great size, of remarkable splendour in its furnishings and in the completeness of its liturgical equipment.⁸¹

It would be hard to dispute this succinct point. The vestments include the chasubles, dalmatics, tunics and other items of garb required for the ministers, of different colours for the different seasons of the church calendar. Twelve complete sets were provided for each of the three sacred ministers of the high mass, and a further thirty for the celebrant alone, of materials including velvet, satin, damask and cloth of gold. Thirty-six copes

⁷⁸ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.118-119

⁷⁹ Boece makes reference to Kennedy’s bequest: see Hectoris Boetii, *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. and trans. James Muir (New Spalding Club), Aberdeen, 1894, p.86.

⁸⁰ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.120

were also provided, including a particularly fine one ‘broudyn with nedyll werk for the Prouest’ [embroidered with needle work for the Provost] and two with Kennedy’s initials of I and K in gold, plus a further eight copes for ‘childer’.⁸² The Provost’s cope had a fine clasp of gold, bearing ‘ane ymage off the Trinite’: from its description in (C) as ‘ane monstir to put on the Provestis cape, contendant the image of the crucifix siluer ourgilt’, Eeles suggests that this took the form of the eternal Father seated, below the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, with a crucifix between His knees.⁸³ There were frontals and hangings for the high and lesser altars, of various richly coloured fabrics: the one ‘of clayth off gold contendant the xij apostolis’ ((B) and (C)) must have been particularly striking.⁸⁴ Other textiles included the curtains enclosing the sides and back of the high altar, suspended by iron rods from ‘four gret [brass] pillaris with four angelis with takynnys of the passioun’, which recall the symbols of the Passion on the college mace; and veils marked with black crosses to hang before the choir, rood, rood loft, images of ‘Sanct Saluator and our Lady’ and ‘the altaris in the body of the kerk’ in the Lenten season.⁸⁵

The choir was well equipped with books, some with decorative bindings in silver and enamel, such as ‘twa saltaris ane claspit wyth siluer wyth the word John vpon the claspis, and other claspit with siluer wyth our word anamelit’ and the portuis ‘claspit wyth siluer and wyth our armys’ detailed in Kennedy’s testament.⁸⁶ In addition to the high altar (which would, as now, have been set in the eastern end, in the centre of the apse) and the rood altar, there were at least three lesser altars in the church. Those of St Mary the Virgin and St Michael the Archangel were probably set against the west side of the screen that divided the public nave in the west end from the collegiate choir in the east, the former to the north and the latter to the south of the central doorway into the choir, while the altar of St Ninian was possibly against a reredos projecting from the south wall just to the west of the main entrance to the church. There seem to have been five further altars

⁸¹ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.143

⁸² Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.153-154

⁸³ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.125, 161 n.7, 162, 162 n.1

⁸⁴ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.155, 155 n.3

⁸⁵ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.126-127, 127 n.1, 135-136, 156, 163

⁸⁶ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.158 n.2. Eeles notes, p. 141, that an ‘antiphonar contained all the music of the choir services, mattins, lauds, prime and the little hours, evensong and compline’. A portuis ‘was a breviary containing the whole of these services but with abridged lessons’.

beyond the church proper: one in the sacristy; the altar of St Katherine, in a chapel ‘contiguous to the college kirk on its north side’; the altar of the Blessed Virgin, in the south cloister walk; and altars of the Holy Spirit and of St John the Evangelist, probably in chapels attached to the cloister.⁸⁷ Attached to the various altars were chaplainries, often founded by private benefactors to celebrate masses for the souls of the patron, his family and other named persons. The inventories, which apparently deal only with the altars within the church proper, suggest that the adornments of the altars were of high quality. Upon the high altar, at the centre of six silver candlesticks stood the ‘gret cruss gylt with ane crucifix Mare and John and the tuelf Apostolys about standand upon a gret futh closit with a pyn of siluer’, referred to in Chapter I. This was perhaps reserved for high occasions, with the ‘les cors anammalyt with a fute to stand on the altar’ being used on ordinary days.⁸⁸ There were two lesser and two greater silver candlesticks, and six brass ones, for the lesser altars.⁸⁹ The high altar had two silver sacring bells, ‘ane less ane mair’, with the other altars each having a brass one.⁹⁰ The sacramental plate of the Church included seven, and later, nine (C) chalices of silver gilt. There was also ‘four siluer crowatis tua mair and tua less’, ‘ane ewar of siluer for wyn’, ‘ane crem stok of siluer with ane closour of siluer’, ‘ane haly watty fat of siluer with ane stik of the sam for solempnit festis’, ‘tua other haly vattir fattis of brass’ and ‘tua pakis breddis ane anamalit with ane ymage of the Saluator and ane other with ane burrell contenand ane crucifix of moder perl’.⁹¹

Some of the most striking items in the church must have been the five vessels for the exposition of the relics and the eucharist, of which two are denoted by the word ‘monstir’ or monstrance, and three by ‘ewcris’; the processional crosses; the lecterns; and the

⁸⁷ Cant, *College of St Salvador*, pp.111-113

⁸⁸ Cant, *College of St Salvador*, pp.127, 159, 161

⁸⁹ Cant, *College of St Salvador*, pp. 134, 161-162

⁹⁰ Cant, *College of St Salvador*, pp.133, 161

⁹¹ Cant, *College of St Salvador*, pp.137-138, 160-161. The ‘crowatis’, or cruets, were pairs of small jugs used during Mass, for the dispensing of water and the wine. The priest used the water to wash his fingers before consecration, to mingle with the wine in the chalice for consecration, and to wash the chalice after Communion. The ‘crem stok’ is the chrismatory, which contained three holy oils, for baptism, anointing the sick, and for the sacraments of confirmation and ordination. The holy water vats were basins used for bearing the newly blessed holy water around the church at the head of the procession before high mass: it

paintings, sculptures and other great decorative pieces which served and embellished the church.⁹² These included the items already mentioned in Chapter I: the ‘gret ymage of syluyr of our Saluioyr with ane lous diadem set with preciouss stanis closyt with ane pin of siluer’, the ‘litill cors of gold with precious stanis and perlys contenand tua pecis of the haly cross set in a fut of siluer our gylt’ and the ‘gret monstir of siluer with ane burrell in the myddis contenand diuers relikis’.⁹³ There was also:

ane cors of siluer and of buriall without a fute
ane cors of siluer ourgylt with Mare and John to beir in the procession
ane other les monstir of siluer with ane burrell with other relikis diuers
ane ewcris of siluer with ane burrell in the myddis for the haly sacrament
tua less ewcris ane of siluer ourgilt and a nodyr of siluyr and anamalyt
ane gret *Agnus dei* with relikis about Sant Saluatoris hals siluer and our gylt⁹⁴
ane kyst [chest] of burd [board] with ane claith for the ymage of the Salvator of
siluer
ane gret lettroun [lectern] in the quher with fyve chandelaris of brass
ane lettron for the wangell [evangel ie gospel] of brass with ane egill [eagle]
ane lettron for the pistill [epistle] of brace [brass]⁹⁵

The paintings and sculpture will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III. The relics would have been the most prized of all the holdings of the church. They were literally displayed in ornamented cases, the transparent beryl in the monstrances allowing them to be both seen and protected. The volume of silver and gold work in the church indicates that considerable expense was gone to in fitting it out, and the details of the pieces, with the depictions of the Saviour, the Trinity, Mary and John, and so on, that these were objects of some intricacy and craftsmanship. It is likely that the more highly decorated pieces were not of Scottish manufacture, but, like the college mace, were produced in

was sprinkled with the ‘stik’. The pax boards were kissed by the celebrant during Mass, and then by the other ministers, choir and congregation, spreading the ceremonial kiss of peace.

⁹² Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.136

⁹³ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.159, 162

⁹⁴ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.136: this was probably a reliquary which hung around the neck of the great silver image of the Saviour.

Continental centres. Clearly, the equipment and furnishings provided for St Salvator's Church far exceeded what was strictly necessary to conduct the rites and rituals of the medieval church. However, although the Protestant reformers might find this degree of ceremonial abhorrent and idolatrous, to the medieval Catholic mind, there was no conflict between lavishness and abundance in worship and the judicious praising of God. Indeed the two were inextricably united, the glory of the decorated altars, vessels and furnishings of the church reflecting, in diminished form, the glory of the Creator of all things. The decorative and functional roles of pieces powerfully combined as the symbols and means of the expression of faith. It was therefore entirely appropriate that Kennedy should provide such splendid furnishings, vestments and vessels for the church which was the heart of the college he had established, which was itself the centrepiece of his scheme to reinvigorate the University. The magnificence of the construction and furnishings dually reflected his desire to bestow honour and status upon the college and to praise and magnify the divine.

Notable features of the church interior in the pre-Reformation period would have been the Sacrament House, the tomb of James Kennedy and two further tombs, of uncertain occupancy. These do not feature on the inventories because they are architectural structures rather than movable goods. The Sacrament House, which is in the wall of the apse to the north-east of the high altar, was used to hold the reserved Sacrament (the Bread, and occasionally also the wine, consecrated at the Eucharist) and is the earliest datable example in Scotland. Below the aumbry (the recessed cupboard), stone carvings depict two angels supporting a monstrance. Above are three shields: the left bears the royal arms of Scotland (for James II); the right those of Bishop Kennedy; while the central shield, which has been erased, probably bore those of Pope Pius II.⁹⁶ Cant suggests that the carving is almost certainly Scottish work.⁹⁷ The arms of Bishop Kennedy survive in various locations in the church, emphasising his crucial role as founder. They are

⁹⁵ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.159-161, 163

⁹⁶ In December 1460 Pius II issued a Bull granting plenary absolution to all the faithful in Scotland who would make pilgrimage to St Salvator's on the feast of the Apparition of St Michael (8 May) and help with the pious work of constructing the college. The concession was to operate for ten years, two-thirds of the proceeds to be put towards the completion of the college and the remainder towards a fresh Crusade. See Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.89, 96.

rendered in stone to the left of his tomb; on the eastern bay of the church front (where those of his cousin, James II, also feature); on an ornamental panel on the church tower, above the pend which provides entry to the college; on the central ceiling boss of the entrance porch; and, in wood, on two panels inset into the main entrance door.⁹⁸ To the west of the Sacrament House is the tomb of Bishop Kennedy. Its positioning, on the north wall before the high altar, is visually prominent. Eeles notes that it is in the place usually occupied by the sepulchre, displayed at Easter, which in St Salvator's took the form of 'ane gret sepultur with ane ymage off our Saluioir liand therwithin and ane swdour of quhit silk abon the sam': this may have been laid over the tomb.⁹⁹ There have been considerable losses and damage to the tomb, which render interpretation of the iconography exceedingly difficult, although the beauty and detail of its Gothic stonework remain apparent. The monument is said by Robert Lindsay or Lindsay of Pitscottie (c. 1532 – c. 1578) to have cost at least 'ten thousand pund sterling': on what foundation it is not clear.¹⁰⁰ Lyon suggests that to account for that sum 'we must suppose the niches to have been filled with images of silver'.¹⁰¹ It has been suggested that the dimensions of Kennedy's tomb may indicate that it was prepared for situation within the Cathedral, where several of the Bishop's predecessors were buried, but installed in St Salvator's some time between the consecration of the church in 1460 and the death of Kennedy in 1465.¹⁰² The similarities of design between the remnants of the tomb, which may have been designed by Kennedy himself, and the college mace have often been noted. The towering Gothic buildings and staircases of the tomb reflect the balconies, pulpits and stairs of the mace. Cant concluded that they portrayed the same lesson:

- the triumph of the power of Christian good over sin and death. On the mace, the Saviour stands enshrined over the dungeon of Hell. In the tomb, the House of

⁹⁷ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.89

⁹⁸ The doors themselves are not necessarily original. The panels appear to have been fitted into them with a degree of carelessness reminiscent of the repair of Spens's tombstone (see below): one is upside down.

⁹⁹ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, pp.133, 162

¹⁰⁰ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. Æ.J.G. Mackay, Edinburgh, 1899, Vol. I, p.154

¹⁰¹ Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, p.195

¹⁰² Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.88

Many Mansions is reared aloft the vault where all that is mortal of Kennedy rests.
Sin is vanquished. Death is swallowed up in victory.¹⁰³

In this context, the placing of Easter sepulchre between the grave and the representation of Heaven would have been apposite. An alternative interpretation of the architectural canopy is as ‘the holy city, new Jerusalem’, seen by John ‘coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband’.¹⁰⁴ Here, too, there are associations with the symbolism of the mace. The chapter proceeds:

And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. ... And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie’.¹⁰⁵

The depictions on the mace of Christ, the ‘Three Estates’ and the chained wild-men may reflect this passage. The buildings on Kennedy’s tomb also have an obvious association with his establishment of a college, which, in its purposes and ideals, reached heavenwards.

The remains of one of the other tombs are no longer visible, lying about halfway between the two doors on the north wall, behind the decorative woodwork of the pews. The second tomb was set into the south wall below the west window, in what is now the ante-chapel. In the recess are several stone fragments, including representations of the Annunciation and the Circumcision which Julian Luxford has suggested to me may once have formed part of the decoration of Kennedy’s tomb, perhaps as part of a Mariological cycle, although they may possibly have come from the various altars, or indeed from the Cathedral or other medieval ecclesiastical buildings in St Andrews. One other monument survives in the church from the pre-Reformation period. This is the tombstone of Hugh

¹⁰³ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.89

¹⁰⁴ The Bible (Authorised King James version), Revelation 21:2

Spens, Provost of St Salvator's College 1503-1534, notable for providing the only known depiction of the everyday dress of a medieval Scottish academic (plate 31).¹⁰⁶ The stone has been broken and repaired, with a new piece being inserted in the middle. Lyon, writing in 1843, before the addition of the central piece, suggested that the damage might be attributed to 'unholy hands' seeking access to the lead in which Spens would have been interred. Certainly little regard was paid to the correct restoration of the tombstone: Lyon records that one block was reversed, so that:

the feet of the figure [came] into contact with the chest! In this manner the stone lay from time immemorial, till it was restored, only a few months ago, to its proper position; but in consequence of the part that is wanting in the middle, the figure of the Principal has a stunted and dwarfish appearance.¹⁰⁷

Although so much of the medieval fabric of the Collegiate Church of St Salvator has been lost, sufficient documentary and architectural evidence remains to leave no doubt as to its magnificence. The sumptuous furnishings and embellishments, the incense and the music of the choir would have stimulated the senses, creating an atmosphere that was literally awe-inspiring.

The furnishings and silver of the colleges

There is little extant information on the furnishings of those buildings of St Salvator's College beyond the church in the pre-Reformation period. Inventory (C) contains certain items which do not feature on (A) and (B), and may refer to the College Hall rather than the Church:

Item xxiiij pece arress werk and tapestrie

Item ane siluer masar, ane siluer salt ourgilt with the cover

¹⁰⁵ The Bible (Authorised King James version), Revelation 21:23-27

¹⁰⁶ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.89

Item [blank] siluer spvnis¹⁰⁸

The list of 'ye geir of Sanct Salvatoris College laid for kepine in the Castell of Sanctandros' also mentions thirteen or fourteen spoons, a mazer and several tapestries 'yit hung in ye Scole', three of cloth of gold.¹⁰⁹ Kennedy's testamentary deposition includes certain items which may have come to the College rather than the church, such as 'a new silver basyn with our word about the bordouris gravyn and gylt and our armys in the myddis weyand four trois pondis and foure owns' and various silver dishes and trenchers: however, these were specifically mentioned as items which, if necessary, could be sold and the proceeds applied to the College, and so may never have actually been in use there.¹¹⁰

There is considerably more information on the furnishings of St Leonard's College, for an inventory, dated 10 September 1544, survives amid the college papers in the University Library.¹¹¹ It has been published, without commentary, by Herkless and Hannay in *The College of St Leonard*.¹¹² The inventory details the furnishings of the lodgings of the Principal, regents, chaplains and students. The first mentioned chamber is furnished with the greatest degree of comfort, with items including 'ane fether beid and ane quhit [white] plaid of four ellis And ane cuveryng [covering] wardour [Pringle has 'woven o'er'] with ymagis [images]', 'ane flanderis conter [Flemish chest] of ye medilyne kynd', 'ane litil bowrde [board] for ye stude' and 'ane fyrme [form] of fyr and ane litill letteron [lectern] of aik on ye syde of ye beid with ane ymagis of sane jerane [Saint Jerome]'. It may have been occupied by the college principal, who in this period was John Annand. The other bedchambers are more simply furnished, containing little more than the most basic requirements for study and rest. That of David Guild held 'ane flanderis conter with ane

¹⁰⁷ Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, p.197

¹⁰⁸ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.163 n.1

¹⁰⁹ SAUL, UYSS110/AP/3(1)-(2)

¹¹⁰ SAUL, UYSS/110/B1

¹¹¹ SAUL, UYSL155, 'Register of the College of St Leonard', 1512-1606, p.12, 'Inventory of St Leonard's Household Stuff', 10 September 1544. A transcription is also contained in UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', p.64.

¹¹² John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, *The College of St Leonard*, Edinburgh and London, 1905, pp.217-218. The original manuscript is difficult to decipher and there are minor variants between the transcriptions provided by Pringle and Herkless and Hannay. I have followed Herkless and Hannay's version.

beid of fyr', that of David Arbuthnot 'ane conter of aik with twa beiddis with ane pres betwixt ye beddis' and that of Johannes Schell 'ane standan beid of aik ane turnand burd [board] of [omission in original] with an Almari [cabinet] in it'. It is unfortunate that the contents of the public rooms, especially the Common Hall, are not described, for it is here that any items of particular decorative interest or significance to the college are likely to have been housed. The St Andrews Cupboard of c. 1500 (plate 30) perhaps stood here. David Jones has convincingly associated its iconography of a thistle, rose and marguerite with the Scottish Crown, the House of Tudor and Margaret Tudor, and thus with the marriage of James IV of Scotland and Margaret in 1503.¹¹³ James IV confirmed the foundation charter of St Leonard's College in February 1513, and it is possible that the cupboard honours this association, as a royal gift or (less likely, considering the earlier date of the marriage) a college commission. The date of acquisition and the original location of the cupboard is not known: it was held in St Mary's College by 1926 and prior to 1883 was in the United College.¹¹⁴ Jones favours St Salvator's College as the home of the cupboard, if indeed it was owned by the University from the early 16th century, on the grounds of 'date, financial resources and known activity as a patron of the decorative arts'.¹¹⁵ However, it should be noted that the impetus for this latter may have faded with Kennedy's death. It would, nevertheless, be surprising if the bedchambers of the well-endowed St Salvator's College were less well-equipped than St Leonard's. The University holds a 'comptar' or 'conter', possibly Flemish, of the 16th century, now in St Mary's College Hall: this may perhaps be associated with the 'conters' on the 1544 inventory, although certainty is impossible, and the other colleges also may well have owned Flemish 'conters'.

Little, if any, information survives on the pre-Reformation furnishings of St Mary's College. The exact date of manufacture of the extant St Mary's Mazer (HC292) (plate 23), made in Edinburgh by Alexander Auchinleck, is not known (it bears the mark of Thomas Ewing, who served as deacon 1552-5, 1556-7 and 1561-2, though no documents relating

¹¹³ David Jones, 'A sixteenth century oak cupboard at the University of St Andrews' in *Regional Furniture*, IV, 1990, pp.71-80

¹¹⁴ James S. Richardson, 'Unrecorded Scottish Wood Carvings' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XII, 1925-26, pp.384-408, p.396; Jones, 'A sixteenth century oak cupboard', p.79

to its commissioning survive). The print is engraved with the date '1567', two biblical inscriptions in Latin, and the text 'COLLEGIV * NOVVM * SCTE * ADREE' (New College St Andrews – a common name for St Mary's College in this period): however, it is likely that it was owned by the College from its creation, and so may have been among the College holdings before the Reformation.¹¹⁶ One further extant item which can be classified under the general heading of University 'furnishings', although it is not strictly so, is the blackstone, upon which candidates for the master's degree sat to take their oral examination. It was in use from about 1420 until the 18th century, but does not feature on the inventories, though it is referred to in James Melville's *Diary*.¹¹⁷ It was perhaps once held in the Pedagogy, before being transferred to the 'Public School', though in 1677 Kirk records seeing it at St Salvator's.

Apart from the items discussed above, namely the maces, the holdings of St Salvator's Church and the putative mazer, salt and spoons of St Salvator's College, silver and gold objects are scarcely mentioned in the University, faculty and college papers. It is now impossible to establish satisfactorily whether this was because the University possessed very few such items, or because it was not deemed appropriate or necessary to record their existence in inventories and other records, or because any relevant papers and inventories do not survive. The only other silver and gold pieces that I have been able to identify precisely from the documentary evidence as being held by the University in the pre-Reformation period are a silver vessel, according to its troy weight worth 222 marks, acquired in 1459;¹¹⁸ a silver cup, given to the treasury of the Pedagogy in October 1515;¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Jones, 'A sixteenth century oak cupboard', p.73

¹¹⁶ Dalgleish and Fotheringham, *Silver: Made in Scotland*, p.35 note that the St Mary's Mazer, which is the earliest known extant piece of fully marked Edinburgh silver, is unlikely to have been made before the hallmarking act of 1555.

On examination of the St Mary's Mazer on 26 November 2009, George Dalgleish of the National Museums of Scotland pointed out that the inscribed date, which is much abraded, may actually be '1562' and not '1567', as has previously been cited in publications including G.E.P. How, 'Scottish Standing Mazers' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XVIII, 1933-4, p.396 and Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, revised Fotheringham, 1991, p.64: this would fit with Ewing's dates and would indicate that the mazer was produced for St Mary's College in 1562.

¹¹⁷ As cited in Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.23 n.1. Melville was a student at St Leonard's College 1570-74.

¹¹⁸ SAUL, UYSS150/2, Cartulary B, fol. 74r.-74v., indenture recording gift of silver vessel worth 222 marks for building up the Rattan Row property.

¹¹⁹ Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.cxlvi, ccxviii, 314

and, possibly, a silver spoon and ‘an great Cup, called an Maizer, double o’re gilt w^t gold, both feet and borders round about’, presented to St Leonard’s College by John Duncanson, Principal of the College 1552-1566, sometime before his retirement in 1566.¹²⁰ The silver cup was given to the Pedagogy by the theologian Peter Chaplain, during his time as Dean of the Faculty of Arts: the existence of a ‘treasury’ there perhaps implies that similarly valuable pieces were already held by the Faculty of Arts, as may the purchase of the chest for the mace, muniments and ‘jocalibus Facultatis’ [valuables, lit. ‘jewels’] agreed on 9 April 1439. The Faculty of Arts arranged for it to be inscribed ‘Chalice of the Faculties of Theology and Arts’. This was a significant gesture of corporate unity, in marked contrast to the refusal of the Arts Faculty to allow the Faculty of Theology to use its mace. The silver vessel was given to the University in 1459 in exchange for land which included a vennel running between the south street of the city and the castle. The attention paid to the weight and value of the silver marks this as a monetary transaction, the direct relationship between silver and currency meaning that the University could convert the vessel into hard cash when appropriate, by selling it or melting it down. The mazer presented by Duncanson was viewed in a similar way. Prior to 1566, when St Leonard’s College was ‘behind the hand & empty of Coals’, it was pawned to Thomas Methven for ‘20 lb’. That it was ‘afterwards freed’ and returned to the College demonstrates that it had some intrinsic importance to St Leonard’s, though at this point the importance may have related primarily to the influence of Duncanson, who seems to have organised the pawning and recovery.¹²¹

It is possible that Duncanson’s gifts, and the pawning of the mazer, pre-dated his principalship.¹²² The ‘Memorandum of the Donations by Principal John Duncanson to St Leonard’s College’, 1566 summarises the various donations which Duncanson in the past ‘gave and now pr ntly [presently] gives’ to the College. In addition to the mazer and silver spoon, they include considerable sums of money, his books and ‘an carved Lang

¹²⁰ SAUL, UYSL156, ‘Pringle’s Book’, p.64, ‘Memorandum of the Donations by Principal John Duncanson to St Leonard’s College’, 1566. Pringle has transcribed this document from an unknown original source.

¹²¹ SAUL, UYSL156, ‘Pringle’s Book’, p.64, ‘Memorandum of the Donations by Principal John Duncanson to St Leonard’s College’, 1566

Saddle of aik which stands in the East Chamber nearest the Gate called sometime captain John Borthwick's chamber'. It is likely that this is the 'lang sadill of fyr' which was listed among the items 'in cubiculo provisoris que est supra portam orientalem' [in the chamber of the provost which is over the east gate] on the inventory of 10 September 1544, the wood of the 'lang sadill' or bench being misidentified in one of the records. If so, the mazer could have been presented as early as, or earlier than, 1544. The extant St Leonard's Mazer (HC261) (plates 24-25) has been discussed in works by Thomas Burns, G.E.P. How and Ian Finlay.¹²³ It has been noted in these works, which comprise some of the most influential on Scottish silver, that the 1544 inventory of furnishings contains mention of 'ane maizer'.¹²⁴ On this basis, it has been noted that the St Leonard's Mazer, if it can be positively identified with this 'maizer' of 1544, 'would be the earliest of the Scottish standing mazers'.¹²⁵ However the citation is erroneous. The mistake can be traced to Thomas Burns who, in his magisterial *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, writes:

In the Inventory of the chamber in St Leonard's College allotted to the Principal in 1544, there are mentioned "2 silver pieces, *ane maizer*, w^t common cups and stoups".¹²⁶

He gives 'Lee's *History of the Church*, vol ii, p.352' as the source. In fact, Lee correctly, though due to the arrangement of the text, not very clearly, gives the date of this reference as 1599.¹²⁷ The source is 'The Rental of St Leonard's College within St Androis Given Up by Mr Robert Wilkie, Rector', 1599, which includes a 'Compt of Insight' and 'Compt of Vessel', detailing the furnishings, silver and other movables of the college. As discussed in footnote 3, the original document, which may or may not have been consulted by Lee, cannot now be located: however both Howie and Pringle produced transcripts,

¹²² Duncanson was a member of the Faculty of Theology by 31 December 1541, when, with other members of the Faculty, he signed letters testimonial clearing David Guild from a charge of heresy. See Dunlop, *Acta*, pp.lx-lxi and Herkless and Hannay, *College of St Leonard*, pp.220-223.

¹²³ Reverend Thomas Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, Edinburgh, 1892, pp.193-194; How, 'Scottish Standing Mazers', pp.82-83; Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, 1956, pp.82-83

¹²⁴ Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, p.194; How, 'Scottish Standing Mazers', p.408; Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, 1956, pp.82-83

¹²⁵ How, 'Scottish Standing Mazers', p.409

¹²⁶ Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, p.194

¹²⁷ Lee (ed.) *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, pp.351-352

which can be examined in the University of St Andrews Library.¹²⁸ The inventory of furnishings of 1544 does not refer to silver vessels. The mention of the mazer in the 'Memorandum' of 1566 does not appear to have been known to scholars of silver. On the basis that the donation of the mazer may predate the creation of this document by some years, if the extant St Leonard's Mazer can be associated with this vessel, it may be that it is indeed the earliest surviving Scottish standing mazer, preceding the Watson Mazer of the mid-16th century, the Tulloch Mazer of c.1557 and the St Mary's Mazer.¹²⁹ However, there are good grounds for arguing that the St Leonard's Mazer, as it appears now, does not retain its original form.

The 'great Cup, called an Maizer, double o'regilt w^t gold, both feet and borders round about' of the Memorandum of 1566 is probably the same vessel as the 'maizer' of the 1599 inventory. The 1566 source suggests that the vessel described is a standing mazer, having a foot. The foot and rim are specified as being gilded: the bowl is not described. It could possibly have been of silver: Dalgleish and Fotheringham point to the evolution of the mazer form from wooden to silver bowls during the period of its greatest popularity, c. 1540–c. 1620, and note that the term 'silver mazer' is recorded as early as 1575.¹³⁰ However, more likely, given the date, the usual application of the term 'mazer' at this time, and the omission of a qualifying description, is that it would have been of traditional mazer construction, of wood, probably maple.¹³¹ A vessel similar in form to the St Mary's Mazer can be envisaged.

¹²⁸ John Lee, Principal of the United College, 1837, is notable for having removed various manuscripts and volumes from the University Library when he left for Edinburgh, which were unfortunately dispersed on his death rather than returned to St Andrews. If 'The Rental of St Leonard's College', 1599, was one of those removed, as his son, William Lee, the author of *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, perhaps had access to the original manuscript before the dispersal.

¹²⁹ See Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, revised Fotheringham, 1991, pp.61-71, for a description of these mazers.

¹³⁰ Dalgleish and Fotheringham, *Silver: Made in Scotland*, p.31. The authors point out that the weight of metal in items described as 'silver' mazers makes it clear that they must have been made wholly of silver.

¹³¹ Maple was especially suitable for drinking vessels, as it was not liable to shrink or split under the tension of being alternately wet and dry. Its spotted grain has aesthetic appeal. The term mazer is generally accepted to come from the High German 'masa', meaning spot, used to describe the burr of the maple tree which was often used for these bowls. The natural form of maple burrs determined the distinctive wide, shallow shape of maple bowls, to which broad rims were sometimes added to provide additional depth. See Marion Campbell, 'The Middle Ages' in Glanville, *Silver*, pp.13-15, p.15.

The St Leonard's Mazer, as it currently exists (plates 24-25), is approximately 19.2 cm high, with a rim diameter of c. 23.6 cm and a base diameter of c. 13.7 cm. The rim is c. 3.0 cm deep. Measurements are approximate because the mazer is neither absolutely level, being slightly tilted, nor perfectly circular. It is made entirely of silver, with the plain elements of the rim being gilded. There are no hallmarks on any part. The rim is in one part and is pinned to the bowl by five silver pins. The first occurs at 9.0 cm anti-clockwise from the overt join in the rim: the next three are positioned at intervals of approximately 90° round the rim, while the fifth pin is just 1.2 cm from the fourth, presumably because one pin at this location proved ineffective alone. On the upper edge of the rim is a line of beading between two narrow plain mouldings. The rim is stepped where it covers the bowl edge. Near the lower edge of the rim is another line of beading and moulding, just above the broad serrations of the edge itself, which are in sections decorated with criss-cross lines. The bowl has no print, as is usual with standing mazers, but is fixed to the upper part of the stem with four pins. The stem resembles an hour glass with a trumpet foot. The narrow central knop has rubbed, embossed decoration, of a rope pattern, between two plain mouldings. The decoration is very worn. A vertical band with dentil mouldings joins the stem and the cushion foot. The cushion foot has embossed decoration, strap work and flower heads, not so eroded as the decoration of the knop, with a narrow plain, stepped edge. The thin metal of the foot has been pierced and damaged in three places. Overall, the mazer is in fair condition, though with minor scratches and evidence of long usage. The decoration of the knop shows more wear than that of the foot because the knop is the natural place to hold the mazer.¹³²

There has been some dispute as to whether the silver bowl of the St Leonard's Mazer is original. Burns and Finlay suggest that it replaces a wooden one, damaged through accident or use. While How acknowledges this argument, he writes 'I consider it to be the original bowl'.¹³³ Burns and Finlay are circumspect about the date of creation of the mazer, but imply that in its earliest form it could date from the mid-16th century, being

¹³² The observations on the pinning of the rim and the condition of the mazer are my own. The description of the mazer is otherwise based on that provided by Stuart Maxwell of the National Museums of Scotland when engaged in providing descriptions of the silver collections of the University of St Andrews for the in-house catalogue in 1983-4.

associated with the 'maizer' on the supposed 1544 inventory. How contends that it dates from the early 17th century, and is not indeed a mazer proper, but 'is actually an early seventeenth century Communion cup in original condition'.¹³⁴ Finlay gives the vessel a greater and specific significance. He notes that the form of Communion vessels in Scotland, which had for centuries been in the style of the chalice and paten of Rome, changed at the Reformation, when it was stipulated that 'they should not follow the pattern of those used on the altars which had been cast down'. Secular vessels from standing mazers to wine cups were therefore employed for Communion in the years after the Reformation, until 1617, when the Scottish Parliament passed an Act requiring that:

all the paroche kirkis within this Kingdome be prowydit off Basines and Lavoiris for the ministratioun of the Sacrament of Baptism, and of couppes, tablis and table clothes, for the ministratioun of the holie Communion.

Even at this point, no approved shape was suggested. Communion was no longer held in one kind, taken by the minister only, but by the whole congregation. Therefore larger vessels were required, particular in town parishes. Finlay suggests that 'there is no better example' of the way in which these cups:

faithfully reflect secular forms ... than the cups of the Town Church in St Andrews, which are standing mazers executed wholly in silver, and the prototype of them is the St Leonard's so-called mazer in the same town.¹³⁵

The cups referred to are the three Communion Cups presented to Holy Trinity Church by Provost Johne Carstairs and his spouse Eupham Sheviz, made in Edinburgh by George Roberston (admitted 1616) and stamped by George Craufurd, deacon several times 1615-1635. Carstairs was Provost of St Andrews three times, the first in 1622, and died in

¹³³ How, 'Scottish Standing Mazers', p.409

¹³⁴ How, 'Scottish Standing Mazers', p.411

¹³⁵ Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, 1956, pp.81-2, 86. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, makes a similar point, pp.195-196.

1635, so the cups must date from this period.¹³⁶ These cups are themselves generally viewed as the prototypes for Scottish post-Reformation Communion vessels of this style.¹³⁷ In other words, the St Leonard's Mazer, as representative of the great communal drinking cups of the medieval period, with their overtones of camaraderie, bacchanalia and, in the University context, collegiality, provided the inspiration for the cups of another sort of community and celebration, that of the Communion of the members of the reformed Church of Scotland.

The St Leonard's Mazer displays several signs of alteration, which may lend support to the view of Burns and Finlay that the silver bowl may replace a wooden one. The most immediately visible join in the rim is crude work, disruptive of the beading and poorly patched and infilled with unpatterned silver, in an attempt to disguise it. Seven centimetres to the left of this join is evidence of another join, of more subtle work. It is visible only on the upper part of the exterior of the rim, where it would once have been concealed by the now eroded gilding, as a sharp line which intersects but does not interfere with the beading. This more subtle join is almost certainly the original, the rougher one having been added later, when circumstances necessitated the reattaching of the rim to a bowl. This theory is supported by evidence of four now redundant pinholes, spaced at approximately 90° intervals round the rim. Anti-clockwise from the most overt join, there are: an empty pinhole, visible on the exterior of the rim, but not on the interior, the silver perhaps having been smoothed over; disruption to the beading, which may represent infilling of a pinhole; an empty pinhole, visible on the exterior; an empty pinhole, visible on the interior, which corresponds with infilling of the beading on the exterior rim. The fact that the silver rim and silver stem are attached to the silver bowl with metal pins is worth remark: though a wooden bowl would have required pins, silver could have been soldered. This may point to the mazer originally having had a wooden bowl, which has been replaced with a silver one by a less skilled or careful goldsmith, perhaps one not used to working with this style of decoration, since he filled rather than reinstated the beading. However, in the most recent study of the mazer, George Dagleish

¹³⁶ Catherine Forrest, *Living in St Andrews: A history of the Carstairs family from the 15th to the end of the 19th century*, St Andrews, 1996, pp.86, 99-100

of the National Museums of Scotland and Henry Stuart Fotheringham, both specialists in silver, comment:

Controversy has hitherto existed as to whether the St Leonard's Mazer originally had a wooden bowl, or was made as we know it today with a silver one. There now seems no doubt that the latter is the case and that it is the sole surviving representation of the standing silver mazers, once common in many households. It is transitional in the form and method of manufacture between the traditional wooden-bowled mazer and the all-silver cup.¹³⁸

Some documentary evidence survives that casts light on when alterations to the mazer may have taken place. On the 'Inventor of Silverwork belonging to St Leonards Colledg' dated 20 April 1697 is listed 'an large silver maser broken broken from the foot and brim but both foot and brim delyvered'.¹³⁹ This 'Large Silver Mazer broken' was placed in a 'Chist in the Library' with other items of College silver on 15 July 1698.¹⁴⁰ The broken mazer is the only item on the 1697 and 1698 inventories which could conceivably be associated with that presented by Duncanson: apart from this piece and 'an old silver goblet', all the other drinking vessels mentioned have a recorded provenance unrelated to Duncanson, as well as, in several cases, specific identifying marks.¹⁴¹ If Duncanson's mazer did originally have a wooden bowl, and is indeed this broken 'silver' mazer, then the wooden bowl must have been replaced prior to 1697, probably prior to the creation of the Holy Trinity Communion Cups, if it is accepted that they are based upon it. The 1566

¹³⁷ Dagleish and Fotheringham, *Silver: Made in Scotland*, p.36

¹³⁸ Dagleish and Fotheringham, *Silver: Made in Scotland*, p.31

¹³⁹ SAUL, UYUY459/A/4, 'Inventor of Silverwork belonging to St Leonards Colledg delyvered by Mr George Hamilton let princ. of the said colledg to Mr Thomas Talizer Mr Jo Craigie Mr Jo Loudan and Colin Vilant professor of philosophie in the said colledg this 20th day of April 1697 years'

¹⁴⁰ SAUL, UYUY459/A/4, 'Memorandum of Silver work put into ye Chests at different times from 1698 to 1723'

¹⁴¹ The 'silver maser in the sd John Methven pantrisman in his hands' of the 1697 inventory seems to be the 'silver Mazer DPB' on the 1698 inventory. The 'silver Mazer DPB' and a number of spoons, thirty of which were in the care of Methven in 1697, appear at the top of the 1698 inventory, which is otherwise identical in content and order (though not in phrasing and depth of description) to the 1697 document, with the exception of the 'large timber quaich', which does not appear on the 1698 inventory. Thirty spoons and 'ane silver mazer marked DPB' were removed from the library chest by Methven on 31 October 1698.

Memorandum reveals that the mazer presented by Duncanson was 'insculped' with his name: however, if this were on the original bowl or print, then this information on the provenance may have been lost at an early date. Records were kept of the movement of silver pieces into and out of the library chest in St Leonard's College 1698-1723 (see appendix).¹⁴² On 11 January 1723 it is noted that there was

taken out of ye Library ye large Mazer 9 inches diameter consisting of 3 pieces to be sent over to Hary Beaton Gold-smith to be soldered. It. a Silver Mug. It. 9 Silver Spoons to be reformed of weight.

It is not clear whether this is the 'large silver mazer broken' of the 1697 and 1698 inventories, though it is certainly possible that it could be, the use of the term 'large' and the lack of provenance and of identifying marks in this 1723 entry, elsewhere given fairly systematically in the records of the St Leonard's College silver 1698-1723, tending to support this interpretation. The other candidates for repair are the other items denoted as 'mazers' on the 1697 and 1698 inventories: the 'silver Mazer DPB' and the 'broken silver mazer gifted by LJT' (probably to be associated with the 'Lord Thirleston' who gave the silver cup listed below the LJT mazer on both inventories, and who is presumably John Maitland, Lord Maitland of Thirlestane (?1545-1595), Lord High Chancellor of Scotland and Chancellor of the University of St Andrews, 1592-95). The 'silver Mazer DPB' is extant. Now known as the Bruce Cup (HC260) (plate 26), it was apparently donated by Peter Bruce, Principal of St Leonard's College 1611-30, possibly in 1616, when he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity (D.D.). It bears the inscription 'D.P.B. Dono dedit C.D.L. refecit An. Dom. 1727', which can be glossed as 'Dominus Peter Bruce gave it Collegio Divi Leonardi [the College of St Leonard] remade it A.D. 1727'. The date of the refashioning is supported by the hallmarks, consisting of the maker's mark of Henry Bethune, the assay mark of Edward Penman, the town mark of Edinburgh and the date letter 1727-28. It may be that it was the Bruce Cup that was sent to Bethune in January 1723 and that he took four years to repair it. However, various pieces of evidence tell

¹⁴² SAUL, UY459/A/4, 'Memorandum of Silver work put into ye Chests at different times from 1698 to 1723'

against this. Firstly, the item sent in 1723 was to be resoldered, not 'refecit' (remade): it is unlikely that the work of reattaching three pieces would take four years, or that it should be commemorated in a prominent inscription. Secondly, five spoons, bearing the maker's mark of Henry Bethune, the date-letter 1723-4 and the initials of Joseph Drew, the then Principal of St Leonard's College, survive (HC265(1)-(5)): assuming that these are associated with the nine spoons dispatched for reforming with the mazer in January 1723, Bethune seems to have been fulfilling his obligations fairly swiftly. Finally, the five spoons bear the conjoined letters SL (for St Leonard's College), almost identical in style to the conjoined letters SL on the extant St Leonard's Mazer (plate 25). The indications are therefore that the St Leonard's Mazer was the item 'consisting of 3 pieces to be sent over to Hary Beaton Gold-smith to be soldered' in 1723, and that therefore by this date it already had a silver bowl, as well as a silver foot and rim. Bethune did not hall-mark it, as he was to do the Bruce Cup, because he was rejoining the different elements, not refashioning it, but at the request of the college did inscribe the SL monogram on the bowl. It remains problematic that the St Leonard's Mazer was clearly repinned, not resoldered, as the 1723 entry records: it may simply be that the master who prepared the note, not being a metalworker, only intended to indicate that the three pieces were to be reattached, without evincing much interest in the technical process involved. It is notable that the slightly misshapen rim of the St Leonard's Mazer is very close to nine inches in diameter. If it is accepted that the 'large silver maser broken' of the 1697 and 1698 inventories is to be identified with the item sent for repair in January 1723, and that this piece survives as the St Leonard's Mazer, then it is quite possible that the St Leonard's Mazer is the same vessel presented by Duncanson, albeit in a modified form. If the mazer had originally had a wooden bowl, it had been replaced with a silver one sometime prior to 1697, and the vessel had suffered damage by this date, perhaps due to the inherent weakness of the modified structure, necessitating further repair of the three metal parts by Bethune in 1723.¹⁴³ Alternative interpretations of the evidence are that it is the LJT mazer which was repaired in 1723 and survives as the St Leonard's Mazer (however, on the 1697

¹⁴³ In discussions with myself, November 2009, George Dagleish pointed out that the stamped arcading on the foot of the St Leonard's Mazer is virtually identical to that on a coconut cup made by Robert Gardyne II of Dundee, early 17th century, and that this may indicate that Gardyne undertook some work on the foot of the mazer about this time. See Dagleish and Fotheringham, *Silver: Made in Scotland*, p.44.

inventory this was said to bear on its side the motto 'Non Munus sed grat animi tessera', which was not used to describe the mazer in 1723 and certainly is not extant on the St Leonard's Mazer); or that the 'large silver mazer broken broken from the foot and brim' was repaired by Bethune in 1723, and is to be associated with the extant St Leonard's Mazer, but has no connection to that of Duncanson, which had been lost prior to 1697. Without more evidence, the matter is likely to remain perplexing.

It is worth pointing out that although the Holy Trinity Communion cups seem to have been based on the St Leonard's Mazer (assuming it had a form very similar to its current one at the date of their creation), it may not be the only vessel to have inspired their mazer-like design. The mazer of St Salvator's College, referred to on Inventory (C), seems to have been lost by 1588 (see below): however, the mazer of St Mary's College, created between 1552 and 1562, was in existence. Following the Reformation, the members of St Mary's College, like St Salvator's, were forced to abandon their church and worship in the town kirk of Holy Trinity, the Reformers feeling that it was inappropriate for them to stand apart from the town community. It is conceivable that the St Mary's Mazer may have been temporarily brought into use at the Communion table in Holy Trinity, as so many secular vessels were in churches in this period, before new sacramental vessels appropriate to the reformed service were commissioned. It may even have been seen as particularly appropriate for this usage as Biblical texts are inscribed on its print, though Dalglish and Fotheringham note that these do not relate specifically to the Communion service.¹⁴⁴ The members of St Leonard's Church were allowed to continue worshipping in their own building, because it was a parish as well as a college church, except for the period 1561-1578, when the parishioners were likewise made to attend Holy Trinity.¹⁴⁵ It is possible that the St Leonard's Mazer accompanied them. If the college mazers of St Leonard's and St Mary's were pressed into service in Holy Trinity, it would be entirely natural for Provost Carstairs to select one of them as the model for the three

¹⁴⁴ LEX. PER. MOISEN. DATA. EST. GRA. ET. VERITAS. PER. IESV. CHR. FACTA. EST. IO.1 ['For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ', John 1:17] and SIVE. MADVCA. / TIS. SIVE. BIBITIS / VEL. ALIVD. / QUID. FACITIS. / OIA. IN. GLIAM. / DEI. FACITE. / I. CORIN. IO ['Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God', I Corinthians 10:31]. (English translation from the Authorised King James version of the Bible). Dalglish and Fotheringham, *Silver: Made in Scotland*, p.35.

Communion cups he presented, and certainly of the two, the St Leonard's Mazer is the most similar in form to the Communion cups . The case of the St Leonard's Mazer illustrates the difficulty of interpreting the history of particular items of silver when there are considerable gaps in the documentary evidence.

The post-Reformation holdings of the University of St Andrews

The Reformation of 1560 marked a fundamental change to the structure and organisation of the University of St Andrews, as it moved from its Catholic foundations, in which the majority of entrants were destined for the Church, to a Protestant settlement. However, though individual staff members lost their positions, and the College of St Salvator, in particular, suffered from a reduction in revenues which affected its ability to maintain its buildings, the status of the University was not as badly affected by the Reformation as might have been feared. With regard to the universities, the Reformers preferred to effect change in existing institutions, rather than start afresh, and in the *First Book of Discipline*, the scheme for University reform, St Andrews was declared to be the 'first and principle' of the Scottish universities.¹⁴⁶

It is clear that the college churches suffered major disruption at the Reformation, but there are no extant records which reveal the exact nature of what befell them. Of the pre-Reformation contents of St Salvator's Church, none are recorded as surviving the upheavals of the period, with the exception of the maces, which feature on the inventories but were not necessarily permanently kept in the church, and the college bell, Katherine. The empty niches on the church front, where sculptures would once have stood, the damage to Kennedy's tomb, and the erosion of the central armorial feature over the Sacrament House attest to some degree of violence. In June 1559 John Knox preached for three days in Holy Trinity, causing the populace to rise against the Cathedral, and it may be that at this point the college churches were also invaded and those of the contents

¹⁴⁵ Glen L. Pride, *St Leonard's Parish Church, St Andrews: Centenary History*, St Andrews, 2004, p.8

¹⁴⁶ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.51-52

judged idolatrous destroyed or appropriated. Though a mob could not always be controlled, the Reformers were practical men, and in some places the practice was to hand over the plate of the old Church to the secular authorities, who could use it for the good of the town. Finlay notes:

In Aberdeen in 1561 the sacred vessels were to be 'sauld and disponit to thame that vill offer maist for the same', and the money obtained had to be handed over 'for the common weill and necessar adois of this guid town'. In Stirling chalices were sold up to mend the streets, while in Peebles 'all kirk geir' in possession of the laity was to be recovered and applied 'to the commoun use of the tovne'.¹⁴⁷

In 1588 James Martine, Provost of St Salvator's College reported to Commissioners visiting the University that 'umquhill [some while past] Mr William Cranston depleted ten thousand pundis worth of the commoun guidis of the College'. Cranston was Provost of St Salvator's 1553-60: the goods depleted probably included the finer pieces belonging to the Collegiate Church and College, but what became of them, or of any money thus raised is not known: Cant suggests that Cranston 'absconded' with them.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that the other members of the University, alert to the coming of the storm, hid or removed the most precious items for safekeeping. Certainly this occurred at Glasgow, where the Rector's mace was among the objects taken for safety to Paris in 1560 by James Beaton, the Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the University, who also bore 'all the Silver Warke and hail Juels of the Hie Kirk'.¹⁴⁹ The mace was returned in 1590.

¹⁴⁷ Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, 1956, p.79

¹⁴⁸ Anon., *Evidence, Oral & Documentary, Taken and Received By the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty George IV, July 1826 and reappointed by His Majesty William IV, October 12th 1830 For Visiting the Universities of Scotland*, Vol. III (St Andrews), London, 1837, p.196; Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.168. Robert Lindesay of Pitcottie's account of the cost of Kennedy's tomb may be associated with this figure of £10,000.

¹⁴⁹ Brook, 'Maces', p.482

The maces

It is notable that the only non-architectural University artefacts of any type now extant from the pre-Reformation period, apart from seal matrices, are the three medieval maces, the blackstone, 'Katherine' and 'Elizabeth', the bells of St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges respectively, and, possibly, the St Andrews Cupboard, a 16th century 'conter', the St Leonard's Mazer and, depending on its exact date of manufacture, the St Mary's Mazer.¹⁵⁰ The college inventories of the late 16th and 17th century give little indication that anything else of particular value and significance, rather than workaday function, survived from the period prior to 1560, unless it be certain undated silver drinking vessels, salts and spoons and items of furniture. Apart from the bells, none of the pieces are ecclesiastical in character. The maces do, of course, have religious iconography, and it is therefore somewhat surprising that they were allowed to escape unscathed. It may be that, as with the Glasgow mace, they were removed until the tumult was past, as they had been during previous emergencies. Brook has suggested that the St Andrews maces may have been deposited in Bishop Kennedy's tomb at the Reformation, giving rise to the legend of their rediscovery there, with three or six other maces, c. 1683.¹⁵¹ This is certainly possible, and the violent and disordered state in which Chambers found Kennedy's bones during his excavation of the tomb in 1842 may suggest that the tomb was searched by individuals with no pious intentions, in the belief that something of value was hidden there.¹⁵² It is unlikely that the maces were discovered by a mob in the tomb: if they had been, they would hardly have been treated with more respect than the human remains, and their religious iconography shows no sign of deliberate damage; but it may be that they were spirited away just in time, or that other precious items from the church were concealed there. Whether or not the maces were hidden anywhere at the Reformation, the very fact of their survival in the hands of the University implies that special care was

¹⁵⁰ Katherine, the bell of St Salvator's College, was originally cast in 1460, while Elizabeth of St Leonard's was cast in Ghent about 1512. Both bells have been recast several times. See Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.197-198; Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.84.

¹⁵¹ Brook, 'Maces', pp.472-473

¹⁵² Robert Chambers, 'Memorandum respecting the tomb of Bishop Kennedy, in the chapel of St Salvator's College, St Andrews' in *Archaeologia Scotica*, IV, 1857, pp.382-384

extended to them which was not provided to the non-extant pieces, the University perhaps simply making a special case for the maintenance of its rods of authority. This tends to confirm the particular importance of the maces to the University.

After the Reformation, and particularly after the ‘New Foundation’ of 1579, under the terms of which the Colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard were reconstituted as colleges of Arts and Philosophy, while the teaching of theology, once so important in all the colleges, was focused in St Mary’s, the role of the faculties was effectively subsumed into that of the colleges (as Dunlop has it, ‘The original conception of a grouping of daughter Faculties under the Mother University was supplanted by a division into Colleges and Chairs’), and over the centuries following, the Faculty maces lost their individual identities.¹⁵³ The Minutes of the Commission of Visitation of 27 April 1687 record what seems to be an attempt to establish that all three maces belong to the University, not its individual constituent bodies, and are to be disposed as the University (or at least the Visitors) sees fit.

The Visitors ... upon grave and weighty Considerations appointed the haill three Maces belonging to the University or pretendit to by any particular College there to be usit and presentit at all publick occasions where the Rector and University make publick appearance and none of them to be kept back but much mor[e] when my Lord Primate or his successors appear on ye Streets or when his Grace shall require the same.¹⁵⁴

It is notable that the maces are to be employed not only to represent the University and her Rector, but also the Archbishop of St Andrews. The Archbishop was, of course, Chancellor of the University: however the specific use of the terms ‘Primate’ and ‘his Grace’ rather than ‘Chancellor’ implies that the service of the maces is not to be solely confined to his University role. There is an implicit suggestion that a college (presumably St Salvator’s) has been attempting to exert its ownership of and rights to a mace and

¹⁵³ Dunlop, *Acta*, p.cxlviii

¹⁵⁴ SAUL, UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', p.217

withhold it from 'publick' usage. If so, it appears to have been successful, despite the proclamation of the Visitors, for while the Faculty maces were in time to become generally considered as the common honours of the University, the mace of St Salvator's College retained its distinct identity. Alexander Skene, Provost of St Salvator's College 1680-1690, had taken sufficient interest in the mace to have it restored in 1685, during the renovation of the college buildings, as a medallion appended to it attests. The work, which was carried out by Michael Zigler or Ziegler of Edinburgh, cost £300 Scots (about £25 sterling), plus £8.14.0 for a 'wanescot boxe lynned and stuffed within for preserving the Colledge mace', £32.6.0 in travel and lodging expenses for Skene and his man and horse and £5.16.0 in drink money for Zigler's servants.¹⁵⁵ Evans has noted that the expenditure on the mace itself, which equated to the cost of over 80 ounces of finished silver:

clearly implies more than just a cosmetic job, raising indentations, filling in dents and regilding. It suggests a major overhaul which could have involved replacement parts and the strengthening and even partial reconstruction of the mace.¹⁵⁶

Such expenditure implies that the mace was of considerable importance to the college members and moreover that its restoration was perceived as an integral part of the renovation of the college. As the visual representation of the college and its authority, the mace's appearance and condition should support, not undermine, the college's improving state and status. There is little wonder if in 1687 St Salvator's had been determined to retain control of an emblem on which so much money and care had so recently been lavished.

On 17th May 1679, all three maces were borne in the funeral procession of the murdered Archbishop James Sharp, Primate of Scotland and Chancellor of the University of St

¹⁵⁵ D. Hay Fleming, 'Accounts of St Salvator's College, St Andrews, Comprising the Ordinary Revenue and Expenditure, The Casual and Contingent Profits, etc, from 1679 to 1689, and Details of the Revenue in 1691' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, LVI, 1921-22, pp.325-350, pp.331, 349

¹⁵⁶ Evans, 'Mace of St Salvator's College', p.209

Andrews, the Rector of the University being ‘ushered by three macers’. The ‘Professors of the University of St Andrews’ walked elsewhere in the cortege. Also carried in the procession were the ‘four ordinary maces’ of the Lords of Session, the ‘great mace’ of the Lord High Chancellor, and a crozier and mitre, presumably those of the Archbishop, the latter being ‘placed on a velvet cushion, fringed and tasselled with gold, and covered with crape’.¹⁵⁷ The emblems of office and state were conspicuously paraded to reflect the status of the deceased. Undoubtedly the funeral of the University Chancellor, attended by dignitaries from the Lord High Chancellor, the nobility and the gentry to the magistrates of St Andrews, Edinburgh and the royal burghs and ‘Doctors, and other dignitaries in the church’, was seen as an entirely appropriate setting for the University’s maces: however, demands for the maces to attend the funerals of lesser personages were to become a source of resentment. The relatively frequent use of the maces at funerals seems to have been established by 1707, when on 12 June the Senate passed a resolution that:

the minimum to be payed for the silver staves at funerals shall be half-a-crown, and that the porters who carrie the other two staves shall have each of them a sixth part thereof, and so proportionally of whatever shall be given.

[From a later reference, it appears that the ‘archbedle’ or bedellus bore one mace and the porters the other two]. On 30 December 1737 the Senate Minutes record:

Some Masters having complained that they were too frequently called on to attend publick burials, Master Francis Pringle, David Young, John Young, and James Kemp were appointed as a Committee to bring in an overture thereanent, and the Rector is to convene them.

On 23 January 1738 the Report of the Committee was read, but a decision on the recommendations was delayed until 20 February. On that date it was resolved that:

¹⁵⁷ Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol.II, Appendix LII, ‘Order of the Funeral of His Grace James Sharp, Lord Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of Scotland ...’, pp. 395-396

seeing the frequent attendance on common and ordinary funerals of the inhabitants of the town and others occasions a great loss of time to the Masters, as it often coincides with their hours of teaching, and that it is an avocation from their proper business which Masters of other Universities within this kingdom are free from, - Therefore the University decrees, that in time to come the Rector only shall require the Masters' attendance and use of the staves on occasion of the funerals of a member of the University, that is, a master or scholar therein, if invited thereto. 2. That the archbedle and other macers shall attend their master at such funerals without the expectation of drink money on the part of the defunct.¹⁵⁸

It seems the presence of the maces and the professors was desired by the townsfolk 'and others' to signify the dignity of the funeral ceremony and of the deceased: the symbolic value of the maces had been appropriated by the families of the town for their own ends. One suspects that the early members of the University who commissioned the maces would have been appalled at the idea that they could be hired out in this manner. The resolution of 20 February 1738 was an assertion of the independence of the University and its professors from the town and its right to manage its property and emblems as it saw fit: however, it is notable that the emphasis is less on preventing the degradation of the maces' symbolic role and preserving the unique identity and authority of the University than on saving the masters the trouble of a time-consuming and disagreeable task. That the maces continued to be used at funerals into the 19th century is attested to by the presence of mourning covers for the Faculty maces on an inventory of St Mary's College dated 1857.¹⁵⁹

A third resolution regarding the maces passed by the Senate on 20 February 1738 was that:

3. That the two Facultie Maces, as being the Honours of (the) University, and of the two Faculties of Divinity and of Arts within the same, be in time coming

¹⁵⁸ Senate Minutes as cited in Brook, 'Maces', pp.473-474

reposited in the Publick Library under lock and key for safe custody, till the usual or necessary business of the University or Faculties therein require the use of them, on which occasion the library keeper is hereby ordered to give them out on the order of the Rector and of the Deans of Faculties respectively. And seeing the two Faculties Maces have been reposited in the Publick Library by order of the University since 3 May 1737, the library keeper was required to observe the above law with respect to them in all time coming.

The Senate Minute of 3 May 1737 reveals arrangements to lay the Faculty maces up in the Library, as the usual custodian, the Rector, and his family 'might probably be out of town for some time this summer'.¹⁶⁰ There the 'Honours' of the University do seem to have remained for some time, being less accessible to visitors than was the Mace of St Salvator's College, which was held and shown on the College site, perhaps because the College, which had retained its historical associations with its mace to a greater extent than had the Faculties, took a greater pride in displaying its mace to visitors, or perhaps because of a rigid interpretation of the rules regarding when the library keeper might produce the Faculty maces.

College silver

By the end of the 17th century, each of the three colleges had acquired a variety of silver items. In May 1588, James Martine, Provost of St Salvator's College 1577-1620 reported that:

The Colledge hes na commoun guidis presentlie, except an silver piece, and xviii silver spunis, maid in his awine tyme¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ SAUL, UYSM110 Supplementary Bundle B42 (3), 'Articles belonging to St Mary's College in possession of Mr David Hutchison, College Porter', 1857

¹⁶⁰ Senate Minutes as cited in Brook, 'Maces', pp.473-474

The 'piece' is probably that listed on an inventory of the College silver of 1692 as a:

flat bottom'd Silver Cup, with the name and arms of Mr James Martine provost of the Colledge on the bottom thereof, weighing Eleven ounces and one drops¹⁶²

However, just over a century later, as the inventories of 1690, 1692 and 1694 reveal, the College held, in addition to its mace: four silver cups with covers, three described as gilded, given by members of the nobility, namely Robert, Lord Boyd, Charles, Earl of Dunfermline, James, Lord Cupar and John, Earl of Sutherland; two 'Shallow flat bottomed silver cups', one bearing the name of James Martine and the other that of his successor George Martine together with the college arms; two silver salts, marked with Provost Skene's initials and the college arms; and (in 1692) forty-three spoons, thirteen bearing Skene's name and thirty those of various Provosts before Skene's time.¹⁶³ These inventories, and significant inventories or notes of the silver of all the colleges from the Reformation to the mid-18th century, are transcribed in the appendix to this chapter. The inventory of 1692 suggests that the 1630s was a fruitful time for acquisitions, with John, Earl of Sutherland presenting his cup in 1630 and Charles, Earl of Dunfermline another such vessel in 1631, while George Martine, College Provost 1620-1645, presumably gave his cup, which is also described as a 'tass', about this period. With the exception of George Martine's cup and Skene's salts, which are not listed, and with some changes to the number of the spoons, perhaps reduced through wear and tear, these items apparently comprised the total sum of silverwork held by St Salvator's College in 1747, the year of the creation of the United College. In this year, an inventory was prepared of the furniture for rooms and of kitchen and table utensils of both St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges.¹⁶⁴ St Salvator's was found to have:

¹⁶¹ Report to Commissioners undertaking a Visitation in 1588, recorded in *Evidence Taken and Received by the Commissioners*, 1837, p.196.

¹⁶² SAUL, UYSS110/AP/14, 'Inventar of Silver work belonging to the old Colledge of St Andrews', 6 February 1692

¹⁶³ SAUL UYSL110/S15/18a, 'Inventorie of some silver & Ironwork of the Colledge', 1690; UYSS110/AP/14, 'Inventar of Silver work belonging to the old Colledge of St Andrews', 6 February 1692; UYUY459/A/4, 'Particular Silverwork delivered by Mr Pitcairn to John Brown', 13 July 1694

¹⁶⁴ SAUL, UYSL400, United College Minutes, 3 November 1747

Two Silver Cups, with covers of ye same Mettal, one of which was given by Charles Seaton Earl of Dunfermling in ye Year One Thousand Six Hundred & Thirty One. The other by Robert Lord Boyd. Within ye former are three pieces of Silver, which seem to belong to ye Mace, & within ye latter are three pieces of a Silver Spoon. A small silver salver, inscribed Magister Jacobus Martinus Prefectus, two Gilded Silver Cups one dozen & a half new, & ten old silver spoons.

These same vessels, and eighteen of the spoons were 'laid up in St Leonard's College Library', together with 'one little Silver cup' and six new and one old silver spoons which belonged to St Leonard's College. (The other ten spoons went to Thomas Methven, the pantryman or 'undertaker'). It seems to be these items, described as 'the old Silver consisting mainly of Cups and Covers', which were taken to Edinburgh to be sold in July 1754, a committee having been appointed to consider how to dispose of 'some old silver' on 3 April 1754. The sum realised was £54.1.6. The money went to supplement the fund for the new building for the United College, erected on the north side of St Salvator's court under the architect John Douglas, for which the foundation stone was laid on 8 July 1754.¹⁶⁵

In 1599 the silverware of St Leonard's College consisted of:

Twa silver pieces, ane Maizer, w^t common cups and stoups efferand thereto.
It. Three dozen of Silver Spoons, ane Silver Saltfat¹⁶⁶

By April 1697 there was:

¹⁶⁵ SAUL, UYUC400/1, United College Minutes 3 April – 20 July 1754

¹⁶⁶ SAUL, UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', p.93, 'The Rental of St Leonard's College within St Androis Given Up by Mr Robert Wilkie, Rector', 1599

an larg cup gifted by an widow for the use of the Communion tabl dated the year 1681

An large silver maser broken broken from the foot and the brim but both foot and brim delyvered

Thrie lesser Silver cups the last marked wt M.J.W. an other marked wt Ffrancisius Steuart dominus hallis dated 1576 the 3 gifted by Mr James Kerr Regent

An Silver cup gifted by David Mcgill of Cranstoun 1611

An broken Silver Maser gifted by L.J.T. wt this moto on the syd Non Munus sed grati animi tessera

An broken silver cup gifted by Lord Thirleston

An old silver goblit

An old silver Salt

An cup gilded in a case supposed to be gifted by the lett Duke Lauderdale

An gilded silver salt the fut broken off marked wt MPB

Six silver Spoons made New of the old broken spoons confirmed ta an accompt formerly given in by the sd Mr George Hamilton marked upon the back M.G.H. and the forsyd SL [conjoined] dated 1696 years

Thirtie Silver Spoons in the hands of John Methven pantriman to the sd Colledg

An silver maser in the sd John Methven pantrisman in his hands

An large Timber quaich w^t Balligarnies Armes in Silver¹⁶⁷

Of these pieces, the ‘larg cup gifted by an widow for the use of the Communion tabl’ survives to the present day (HC262) (plate 27), in addition to the ‘silver maser in the sd John Methven pantrisman in his hands’, which may be identified with the ‘silver Mazer DPB’ on the 1698 inventory (the Bruce Cup), and possibly, ‘the large silver maser broken’ (the St Leonard’s Mazer?) already discussed. The Communion cup is now known as the St Leonard’s College Communion Cup or Murray Cup, having been presented in 1681 by Anne Murray, Lady Halkett, the royalist sympathiser who lived in St Andrews while her son Robert attended St Leonard’s College. The cup, which hallmarks indicate was made by William Law in Edinburgh, 1679-81, is inscribed:

¹⁶⁷ SAUL, UYUY459/A/4, ‘Inventor of Silverwork beloninge to St Leonards Colledg’, 20 April 1697

THIS CUP IS DEDICATE TO THE USE OF THE HOLY TABLE IN ST
LEONARD'S CHURCH IN ST ANDREWS BY A DEVOUT WIDOW AS A
FREE WILL OFFERING FOR THE RETURNE OF PRAYER UPON THE XIII
DAY OF APRIL MDCLXXXI

By tradition, it is said to have been presented as thanksgiving for Robert having completed his studies. It has already been noted that the 'L.J.T' who gave the mazer may be John Maitland, Lord Maitland of Thirlestane; 'M.P.B' on the salt must denote 'Magister Peter Bruce'. With the exception of the timber quaich, the items on the 1697 inventory were put into a chest in the St Leonard's College Library on 15 July 1698. Various items are noted as being removed from, and returned to, the chest over the next quarter of a century by the pantry man John Methven and his successor Thomas Methven, until 1723, when the record stops.¹⁶⁸ Most prominent among the items removed are assorted spoons, the mazer marked 'DPB', the 'Steuart' cup and cup marked 'MJW' and a 'large wooden Cup lipped with silver', which is probably the Balligarnies quaich. By the time the Colleges united, however, relatively few of the vessels seem to have been in use. On the inventory of kitchen and table utensils dated 3 November 1747 are listed only:

One large Mazer, one large Cup Gifted by Dr Bruce, one little cup, eighteen new & fifteen old Spoons, besides some old Silver work in a chest in ye Library.

The 'Two large silver Cups' and twenty-six of the spoons were lent to Thomas Methven, while the small cup and seven of the spoons joined the St Salvator's silver in the St Leonard's College Library and were presumably sold off with it.¹⁶⁹ The Communion cup would not have featured on the 1747 inventory, as it was part of the church plate, not the domestic tableware. It is notable that amongst all the fine pieces given to St Salvator's

¹⁶⁸ SAUL, UYUY459/A/4 'Memorandum of Silver work put into ye Chests at different times from 1698 to 1723'

¹⁶⁹ SAUL, UYSL400, United College Minutes, 3 November 1747. After the Union of the Colleges, Methven was designated the 'undertaker' and charged with maintaining the Common Tables and employing the four 'servers' with the money with which the United College provided him. SAUL, UYUC705 415/6a,

and St Leonard's Colleges by the college principals and the nobility prior to the union of the colleges, only the mazer, Bruce Cup, Communion cup and twelve spoons of St Leonard's College and sixteen spoons of St Salvator's College remain in the University to this day, and this apparently because they remained in functional use on the last occasion that deliberate dispersal of the historic silver was undertaken.

St Mary's College did not acquire so many items of silver plate as either St Salvator's or St Leonard's; yet nor did it dispose of so much. Among the furniture and kitchen utensils which feature on the 'Inventory of the plenishings and insight of the New Colledge', 1598, reported to His Majesty's Second Visitation are:

2 whole Tasses of silver w^t a broken Tass
a fair Maizer set about and footed w^t silver
a Silver Saltfat
Item of Silver spoons made of old nine & of new six¹⁷⁰

The mazer is presumably the extant St Mary's Mazer. What may be the same vessels appear on the inventory of the 'prinll chalmer' [principal or Principal's chamber] of c. 1670 as 'ane measer sett with silver' and 'Three silver cupis and ane silver saltfuit', together with thirty seven silver spoons and the 'coledge signet of brass'.¹⁷¹ However, given the supposed date of the inventory, it is perhaps more likely that the 'broken Tass' has been disposed of, and the third cup is the beautiful, intricate and delicate vessel presented to the Faculty of Theology in 1628 by Dr William Guild referred to on 'Ane Inventory of Silver & pewter work and others belonging to the new colledge' dated 5 May 1687 as 'Ane little silver tasse called Dr Guilds tasse'. The mazer and 'two large silver cups' also feature in this list, as do seven dozen silver spoons, 'Two Silver Saltfats' and

United College Papers, 'Inventory of Kitchen and Table Utensils lent to Thomas Methuen, Undertaker', dated 8 July 1747

¹⁷⁰ SAUL, UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', p.85, 'Inventory of the plenishings and insight of the New Colledge of St Andrews Anno 1598'

¹⁷¹ SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S1, 'Ane Inventar of the Silver Vaschells that was in the prinll chalmer', St Mary's College, c. 1670

the 'head of a salt foot'.¹⁷² An inventory bearing the same date records that the silverwork recorded on the first list, with the exception of fifty spoons and the addition of another head of a salt, is stored in a charter chest in the College.¹⁷³ This is the last full listing of the silver holdings of St Mary's College of this period, for the surviving inventories of 22 July 1702, November 1725, the addendum to this inventory of 13 September 1738 and the new listing of 1 November 1749 record only those items which have been placed in the custody of the college porter for use, rather than left in storage (see appendix).¹⁷⁴ The only notable addition is 'a silver cup of a nut shel with a silver stalk and a silver hoop about the mouth of it', acquired by November 1725. Of the St Mary's College silver, the college mazer, the Guild Cup (HC294) (plate 28) and a saltfat, known as the 'Capstan salt' because of its distinctive shape (HC293) (plate 29), survive, along with twenty-four tablespoons and two serving spoons dated 1753-4 (HC272(1)-(2) and HC273(1)-(24)). The salt, which is of the type also called a 'reel' or 'pulley' salt, was made in St Andrews by Patrick Gardyne, who seems to have been working here between 1637 and 1672. Gerald Taylor has pointed out that this type of salt had three projections, which supported serving plates and dishes above the salt: three infilled holes can be seen on the rim of the St Mary's salt.¹⁷⁵ There is also a much abraded pewter salt and sixteen pewter plates, the latter made by W. Scott of Edinburgh in the late 18th or early 19th century. In that the mazer does not feature on the lists of items in the porter's care after 1702, it must be assumed that this piece, at least, was kept carefully in storage, rather than used regularly, perhaps being removed from the chest only for special ceremonial occasions.

The inventories of college silver reveal a great deal about how the silver was acquired and used. The tradition of patronage was strong, with named members of the nobility and gentry recorded as having presented four of the ten drinking vessels on the St Leonard's College inventory of 1697, plus the Communion cup and presumably also the quaich with the Balligarnies arms; and four of the six drinking vessels on the St Salvator's College

¹⁷² SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S3, 'Ane Inventory of Silver & pewter work & others belonging to the new College in St Andrews', 5 May 1687

¹⁷³ SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S4, 'Inventar of yt is contained in ye Charter chest of ye new Colledge', 5 May 1687

¹⁷⁴ SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S7; UYSM110 MB/S10; UYSM110 MB/S11

¹⁷⁵ Gerald Taylor, *Silver*, Harmondsworth, 1963, pp. 124, 152

inventory of 1692. Several of these individuals were of particular eminence in and beyond Scotland, such as Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, and all seem to have had particular connections to St Andrews and her university, such as John, Earl of Sutherland, presumably John Gordon the 14th Earl of Sutherland (1609-1679), who studied at St Salvator's from 1626/27 to 1630, the year the Sutherland cup was presented.¹⁷⁶ Among the Maitlands, there seems to have been a family tradition of patronage, with John Maitland, Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, and his grandson John Maitland, 1st Duke of Lauderdale (1616-1682), one of the commissioners for the Solemn League and Covenant and a prominent political figure in the Civil War period, apparently presenting cups to St Leonard's College.¹⁷⁷ The gifts were reflections of the donors' own wealth and standing, and symbols of their loyalty to and support for the colleges. A further four drinking vessels and one salt on the St Leonard's College inventory of 1697 and two vessels and two salts on the St Salvator's College inventory of 1692 are associated with the college principals and regents.¹⁷⁸ Some of this plate undoubtedly came from the college revenues: Hay Fleming notes that at St Salvator's Skene was allowed £30 a year for 'napery, cups, and other things for the College tables and for pots, pans, cooper-work, and other necessaries for the kitchen', and a reading of the college accounts suggests that the pair of salts bearing his initials dated 1689 may be the two bought for £12.12.0, plus the exchange of an old one [no date given, but must be during Skene's provostship, 1680-90].¹⁷⁹ However, some, like the three cups presented by Kerr, may represent gifts from personal resources.¹⁸⁰ St Mary's College appears not to have attracted gifts of plate from the nobility. It may be that there were such donations but that this information is omitted

¹⁷⁶ Of the donors to St Salvator's College, 'Robert Lord Boyd' is probably the man who matriculated at St Salvator's College in 1633/34; 'Charles Earl of Dunfermling' is Charles Seton, 2nd Earl of Dunfermline, who matriculated at the College in 1628/29; James Elphinstone, Lord Coupar, matriculated at the College 1613/14. SAUL, UYSS110/AP/14, 'Inventar of Silver work belonging to the old Colledge of St Andrews', 6 February 1692'. Of the donors to St Leonard's Lord Thirleston [L.J.T.] has already been discussed; David McGill may be the man who matriculated at St Leonard's College in 1593 and was M.A. in 1597; John Maitland, later 1st Duke of Lauderdale, matriculated at the College 1630/31. SAUL, UYUY459/A/4, 'Inventor of Silverwork belonging to St Leonards Colledg', 20 April 1697. I am indebted to Robert Smart for his advice on entry and graduation dates.

¹⁷⁷ SAUL, UYUY459/A/4, 'Inventor of Silverwork belonging to St Leonards Colledg', 20 April 1697

¹⁷⁸ Five drinking vessels at St Leonard's if it accepted that the 'large silver mazer broken from the foot and brim' is that presented by Principal Duncanson.

¹⁷⁹ SAUL, UYSS110/AP/14, 'Inventar of Silver work belonging to the old Colledge of St Andrews', 6 February 1692; Hay Fleming, 'Accounts of St Salvator's College', pp.331, 349

¹⁸⁰ SAUL, UYUY459/A/4, 'Inventor of Silverwork belonging to St Leonards Colledg', 20 April 1697

from the extant inventories. However, as a postgraduate college of divinity, entrants of which were in the main destined for the Church, St Mary's simply did not attract the same proportions of scions of noble families as did the Arts colleges, and hence was less likely to receive patronage from the upper echelons of secular society. It is notable that the only vessel associated with a named individual on the surviving inventories from 1598 to 1749 was donated by a theologian and scholar, Dr William Guild, who had been a pupil of Principal Howie of St Mary's when he was Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Guild was himself to become Principal of King's College, Aberdeen (1640-1652) and on his death bequeathed a more academic gift to the University, a large proportion of his personal library.¹⁸¹ It may also be that St Mary's received less plate because in the centuries following the Reformation, there was a residual feeling that it was not quite appropriate for a college of divinity to be given gifts so redolent of worldly wealth. Until about 1700, when the dinner service developed, in noble households, colleges and corporations, plate tended to be displayed on tiered buffets or cupboards (literally, boards for holding cups) set aside from the dining table, where it would form a centrepiece of attention.¹⁸² This ostentatious display of silver and gold vessels, shining in the candlelight, would provide a powerful impression of the wealth and status of the owner. At St Salvator's and St Leonard's in particular, the presentation of fine, costly plate, provided by eminent patrons, as part of the fabric and ritual of ceremonial dining would (in theory at least) impress new students and visitors alike with the prestige and authority of the colleges, and provide confirmation to college members that they were part of a living institution with its own unique identity, history and traditions. The handing round of the mazers and cups for communal drinking was designed to foster a collegial spirit, and reinforce participation in college life and loyalty to the college, which might endure well beyond graduation. The vessels did not only glorify the colleges, but also the donors, for whom they provided a means to immortality, for as the name of the patron would often have been commemorated in an inscription (as the descriptions on the inventories suggest and the surviving Guild Cup, inscribed S.S. THEOL FACVL TATI ST AND DEDIT M

¹⁸¹ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.200

¹⁸² Glanville, *Silver*, 1996, pp.13, 38

GVLIELMVS GVILD ABERDONENSIS 1628, reveals), each time they were used, a new generation of students would come to know of the benefactor.

The level of damage to the plate recorded on the inventories shows that it had a functional use, which occasioned wear and tear, as well as a decorative role. At St Leonard's in 1697, two mazers, one cup and one salt are said to be 'broken'. Based on the number of time they are repaired, refashioned or replaced, the silver spoons evidently suffered the heaviest wear. A few of the many examples of this are the exchange of 'fifteine old and broken silver spoones' plus the payment of £25 for twelve new ones 'much more weighty than the fifteine', by Provost Skene of St Salvator's [no date given]; and the 'six silver Spoons made New of the old broken spoons' and the nine silver spoons sent to 'Hary Beaton Gold-smith ... to be reformed of weight' at St Leonard's College in 1697 and 1723 respectively.¹⁸³ Such damage was only to be expected, as the spoons were in daily use. At St Andrews, each student was expected to provide his own knife and fork, but was entitled to a pewter plate and silver spoon during his residence in college, for which privilege payment was exacted.¹⁸⁴ The Minutes of the Visitation of the University dated 1 June 1687 state that the masters, bursars and others in each college are to be served with 'clean Naprie' [tablelinen] at least twice per week, and that 'every Bursar shall have his silver spoon, trencher and servet each meal'.¹⁸⁵ Spoons were a small symbol of the status attached to membership of a particular organisation. As Glanville has recorded, they were often 'required at election to [English] corporations, colleges and livery companies' and might be used at banquets to dip into communal dishes. With 'a silver spoon weighing one-and-a-half to two ounces ... costing as much as an artisan earned in a week', they represented a considerable commitment of expenditure on behalf of the individual or institution which purchased them.¹⁸⁶ Incidentally, the pewter trenchers also suffered much damage: the records of St Mary's College show that worn ones were disposed of or exchanged on various occasions in the 1720s and 1730s.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Hay Fleming, 'Accounts of St Salvator's College', p.349

¹⁸⁴ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.117 and n.2

¹⁸⁵ SAUL, UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', p.219

¹⁸⁶ Glanville, *Silver*, p.22

¹⁸⁷ SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S/10, St Mary's College inventories 1725-1738. I have only transcribed the parts of these inventories (dating from 1725-1738) relating to the silver in Appendix A.

The importance of the silver to the University is signified by the careful attention paid to its whereabouts. When not in use, the silver of St Leonard's and St Mary's Colleges was stored in chests, the St Leonard's silver in the College library (it must have been fortunate to avoid damage in the devastating fire of 1702), and the St Salvator's silver presumably likewise. The inventories detail audits conducted when the silver passed from the care of a deceased or retiring college principal, for example from George Hamilton 'let princ' of St Leonard's in April 1697 and from Provost Skene of St Salvator's to his successor Provost Pitcairn in 1692. They also record the removal of silver by principals, professors and University servants such as the cook, porter or pantryman, for use at the domestic or Communion table (see Appendix A). The functional role of silver meant that it often featured on inventories of kitchen and table utensils and cooking equipment, because of its associations with these items, whether or not it was physically stored with them at the time of the inventory. The removal or replacement of silver often took place in the presence of several witnesses for example on 1st October 1715 two cups were returned to the St Leonard's chest by the Principal 'in the presence of Mr Colin Vilant Henry Rymer and Ninian Young' and on 4 December 1717 twenty-seven spoons were delivered to Thomas Methven in the presence of the Principal and Henry Rymer, while on 5 May 1687 the opening and auditing of the contents of the St Mary's chest by Principal Colville and Professor Comrie took place before three others, including 'george Tarvit, jannator of ye said Colledge'.¹⁸⁸ This ensured appropriate accountability for the silver. Based on the surviving records, silver seems to have been inventoried more than any other type of artefact, surely a reflection of its monetary value as well as any symbolic significance it might have had for the colleges. More of it also survives from an early period than any other type of artefact, again a testament to its importance to the colleges, but also to its durability. Being small and portable, it might be susceptible to stealing, yet, presumably because of the care extended to it, there are no records of any losses through theft, though there is one of loss through fire, a silver spoon, as well as a trencher, a tablecloth and two napkins, being destroyed in the 'burning' of St Mary's College in January 1727 in which

Professor James Haldane lost his life.¹⁸⁹ The nature of silver meant that it could be melted down and reworked when damaged beyond decorative or functional use, as the spoons were. However, unlike noble households, colleges did not tend to feel the imperative to have their silver reworked into current styles simply for fashion's sake, associations with college history and patrons apparently being more important, and so at St Andrews, and elsewhere, undamaged silver tended to be retained unless sold for financial reasons, or confiscated, as at Oxford, the Royalist headquarters during the Civil War, where much of the college silver was appropriated to fund the Royalist cause.

Given the potential for silver to represent an institution's identity and status, it might have been expected that there would be rivalry, at least between the two Arts colleges of the University of St Andrews, over the quality and quantity of their collections of silver, yet there is no direct evidence for this. Although they do not necessarily reflect any manoeuvrings behind the scenes, the Minutes of the United College do not suggest any resentment from the masters of St Salvator's that it was largely to be their college's silver that was to be sold to fund the upgrading of the buildings for the United College: given that the St Leonard's site was to be abandoned in favour of St Salvator's, perhaps it was thought only reasonable that something of the college history might be kept with the retention of at least some of the St Leonard's silver.¹⁹⁰ A dispute between the colleges did

¹⁸⁸ SAUL, UYUY459/A/4, 'Memorandum of Silver work put into ye Chests at different times from 1698 to 1723'; SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S/4, 'Inventar of yt is contained in ye Charter chest of ye new Colledge', 5 May 1687

¹⁸⁹ SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S/10, St Mary's College inventories 1725-1738

¹⁹⁰ An interesting footnote to the retention of the St Leonard's silver came in the early 20th century, when the parishioners of St Leonard's Church, who had moved with the members of St Leonard's College to St Salvator's College Church for worship in 1761, left St Salvator's for their own new parish church at Rathelspie, in the west of St Andrews, in 1904. They insisted that the silver, comprising the St Leonard's Mazer, Bruce Cup and Murray Cup, belonged to the Kirk Session and had been kept for this reason; the University disputed this, and the matter went to court, where the University won. The case hinged on whether the vessels had been used for Communion in St Salvator's Church until 1847, when new Communion plate was acquired, and if so, whether this implied Kirk Session ownership. Although two of the vessels were not Communion cups and the University denied they had been used in this way, the case was problematic with regard to the Murray Cup, which had been presented, as its inscription reveals, to St Leonard's Church, the question being whether the college members or the parishioners, both of whom worshipped together there, were the intended beneficiaries (probably not something which had concerned Lady Halkett, who cannot have known that the congregation would divide). Although the evidence suggests that the court's decision was correct, the case does attest to the passions which rights of ownership can arouse, and how intimately related artefacts can be to an institution's sense of identity. Though the parishioners and the University are now on much friendlier terms, one hundred years after the legal case was

occur in 1687 over the volumes left to St Leonard's College in 1679 by Sir John Wedderburn. When the Visitors to the University enquired in April 1687 why these had not yet been set in order in either the University Library or the St Leonard's College Library, but instead remained in boxes, the Principal of St Leonard's explained that the delay was because the place fitted up for them had been accidentally destroyed by fire. He insisted that they should still be reserved for St Leonard's, while the Provost of St Salvator's and others argued that, although they had indeed been bequeathed to St Leonard's College, they should now go to the University Library. The main concern of the Visitors, and perhaps the Provost of St Salvator's, was to ensure that the books could be used. The resulting animosity and jealous assertion of rights saw the Visitors even-handedly requiring that both the Arts colleges produce a catalogue of their library holdings, while all three colleges should collaborate to produce a catalogue of books belonging to the University Library. It was finally decided in June 1687 that St Leonard's could have its books, if it could provide a suitable room for them, the Visitors expressing the earnest hope that this matter would not trouble them again.¹⁹¹

Rivalry between the Arts colleges does seem to have existed at student level, and the Silver Arrow archery competition medals and arrows are the most visible representations of this (plates 19-22). Many of the victors identified which college they belonged to in inscriptions on the medals. Natural enmity between the students of the Arts colleges had a long history. In 1607 animosity reached such a pitch that the Privy Council of Scotland felt compelled to order that the students should take their exercise and recreation in separate locations, those of St Leonard's on St Nicholas's fields, near the college, and those of St Salvator's at the common links, at the other end of town, to avoid violent confrontation.¹⁹² The establishment of the archery competition in or shortly before 1618 (the date of the first surviving medal) may have been an attempt to channel this aggression into a more healthy and controlled atmosphere. However, it must be noted that on

settled, the University's Museum Collections unit still receives regular requests for the 'church's' silver to be returned to it, for the celebration of Communion on St Leonard's Day and other notable occasions, which are tactfully but steadfastly refused on the grounds of security, insurance, and the undesirability of returning what are now museum pieces to functional use. SAUL, UYUY8508, Papers relating to relations with St Leonard's Parish.

¹⁹¹ SAUL, UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', pp.214-222

occasion sportsmanship failed the competitors, as in 1721, when a dispute arose occasioned by:

some student or students rushing in, in a tumultuous manner to the Butt & pulling out and breaking the arrows, before John Arnot who was to shoot last, had time to shoot, & before the Dean of Faculty could get up to measure the doubtful shot, between Alex'r Haldane *pro tertia*, & James Martin's and Andrew Vilant's arrows *pro primo*, all of which were in the paper.¹⁹³

This antagonistic behaviour may, of course, have been related to personal hostility between students, rather than inter-collegiate tensions. In their design, size, costliness and inscriptions, the medals do reflect the competitiveness which existed between individual students, not only during the tournament itself, but also in the selection of a suitable emblem of their victory. The inscriptions suggest the learning of the students and their knowledge of classical texts which enabled them to locate apt quotations (for example the medal of James Bethune of Balfour, 1697, bears a quotation from Virgil, *Aeneid* V:485-6, 500-1, describing an archery competition, while the engraving depicts the competition itself, which involved shooting at a dove atop a mast). Less subtly they may declare their sporting prowess (for example Colin Campbell, 1678, boasts of 'carrying off the palm from his fellows' [CONSORTIBVS. PALMAM. PRÆRIPIENS]). The quality of the workmanship of the medals is variable, and probably reflects their cost. Brook, who produced an illustrated catalogue of the medals, with a commentary, in 1893-94, suggests that 'when the price was low it is probable that the goldsmith did both the marking and the engraving or chasing', whereas 'When the price admitted of it, the goldsmith appears to have employed some of the skilled picture and armorial engravers of the day'.¹⁹⁴ Between 1676 and 1707, after which restrictions on the size of the medals were imposed, the winners clearly felt some pressure to better the preceding medals, and they grew to a great

¹⁹² Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.37 n.1

¹⁹³ SAUL, UYUY411, Minutes of the Faculty of Arts, 22 June 1721. I am grateful to Ian Carradice for drawing this to my attention. Professor Carradice's research in this subject will be published as I. Carradice, *The Archery Medals of the University of St Andrews* (forthcoming).

size, the last in the sequence, that of David Scot of Scots Tarvit, weighing 10 oz. 8 dwt.. Victory was a matter of family, as well as personal, pride, as the prominent crests suggest. Alexander Sharp, who won the contest in 1710 and 1714, had his second medal inscribed: ‘Post / acrem tridui con/flictum Vici iterum non ut mihi ipsi novam / sed ut Divo parenti veterem / resuscitarem Gloriam’ (‘After a keen contest of three days, I conquered again, not to raise up fresh glory for myself, but to revive old glory for my deceased father’). James Leslie’s medal (1720) is inscribed ‘HINC AUSPICARI CAPITI DECUS MOS EST LESLEIS’ (sic) (‘The Leslies are accustomed to win their first crown of victory from this source’). Certainly his father, John, Lord Leslie, later 7th Earl of Rothes and his eldest brother John, Lord Leslie, later 8th Earl of Rothes, took the prize, in 1694 and c. 1715 respectively. Charles and Thomas Leslie, the 2nd and 3rd sons of the 7th Earl, who matriculated in the same year as John, appended medals to John’s in a show of family support.¹⁹⁵ Thomas’s medal declares ‘MISERUM. EST. ALIORUM. INCUMBERE. FAMÆ’ (‘it is wretched to lean upon the reputation of another’). The medal of Charles, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine (victor 1751, died 1771) bears as hallmarks a thistle and the sovereign’s head in intaglio, which indicate that it cannot have been produced before 1784: it was probably presented by his son Thomas, who studied at the United College 1782-4.¹⁹⁶ Several of the victors were to become competitors on the national scene, as well as on the sportsfield, most notably Archibald Campbell, 1st Marquis of Argyll (St Leonard’s College, victor 1623) and James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose (St Salvator’s College, 1628) who fought on opposing sides in the Civil War, and whose heads, after their respective executions several years apart, were displayed above Edinburgh’s tollbooth. It is notable that the competition seems to have petered out about 1754 (the probable date of the last medal) (plate 22), perhaps because, after the Union of the Colleges in 1747, the spur of inter-collegiate rivalry, at least, was removed.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Alexander J.S. Brook, ‘An Account of the Archery Medals Belonging to the University of St Andrews and The Grammar School of Aberdeen’ in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXVIII, 1893-94, pp.343-469, p.359

¹⁹⁵ Brook, ‘Archery Medals’, pp.414-415

¹⁹⁶ Brook, ‘Archery Medals’, p.437. I am indebted to Ian Carradice for the suggestion that the son presented the medal.

¹⁹⁷ Ian Carradice has provided much useful advice on the archery medals, including the translations of inscriptions.

Although the competition may not have taken place in some years (there is a notable gap in the sequence of medals from 1630 to 1675, with the exception of 1642, a troubled period encompassing the Covenanting movement and the Civil War) and the winners in other years may not have commissioned pieces, it is possible that medals may have been lost. Certainly two disappeared between 1843, when Lyon provided a list of the medals in his *History of St Andrews*, and 1893-94, when Brook published his catalogue: those of 'J.M.' (1619) and W. Dundas (1620).¹⁹⁸ There is some evidence that in the early years of the competition, the victor retained the silver arrow for a year, just as the winner of a sports trophy might now. Montrose won the competition in 1628 (as his medal is dated) (plate 19) and a year later on 9 July 1629, his tutor's accounts reveal that 'my Lord' is called upon to 'produce the silver arrow'. Montrose was a keen supporter of the archery competition which, it is clear from his accounts, took place over several days. In July 1628 he paid 12 shillings and then another 18 shillings 'to the producer of the silver arrow at the Butts', 40 shillings to 'the drummer and piferer of the town', who perhaps led the procession to the butts, and spent £6.3.0 in giving a supper to 'the rest of the archers', among other incidental expenses. A loss of 16 shillings at gambling after winning the arrow is also recorded. It is not clear why Montrose gave money to 'the producer of the arrow'. If this was David Wemyss, later Lord Elcho, who had won in 1627, given his social position as the son of Sir John Wemyss, he is unlikely to have been in need of friendly support from Montrose to commission a medal. Perhaps 'producer' equates to 'manufacturer' in this instance, and Montrose had played some part in sponsoring the production of a new silver arrow, or perhaps the term implies a college servant, who had looked after the arrow. In July 1629 Montrose gave 12 shillings 'to the drummer of St Andrews proclaiming the silver arrow to be shot for', followed by 48 shillings 'to the drummer and piferer for giving advertisement to the archers these two days', and £5.8.0 for a 'supper ... with the rest of the archers ... besyde that which every archer gave'. Clearly, the competition was something of a social event. One slightly baffling entry reads: 'Item paying one partie lossed be the bower Jhone Maine shooting on my Lord's side'. This seems to imply that the archers shot in teams in this period, though perhaps Maine was simply in the same college as Montrose. In this year, Montrose again seems to

¹⁹⁸ Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, pp.201-203

have participated unfruitfully in gambling. His tutor's entry describing this suggests, although not conclusively, that Montrose may have won the arrow for a second time in 1629:

Item the 10th day [of July], after the winning of the silver arrow, my Lord having dined in the fields, and supped in William Geddes's with the archers, his loss that day 3lb. 4 sh.

This echoes the description of the gambling in 1628:

More for my Lord's loss in a party, after the arrow was won 16 sh.¹⁹⁹

No medal bearing a date of 1629 survives, so this is possible.²⁰⁰

Montrose's medal of 1628 does not seem to have remained continuously in University hands. Along with the medals of John Lindsay (1630) and Thomas Gourlay (1642) (plate 20) and the smallest and, though undated, apparently oldest of the three surviving silver arrows, it does not feature in either Lyon's inventory or a catalogue of the arrows and medals, prepared on 23 August 1787, upon which Lyon's inventory seems to have been based, unlike the other extant arrows and medals and the two medals now missing.²⁰¹ The first reference to these three medals and the smallest arrow is in 1848, in *Memorials of Montrose and His Times*, edited by Mark Napier. From his study of Montrose's accounts,

¹⁹⁹ The accounts referred to are published in Mark Napier (ed.), *Memorials of Montrose and His Times*, Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1848, Vol. 1, pp.119-121.

²⁰⁰ There is, however, another medal dated 1628: that of David Forrester. There are also two medals of 1627, and two for 1705. This cannot be explained by a simple error in dating by the goldsmith (e.g. a medal won in 1626 not being commissioned until 1627 and therefore given this date), as medals dating from the years both immediately preceding and succeeding the year in question also survive. Either a tied match, or awards for 'first' and 'second' positions or 'novice' and 'expert' archers, or similar, must be implied.

²⁰¹ SAUL, UYUY911. Brook was not aware that this inventory, dated 23 August 1787, survived, although he knew that in 1780 the masters had ordered that two lists of the archery medals should be created, one to be placed in the Charter Chest, and the other to be laid on the table in the Hebdomader's Room, where the medals seem to have been displayed (Brook, 'Archery Medals', p.352). The surviving inventory seems to have been designed for display: neatly written and laid out on large, heavy sheets of paper bound together, it describes the two arrows, the medals, and the crests and inscriptions they bear, and the order in which the medals are supposed to have hung upon the arrows. The weights of the arrows and medals are also given, and these are replicated in Lyon.

Napier was surprised that no medal recording Montrose's victory survived, and persuaded Lyon, whose list of medals he had consulted, to make further enquiries, 'when, for the first time, there was disclosed to [Lyon] the Montrose arrow, locked up in a small box'. With it were the 'three silver medals, one attached to each of the three silver feathers of the arrow': each is described.²⁰² Gourlay's medal is inscribed around the rim: 'M. Gourlay dono dedit 1823', and this history is confirmed in an addendum to the 1787 catalogue, by David Smith, who repaired the catalogue in 1870. He provides a description of the third arrow and the three medals attached to it and adds that:

The third medal appears to have been gained by Thomas Gourlay in 1642, and had been retained by the Kincaig family, it latterly came into the keeping of Miss Margaret Gourlay in Pittenweem the last of the direct line of the Kincaig Gourlays; it was given up by her to the University for preservation

The third arrow was completely unknown to the creator of the 1787 catalogue, who gives the medals from 1618 to 1707 as being attached to the arrow dated 1704, which he takes to be the earliest arrow, and those of 1710 onwards to the second arrow, which is undated. The most likely explanation is that Miss Gourlay returned all three medals, and the smallest and oldest silver arrow, to the University in 1823. Gourlay may have acquired the arrow and medals appended to it after his victory in 1642, and, if the competition was then suspended due to the troubled times, simply not have had the occasion to return it to the University.²⁰³ Given that the medals of Montrose, Lindsay and Gourlay are the only ones to survive from 1628 to 1675 (except for the 1628 medal of Forrester), even allowing for the competition having been suspended from 1642 to 1675, there is a strong possibility that there were once more medals with this arrow, now lost, and even another arrow relating to the medals from 1618 to 1628, which does not survive. The figures of the archers on the Montrose, Lindsay and Gourlay medals are notably very similar, more so to

²⁰² Napier, *Memorials of Montrose*, pp.117-118

²⁰³ It must be noted that Gourlay's name cannot be found in the matriculation records c. 1642 (though this is also the case with other students known to have studied at St Andrews) and that it was suggested by Brook, who was not aware of its connection to the Montrose and Lindsay medals, not having seen the 1787 catalogue or its addendum, that the medal may be a relic of a different competition. On balance of evidence, I think this is unlikely, but it must be a consideration in any study of the medals.

each other than to the figure on any other medal, implying that the goldsmiths were following an established pattern in this period. The medal of Montrose has the crest scored through in a crude attempt to erase it. This political act of vandalism is unlikely to have occurred while the medal was in the care of the Gourlay family (otherwise, why not just destroy the medal instead of carefully preserving it), and so must predate 1642 and Montrose's most notable exploits as Captain General of the King's forces in Scotland during the Civil War, though it is clear that he already had many enemies by 1641, when he was imprisoned on the accusation of plotting against Archibald Campbell.²⁰⁴ Clearly, political activism could seep into the lives of the young students, and at least one individual was daring enough to deface a treasured University artefact to make a point.

Montrose's medal is not the only silver piece to bear covert markings. The base of the Bruce Cup has been scratched with the words 'KING CLUB' and the names and dates 'G GUTHRIE 1790-1-2 / P CHALMERS 1790-1 A SMALL / A + Small 1799 / Lyell March 1793 / [J] Lyell / EMP / A Small / A Small / E Mpherson / Lyell 1793'. There are also some indecipherable scratchings. The names are all those of arts secondars in the last decade of the 18th century: George Guthrie, 1790-92; Patrick Chalmers, 1790-93; John Lyell 1791-93; Alexander Small, 1796-1800; and Ewan Macpherson, 1797-1800. The King Club was presumably a student society, possibly clandestine and possibly associated with drinking. Paradoxically, the marking of the cup, which, by its nature, must have been done surreptitiously (being hidden on the underside and scratched rather than engraved), and required a certain degree of bravado, suggests both a disrespect for University property and a desire on the part of the students to associate themselves and the activities of their club with the institution for posterity, by marking an artefact that was likely to be retained. Three boards bearing many student names and the dates 1618, 167[0], 1702 and [1877] were discovered in the basement of 71 North Street in 2001: it is thought they may

²⁰⁴ Although Brook does not mention the defacement, that it was believed to be of historic provenance is made clear in the court papers relating to the ownership of the St Leonard's cups, 1904, when the Kirk Session contends that the fact that the Bruce Cup bears some graffiti is not proof that it had been used at the College Table, instead of in church, because the cups were kept 'in the Hebdomader's Room in an unlocked press to which the students could and it is believed did gain access. In this way a Medal gifted by the Marquis of Montrose was mutilated as it was believed by sympathisers with the Covenanters.' (SAUL, UYUY8508, 'Certified Copy Petition I.C. Rev. Robt. Wilfred Wallace & Others, V. The University Court of the University of St Andrews, 1904', p.9).

have been removed from the old St Salvator's College Hall, though most of the names (Hume, Hill, Grainger, Mackay, Moray, Watson etc) are too common and the dates too widespread to identify particular individuals. Although the earliest names on the first board are carefully inscribed and were perhaps sanctioned, as representing bursars or prizewinners, the later ones are clearly unofficial. Graffiti identifying individuals by name is also to be found on the outer walls of St Salvator's Chapel and in library books.²⁰⁵ Again, this can be seen as both a challenge to the authority of the University and to accepted codes of behaviour, and an acknowledgement by the culprit of his relationship with the institution, the authority of which he is attempting to subvert.

Following the abandonment of the Common Tables, at St Mary's College in 1814 and the United College in 1820, the college plate and spoons can have seen little functional use. The residential system had already declined by these dates, and the waning of the traditions associated with dining in these final years perhaps explains why Guthrie *et al* were able to deface the Bruce Cup with such impunity, over the period of a decade. Occasionally, the plate might have been retrieved from its chests for a celebratory or commemorative occasion: the Bruce Cup and St Leonard's Mazer were said to have been used as mazers at the banquet held on the occasion of the installation of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava as Rector of the University in 1891 (sic).²⁰⁶ However, it seems to have remained largely in storage, in the case of the United College silver in the Hebdomader's Room. Although its associations with college history may have precluded its disposal in an era favourably inclined to 'antiquities', it does not seem to have been considered important, interesting or unique enough to show to visitors to the University, as the maces and archery medals were. Two leather cases thought to have been used for storing silver vessels survive, though neither can be definitely associated with the extant pieces. Probably both from the 16th century, one is damaged and the lid and base lost; the other bears a crowned M motif which has not been identified, but may refer to one of several queens of Scotland in this period with this initial (such as Margaret Tudor, Mary of Guise

²⁰⁵ Matthew Simpson, '“O man do not scribble on the book”: Print and Counter-print in a Scottish Enlightenment University' in *Oral Tradition*, 151, 2000, pp.74-95

²⁰⁶ SAUL, UYUY8508, 'University of St Andrews: Memorandum as to the Silver Cups Claimed by the Kirk Session of St Leonards', 28th September 1904, p.6. In fact the Marquis became Rector in 1889.

and Mary Queen of Scots), or alternatively to the Virgin as Mary, Queen of Heaven. Two early badges also survive in the University's museum collections. These are emblems of office: one, of silver, inscribed on the obverse 'TABELLARIUS / UNIVER= / = SITATIS / STI ANDREAE' and dated 1749 on the reverse, is known as Postman's Blazon; the other, of pewter, inscribed on the obverse 'UNIVERSITY / CARRIER / TO DUNDEE / ST ANDREWS', is known as the University Carrier's Badge: its exact date is unknown. Both are notably large (H 12 x W 10 cm and H 15.5 cm x W 11 cm respectively) and would have been used to conspicuously identify the wearer as a University servant. Like the plate, they would seem to have been retained for their connection to the history of the University and general antiquarian interest.

College furniture

The evidence suggests that in the years following the Reformation, the furnishings of the colleges were relatively sparse. The 'Inventory of the plenishings and insight of the New Colledge' [St Mary's], 1598, implies that little more than the basic requirements of beds, boards [tables], forms and presses [cupboards] were provided for the chambers of both staff and students.²⁰⁷ Almost eighty years later, an inventory of the chambers of St Salvator's Colledge, [16]75 also gives this impression.²⁰⁸ In total, the furniture of St Mary's Colledge Hall in 1598 seems to have consisted of '5 boards with their seats & furms' and 'A cupboard'. The St Mary's inventory does, however, provide evidence of a textile being used to decorative effect: a 'painted cloth above ye high board' [top table]. In 1599, there were four boards in the college hall of St Leonard's and a bed, 'ane Board & ane furme plain' in every chamber, while 'the maist part of all the chambers [were] cieller'd above, & the floors beneath laid w^t buirdis'.²⁰⁹ It does not seem to have been thought necessary by all the colleges to provide seating in the Schools, for on 1 June 1687 the College Visitors declared that the custom in 'some of ye Colleges' of students sitting on the ground is to be prohibited. Benches must be used for all meetings, except prayer,

²⁰⁷ SAUL, UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', p.85

²⁰⁸ SAUL, UYSS110/AP/6, inventory of the chambers of St Salvator's Colledge

when the students should kneel, and the benches should be kept clean and neat.²¹⁰

Another hint of the discomforts of college life is provided by a letter from the private tutor James Morice to the father of his charges, the twins Kenneth and Thomas Mackenzie, students at St Leonard's, written in January 1714: he reports that his thirteen-year-old charges are in 'the publick and private Schools three hours in the forenoon and about two in the afternoon without fire, which is not good for [Kenneth's] tender legs especially when he has only one pair of thin stockings on them'.²¹¹ By 1740, there were both grates and desks in the Schools of St Leonard's College: however only a few of the students seem to have been lucky enough to have grates in their chambers.²¹² Although the 1740 inventory does seem to provide a listing of all the furniture in St Leonard's College, as before the Reformation the sparsity of the description of the furniture here and on the inventories of the furnishings of the other colleges means that it is hard to identify particular items of special import. The pieces of particular interest that have survived in the University from the two centuries following the Reformation are three charter chests from about the 17th century, one from St Leonard's College and two from St Mary's; a mid-17th century oak chair said to have been used by the Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament when it met in St Andrews 1645/6; a 17th century oak trestle table of similar provenance; a board, bearing the names of the then principals and professors of all three colleges, commissioned in 1699 and erected in the University Library; a late 16th century pulpit in St Salvator's Chapel; and, possibly, depending on its exact date, the 16th century 'conter' already referred to. The sacristy door in St Salvator's Church was cut down from the oak linen-fold door of the old College Hall in 1921 (the severed panels are in the National Museums of Scotland), while another linen-fold door, probably originally from a press, has been converted into the front of a built-in cupboard in 71 North Street, the building to the east of St Salvator's Chapel. The pulpit originally belonged to Holy Trinity and was brought to the United College in 1798: in this year the congregation of Holy Trinity were allowed the use of St Salvator's Church and, on the 'Lord's Day', the

²⁰⁹ SAUL, UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', p.93

²¹⁰ SAUL, UYSL156, 'Pringle's Book', p.220

²¹¹ William Croft Dickinson (ed.), *Two Students at St Andrews 1711-1716*, Edinburgh, 1952, pp.xxxv, 19

²¹² SAUL, UYSL166, 'List of ye schools and rooms in St Leonard's College with an Inventory of what they contain', 1740. An 18th century student bedchamber or 'bunk room' has been preserved in St Mary's College.

Common Schools, during the expansion of their own parish church. For some time, it stood in the old college hall on the west of the St Salvator's site, and thereafter in the Museum: it was installed in St Salvator's Chapel in 1930.²¹³ The staff board, to which all the colleges contributed 'two rix dollars', is of interest in that it bears iconography of this period relating to the colleges.²¹⁴ A further board bearing the University's motto, Αίέν ἀριστέειν, 'Ever to be the best', was erected in Parliament Hall in 1773 and currently hangs in the old University Library.²¹⁵

Summary

From its first years, then, the University of St Andrews has deliberately acquired certain items which are not merely related to its essential purposes of teaching and learning, or to domestic and ecclesiastical functionality, but have a significance beyond this. The power of the symbolic value that may be attached to artefacts is most prominently exemplified by the three 15th century maces, which are so intrinsically linked to the University's status and authority that a stylised mace appears on the seal of the University, designed in or before 1418.²¹⁶ The obvious financial expenditure implicit in the creation of the intricate silver gilt maces; the care extended to them, both in terms of protection during periods of disruption and maintenance and repair; and their prominence at national and University events attests to their importance to their commissioning bodies and to the University as a whole. If, as it appears, a mace accompanied University delegations beyond St Andrews less often in the post-Reformation period than in the 15th century, this would seem to reflect more on the University's declining political prominence, from an era in which it might direct the course of Scotland in changing papal allegiance, than on the emblematic

²¹³ UCM, 9 February 1798; Lyon, *History of St Andrews*, Vol. II, p.204

²¹⁴ Senate Minutes, 17 May 1699

²¹⁵ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.189. The phrase is taken from the *Iliad*, VI:208 and is the personal maxim of Alexander the Great.

²¹⁶ That the University seal, of which the original matrix is extant, dates from 1414-18 is attested to by the presence on the seal of the arms of Pope Benedict XIII, from whom the University, and Scotland, revoked allegiance in 1418. The seal is thought to portray a rectorial court, with a crouching figure representing a bedellus, or mace-bearer. An alternative interpretation is that the image represents a master lecturing to a class of students, and that the figure is a 'luminator', bearing a light, instead of a mace. Ronald G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, St Andrews, 1992, p.189.

value of the maces to the University: borne in the funeral procession of the murdered Chancellor of the University, Archbishop Sharp, in 1679, alongside the maces of the Lord High Chancellor and the Lords of Session, they conspicuously represented the presence of the University as an institution among the mourners.

The magnificent furnishings, vestments and sacramental vessels of the Collegiate Church of St Salvator had both a functional and decorative role, in their splendour reflecting the wealth, status and honour of the college, and praising and magnifying the divine. The silver plate of the colleges was an intrinsic part of collegiate history, embodying associations with college patrons and alumni and, through rituals such as the ceremonial passing round of the great communal mazers, encouraging fellowship and loyalty among college members. The Silver Arrow archery competition between members of St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges also encouraged individuals to participate in the traditions and activities of the colleges, as well as promoting the values of friendly competitiveness, endeavour and sporting prowess. These artefacts, the maces and others discussed above had an important role in representing and reflecting the identity of the University and of the faculties and colleges within it; and the extent to which they were accorded prominence or their role waned (most obviously with the dispersal of the holdings of St Salvator's Church at the Reformation, but also in regard to matters such as the decline in use of the college plate) in different periods reflects on internal forces and external movements affecting the University's concept of its role and perceptions of its own identity.



Head of the French Faculty Mace [Mace of the Faculty of Arts], c. 1416-1419
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews



Head of the Scottish Faculty Mace [Mace of the Faculty of Canon Law], mid 15th century

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews



Head of the Mace of St Salvator's College, 1461
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews

Silver Arrow Archery Competition Medals



James Graham, 5th Earl of Montrose, 1628. Became 1st Marquis of Montrose
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC814(8)



Thomas Gourlay of Kincaig, 1642
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC814(11)

Silver Arrow Archery Competition Medals



William Murray, 1706. Became Marquis of Tullibardine
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC814(39)



Francis Murray, Lord Doune, 1754 (?). Became 8th Earl of Moray
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC814(70)



The St Mary's Mazer

The oldest fully hallmarked extant piece of Edinburgh silver. Made by Alexander Auchinleck in Edinburgh between 1552 and 1562, and stamped by the Deacon, Thomas Ewing.

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC292



St Leonard's Mazer

The mazer bears no hallmarks. In its original form it may date from the mid 16th or early 17th century, but bears evidence of later repairs and alterations.
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC261



Detail of St Leonard's Mazer

The 'SL' monogram was probably inscribed by Henry Bethune, c. 1723



The Bruce Cup

Thought to have been donated by Peter Bruce, Principal of St Leonard's College 1611-30, the cup was remade in 1727 by Henry Bethune in Edinburgh.
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC260



The Guild Cup

This silver cup was presented to the Faculty of Theology by Dr William Guild in 1628. It was made in London, 1613-14.

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC294



'Capstan' salt

Made in St Andrews by Patrick Gardyne (fl. 1637-72)

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC293



St Andrews Cupboard

The cupboard dates from c. 1500. The iconography of a thistle, rose and marguerite has been associated with the marriage of James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor of England in 1503.

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC839



Tombstone of Hugh Spens, Provost of St Salvator's College 1503-1534
The tombstone provides the only known depiction of the everyday dress of a medieval Scottish academic.

Chapter III

The portrait and other fine art collections of the University of St Andrews

Unlike silver vessels and items of furniture, artworks have no practical use. This is perhaps why, during the centuries of poverty and decline that followed the Reformation in St Andrews, the University apparently made no attempt to commission or buy art: expenditure may of necessity have been largely reserved for practical matters, such as the purchase of food, books and equipment, the payment of salaries, and, when possible, the repair of buildings.¹ So far as I have been able to ascertain, the first oil painting to be acquired by the University in the post-Reformation period was obtained in 1765: this is the portrait of David Steuart Erskine, Lord Cardross, later 11th Earl of Buchan (plate 32), who studied at the United College 1755-59 and was awarded an LL.D. in 1766. The portrait was presented by Cardross himself, and is a copy of the original by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1764 (now in the South African National Gallery).² Portraits of Cardross were also distributed to the other ancient Scottish universities, Edinburgh (unknown date, extant, after Reynolds), Glasgow (painted, and presented by Cardross, in 1765, extant, after Reynolds) and Aberdeen (presented by Cardross in 1771, now lost: whether this was also a copy of the Reynolds is uncertain); while another is held by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which Buchan founded in 1780.³ This donation, although

¹ The poverty of the University in this period has been well-documented: see Ronald Gordon Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, St Andrews, 1992. For example, the report of the royal visitation in 1588 reveals that the state of college finances meant that only three of the projected five teaching masters had been appointed at St Mary's. At St Salvator's, the two 'extraordinary professors' of Mathematics and Law were treated with hostility, as an unwarranted burden on the foundation (Cant, p. 63). Professors remained notably ill-paid in the late 17th and 18th centuries (Cant, p. 92). Although the walls and roof of the University Library were completed in 1618, lack of funds to fit it out prevented it from being brought into use until the generosity of Alexander Henderson made this possible in 1642-43 (see J.B. Salmond and G.H. Bushnell, *Henderson's benefaction: a tercentenary acknowledgement of the University's debt to Alexander Henderson*, St Andrews, 1942). The ongoing dilapidation of the various college buildings has been discussed. That the University found it difficult to produce funds even for teaching apparatus is demonstrated by appeals for sponsors of new equipment for the 'Experimental Philosophy' course in 1714 and in the mid-1720s (SM 23 February 1714 and SAUL, UYSS800/4). The poverty of the University was a major factor in the decision to unite the two Arts Colleges in 1747.

² Information on location of original from Mungo Campbell, 'Lord Cardross' and the 'Boy with a squirrel'; Sir Joshua Reynolds's first encounter with the Earl of Buchan and John Singleton Copley' in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIX, November 1987, pp.728-730, p.730.

³ D. Talbot Rice and Peter McIntyre, *The University Portraits*, Edinburgh, 1957, pp.65-66; Mary Ruth Pryor, 'Painting the Profile: Imagery and Identity in the Art Collections of King's and Marischal Colleges,

unusual in that Cardross chose to distribute his largess so even-handedly across the Scottish universities (he had studied at St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow), echoes the pattern of gifts of items of silver by alumni and benefactors wishing to support, and associate themselves closely with, the University of St Andrews.⁴ An inscription, in Latin, on the reverse of the St Andrews portrait, indicates that it was presented as ‘a monument’ of Cardross’s ‘extreme dutifulness and gratitude’ for the education he received at St Andrews: a pious sentiment but also a subtle means of ensuring visual display of his image in the august institution. The next portrait to be acquired was probably that of Thomas Hay, 9th Earl of Kinnoull (1710-87), Chancellor of the University 1765-87: painted by David Martin, it was presented by the subject's nephew, the 10th Earl, in 1791 (plate 33). Thereafter, the portrait collection grew steadily throughout the 19th century, with the acquisition of portraits of Chancellors, Principals and Professors, often through donation or public subscription rather than direct commission from University finances; and more rapidly during the 20th century, due in part to a concerted effort, in particular periods such as the approach of the 500th anniversaries of the University (1911) and St Salvator’s College (1950), to fill gaps in the sequence of portraits of University figures and celebrated alumni, to reflect the history of the institution.

Portraiture is concerned with the representation of the individual. His or her character, attributes or achievements may be reflected through facial expression, posture and the employment of symbolism: perhaps the setting of the portrait, the mode of dress (academic, military, fashionable attire, etc) and objects included in the work (books, antiquities, hunting equipment, and so on). Just as a good portrait should reveal something of the nature of the person represented, so the portrait holdings of an institution such as a university, when these have been acquired deliberately and over time, and thought has been put into a scheme of display, must reflect something of that institution’s identity and preoccupations, which may themselves, of course, change over time. With regard to a university’s portrait collection, the concern may be to make explicit

1495-1860’, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 2002, ‘Catalogue of Works’, p.17, no. 65. Anne Dulau, Curator, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, who provided information on the Glasgow copy in September 2006, states that it is attributed to James Wales, on the basis of a comparison with yet another copy in the National Museums of Scotland, presented by Wales himself in 1781.

⁴ Campbell, “Lord Cardross”, p.728

connections with learned or eminent individuals, from academics, including its own staff, to prominent national figures, who may have served as rectors or chancellors; to illustrate its history, or demonstrate its connection to national affairs, perhaps through depictions of famed alumni; to honour benefactors, or demonstrate reverence for the sovereign or other powerful figures, perhaps in the hope of attracting patronage from them; and to provide memorials to respected University members. Decorative use and aesthetics may also be important, with the works of particularly admired artists being prominently displayed. Collectively, the artworks affirm the institution's prestige and status. The display of an individual's portrait in an institution such as a university also has implications for the reputation of the figure concerned, suggesting that they are worthy of recognition, publicly conferring the impression of their wisdom, intelligence, eminence or renown, and immortalising them within the history of the institution. These connotations are likely to encourage donations of portraits from subjects or their families. Certainly, all these factors seem to have influenced the development of the portrait collection at the University of St Andrews. The collection includes depictions of only a very few individuals who are not directly linked to the institution in some way, and of these exceptions, the majority were acquired due to simple misidentifications (for example, the portrait of Cardinal Philip Howard of Norfolk was long thought to represent Cardinal David Beaton, Chancellor of the University, 1539-46). Though portraits may not have a practical use, they clearly do have an important function and value at a personal level, and in the expression of an institution's history and identity.

Since the University's portrait collection was in its infancy in the first half of the 19th century, it is necessary to look beyond this period to trace its growth and development, and evaluate what the acquisition and display of portraits may reveal about the University, its values and identity, and the impressions that it hoped to convey. I will explore the evolution of the collection up to the present, examining how it attained its current relatively coherent form. My examination of the University's portrait holdings will largely be limited to what is clearly identifiable as the institutional collection: oil paintings, and more rarely, watercolours and other media, of individuals with, mostly, a particular connection to the University; the majority of these are prominently displayed in

formal rooms or, to a lesser extent, in academic Schools and halls of residence with which the subjects generally have an association. The generic series of prints of famous figures, authors and so on, taken from book-plates and other sources and mainly housed in the University Library's Special Collections department, is beyond the scope of this thesis, and will not be discussed, unless there is evidence that particular works have been acquired or primarily used for the purpose of display rather than academic reference. The University's collection of sculpture busts has obvious associations with its portrait collection, and will be discussed in similar terms. Brief reference will be made to the non-portrait paintings, drawings and editioned art prints acquired mainly from the early 20th century onwards, and held in the University's Museum Collections, to place the display of portraits from this period on in context. However, these holdings largely fall outwith the time parameters of this thesis, and were acquired for different reasons to the portraits, often to brighten up offices and corridors, or for teaching purposes in the School of Art History, rather than because of any innate connection to the history of the institution, and therefore specific examples will only be discussed in detail if their subject, means and purpose of acquisition, or subsequent use and presentation is of particular interest and relevance. Records show that the University did possess various examples of figurative art prior to the Reformation, and these are discussed below.

Until recently, the University's extant art holdings, including the portraits and busts, were incompletely documented. Lists sent by the University, on request, to the National Portrait Gallery and the Courtauld Institute in the 1970s show that only some artists were identified, and letters in response to queries in the same period, that provenance was often unknown.⁵ From the 1940s onwards, Dr Ronald Cant systematically noted references to portraits in the Court and Senate Minutes, as he came across them, in a manuscript handlist: this work provided a great deal of information on artists, donors and provenance.⁶ Alison Scott recorded physical information about the artworks about 1985, including measurements and inscriptions. Matthew Withey's project on the University's sculpture collection, undertaken 1995-6 as part of the project work for the Museum and

⁵ Museum Collections Unit, miscellaneous file, portraits and other art.

⁶ This handlist is now held in the Museum Collections Unit.

Gallery Studies course, catalogued for the first time thirty of the University's statues and busts (the majority of the collection): as a resource, it too is invaluable. Nevertheless, a great deal of my time, both as Curator of the Museum Collections and in preparation for this chapter of my thesis, has been spent in further research into the history and provenance of particular works and the collection as a whole, in expanding Cant and Withey's notes, and in systematically creating formal catalogue records for the majority of the more than 400 artworks (many of them non-portrait) in the University's collections.⁷ I have included, in Appendix B, a full list of the University's extant portraits and sculpture busts (to 2009), giving the subject, medium and dimensions and, where known, artist, date and provenance, including reference to University records (e.g. Court or Senate Minutes) detailing the acquisition: inspection of the full catalogue records can be obtained by application to the Museum Collections Unit.

Pre-Reformation holdings

The pre-Reformation inventories of St Salvator's Church list several items of painted or carved figurative art, including:

ane ymage of our Lady with ane tawbyrnakill [tabernacle] abune the alter of the vestre
ane ymage of our Lady of allabast [alabaster] hyngand in the body of the kyrk with tua chandelaris [candlesticks] of brass before the sam
tua tabilis [panels] with crucifix [depicting the crucified Christ] in the closter
thre tabilis of our Lady payntyt in the kyrk and the closter
a new payntyt claith of Sant Lourans [Laurence] abwn Sant Michaellys alter
ane ymage of Sant Katelyn new pantyt be the Prouest [Provost]
ane litill tabill of Sanct An at the north alter

⁷ I have been ably assisted in the cataloguing by several Museum and Gallery Studies students, particularly Susan Keracher, Vicky Garrington and Rachel Clerke (now Cheer), and a student volunteer, Erin Sehorn-Elwell.

Other items of interest include a pax board enamelled with the image of the Saviour, and 'a tabill of the vernakill in the vestre' (a representation of the image of Christ's face on St Veronica's handkerchief). There was also the 'gret sepultur with ane ymage off our Saluour liand therwithin', already discussed in Chapter II.⁸ The castle list (the undated list from the mid-16th century of 'ye geir of Sanct Salvatoris College laid for kepine in the Castell of Sanctandros discussed in Chapter II) refers to a panel with an image of the Holy Spirit.⁹ Many of these images are associated with particular altars: Eeles suggests that the 'tabilis' depicting Our Lady were probably connected with the two altars dedicated to Mary (one in the church and one in the south cloister walk); the panel depicting Mary's mother, St Anne, also being placed on the altar to Mary within the church ('the north alter'). The depiction of St Katherine would have been at her altar in its separate chapel, while the image of the Holy Spirit would have been at the altar of that dedication.¹⁰ The testamentary deposition of goods Kennedy proposed to bequeath to St Salvator's College lists 'a corvyn image of tre [wood] of our lady' and 'a lytil image off oure lady corvyn in ivore'.¹¹ As previously mentioned, 'ane litill letteron of aik ... with ane ymagis of sane jerane' [St Jerome] was housed in the most finely furnished bedchamber in St Leonard's College in 1544.¹² There would have been sculptures, probably depicting saints or apostles, in the niches on the exterior of St Salvator's Church and St Leonard's Church, and possibly on the now lost chapels of St John's and St Mary's Colleges. The canopy of Bishop Kennedy's tomb may also have held figurative sculptures. However, none of the images referred to here are extant, and were probably destroyed or lost at the Reformation.

These items of figurative art were not portraits, but rather decorative and probably didactic pieces, intended to instill reverence and focus the mind of the observer on the divine. I

⁸ SAUL, UYSS110/AP/3(1)-(2); Ronald Gordon Cant, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development Including a Selection of Documents*, Edinburgh and London, 1950, pp.160-162. Eeles's commentary is given on p.139: he states that the word 'tawbyrnakill' indicates a carved projecting canopy for the niche containing the figure of Our Lady.

⁹ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.162, n.2

¹⁰ Cant, *College of St Salvator*, p.139

¹¹ SAUL, UYSS/110/B1 Kennedy's testamentary deposition of his goods to St Salvator's College, 14 March 1453/4

¹² SAUL, UYSL155, 'Register of the College of St Leonard', 1512-1606, p.12, 'Inventory of St Leonard's Household Stuff', 10 September 1544

have been unable to locate any surviving evidence that images of donors or patrons were included in the decoration of the college churches and their altars in St Andrews, comparable to the depiction of James III, Margaret of Denmark and their son on the Trinity College altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes, late 1470s; or the portrait of Bishop William Elphinstone, founder of King's College, Aberdeen, c.1500, which may once have been part of a diptych or triptych, possibly on the High Altar of the college church.¹³ Yet it is certainly a possibility that such images did once exist. As discussed in Chapter II, the carved arms of Bishop Kennedy survive in various places in St Salvator's Church, and it would have been entirely appropriate for his figure, as founder of the church, to feature on an altarpiece, perhaps being presented to the Virgin or Christ by a sponsor. One item which does constitute a form of portrait does survive, namely the tombstone of Provost Hugh Spens, died 1534, discussed earlier: although the facial features are indistinct, care has been taken in rendering his costume.

Post-Reformation holdings

1765 is a remarkably late date for the foundation of an art collection at the University of St Andrews: considerable art holdings were built up much earlier at Edinburgh University, King's College and Marischal College, Aberdeen, and Glasgow University. Edinburgh University was founded in 1582, under James VI, as a Protestant establishment, influenced in its development by the Protestant institutions of the University of Leyden and the Academy of Geneva. Geneva, in particular, had a far-reaching effect on the development of Scottish higher education. Talbot Rice notes that:

John Knox had spent three years at Geneva while Calvin was planning the establishment of the College and the Academy; Andrew Melville, the reformer of the Universities of Glasgow and St Andrews, had been for five years Professor of Humanity under Beza at Geneva; and George Keith, fifth Earl Marischal, founder

¹³ Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, Edinburgh, 1990, pp.18-21. The altarpiece is now in the Royal Collection. Pryor, 'Painting the Profile', p.16. The portrait remains in the collections of Aberdeen University.

of Marischal College, Aberdeen, studied rhetoric and divinity in Beza's classes at the Academy.¹⁴

As at Geneva, where the Municipal Council built the Academy and the Magistrates, advised by the Venerable Company of Pastors, made all appointments to teaching posts, so the University of Edinburgh began as the 'Town's College', with the Town Council playing an influential role in its government and the appointment of staff.¹⁵ Unlike St Andrews, Edinburgh was not, then, established as an adjunct of the Catholic Church, and it was visibly proud of its Protestant identity. Portraits of the Protestant Reformers, some of which may date from the University's foundation, were displayed in the University library: those still extant include John Knox, John Calvin and Theodore Beza. Beza was successively Professor of Theology, first Rector of the School of Theology and Moderator of the Academy of Geneva, and published *Icones, id est Verae Imagines, Virorum Doctrina simul et Pietate Illustrium* (Geneva, 1580), an iconography of leading figures of the Reformation, on which some of the Edinburgh works appear to be based.¹⁶ There is also a portrait of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia (1596-1632), son-in-law to James VI / I, who was widely regarded in Scotland as a hero of the Protestant cause. Duncan Macmillan has noted that 'at the centre of Protestant thought in all its variations stood the idea of individual responsibility and the separateness of each person's existence'. He continues:

The achievement of the Reformation was a heroic one. It was a revolution brought about by individuals, mostly without status, but relying instead on force of personality and intellect. For such a movement the portrait was the most appropriate commemorative form.¹⁷

The display of the portraits of the Reformers in the library of Edinburgh University was a political statement, aligning the ethos of the institution with Protestant thought, and

¹⁴ Talbot Rice and McIntyre, *The University Portraits*, p.14

¹⁵ Talbot Rice and McIntyre, *The University Portraits*, pp.14-15

¹⁶ Talbot Rice and McIntyre, *The University Portraits*, p.13

¹⁷ Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, pp.40, 45

intended to inspire in students and staff a reverence for Protestant ideals and for the men who had promoted them. In the purge of Edinburgh University in 1690, following the ascension to the throne of the Protestant monarchs William and Mary in place of the Catholic James VII / II, one of the chief charges brought against Principal Monro was that he had removed the portraits of the Reformers from the Library.¹⁸ (At St Andrews, even more impolitically, the masters had, with the Scottish bishops, published the laudatory *Address to the King* (James VII / II) just before William landed in England: virtually all the University staff were subsequently dismissed).¹⁹ The display, or non-display, of artworks could be a powerful signifier of beliefs and values, or a way of disguising controversial views and publicly expressing conformity. At King's College, Aberdeen, after the arrival of the Covenanting army in 1639, the cautious professors appear to have removed portraits of the Aberdeen Doctors (who, in the wake of the attempt by Charles I to impose the Anglican Prayer Book on the Church of Scotland, argued against the extreme position of the opposing Covenanters, and refused to sign the National Covenant): the portraits are known to have hung in the College Hall in 1630, but are no longer extant.²⁰ However, in 1641, Principal William Guild presented twelve paintings of *The Sibyls* to King's College: Pryor has argued (not altogether convincingly) that this was a covert statement of sympathy for the Aberdeen Doctors, the didactic nature of the images, which had been appropriated from classical tradition by the Christian Church from the 4th century A.D., with the Sibyls being reinterpreted as foretellers of the Christian Revelation, affirming the original religious foundation of the College against the Covenanting cause.²¹ In the wake of the Protestant Revolution, the University of Glasgow commissioned eight portraits from John Scougall that 'formed part of a definite programme paying homage to the founders of Protestantism in Scotland'.²² These paintings, of Professor Alexander Dunlop, Robert Boyd, George Buchanan, Patrick Hamilton, Principal John Cameron, Reverend Alexander Anderson, John Knox and Martin Luther, cost one guinea each and, apart from a bust of the benefactor Zachary Boyd by Robert Erskine, acquired c. 1657 for

¹⁸ Talbot Rice and McIntyre, *The University Portraits*, pp. 119-120

¹⁹ *The Address of the University of St Andrews to the King ... also a Letter from the Archbishop to the King's most Excellent Majesty*, 1689. See Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.92-93

²⁰ Pryor, 'Painting the Profile', p.62

²¹ Pryor, 'Painting the Profile', pp.61-69

²² Information from Anne Dulau, in an email dated 4 December 2006.

£25, were the first known portraits to be commissioned by the University. They are dated between 1693 and 1702.²³ The University of Glasgow's art collection was augmented by three other portraits from the Scougall studio, of Queen Anne, Queen Mary and William III, presented by the Corporation of Glasgow c. 1720, while one more Scougall, of George Wishart, was acquired sometime in the 18th century.²⁴ Collectively, these works formed a clear public statement of loyalty and support for the Crown and Protestant cause in a period when it was politic to make such allegiances apparent.

In 1696 Robert Henderson recorded fifty-eight portraits in Edinburgh University, in a list entitled *Icones Virorum* included at the end of his catalogue of the library.²⁵ These included paintings of the mathematician John Napier of Merchiston, presented in 1676 by Lady Napier; Oliver Cromwell, presented by James Butter 'clerk of Pearth-shyre' (denoted 'G T and UOC' for 'Great Tyrant and Usurper, Oliver Cromwell', so that the University's position could not be mistaken); and portraits of monarchs including the six Jameses, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, Charles I, Charles II and their consorts, presented by the wife of Provost Prince and by Sir Robert Sibbald.²⁶ (James II / VII, naturally, does not seem to have been represented). When Andrew Strachan, Professor of Divinity and Regent of King's College, Aberdeen, gave a speech on 26 July 1630 celebrating the number of distinguished men who were either products of the University or had been brought there by the Chancellor, Bishop Patrick Forbes, he 'was able to point to their pictures ornamenting the hall where his audience were assembled'.²⁷ At Glasgow, paintings of Zachary Boyd, the Rector and benefactor John Orr and the alumnus and renowned philosopher Francis Hutcheson were acquired in 1698, 1730 and before 1769 respectively, in addition to those of the Protestant figures and monarchs and the existing bust of Boyd. Given the clear importance of the visible display of portraiture from an early period at Edinburgh and Aberdeen and, from the late 17th century, at Glasgow, why was St Andrews so late in establishing a collection? There may be several reasons, apart from the

²³ Zachary Boyd (1590-1654), minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow and an alumnus of Glasgow University, bequeathed his library and £20,000 to the University.

²⁴ Dulau, email correspondence, 4 December 2006

²⁵ Edinburgh University Library, Eua IN1/ADS/LIB/1/DA.1.18, Library Press Catalogue 1695-97, 'Icones Virorum illustrium Imperatorum Regum, Principum, Doctorum, Theologorum Reformatorem &c'

²⁶ Talbot Rice and McIntyre, *The University Portraits*, pp.xi-xii

²⁷ Pryor, 'Painting the Profile', p.23

poverty of the University in this period. Unlike Edinburgh University, St Andrews had endured the full impact of the Reformation, which had shaken to the core the religious foundations on which the colleges had been established. The actions of the mob against the Cathedral, the seat of the leading Primate in Scotland, and the resulting destruction of religious images, with iconoclasts probably invading the college churches (or at least St Salvator's, where, as previously discussed, some damage appears to have occurred), would have left a lingering impression, which may well have made the University reluctant to acquire images of any sort in the immediate post-Reformation period. It is notable that even 140 years later, in 1699, the University chose to commission, at a cost of six rix dollars, a decorated board bearing the names of its principals and professors to be displayed in the University Library, when other Scottish institutions were installing portraits of their principals and professors in their formal rooms.²⁸ At St Andrews, the word (Word) was privileged over the image. Secondly, there were no portrait painters working in St Andrews, unlike Edinburgh, centre of the Scottish art world, or Aberdeen, where George Jamesone (1589/90-1644) spent much of his working life. Around twenty-five works in the collections of Marischal and King's Colleges are by or attributed to Jamesone, including the Sibyls and portraits of Peter Blackburn, Bishop of Aberdeen and first Dean of Faculty of Marischal College (unknown date), William Johnston, first Professor of Mathematics at Marischal College (1626), James Sandilands, Rector of King's College (1624) and various other university members and alumni.²⁹ Finally, the very lack of a portrait collection at St Andrews meant that there was no tradition of commissioning works or of receiving them as gifts. The pre-existence of an institutional collection tends to encourage commissions, with the institution keen to accord no less respect to its senior figures (principals, chancellors, etc), than to their predecessors (and these figures perhaps anxious to see no less respect accorded to themselves). Donations of works are also more likely if potential benefactors know that the institution has a history of receiving these gratefully and displaying them prominently: it is notable that many of the early works acquired by Edinburgh University were gifts.

²⁸ SM 17 May 1699. The board survives in the Museum Collections (HC838).

²⁹ Pryor, 'Painting the Profile', 'Catalogue of Works' (following thesis text)

During the 19th century, the portrait holdings of the University of St Andrews gradually increased. The presentation of the portraits of Lord Cardross and the Earl of Kinnoull in the 18th century were followed by commissions by the University for a portrait of the statesman Robert Saunders Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville (Chancellor, 1814-51) in 1829, and by the United College for a painting of Henry Miller in 1853. Melville had been instrumental in persuading the government to fund the reconstruction of St Salvator's College, after the damning report on the state of its buildings by the Royal Commissioners in 1827. He is depicted in his robes as Chancellor, with the new college buildings in the background (plate 34). The Senate Minutes record that Melville was requested to do the University the honour of sitting for his portrait 'to such eminent artist in Edinr as his Lordship may think best qualified to do justice to the original'.³⁰ He selected Sir David Wilkie, who completed the work by 1831. Henry Miller established a prize fund to encourage learning in 1853: the three best students in each of the four undergraduate years of the United College were to be awarded a 'Miller Prize'. Through the commissioning of these works, the University was visibly acknowledging its gratitude to its friends and benefactors, possibly in the hope of encouraging further support from either these individuals or other people.

Portraits of John Hunter, Professor of Humanity in the United College, 1775-1835 and Principal of the United College, 1835-37, and Robert Haldane, Professor of Mathematics in the United College, 1807-1820 and Principal and Professor of Divinity, St Mary's College, 1820-54, both by Sir John Watson Gordon, had been acquired by 1845, when *Fletcher's Guide to St Andrews* describes them as being in the University Library, with the portraits of Kinnoull and Cardross.³¹ The 1853 edition of *Fletcher's Guide* notes that the portraits of Hunter and Haldane had been commissioned by their former students.³² Perhaps the long years of service of the subjects (sixty-two and forty-seven years respectively), as well as the affection and respect in which they were presumably held, influenced the decision to immortalise their images in their university. *Fletcher's Guide* (1845) also records that the portrait of Melville was held in the apartment to the west of

³⁰ SM 11 April 1829

³¹ *Fletcher's Guide to St Andrews*, 1st edition, 1845, p.56

³² *Fletcher's Guide to St Andrews*, 2nd edition, 1853, p.52

the Library (now known as the Senate Room), which had been erected in 1829, with an engraving of another work by Wilkie, *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo* by John Burnet, 1831, after the famous oil painted for the Duke of Wellington between 1816 and 1822.³³ The print, a proof impression of the engraving, was presented by Wilkie himself in 1832, in a specially designed frame bearing canons, spears, lions and Union Jacks.³⁴ The siting of Melville's portrait was appropriate: he had also been influential in securing government funds for the construction of this building.³⁵ Prints had been displayed in the Library before this date: portraits of English libertarian writers, donated anonymously in 1762 by the philanthropist Thomas Hollis were hung there in the mid-1770s.³⁶ The display of such radical subject matter is exceptional and surprising: Simpson suggests that this was 'perhaps a legatee's piety, since it was only when Hollis died and left money too that the pictures went up'.³⁷ Other pictorial material presented to the Library, possibly for display purposes, and recorded in the Senate Minutes, includes 'a plate of the branches of the family of Hanover done by Sir Thomas Brand' (Senate Minutes 11 May 1753); 'a Tree of the royal family of the Stuarts, by Robert Douglas' (11 December 1753); 'a copperplate of alphabets of several languages' (18 May 1761); 'a meddle of the Emperor and Emperess (sic) of Germany' (23 March 1770); views of the ruins of St Andrews by John Oliphant (18 September and 13 December 1775); 'a print of the procession of the Knights of the order of the Garter', after van Dyke (1 August 1783); a medallion portrait of Lieutenant General Robert Melville by James Tassie (16 September 1791); a 'print of Raeburn's portrait of the King in Scotland' (10 July 1830); and 'an engraving of the locomotive engine of Messrs Braithwaite and Ericson' (9 October 1830).³⁸ However, I have not been able to establish that any of these items were actually put on display, though Saint Fond saw a collection of engravings after Oliphant 'at the house of the college librarian, who would not sell them to me. He religiously preserved

³³ *Fletcher's Guide*, 1845, pp.56-57

³⁴ SM 26 April 1832

³⁵ James Maitland Anderson, 'The Library' in Anon., *Votiva Tabella*, Glasgow, 1911, p.110

³⁶ SM 30 August 1762; 15 May 1775

³⁷ Matthew Simpson, "'You have not such a one in England': St Andrews University Library as an Eighteenth-Century Mission Statement' in *Library History*, 17, March 2001, pp.41-56, p.47

³⁸ As listed in Simpson, "'You have not such a one'", pp.53-54

them under glass'.³⁹ An oil painting of John Knox, presented to the University in 1824 by James Simpson, also does not seem to have been prominently displayed until a later period.⁴⁰

The accounts of visitors to the University and guidebooks to St Andrews are useful in establishing which, and how, artworks and busts were displayed in the University Library in the 19th century. Grierson (1823) states that the portrait of Kinnoull hung above the Library door, and that opposite it, 'over the fire-place', was 'a bust of his late Majesty, under a cupola', while a bust of the historian William Robertson, Principal of Edinburgh University (1721-93), stood in front of the gallery facing south.⁴¹ The bust of George III had been presented by Sir John Pringle in 1774; the date of acquisition of the bust of Robertson is unknown. By 1845, when *Fletcher's Guide* was published, the portrait of Hunter was over the library entrance, and that of Haldane at the opposite end of the room.⁴² The *Handy Book of St Andrews* (1865) records that the portrait of Melville was now in the Library: this was probably because the rooms on the upper and lower floors of the western extension had been completely filled with books within twenty-five years of their construction in 1829.⁴³ An engraving of the incident in 1710 in which seven students were swept out to sea in a boat, the survivors landing near Aberdeen after six days, could also be seen in the Library.⁴⁴ The University's own publications, the academic calendars, also contain important information on the portrait holdings. The *University Calendar* for 1865-66 (apparently the first to list the portraits) records that 'The University Library and Hall of the United College contain several Portraits of distinguished individuals formerly

³⁹ B. Faujas de Saint Fond, *A Journey through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784*, trans. Sir Archibald Geikie, Vol. II, Glasgow, 1907, p.205

⁴⁰ See Appendix B for information relating to the provenance and acquisition of extant works.

⁴¹ Reverend James Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews*, 2nd edition, Cupar, 1823, p.190

⁴² *Fletcher's Guide*, 1845, pp.56-57

⁴³ *Handy Book of St Andrews*, 2nd edition Cupar and St Andrews, 1865, p.68; Maitland Anderson, 'The Library', p.109

⁴⁴ *Handy Book*, 1865, p.79. This may be the 'Copper plate of ye wonderful preservation & deliverance of David Bruce & other six young Lords with him &c Given to the Library by Robert Bruce Goldsmith in Edinburgh', which seems to have been entered c. 1714 into a catalogue of the books in the University Library: SAUL, UYLY105/3, c. 1714-16.

connected with the University and city; of these, the following are the most remarkable'.⁴⁵ It goes on to list the portraits of Kinnoull, Melville, Haldane, Knox and Cardross, plus Cardinal David Beaton, George Buchanan, George Hill, Arthur Connell and Adam Ferguson as being in the Library, and those of Hunter, Miller, Sir David Brewster (plate 35), Thomas Duncan and James Ferrier as being in the United College Hall. By 1891 the *Calendar* reveals that the works in the Library had been augmented by portraits of John Bruce of Grangehill and Falkland, Archbishop John Spottiswoode, George Wishart, John Tulloch and Alexander Berry, and those in the Hall by James Forbes, William Macdonald and John Campbell Shairp.⁴⁶ Of these, the portrait of 'Buchanan' was an engraving, presented in 1810 by the Earl of Kellie at the request of the Earl of Buchan; that of Connell (Professor of Chemistry 1840-62), probably the slightly painted photograph now in the Chemistry Department, presented by Mrs Connell in 1864; and that of Bruce (Professor of Logic in the University of Edinburgh 1774-86) a print of a picture attributed to Raeburn, presented by Miss Tyndale Bruce of Falkland in 1866.⁴⁷ The portraits of Berry and Wishart are probably the 'enlarged photograph' and the engraving by G.B. Shaw, 1834, after Holbein, respectively, recorded more specifically in the *University Calendar* of 1897-98.⁴⁸ The engraving of 'Buchanan', which no longer appears to be extant, is reported to have been 'from the original picture by Titian in the possession of the Earl of Buchan', engraved by T. Woolnoth, Edinburgh, 1809 and, as such, must have represented not Buchanan at all, but Pierre Jeannin, Finance Minister to Henri IV of France, whose portrait Buchan is known to have mistaken, and had engraved by Woolnoth and published, as that of Buchanan.⁴⁹ The engraving may have been used to authenticate, as a portrait of Buchanan, the portrait of Jeannin which the University purchased in March 1884: this itself may be the work once owned by Buchan. The other portraits are oil

⁴⁵ *The St Andrews University Calendar for the Year 1865-66*, printed and published for the Senatus Academicus, Edinburgh, 1865, p.22. The *Calendar*, 1863 does not list the portraits: I have been unable to trace a copy from 1864.

⁴⁶ *The St Andrews University Calendar for the Year 1891-92*, printed and published for the Senatus Academicus, Edinburgh, 1891, p.35

⁴⁷ SM 19 July 1810; 14 July 1864; 3 November 1866: information from Cant's manuscript handlist of portraits, Museum Collections Unit.

⁴⁸ *The St Andrews University Calendar 1897-98*, printed and published for the Senatus Academicus, Edinburgh, 1897, pp.39, 42

⁴⁹ *St Andrews University Calendar 1897-98*, p.39; James Drummond, 'Notes Upon Some Scottish Historical Portraits - John Knox and George Buchanan' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XI, 1874-76, pp.237-264, p.261

paintings, and remain extant in the Museum Collections. The supposed portrait of Beaton actually depicts Cardinal Philip Howard of Norfolk: produced by J.T. Nairn in 1844, it is after a portrait at Balfour House, Fife, itself after a portrait at Holyrood House, Edinburgh, erroneously identified as Beaton by John Smith in *Iconographia Scotica*, 1798. There is now some uncertainty over whether the portrait of Spottiswoode represents Archbishop John Spottiswoode, Chancellor of the University 1615-39 or his grandson, John Spottiswoode of Dairsie (matriculated St Salvator's College 1628).

Of the figures represented in the 'most remarkable' portraits of 'distinguished individuals formerly connected with the University and city' in 1891 (the same phrase is used as in the 1865 *Calendar*), Beaton (1539-46), Spottiswoode (1615-39), Kinnoull and Melville were Chancellors of the University. Buchanan (1566-70) was Principal of St Leonard's College; Hill (1791-1820), Haldane and Tulloch (1854-86) Principals of St Mary's College; and Hunter, Brewster (1838-59), Forbes (1859-68) and Shairp (1868-85) Principals of the United College. Connell (1840-62), Duncan (1820-58), Ferrier (1845-64) and Macdonald (1850-75) were Professors, of Chemistry, Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, and Civil and Natural History in the United College respectively. Miller and Berry were benefactors, Alexander Berry having bequeathed the immense sum of £100,000 to the University, which arrived in installments, through the offices of his brother, in the 1890s. Lord Cardross, Adam Ferguson (Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Edinburgh, 1764-85) and possibly John Knox were alumni, and Bruce a prominent Fife landowner and another Edinburgh professor. The associations of the celebrated historical figures of Wishart, Beaton, Knox, Buchanan and Archbishop Spottiswoode with St Andrews are well-known. Generally, then, portraits of individuals associated with the United College were displayed in the United College Hall, while the more broadly institutional portraits, of Chancellors, University benefactors and famous historical figures, plus images of the Principals of St Mary's College, were hung in the University Library, the latter probably because the Library stands so close to the St Mary's College buildings (see plate 40, photograph of interior of University Library c. 1898). However, there were no fast rules, and though a case could surely have been made for

moving the portrait of Cardross, an alumnus of the United College, to the College Hall, it remained *in situ* in the Library, perhaps due to its long history there.

The means by which the portraits of 'Beaton', Spottiswoode and Wishart were acquired is not known, but it is notable that the engraving of 'Buchanan' and the oil painting of Knox were presented by private individuals to the University, which, with its collection of curiosities in the Library, was perhaps considered in this period as the right home for images of these individuals so closely associated with the history of the city. It has already been noted that the portraits of Cardross and Kinnoull (wealthy members of the nobility) were donated, by Cardross and Kinnoull's nephew; and those of Melville and Miller commissioned by the University and United College; while those of Hunter and Haldane were said to have been commissioned by their former students.⁵⁰ The portrait of Sir David Brewster, the eminent scientist and controversial reforming Principal, was acquired by the University from the artist, William Salter Herrick, at a cost of 120 guineas in the year he departed for the Principalship of Edinburgh University: Brewster himself approved it as 'an excellent likeness'.⁵¹ The portrait of Principal Forbes was presented by subscription by former colleagues, and that of Principal Shairp, public subscription: the sum of £460 thus raised enabled a memorial window to be erected in St Salvator's Church, as well as funding this portrait. Of the St Mary's College Principals, the portrait of Tulloch was presented to him 'by friends' at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1880, of which he had been Moderator, 1878, and subsequently bequeathed by Tulloch himself to the Senate of the University 'who will I hope find a place for it in the University Library or St Mary's College'.⁵² How and exactly when the portrait of Hill was acquired is unknown: it is thought to be by Sir John Watson Gordon, so may, like the portraits of Haldane and Hunter, also have been presented by Hill's former students. The portraits of Professors Duncan and Ferrier were acquired by public subscription, and that of Macdonald by unknown means. The portrait of Ferguson was also acquired by

⁵⁰ The Senate Minutes 10 April 1841 record that the committee of subscribers funding the portrait of Haldane requested that the portrait be placed 'in the public Library, both as a memorial of esteem and respect to Principal Haldane from his former Pupils, and of dutiful affection and regard for their *alma mater*'.

⁵¹ SM 14 May 1859, 18 June 1859

⁵² Dictionary of National Biography; SM 16 May 1887

unknown means: it depicts Ferguson, who died in St Andrews in 1817, at the age of 90 in 1813.

Up to the end of the 19th century the University of St Andrews, then, apparently commissioned only two works: the portraits of Melville and Miller, the former, where the choice of artist was left to the subject, being by the prominent Sir David Wilkie, and the latter by the lesser-known London figure painter William Salter Herrick. It had been intended to commission a portrait of Brewster, but when the committee established to effect this learned that Herrick, from whom the University had bought Miller's portrait just six years previously, had an existing portrait available, it was decided to purchase this instead.⁵³ Public subscription was a major source of acquisitions, with the works being presented to the University in honour of the individual depicted. The works thus funded were predominantly by the well-known Edinburgh artists Sir John Watson Gordon (Hunter, Haldane, Ferrier and probably Hill, while the portrait of Forbes is after a portrait by Watson Gordon in the Royal Society, Edinburgh) and Robert Herdman, an alumnus (Tulloch and Shairp). (The portraits of Haldane, Ferrier and Tulloch were presented first to the sitters, who then passed them on to the University). Individuals might present portraits of historical figures, because they were felt to be associated with the University or town, or of family members, because they wished them to be incorporated into the University's growing pantheon of images of eminent men. It is notable that Lieutenant General Robert Melville, who presented a medallion portrait of himself by Tassie in 1791; John Bruce of Grangehill and Falkland, whose portrait was presented by his niece Miss Tyndale Bruce in 1866, and John Trotter Lindsay, 10th Earl of Lindsay, a marble bust of whom was presented by his widow Eudoxie in 1897 for display in the Library, appear to have no definite connection to the University: as Fife landowners, they or their relatives appear to have thought that they should be represented in the county's university (Miss Tyndale Bruce also presented funds for a bursary in memory of her uncle in 1865). Melville, who had been governor of Guadeloupe and, for seven years from 1763, governor of Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, St Vincent and Tobago, carefully and subtly expressed this desire to be immortalised within the University in a letter dated 12

⁵³ SM 14 May 1859, 18 June 1859

September 1791, addressed 'To the Rector, Principals and Professors of the University of the City of St Andrews':

Gentlemen, A most valuable Friend of mine now with me, whose wishes are to me always Commands, having lately prevailed with me to permit my Bust in profile to be taken by the celebrated Mr Tassie in the form of a Medallion; and it having been judged by Connoisseurs to be worthy of that Artist, who to the honour of this Country has been acknowledged in all others to be the first Master in his ingenious Art, which possesses this excellence over Painting, or even Sculpture on the hardest Marble, that it, in a manner, bids defiance to time itself – [*Tempus Edan Serum*].

I do on these grounds, and that I presume the generosity of you gentlemen and the good disposition which you are pleased to honour me, may be as sensibly gratified by a small, as it could be by a more costly token of my zeal and respect for the University, request your favourable acceptance of one of these Busts, and that you will be pleased to allow it a small space in your Public Library among the more valuable Donations there.⁵⁴

The letter is modest, focusing not on Melville's own fame and attributes, but on the skill of Tassie, which every patriotic Scot should take pride in, and on Melville's own 'zeal and respect for the University', and yet is clearly focused on persuading the masters to incorporate the medallion within the University's holdings, so that there it may 'bid defiance to time itself'. University figures, in accepting these images of local worthies, apparently accepted that it was appropriate that they should be represented within the institution (though, of course, this may have been an easier course than to risk offending influential neighbours by rejecting their gifts). However, such donations were few, suggesting that they were not actively encouraged, and may even at times have been quietly rejected, and it is conspicuous that the overwhelming majority of individuals

⁵⁴ SAUL, UYUY459/A/20, Letter from General Robert Melville, presenting Tassie medallion of himself to the University, 12 September 1791

represented in the University's portrait collection do have a distinct connection to the institution.

The particular schemes of display of artworks in the Library and United College Hall seem to have been created partly to impress upon University members a sense of the history and eminence of the institution of which they themselves were a part. The *University Calendars*, which emphasised the existence of the portraits of 'distinguished individuals' connected to the University, were largely intended for an internal audience. Students and staff alike might take inspiration in their own endeavours from the deeds and achievements of the men depicted, while parents, reviewing University regulations, diet of examinations and other matters discussed in the *Calendars* before dispatching their offspring to St Andrews, might be encouraged to see that this was a place from which many examples of human greatness had come forth. The displays may also have been influenced in part by the rise in tourism from the last quarter of the 18th century onwards, and the expectations of visitors to St Andrews and its University. Tourists and other visitors clearly were granted access to the Upper Library and the United College Hall, where portraits were displayed: as discussed in Chapter I, *Fletcher's Guide* (1853) advised visitors to seek out the United College janitor for a tour of the 'new and commodious buildings' of the United College including the Museum, which was situated above the United College Hall, and the St Mary's College porter, who would show them the University Library, Parliament Hall and college buildings; while later in the century, there were published tariffs for seeing the Museum and United College buildings, including the College Hall.⁵⁵ By showing portraits of its Chancellors, Principals, Professors, alumni, benefactors and friends to visitors, the University was emphasising its own standing and importance, and its links to distinguished men, in the academic and public spheres. Such University portraits as there were by 1846, when the construction of the new apartments for the joint Museum of the University and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews was completed in the north building in St Salvator's College, seem to have remained in the University's own rooms, and were not transferred to the Museum, as the curiosities formerly housed in the University Library had been in

⁵⁵ *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, pp.26-34, 51; SAUL, UYUC705 415/6s

1838. This decision to keep artefacts innately connected to the history of the University, including the maces, portraits, silver, archery medals and blackstone, apart from the zoological, geological, botanical, ethnographic and archaeological specimens gathered from across the globe and transferred to and accumulated in the new Museum, marked a determination to preserve, separately and distinctly, these representations of the University and its traditions. These could not be organised and classified in rational and scientific terms, as could the museum specimens: they were part of the fluid, multifarious, changing and developing identity of the institution itself, which was perceived differently by each of its members throughout the centuries, and as such, resisted categorisation.

Further portraits were acquired in the last decade of the 19th century. These comprised an oil painting of Thomas Spencer Baynes, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric and Metaphysics in the United College, 1864-87, presented to his widow by pupils and friends about 1888, and probably acquired by the University a few years later; a plaster bust of the Reverend Alexander Duff, alumnus of St Andrews and missionary of the Church of Scotland in India, presented by his family with 'a full appreciation of all he owed (and through him India still owes) to this ancient seat of learning'; and a group of oil portraits presented by the Marquis of Bute.⁵⁶ John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquis of Bute, was Rector of the University 1892-98, and a great benefactor of the institution, funding the construction of the Bute Medical Building, the addition of a dining hall to the Students' Union Building (now known as the Old Union Diner) and endowing a Chair of Anatomy. A noted patron of the arts, with a passionate interest in the Middle Ages, he took a great interest in the history of the University and its artefacts, commissioning a copy of the Parliament Chair (as the 17th century oak chair thought to have been used by the Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament, 1645-46 is known) for Falkland Palace, of which he was hereditary keeper.⁵⁷ He concluded, after research, that the gown of the Rector, thought to be the only survival of the pre-Reformation forms of dress in the University, should be worn with the hood up in what he believed to be the medieval style: he is depicted in the gown with raised hood in his own portrait (plate 38). During his Rectorship, Bute presented a series

⁵⁶ The information on the donation of the bust of Duff is inscribed on a plaque formerly attached to the bust.

⁵⁷ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.153

of portraits to the University, of George Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll, Chancellor 1851-1900; William Ewart Gladstone (Liberal Prime Minister of Great Britain), LL.D. 1893; Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, 3rd Marquis of Salisbury, (Conservative Prime Minister of Great Britain), LL.D. 1893; and two historic figures, John Campbell, 1st Earl of Loudoun, Chancellor 1643-61, after a contemporary portrait at Loudoun Castle; and Cardinal David Beaton, after a 16th century portrait then in Balfour House, Fife. Bute is also thought to have presented his own portrait about this time. All the works are by Edward Trevannyon Haynes. Like Bute, Argyll, Gladstone and Salisbury are depicted in University regalia, in the robes of the Chancellor and the Doctor of Laws respectively. In presenting these works, Bute increased by more than a quarter the number of oil portraits in the University and considerably enhanced the historic significance of the collection, at least from the perspective of the 21st century. The four contemporary portraits by Haynes, which were until very recently displayed together in Parliament Hall, are emblems of power and status in the late 19th century.⁵⁸ The two prime ministers and two lords of the realm represent the University's eminent position: no matter that Gladstone and Salisbury, at least, can have had little to do with its practical, day-to-day activities, depicted for eternity in their ceremonial attire, all four individuals are indelibly linked to the institution.

Another important group of portraits and busts was presented to the University in the final year of the 19th century by William Knight, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the United College, 1876-1903. Letters from Knight, read to the University Court on 8 January 1900, intimated that he 'now gifted to the United College in perpetuity' 139 framed portraits and eight busts 'at present in the Moral Philosophy Class-room, on condition that ... they remain in the same Moral Philosophy Class-Room'. He reserved a further thirty-six works, which he had hitherto displayed in the classroom, for his heirs, and three for Walter Coutts, (janitor of the United College and author of the study of Kennedy's church, mace and tomb).⁵⁹ A catalogue of the works that Knight presented to the University was

⁵⁸ In October 2009, Principal Louise Richardson ordered the removal of the portrait of Gladstone to her official residence, University House.

⁵⁹ CM 8 January 1900

published in 1902, by which time the number of portraits had increased to 354.⁶⁰ Mainly engravings, with some photographs, they are mostly depictions of philosophers ancient and modern, including the University's Professors of Moral Philosophy and their assistants (88-96) and the members of the Scots Philosophical Club, founded at St Andrews in 1899 (145-159). The busts are of Socrates, Homer, 'Clytie', the Head of a Barbarian Chief, Julius Caesar, Michelangelo, John Milton and Dante, and are plaster copies of works in the British Museum, National Portrait Gallery, and unknown originals (see Appendix B). All except Socrates remain extant and are now displayed mainly in the School of Classics in the University: the portrait engravings, in defiance of Knight's wishes, have been moved to storage in the University Library's Special Collections department, in order to ensure their preservation. In the preface to the catalogue, Knight makes explicit his reasons for accumulating the collection and donating it to the University:

University students can learn much from a study of the *vera effigies* of great men, whose works they read, and whose characters and theories are discussed in college lectures

This goes beyond a hope that students may simply be encouraged in their efforts by depictions of past philosophers into an emulation of their achievements, into the realm of physiognomy, suggesting that Knight believes that portraits, the 'true likenesses' of great men, can literally embody their characters and abilities, which can be detected by a careful study of their features, in much the same way that phrenology, the study of the shape of the skull, was supposed to be able to reveal a person's disposition and mental capabilities. According to this view, the portrait is useful for the insights it can provide and can be used for didactic purposes. Knight espoused higher education for women, and was influential in establishing the University's Lady Literate in Arts Diploma scheme, through which women could obtain a higher diploma through a correspondence course. It ran from 1876 to 1931, by which time women had long been admitted as full members of the University. His own portrait, presented to Knight by recipients of the L.L.A. in 1899 and given by him

⁶⁰ *A Catalogue of Portraits of Philosophers, Poets and Others, Presented to the United College of St Andrews by Professor Knight in the Year 1902, and hung in the Moral Philosophy Classroom for the Use of the Students*, St Andrews, 1902

to the University the following year, hangs in University Hall, which was founded in 1896 as the University's first hall for women students.

In the first half of the 20th century, the donation of single works by private individuals proved to be the major source of acquisitions of oil portraits for the University. Often, the donors were personally related to the subjects of the portraits. Pictures of George Galloway (Principal of St Mary's College 1915-33), David Miller Kay (Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages 1902-30), Alexander Lawson (Professor of English Literature 1897-1920), William Low (Rector's Assessor 1913-36), Sir Lyon Playfair (alumnus), David George Ritchie (Professor of Logic and Metaphysics 1894-1903), James Stuart (Rector 1898-1901) and Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (Professor of Natural History 1917-48) were presented by their widows. Portraits of James Mackinnon (Lecturer in History 1892-1908) and Alexander Ferrier Mitchell (Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages 1848-68, and of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History 1868-94) were given by their son and daughter respectively; and the image of Adam Anderson (Professor of Natural Philosophy 1837-46) by his grandson, and of Thomas Purdie (Professor of Chemistry 1885-1909) by his aunt. To give up portraits of beloved family members must, in many cases, have been an emotional wrench, particularly when the donation took place within months of the subject's death, as it often did in the case of gifts by widows. The donors, it seems, felt that the University was the fitting home for these portraits: there the subject would be remembered and honoured amid the scenes to which he had devoted so much of his life and talent, the visible display of his image providing a tangible assertion of his place within the institution. The respect the University demonstrated for the subject in choosing to accept and prominently display the portrait must have been of some comfort to bereaved relatives. Sometimes, as with the portrait of Mitchell, the works had been commissioned by public subscription and presented to the subject: descendants may then have felt it incumbent on them to return the works to the public sphere. (This may also have been so with regard to the presentation of their own portraits by figures including Knight, Sir James Donaldson (Principal of the University 1886-1915) and George Simpson Duncan (Principal of St Mary's College 1940-54). In these cases, the subjects gave the works, which had been commissioned by subscription, to the University

within a year or so of personally receiving them). In some instances, the family connection to the subjects of works stretched back centuries: the portraits of Joseph Drew (Principal of St Leonard's College 1708-38) and James Hadow (Professor of Divinity, St Mary's College 1699-1747 and Principal of St Mary's College 1707-47) were presented by descendants in 1917 and 1945 respectively. Here, individuals were entrusting heirlooms of ancestors, passed down through the generations, to the University, in the hope that it was the best place for their future preservation and care. The wife of a descendant of James Playfair (Principal of the United College 1799-1819) was so determined that his portrait should come to his university that, despite the difficulties presented by the picture having been taken by that branch of the family to Ontario, Canada, she shipped it back to Britain, waiting out the Second World War, which interrupted her plans, to see it safely in St Andrews six years after originally offering the work. More recently, in 2009, Professor Rhona Mackie presented a portrait of her husband, Sir James Black, recipient of the Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine (sic) in 1988. Black, who was from a mining family, was awarded a Patrick Hamilton residential scholarship, which enabled him to study at the University of St Andrews: Mackie donated the portrait in the hope that it might aid the University in a fundraising campaign to establish scholarships for students who might otherwise not be able to afford to study for a degree.

Portraits of prominent contemporary University figures were presented by friends and admirers. The pictures of Edward Stephen Harkness and Jan Christiaan Smuts (Prime Minister of South Africa and Rector of the University 1931-34) were donated by the artist, Frank Owen Salisbury, in 1933 and 1942/43 respectively, as a token of gratitude for Harkness's benefactions to Great Britain, and in commemoration of Smuts's period as Rector.⁶¹ Harkness, who founded the Pilgrim Trust, was a great benefactor of the University, providing £100,000 in 1927, which was largely used for the building of St Salvator's Hall as a residence for male students, the provision of residential scholarships, and the renovation of St Salvator's Chapel.⁶² Salisbury himself was awarded an LL.D. by the University in 1935. Two major benefactors, Sir James Younger, who with his wife

⁶¹ CM 19 December 1933; 23 October 1942

⁶² Cant, *University of St Andrews*, pp.162-163

had provided the Younger Hall for the University, and Sir David Russell, presented portraits of Alexander Hugh Bruce, 6th Lord Balfour of Burleigh (Chancellor 1900-21) by George Fiddes Watt, and James Colquhoun Irvine (Principal 1921-52) by Keith Henderson, in 1927 and 1942 respectively. Russell also provided a portrait of himself, also by Henderson, designed as a pendant to that of Irvine, in 1942, while Younger's family presented his portrait, by James Guthrie, in 1972. Two Rectors, the renowned explorer and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Fridtjof Nansen (1925-28), and the politician Lord Boothby (1958-61), also presented their own portraits. Nansen, who during the 'Farthest North' expedition of 1895 came closer to the North Pole than anyone had previously done, donated two self-portraits, a pencil drawing in 1925 and an ink sketch in 1930. The first is inscribed 'To the Students of St Andrews University'. At about the same time, he presented the Students' Union with a Norwegian flag which he had carried into the Arctic. Boothby provided an oil painting of himself, by Robert H. Westwater, in 1962. It was relatively rare for professors to present their own portraits, unless the works had first come to them through public subscription. One exception is Lewis Campbell (Professor of Greek 1863-92) who gave a portrait of himself, by Mrs Arthur Lemon, in 1908. Unfortunately, this portrait, which used to hang in the Classics buildings, was vandalised in September 1990, along with a group of portraits hanging in Lower College Hall.⁶³ Although the other works were repaired, Campbell's head was cut out and was not recovered. The damaged portrait is now in storage. Thankfully, photographs of it before the vandalism exist, as does a second portrait of Campbell, presented by the artist John McLure Hamilton on the death of Campbell's widow in 1921. The damage inflicted upon the portraits attests to the degree to which they are perceived to be associated with University authority. Although the culprit was never identified, one possibility is that he or she may have been a disaffected student, perhaps one who had recently sat examination papers in Lower College Hall while the portraits gazed down. Whatever the exact reason

⁶³ The other works damaged were the portraits of Baynes, James Forbes, Harkness, Lawson, Miller, James Playfair and Shairp.

for the iconoclasm, the intention was presumably to strike at the University itself, as the perpetrator cannot have known the subjects of these historic works personally.⁶⁴

The donation of images of individuals with historical associations with the town and University continued in the 20th century. A portrait of Samuel Rutherford (Principal of St Mary's College 1647-61), a leading figure in the Covenanting movement, whose controversial political treatise *Lex Rex* (1644), was, after the Restoration, ordered to be burnt at the crosses in Edinburgh and St Andrews, was presented by James Brown in 1908. Supposedly by Robert Walker, both the attribution and subject of the painting are in doubt. A painting of 'The Admirable Crichton by Titian' was donated by Captain A.E. Borthwick c. 1945. James Crichton (1560-83?), who had studied at St Salvator's College 1570-75, was one of the most celebrated scholars ever produced by St Andrews. Reputed to be fluent in ten languages, after graduating he travelled on the Continent, where he proved to be an excellent fencer and horseman, and triumphed over various eminent professors in public debates. He was killed in his early twenties when attacked by midnight brawlers led by his pupil Vincenzo di Gonzago. His life is described by Sir Thomas Urquhart in *The Jewel* (1652), a grandiloquent account in which he is depicted as a paragon of intellect and valour. Unfortunately the work, which was acquired in Paris in 1821 by J. Borthwick, proved to be neither of Crichton nor by Titian, but instead is a copy of a portrait of an unknown young man by Domenichino, now in the Grossherzoglich Heissisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt. However, the good intentions of the donor are clear. Often, donors of historic portraits appear to have no family relationship to the person depicted, having acquired the works because of an interest in the subject's life, as in the case of Brown, who published a paper on the portrait of Rutherford, or even almost coincidentally, for other reasons altogether.⁶⁵ A second portrait of John Hunter, bequeathed to the University by Sheriff Gimson of Edinburgh in 2004, had been purchased by Gimson in his younger days living in a shared flat, because it provided a

⁶⁴ It is rumoured that some pictures in the town's Catholic church were vandalised at around the same time: it may then be that the destruction was a statement against authority, or figurative representation, in general; or may simply have been carried out to a less specific agenda by an individual with mental health issues.

⁶⁵ James R. Brown, 'What I Know Concerning an Alleged Portrait of Samuel Rutherford in My Possession' in R.A. Gilmour, *Samuel Rutherford: A Study Biographical and somewhat Critical, in the History of the Scottish Covenant*, 1904, pp. 233-237

cheap and attractive way of covering an area of damage to one of the walls. Only later in life had he researched the subject of the work, and concluded that the portrait should come to Hunter's university. This desire to reunite portraits with the place and institution in which the subject had chosen to live and work characterises many donations, including, it seems, the bequest of a second portrait of Haldane by Alexander Watson Wemyss in 1924, and the presentation of the portrait of Robert Watson (Principal of the United College 1778-81) by Miss Haig on behalf of Major Haig of Ballater in 1948. The portrait of Dwight D. Eisenhower, 34th President of the United States, was given to commemorate a specific historical event, the 200th anniversary of the signing of the American Declaration of Independence by St Andrews alumni Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson and John Witherspoon in 1976. It was presented by U.S. Ambassador Anne Armstrong 'in safe-keeping for Scotland' at a banquet to mark the occasion in University Hall. However, it sits uneasily among the University's portrait collections, as Eisenhower himself has no particular connection to St Andrews.

Public subscription, 'by past and present members of the University' and other friends was responsible for the acquisition of portraits of Principal James Irvine by Oswald H. Birley in 1933, and Andrew Carnegie (Rector 1901-07) by Edward Arthur Walton in 1911, as well as the pictures of Principals Donaldson and Duncan. Carnegie, the Dunfermline-born industrialist and philanthropist who had made his fortune in the United States, gave ten million dollars to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland in 1901, and during his period as Rector provided the University of St Andrews with a park for team sports and funds for an extension to the Library. His portrait (plate 39) is said to have been specifically commissioned to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the University's foundation in 1911.⁶⁶ It was presented to Carnegie in September 1911, and by him to the University the following month, in what was surely an anticipated event. 1911 was characterised by great festivities and solemnities to mark the quincentenary, culminating, in the September, in the arrival of distinguished guests from all over the world. In the

⁶⁶ Information provided by Fiona MacSparran, a Glasgow University student undertaking research into Walton, in a letter dated 8 February 1985 (held in the portrait's object history file, Museum Collections Unit). Interestingly, 2013 has been selected as the year on which the 600th anniversary celebrations should focus. The disparity attests to the prolonged foundation process of the University, between 1410 and 1414.

months of preparations leading up to the anniversary, the thoughts of University figures must naturally have turned to the institution's past. In this atmosphere, it is unlikely to be a coincidence that, in what was at this point a rare expenditure of its own resources on art, the University chose to purchase portraits of two figures of historical significance: George Buchanan and Archibald Campbell (Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History, St Mary's College 1730-56). The portrait of Buchanan (plate 36) was spotted by the Librarian, James Maitland Anderson, in 1909, in the catalogue of a London dealer in books and art, and obtained for an unknown price:⁶⁷ it may be of more importance than anyone then realised, for there is a possibility that it is the lost original by Arnold van Brounckhorst, for which James VI paid £8 in 1580, which date it bears. The image of Campbell was also bought from a London-based gentleman, in 1911, for £10 pounds: in a happy footnote to the event, the Museum Collections Unit learned in 2004 that its companion portrait, of Christina Watson, Campbell's wife, was for sale at auction in Edinburgh, and succeeded in reuniting the pair.

In the approach to the 500th anniversary of St Salvator's College, in 1950, it is clear that there was a deliberate and sustained attempt, begun at least as early as 1943, to obtain portraits of individuals associated with the history of the College. A file collated by Dr Ronald Cant, entitled 'Correspondence etc relating to Portraits, Engravings, etc of St. Andrews students etc for the St Salvator's Hall Collection', survives in the Museum Collections Unit. It contains an index, compiled by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery at Cant's request, of the best known oil paintings and engravings of twenty-four key figures in the College's and University's history, from Patrick Hamilton, an alumnus of the Faculty of Arts who was martyred outside the College gates for his Protestant beliefs in 1528, to Cardinal Beaton, James Crichton, John Napier (the mathematician; matriculated St Salvator's 1564), Andrew Melville (Scottish reformer; Principal of St Mary's College 1580-1607), his nephew James Melville (student at St Leonard's College 1570-74), David Leslie (Civil War general; alumnus of St Salvator's), Donald Cargill (Covenanter; alumnus of St Salvator's), Alexander Robertson of Struan (Jacobite; alumnus of St Salvator's), the poet Robert Fergusson (alumnus of the United College) and more recent figures such as

⁶⁷ Karl Pearson, *On the Skull and Portraits of George Buchanan*, Edinburgh, 1926, p.20

the poet and historian Andrew Lang (student of the United College who stayed in the short-lived hall of residence St Leonard's Hall, which lasted only 1861-74) and Principal Forbes. It is perhaps not surprising that Cant was interested in figures allied to other colleges than St Salvator's: by the 20th century, St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges had really been subsumed first into the United College, and then into the corporate administrative body of the University as a whole (only St Mary's, with its specific focus on theology, was commonly perceived to retain something more of its individuality), and though the quincentenary was of the College, the event was indelibly linked to the history of the University in its entirety. Cant appears to have obtained prints of several of the works listed, and had already purchased prints of the St Salvator's College alumni Alexander Henderson (who drafted the National Covenant of 1638) and John Graham ('Bonnie Dundee' or 'Claverhouse') from T. & R. Annan and Sons, 'Dealers in Fine Prints, Etchings, Engravings, Drawings, Etc' in 1937 and 1942 respectively.⁶⁸ More notably, he, with James Salmond of the University Library, managed to acquire oil paintings of one of the most famous St Andrews students of the 17th century: James Graham, later 1st Marquis of Montrose (student at St Salvator's College, 1627-29) who, as previously discussed, had won the Silver Arrow competition in 1628. One of the two portraits of Montrose was purchased from the Earl of Southesk in 1945 for £50. It is a copy, produced by John Alexander in 1731, of a work by Gerrit Honthorst, commissioned by Elizabeth of Bohemia ('the Winter Queen'), sister of Charles I, in 1649. As the King's Captain General in Scotland, Montrose had fled to the Continent after his series of dazzling victories against Covenanting armies was reversed by David Leslie at the Battle of Philiphaugh in 1645. This work, produced shortly before Montrose made his doomed return to Scotland in 1650 at the head of an army in support of Charles II, depicts him as a Cavalier gentleman in armour. The second portrait of Montrose is a copy, produced by Adam Bruce Thomson about 1945, of an original portrait by George Jamesone, retained by the Earl of Southesk at Kinnaird Castle. It shows Montrose as a young man: the original was painted at the time of his marriage to Magdalene Carnegie, daughter of Lord Carnegie, afterwards 1st Earl of Southesk, in 1629. The University paid Thomson £52.10s. for the

⁶⁸ The prints are thought to be among those held in the Special Collections Department, University Library, but as provenance is not recorded, it is impossible to be certain, as in some cases there are several different prints of the same individual.

work, plus travelling and maintenance expenses. A portrait of Montrose's great enemy, Archibald Campbell, later 1st Marquis of Argyll (matriculated St Leonard's College 1622), is also thought to have been acquired about this time and seems to be a copy of the work in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, by David Scougall.⁶⁹ In acquiring the prints and oil paintings, of which the oils remain on prominent display in the Hebdomader's Room (Campbell and younger Montrose) and St Salvator's Hall (older Montrose), the University was both celebrating the lives of its past members at a notable point in its own history, and emphasising its connection to prominent figures in Scottish history, each in some way (politically, intellectually, socially, culturally) influential in shaping the nation.

Since the 500th anniversary of St Salvator's College, the University appears to have been more consciously aware of the emblematic power of artworks, and more willing to expend funds on purchasing appropriate pieces. Often, of course, this awareness has been prompted by individuals with an interest in the University's history, and in conveying it to others, notably senior Library figures (such as James Maitland Anderson, James Salmond, Ronald Cant and Robert Smart), and, since its foundation in 1990, the staff of the Museum Collections Unit. A portrait of James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews and Chancellor of the University 1661-79, was purchased in 1950 for £26.5s (plate 37). Formerly a prominent Presbyterian minister, from the mid-1660s Sharp attempted to enforce episcopalian worship and suppress Presbyterianism. On 3 May 1679 he was murdered on Magus Muir, near St Andrews, by Fife lairds and farmers who opposed his actions. Following his murder, the government suppression of the more extremist Presbyterians - the Covenanters - became increasingly violent. Initially thought to be a copy of a lost work by Sir Peter Lely, removal of overpaint and research into the work's provenance, undertaken about 1995, proved it to be the original itself. The University was presented with a late 18th century copy of this work by a private individual, on the occasion of its unveiling as the actual Lely, and also holds a portrait depicting Sharp as a younger man, after Lely, acquired c. 1928 by unknown means. In 2008 it acquired, with support from the Art Fund, the National Fund for Acquisitions, the Binks Trust, and an anonymous

⁶⁹ Date of acquisition is uncertain: however, it appears on the University's 'Inventory of Pictures and Portraits' dated 25 November 1958, produced for insurance purposes and held in the Museum Collections Unit.

donor, a narrative work, 'The Death of Archbishop Sharpe' by John Opie (1797). A portrait of Robert Briggs (Chandos Professor of Medicine and Anatomy 1811-40) by Sir John Watson Gordon was bought from the Glenesk Folk Museum after Robert Smart saw it during a summer break in 1973, and learnt that it had no particular relevance to the museum itself: there was also a companion portrait of Mrs Briggs, which the University was not prepared to purchase (its condition is reported to have been 'poor'). In 1981, the Librarian Emeritus noticed a portrait of Francis Pringle (Professor of Greek 1702-47), attributed to William Aikman, while lunching in the Grosvenor Hotel, Edinburgh: the proprietor Arthur Neil, described as a 'friend of the University', agreed that it should come to St Andrews, provided the University paid for a copy of the work for the hotel, and offered a 'modest financial adjustment'. The copy and 'adjustment' together totalled £650. In 1987, a portrait, by Sir Henry Raeburn, of Francis Nicoll (Principal of the United College 1819-35) in his role as collector of the Ministers' Widows Fund, for which he was an active campaigner, was put on sale by the Churches and Universities (Scotland) Widows and Orphans Fund: the University succeeded in raising grants totalling £3750 from the National Art Collections Fund, The Pilgrim Trust and the Local Museums Purchase Fund, plus £1250 of its own funds, to secure it.

The University has also chosen to commission portraits of all its Principals since the 1950s, rather than relying on public subscription or donation by family members to acquire their images. It now holds a watercolour of Sir Thomas Malcolm Knox (Principal 1953-66) by H. Andrew Freeth, 1966; an oil painting of John Steven Watson (1966-86) by David Abercrombie Donaldson, 1986; two large oils (one a copy of the other) by Peter Edwards, 1993-4, and a photographic triptych, by Robin Gillanders, 1999, of Struther Arnott, (1986-2000); and an oil painting by Victoria Crowe, 2008, and a photographic portrait by Robin Gillanders, 2001, of Principal Brian Lang (2001-2008). (By the time of Principal Irvine's retirement in 1952, there were already two major oil paintings of him in the University, presented in 1933 by public subscription, and in 1942 by Sir David Russell, as previously discussed: the University presumably felt no need to add to these). Two portraits of the recently retired Chancellor Sir Kenneth Dover (1981-2005) were commissioned: a photograph by Robin Gillanders, 2001, and an oil by Colin Dunbar,

2005. (A variant of the Gillanders portrait was purchased in 2004, to illustrate to students in the School of Art History the creative processes involved in photographic portraiture). At the time of writing, it seems likely that this policy of commissioning portraits of Principals will continue. Arnott, at least, clearly felt that the display of his portraits would ensure that his impact upon the institution would remain felt after his departure. He was heavily involved in the process of designing the portraits, particularly their symbolic elements, and keen that the Gillanders work should reflect what he felt to be his triple roles within the University, as 'The Chief Executive in his office at College Gate', 'The Vice Chancellor in the College Hall, St Mary's, and 'The molecular biophysicist displaying an x-ray diffraction of unusual, left-handed DNA in School II, College of the St Salvator (sic)'. He instructed that the two Edwards portraits (one of which he persuaded the St Andrews American Foundation to pay for, the other being commissioned by the Principal's Council) should be hung prominently in the Senate Room and the United College Hall, where they dominated the rooms, until the latter was relegated, on the instructions of Principal Lang, to the stairwell.

In recent years, consideration has been given not just to who is represented by the portraits the University has acquired over a quarter of a millennium, but who is not. Women, as a group, are conspicuous by their absence, something the University has become particularly aware of when trying to illustrate its long and illustrious past in brochures, publicity material, mailshots to prospective students and so on, in these days of gender equality. Women were admitted as full members to the University in 1892, and yet there were no paintings of female lecturers or professors in the collections until 2008, despite women's increasing role at almost every level of University affairs throughout the 20th century. However, until the current Principal, Louise Richardson, took up office in 2009 there had been no female Principal or Chancellor, only one female Rector (Katherine Whitehorn, 1982-85), and one female member of the Executive, in the first decade of the 21st century, who did not retain the position for long. At the end of the 20th century, the only portraits of women in the Museum Collections were a rather dramatic oil, *Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay* by John Duncan, 1929; oil portraits of Mary Elizabeth Menzies (wife of Allan Menzies, Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism 1889-1916),

Elizabeth Birrell (wife of John Birrell, Professor of Hebrew 1871-1902 and granddaughter of John Honey, the student who, in 1800, famously rescued five sailors from a shipwreck in St Andrews Bay) and an elderly lady, probably Eliza McIntosh (mother of William Carmichael McIntosh, Professor of Natural History 1882-1917); and a small watercolour of an unknown woman by Horsburgh, 1818. (Though the University has portraits of Professor McIntosh, it does not have one of either Professors Birrell or Menzies). The oil of Mary, Queen of Scots was brought to the University by Sir David Russell in 1930, while the other works were acquired by bequest or donation by family members, apparently without University solicitation, that of Mrs Birrell being bequeathed because her elderly son had known that she had taken a great interest in the admission of women to the University in the late 19th century. (The supposed portrait of Eliza McIntosh perhaps came with her home, Chattan House, which her son gave to the University, and which is now known as McIntosh Hall). Though women may not have played an active part in the University's academic affairs and management for much of its history, clearly they did have a role in its day-to-day activities, as laundresses, kitchen staff and servants, 'bunkwives' (landladies), and as the wives and helpmeets of professors and regents, in later centuries expected to grace formal dinners and other social events with their presence. Even in its monastic beginnings, the College of St Leonard, which clearly would have liked to banish women entirely, had to acknowledge that they might fulfill a necessary function in its everyday life: a statute of 1544 declares:

In particular we will not have any woman set foot in our place, save the common laundress, who must be fifty years at least, because, saith Hieronymus, he cannot abide with God with his whole heart who is not free from the approaches of women.⁷⁰

It is, of course, extremely difficult to redress the balance and represent this hidden history, for only in a few exceptional instances do either images, or written testimony of their experiences, survive of the many women who must have had contact with the University

⁷⁰ UYSL165/2. Translation from original Latin text provided in John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, *The College of St Leonard*, Edinburgh and London, 1905, p.167.

throughout the centuries before the Victorian period. Where artworks are extant, they naturally tend to be of higher-class women, from families wealthy enough to afford portraiture. (There are some exceptions: John Cook's sketchbook records named middle and lower-middle class women in the town, such as Captain Nairne's aunt being driven in a carriage and the wedding of Miss E. Dalrymple and Mr Clarkson).⁷¹ However, the Museum Collections Unit has applied what resources it can to acquiring paintings of women with University connections when these become available: the portrait of Christina Watson, already referred to, has recently been joined by a portrait of Anne Burnet, Lady Elphinstone, daughter of Chancellor Archbishop Alexander Burnet (1679-84), bought at auction in 2005. In a separate initiative aimed at increasing the representation of women in the institutional portrait collection, the University commissioned portraits of contemporary figures, Dr Ann Kettle (who joined the University as a lecturer in medieval history in 1964, and served as Hebdomader, Chair of the Board of the Students' Association and Dean of Arts before her retirement in 2008) and Dr Kay McIver (first female Dean of Arts in 1980 and Master of the United College from 1984-88) from Colin Dunbar in 2008.

The future development of the portrait collection would seem of necessity to rely more firmly on a proactive approach by the University to commissioning new works or seeking out historic ones for purchase than has necessarily been the case in the past. Oil portraiture, as a form, is becoming less popular, partly due to its costs, and to the ongoing development of photographic technology (and, as discussed, three of the University's most recent portrait commissions, of Principals Arnott and Lang and Chancellor Dover, have taken the form of photographs). Few academic families now will commission painted portraits of their loved ones, to present to their university on their death: such works are more likely to be institutional commissions. However, the recent commissions by the University of oil portraits of contemporary figures, and the financial support offered to the Museum Collections unit when works of particular interest are identified (for example the portraits of Nicoll, Christina Watson, Anne Burnet and, though it is not strictly a portrait, Opie's Sharpe), indicate that the collection is likely to continue to grow.

⁷¹ SAUL, GRA DA890.AS1C6, John Cook, 'Sketches of St Andrews and Its Neighbourhood', c.1797

With their potential for exhibition and interpretation in mind, the Museum Collections Unit has recently acquired other examples of figurative art, for example an engraving of William, Duke of Cumberland, and a commemorative medal celebrating the victory of troops under Cumberland against the Jacobites at the Battle of Culloden (the University had for once backed the winning side and appointed Cumberland its Chancellor in 1746, before the battle); a portrait sculpture of poet and alumnus Robert Fergusson; and a commemorative portrait medal and a ceramic portrait jug of Jan Christiaan Smuts. This is in line with its official Acquisition Policy, which states that acquisitions should normally relate to 'the University of St Andrews, including its teaching fields and its past and present staff and students, and its existing collections'.⁷² With a dedicated education team now in post in the Unit, and the opening of the Gateway Galleries for temporary exhibitions in 2005 and the new Museum of the University of St Andrews (MUSA) in 2008, display and interpretation of artefacts are now very much at the forefront of the University's overall heritage strategy, as will be discussed further in the conclusion to this thesis.

As discussed in Chapter I, the University has, however, long been aware of the power of the conspicuous presentation of art and artefacts. The display of portraits in the Library and United College Hall asserted the University's status, its associations with learned and eminent individuals, from its own staff to prominent public figures, and, through its connections to figures of national importance, such as Buchanan and Knox, its role in national affairs and Scottish history. Donors were aware of the symbolic power of the display schemes, and were sometimes quite insistent that if the University wished to acquire their portraits, they must be hung in a particular place. Tulloch's will expressed his desire for his portrait to be displayed 'in the University Library or St Mary's College', while Sir Lyon Playfair's widow imposed the condition that his portrait be hung in the Senate Room.⁷³ Sometimes, as with the bust of Principal Tulloch presented by his son in 1902, the University was cautious about its commitments: the Court Minutes state that

⁷² *Acquisition and Disposal Policy* (Museum Collections Unit), 2008

⁷³ SM 16 May 1887; CM 21 December 1928

this was to be 'temporarily' placed in the Upper Library, and then, presumably, quietly removed (it has been in storage for many years).⁷⁴ Control of an image in other ways could be important. The Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews allowed the University to employ an artist, James Bell Anderson, to copy its portrait of Field Marshall Douglas Haig (Rector 1916-19 and Chancellor 1922-28) by James Guthrie, on condition of 'a guarantee that no reproductions would be made from the copy and that the copy would not be shown in any exhibition open to the public'.⁷⁵ Clearly, it did not wish the significance and potency of the original work to be threatened by the University's copy entering the public domain.

During (and in the case of St Mary's College Hall and the Hebdomader's Room possibly before) the 20th century, the display of portraits spread from the Upper Library, Senate Room and United College Hall into rooms including Parliament Hall, the Hebdomader's Room, St Mary's College Hall and the dining room of St Salvator's Hall. With the exception of the Upper Library, these were until very recently the main display venues for art: the Gateway Galleries now provide space for temporary art exhibitions (approximately one of the four or so exhibitions per year focuses specifically on art), while various artworks are hung in MUSA, most noticeably in Gallery 4, where around ten works of different date and genre are displayed and rotated, to give a sense of the breadth of the University's art collections). The Senate Room, in which portraits of Vice-Chancellors and Chancellors are displayed, and Parliament Hall, which houses portraits of Rectors, William Low (a Rector's Assessor) and Salisbury, are opened to the public on a few advertised days throughout the year, arranged by the Museum Collections Unit. Lower College Hall (as the United College Hall is now known) is occasionally hired out for weddings and functions. Otherwise, there is little access for non-University members to the art displays in the formal rooms, which are in heavy demand for teaching, examinations and formal meetings, while security (informed by the previous vandalism to works in Lower College Hall) requires that they are locked when not in use.⁷⁶ The art

⁷⁴ CM 21 March 1902

⁷⁵ CM 25 January 1929

⁷⁶ However, anyone can make an appointment through the Museum Collections Unit to see any of the art, artefacts and specimens held by the University.

within the formal rooms is arranged in particular schemes, which have been revised several times during the 20th century. The most comprehensive rehang took place about 1946, when the University's artworks, which had been stored for safety during the Second World War in both the basement of a University building (probably the Younger Hall), where they were affected by damp, and in Markinch, under the care of Sir David Russell, were returned to display. Cant describes the hang in his article 'The University Portraits', published in the *Alumnus Chronicle*, 1946.⁷⁷ The Senate Room was devoted to portraits of Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors and Rectors, of which the four portraits by George Reid, namely James Donaldson, James Stuart, Thomas Purdie and Alexander Mitchell, were identified as the most remarkable. The United College Hall and St Mary's College Hall housed pictures of Principals, Professors and benefactors of the respective colleges. The Hebdomader's room contained 'small portraits of special interest and merit': George Buchanan (the version now reidentified as Jeannin), Joseph Drew, two companion paintings by David Martin, of Walter Wilson (Professor of Greek 1748-69) and David Craigie (Minister of the Second Charge of St Andrews 1754-57); and the young Montrose, of which Cant wrote 'the experiment [in having this copy made] has been so successful that it is hoped to secure similar copies of portraits of other famous St Andrews students'.⁷⁸ (Prior to the war, Cant describes the room as having contained 'a somewhat miscellaneous collection of pictures, several of quite disproportion size': these would seem to have included two paintings by Sam Bough, *The Bass Rock After a Storm* (1865) and *North Berwick Harbour* (1867), and 'a St Andrews landscape in oil', as well as portraits of Knox, Buchanan, Wilson, Craigie and Professor John Reid (Professor of Medicine 1841-49).⁷⁹ The portrait of Carnegie was hung on the staircase of the Library extension he had provided, and the portraits of the Marquis of Bute and William Low (Rector's Assessor 1913-36) displayed in the Students' Union Dining Hall funded by Bute. For the first time, eight portraits were hung in the dining room of St Salvator's Hall: Cant comments 'the effect is so pleasing that it seems curious that there should have been any

⁷⁷ Ronald G. Cant, 'The University Portraits' in *Alumnus Chronicle*, 1946, pp.13-17

⁷⁸ Cant, 'University Portraits', p.16

⁷⁹ Cant, 'University Portraits', p.15; *Guide to St Andrews, from the researches of Dr Hay Fleming*, St Andrews, 1980, p.51. The publishers of the latter note that the work is a re-publication of Hay Fleming's *Handbook to St Andrews*, with some updates.

doubts on the matter at all'.⁸⁰ These were mainly former students of the University, including Cardross, Adam Ferguson and the portrait of the older Montrose. Other portraits were distributed to departments with which the subject was associated, for example that of Lewis Campbell to the Greek department and John Reid to the Bute Medical Building. With some minor revisions, these schemes have remained largely intact, the greatest alteration being that, with the holdings of portraits of Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors and Rectors having grown since the 1940s, the portraits of Rectors have been moved from the Senate Room into the nearby Parliament Hall, which has come into use as a display space. The Senate Room really houses the pride of the University's art collection, including Lely's Sharp, Raeburn's Nicoll, Martin's Kinnoull and Wilkie's Melville. With its fittings designed by Sir Robert Rowand Anderson (1897-98) and the three Knibb clocks purchased by James Gregory in 1673 still in active use there, it is a magnificent venue, and a suitably imposing setting for meetings of some of the University's most senior committees.

The University's portrait holdings represent a cross-section of works by some of the most eminent Scottish portraitists of the 18th to 20th centuries, as well as lesser known British figures. In addition to Raeburn (1756-1823) (Nicoll), Martin (1737-97) (Craigie, Kinnoull, J. Playfair, Wilson) and Wilkie (1785-1841) (Melville), there are works by or attributed to William Aikman (1682-1731) (Pringle); Sir John Watson Gordon (1788-1864) (Briggs, Ferrier, Haldane, Hill, Hunter); Thomas Duncan (1807-45) (Anderson); Robert Herdman (1829-88) (Shairp, Tulloch); Sir George Reid (1841-1913) (Donaldson, A.F. Mitchell, Purdie, Stuart); John H Lorimer (1856-1936) (Lawson, L. Playfair); Sir James Guthrie (1859-1930) (Younger); and George Fiddes Watt (1873-1960) (Balfour of Burleigh). Sadly, there are no works by Allan Ramsay. The mid-20th century is represented by portraits by Beatrice Huntingdon (1889-1988) (Galloway); Alberto Morrocco (1917-98) (G.S. Duncan, H. Mitchell); David Abercrombie Donaldson (1916-1996) (John Steven Watson) and Juliet Pannet (1911-) (C. Cunningham); while a portrait of Tom Normand, by Steven Campbell (1953-2007), who is recognised as one of the most innovative and exciting painters to have worked in Scotland in the late 20th century, dates

⁸⁰ Cant, 'University Portraits', p.16

from 1998. There are few works in the art collections as a whole by non-British artists: however it is notable that of the works dating from the 16th and 17th centuries, the portrait of Buchanan is by or after Arnold van Brounckhorst (fl. 1565/6-1583), and that of Drew attributed to Sir John de Medina (1659-1710), both European artists who settled in Scotland, there in those times being few native portrait painters of repute; while that of Sharp is by Sir Peter Lely, an artist of Dutch origin who worked in London, and that of Anne Burnet from the circle of Godfrey Kneller, a German artist who settled in England (the portraits of Spottiswoode, 17th century and Alexander Colville, dating from c. 1660s, are by unknown artists). Though some attributions to major artists ('The Admirable Crichton' to Titian and Rutherford to Walker) have been discredited, the discovery of the Lely and the possibility that the Buchanan is the original by van Brounckhorst have largely made up for these disappointments, and the portrait collection remains a significant one, particularly in its Scottish elements. Although it does not have the antecedents of the collections of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow universities, and does not contain the portraits of reformers and monarchs accumulated by Edinburgh and Glasgow, from its establishment in 1765 onwards, the portrait collection at St Andrews is otherwise remarkably similar, in terms of subjects represented and patterns of collecting, to those of the other ancient Scottish universities. In all the institutions, the individuals represented tend to be Principals, Chancellors, Rectors, Professors, benefactors, alumni, and prominent figures with local connections. In Edinburgh, as at St Andrews, it was relatively unusual for the University to commission works until the second half of the 20th century: more often portraits were acquired by presentation, bequest or public subscription. However, the symbolism employed in many of the St Andrews works relates them uniquely to the University. Many of the sitters wear St Andrews academic dress, from the robes of the Chancellor (Dover, Fergusson, G.D. Campbell, Kinnoull), Vice-Chancellor (Irvine), Principal (Irvine again) and Rector (Boothby, Bute) to that of Chancellor's Assessor (Russell) and Rector's Assessor (Low), while others are in the more nondescript black 'undress' robes. Melville sits before the college buildings for which he was instrumental in securing funds; Galloway (Principal of St Mary's) in front of a window overlooking St Mary's College quadrangle, and the thorn tree supposedly planted by Mary, Queen of Scots; while Haldane (Principal of St Mary's) stands beside the

Scottish Faculty [Canon Law] mace. Purdie and Lawson are shown in their classrooms: Purdie the chemist before a blackboard with scientific equations, and Lawson, the Professor of English, surrounded by books.

In the 20th century, the University's sculpture holdings tended to be acquired through commission, as well as through the donations which had characterised the 19th century. The plaster statue of John Napier, after the sculpture by David Watson Stevenson now on the façade of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, was purchased by the University Court in 1913 to mark the tercentenary of the publication of Napier's first book of logarithms. Benefactions were acknowledged through the commissioning of busts of the Marquis of Bute and Sir James Bell Pettigrew, which were placed in the sites thus funded, the Bute Medical Building and the Bell Pettigrew Museum, founded by Bell Pettigrew's widow in his name. Respected members of staff were honoured through sculpture pieces: John Burnet (Professor of Greek 1891-1926) through a bronze portrait medallion mounted on the front of the eponymous student residence John Burnet Hall; and Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (Professor of Natural History 1917-48) through two bronze busts, one purchased on behalf of the University by the D'Arcy Thompson Commemorative Fund, and the second, a copy, presented by the artist, Alfred Forrest. The sculptor Joseph Coplans presented busts of Jan Smuts and George Bernard Shaw, declaring the latter to be his 'best work'.⁸¹ Frank Tulloch gave the plaster head of his father, Principal Tulloch, while portrait medallions in memory of Andrew Lang were provided by Miss Ida M. Hayward and Sir Peter Scott Lang; one is in St Salvator's Hall, and the other in St Salvator's Chapel, with a Greek epitaph by his friend Alexander Shewan. A bronze bust entitled 'The Student' was presented to David Russell Hall by Dr M.H. Cree in 1976. The title may consciously echo that of the well-known oil painting in the University's collections, *The Student* by Beatrice Huntingdon, 1927, depicting undergraduate John Craig in the red St Andrews gown: both works portray thoughtful and diligent-looking figures. Two important works, a marble bust of *Laura* after Canova, c.1822, and a bronze statuette of Peter Pan came into the University in the first half of the 20th century. The

⁸¹ CM 12 May 1933

latter, a miniature by Sir George Frampton of his famous sculpture in Kensington Gardens, was presented by Rector J.M. Barrie to the students of University Hall in 1922.

Up until the end of the 19th century, the number of non-portrait artworks in the University was small. However, holdings grew substantially throughout the 20th century, and non-portrait art now comprises the greater part of the University's fine art holdings (approximately 300 works, compared to around 100 portraits). This is due in part to several substantial donations. In 1953, the University acquired the Pilgrim Trust 'Recording Scotland' Collection of 135 works, largely watercolours, through the offices of Sir David Russell, who had been on the 'Recording Scotland' Committee. The 'Recording Scotland' project was designed to produce employment for artists in wartime, and create a permanent pictorial record of a Scotland thought to be at risk from bombs and growing industrialisation. The pictures, by artists including Stewart Carmichael, Robert Eadie, Andrew Gamley, Alan Ian Ronald, David Foggie, John Guthrie Spence Smith, James Wright, Charles Oppenheimer and Samuel Peploe, range from castles, churches and the Clyde docks to village streets, fishing ports and cityscapes of Edinburgh and Glasgow. They are displayed throughout the University, particularly in halls of residence, in accordance with the wishes of the Committee. In 1981, Mrs Helen Macdonell, a friend of Principal Watson, presented a collection of seventeen lithographs by artists including Anne Redpath, Elizabeth Blackadder, Robert Henderson Blyth, Earl Haig, Robin Philipson and Cyril Wilson: they had been produced by the firm of lithographic printers Harley Brothers Ltd of Edinburgh in a project involving contemporary Scottish artists which ran from 1958-60. In 1997 the Scottish Arts Council distributed their collection, accumulated over several decades, to various Scottish institutions. The University received seventeen artworks, including prints by nationally important contemporary artists such as Elizabeth Blackadder, Eduardo Paolozzi and Ian Hamilton Finlay. Between 2007-08, a private donor, Murdo MacDonald presented a collection of 23 Scottish contemporary works, including oils, watercolours, prints and sculpture.

Other significant works were donated or bequeathed, singly or in small groups, by private individuals. These include the two paintings by Sam Bough, *The Bass Rock After a Storm*

and *North Berwick Harbour*; an oil, *Breakfast*, by Alberto Morrocco (1978); and the oil *Wishart's Last Exhortation* by William Quiller Orchardson (1853). Another interesting oil, *Cardinal Beaton Besieged in St Andrews Castle* by W.E. Lockhart (late 19th century), came into the University's collections by unknown means at an unknown date. Together with *Wishart's Last Exhortation*, which was presented in 1944, it illustrates the events leading up to the murder of David Beaton on 29 May 1546. Orchardson's work depicts the Protestant martyr George Wishart in St Andrews Castle on the morning of his execution, on 2 March 1546. He had been found guilty of spreading heretical doctrine, and been sentenced to be burnt outside the Castle by a convocation of bishops and other clergy, including Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews and Chancellor of the University, who was known as a zealous persecutor of Reformers. The Captain of the Castle invited Wishart to share his breakfast, and, in the moment presented by Orchardson, Wishart blessed the bread and wine, thus celebrating the first Protestant Communion in Scotland. Wishart's death served as a catalyst for Beaton's murder. After being stabbed, his body was hung out over the castle battlements, before being placed in a salt cask for preservation, while the murderers, who were joined by Protestant supporters and the reformer John Knox, were besieged in the Castle by Catholic forces. Lockhart's work shows in dramatic detail Beaton trapped in his chamber by his attackers: the reflected flames give his eyes a demonic red glare. Macmillan has noted that *Wishart's Last Exhortation* was clearly influenced by Wilkie's unfinished work *John Knox Administering the Sacrament at Calder House*, the sketch of which had been acquired by the Royal Scottish Academy in 1842. Wilkie's sketch also influenced the composition of David Octavius Hill's monumental *Signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission* (1843-67), which depicts the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, and to aid the production of which, calotypes of the more than 400 figures shown were produced by Hill and his partner Robert Adamson. Macmillan suggests that the interest of artists such as Thomas Duncan, James Drummond and Orchardson in the 1840s and 1850s in producing works showing key moments in the Reformation and the Covenanting period was inspired by the Disruption, which echoed previous crises in the national religious conscience.⁸² As such, Orchardson's work found a natural home in St Andrews, which was not only the

⁸² Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, pp.190-194

scene of several historic events which had reverberated throughout the nation, including the murders of Beaton and (just outside St Andrews) Sharp, but was also the *alma mater* of Thomas Chalmers, who instigated the Disruption: as well as being an alumnus, Chalmers lectured in various subjects in the University before being appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1823.

Part of the University's art holdings consist of images of its buildings and grounds, by local, amateur artists such as Mabel Irvine, wife of Principal Irvine, who produced a pleasant oil of St Salvator's Tower (mid-20th century). There are watercolour studies for schemes of stained glass for St Salvator's Chapel by Gordon Webster and Douglas Strachan: although Strachan's designs, unlike Webster's, were not ultimately installed, these works, which are properly architectural sketches, provide a valuable record of the historical evolution of the fabric of the Chapel and the plans for its development. Local scenes, mainly St Andrews and the East Neuk of Fife, are represented in etchings by Charles Phillips and Reinhard Behrens, and oils by A.C.W. Duncan, among others. The non-portrait collections are largely distributed in public spaces, including foyers and corridors, in halls of residence, academic schools and administrative units around the University site, where they serve both as decorative pieces and objects of interest to University members and visitors alike: a key part of their role in the Development (i.e. fundraising) and Admissions units has been to impress upon visitors the history and a sense of place of the local area.

The teaching needs of the School of Art History have informed the recent development of the University's art collection. Until recently, the University's acquisition of non-portrait art in particular was relatively haphazard. An annual purchase fund, established in the 1990s, of up to £1000 per annum for acquisitions across the whole spectrum of the Museum Collections, did not stretch far, and although opportunities to acquire works from the Pilgrim Trust and Scottish Arts Council were welcomed, and determined fundraising took place when items of particular interest came onto the market, most art acquisitions came through presentation or bequest rather than planned purchase. However, in 1996, the Harry and Margery Boswell Art Collection was established at the University.

Founded by Margery Boswell in honour of her late husband, Harry, the Collection is intended to form a lasting memorial to the couple in recognition of their interest in and commitment to Scottish history, culture and art, and their close associations with the University and the Kingdom of Fife. The purpose of the endowment, which has since been supplemented by further donations from the family, is to enable the Boswell Committee to make annual purchases of Scottish art for the University, with the intention of developing a notable collection of contemporary and historical artworks, to assist in the teaching of Scottish art and culture within the University, especially within the School of Art History. Collecting is guided by members of the School of Art History, particularly Dr Tom Normand, senior lecturer in contemporary Scottish art. To date, collecting has focused mainly on contemporary Scottish paintings, prints and photographs, with artists represented including the leading figures of Alan Davie, Calum Colvin, John Bellany, John Byrne, Steven Campbell, Alison Watt and Adrian Wisniewski. The early part of the 20th century is represented by works by William McCance, John Fergusson and Agnes Miller Parker. In establishing a specific fund for the purchase of Scottish art, the Boswell endowment has enabled the University to undertake long-term planning in the purchase of works and the development of the collection, and as such provides a valuable opportunity to consolidate the strength of existing holdings, and expand the collection of Scottish art in new directions. During his last three years in office, Principal Brian Lang also made money available (around £5000 per annum) specifically for the purchase of Scottish art: in 2009 this enabled the purchase of *Portrait of David Brewster* by Calum Colvin.

In comparison with the careful consideration given to the annual purchase of artworks for the Boswell Collection, the means of acquisition of portraits by the University prior to the mid-20th century appears to be particularly unmethodical. Institutional commission supplied far fewer works than donation by private individuals or public subscription. Yet the University has succeeded in building up a significant collection of portraits of some of its most eminent Chancellors, Principals, Professors, Rectors, benefactors and alumni, by a number of renowned artists, to rival the holdings of the other ancient Scottish universities, at least from the late 18th century onwards. The willingness of donors to offer or bequeath works surely relates to the University's attitude to portraits in its care. As a

corporate body, it took pride in its holdings, working out particular schemes of display, highlighting these in its annual *Calendars*, and relegating very few portraits to storage at any one time, while instances of disposal of painted portraits are virtually unknown. To donate a portrait to the University of St Andrews was almost to guarantee a form of immortality for the subject, whose visual image would be conspicuously presented among those of other great men in the halls of Scotland's oldest establishment of higher education, and there is little wonder that family members, from bereaved widows to distant descendants, felt prompted to do so.

However, it should not be inferred from the seemingly fortuitous way in which many portraits came to the University, that the University had no sense of an appropriate policy or scheme of acquisitions. It is harder to find instances of portraits being rejected than accepted: there is, of course, no material evidence (namely the existence of a portrait in the collection) to work back from, to trace the relevant reference to the gift in the Court or Senate Minutes; and it may well be that the proposed donation of unwanted works was often quietly and tactfully discouraged, rather than being formally raised and recorded at senior committee level. Nevertheless occasional instances of the latter do occur, as when in 1914 the University Court declined to enter into negotiations with John A. Horsburgh of Edinburgh to purchase a portrait of Professor Briggs.⁸³ The fact that the portrait collection contains very few examples of subjects who are not directly connected to the institution in some significant way attests to the degree of discrimination the University must have exercised, even in its more passive collecting. It is evident, too, that although the University itself may not have commissioned many works directly from its own finances, it encouraged and provided administrative support for the purchase of works by public subscription, for example the portraits of J.D. Forbes, Shairp and Carnegie, no doubt with every expectation that the works would eventually come into its care.

The portrait has been described as a fitting commemorative form not only for Protestant Reformers but also figures associated with the Enlightenment, focusing, as this movement

⁸³ CM 21 February 1914

did, on the primacy of individual experience and the interpretation of human nature.⁸⁴ The portrait collection of the University of St Andrews reveals not only the attributes of the individuals represented but, more broadly, through the holdings themselves and their presentation, the concerns and preoccupations of the institution as a whole. In choosing to display in its formal rooms images of its eminent academics, famed alumni, benefactors and senior figures, from Chancellors and Principals to Rectors, many of whom were key participants in the social, cultural, political, intellectual and scientific development of Scotland, the University is making explicit the value it places on academic endeavour and achievement and its connection to national affairs. The works are a visible expression of its identity, conspicuously reflecting its history, status and prestige. It is notable that, unlike Glasgow and Edinburgh universities, St Andrews has not (with the exception of busts of George III and IV and the portraits of Knox, a possible alumnus, Buchanan, Principal of St Leonard's, and the engraving of Wishart) acquired portraits of monarchs and reformers: its collection is very much an expression of its individuality as an institution, displayed mainly, with the exception of the relatively brief period of exposure to tourists in the 19th century, for its own members, and not overtly motivated in its formation by either expressions of faith or political expediency.

⁸⁴ Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, pp.91, 150



David Steuart Erskine, Lord Cardross, later 11th Earl of Buchan by unknown artist, after Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1764 or 1765, oil on canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC154



Thomas Hay, 9th Earl of Kinnoull, by David Martin, mid 18th century, oil on canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC187



Robert Saunders Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville,
by David Wilkie, 1831, oil on canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC165



Sir David Brewster by William Salter Herrick,
c. 1859, oil on canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC144



George Buchanan by or after Arnold van Brounckhorst,
?1580, oil on canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC148



Archbishop James Sharp by Sir Peter Lely, c. 1666, oil on
canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC225



John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquis of Bute, by Edward Trevannyon Haynes, 1895, oil on canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC149

Plate 38



Andrew Carnegie by Edward Arthur Walton, 1911, oil on canvas
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC155

Plate 39



The University Library, c. 1898. Photograph by James Fairweather of St Andrews

Various portraits are displayed, including those of Cardinal Beaton by E.T. Haynes (on left) and John Tulloch by Robert Herdman, centre of east (far) wall. At the east end of the room are the two Knibb regulator clocks and the bust of Alexander Duff. Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, GT-Sco-Fife-StAU-SouS-LibUp-1

Chapter IV

Scientific instruments of the University of St Andrews

When Thomas Kirk was taken around the three colleges of the University of St Andrews by the regents on Friday 8 June 1677, he inspected Kennedy's tomb, the three medieval maces and the blackstone, and records that at St Mary's College he found that:

In a room here are kept some mathematical instruments; the mathematical professor, Mr – [blank], did show them to us. Upon the outside of the College Walk near the sea is a new observatory erected but it is not yet finished.¹

Given the date of Kirk's visit, it is likely that these instruments were primarily those acquired by James Gregory, first Regius Professor of Mathematics 1668-74, in response to his commission by the University, which was officially recorded on 10 June 1673, 'to goe for London, and there to provide, so far as the money already received from our Benefactors will reach, such instruments and utensils as he, with advice of other skilful persons, shall judge most necessary and usefull' for improving the teaching and study of 'naturall philosophy and the Mathematicall sciences' and equipping the planned University observatory.²

¹ P. Hume Brown (ed.), *Tours In Scotland 1677 & 1681 by Thomas Kirk and Ralph Thoresby*, Edinburgh, 1892, p.18. The Professor of Mathematics at this date was James Gregory's successor, William Saunders (1674-88). It is likely that Kirk saw the instruments not in St Mary's College, as he states, but instead in the University building, adjacent to St Mary's. Kirk recorded 'we went to New College, or Mary's College ... In this College is a public room for university exercise; in a room here are kept some mathematical instruments' The University building consisted of the University Library on the upper floor, where Gregory is known to have been based for at least part of his time in St Andrews, and the 'public school', which was occasionally used as an exercise room for the students, on the lower floor. For the confusion among visitors over whether the University building was a part of St Mary's College see Chapter I, p.31.

² The commission is published as 'Commission, University of St Andrews to Mr James Gregory, Professor of Mathematics, 10th June 1673. From the Original' in *Archaeologia Scotica*, III, 1831, pp.285-286 and in Herbert Westren Turnbull (ed.), *James Gregory Tercentenary Memorial Volume [JGTMV]*, London, 1939, pp.273-274.

John Slezer and Daniel Defoe also knew of the existence of the University's instruments, although it is not certain that they actually saw them. Slezer, in *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693 and 1718 editions) records that Gregory:

erected a commodius Observatory for Mathematical Observations in the College-Garden [of St Mary's], having caused a Contribution to be made for that purpose. He also furnished it with many Mathematical Instruments much better than it had been before his Time.³

Defoe, who had visited St Andrews sometime in the first two decades of the 18th century, notes:

Dr Gregory, obtain'd an observatory to be erected, and gave them abundance of mathematical and astronomical instruments: But it is not now made use of, for what reason I know not.⁴

Other visitors, including Macky (visited c. 1723), Loveday (1732) and Pococke (1760) were aware of the observatory building, which was erected at the south end of the St Mary's College gardens, but was possibly never completed, and was almost certainly never brought into use for its intended purpose.⁵ It became increasingly dilapidated during the course of the 18th century but remained physically standing until at least 1761, when the University Senate, finding that 'the south part of the Observatory is in danger of falling, as appears from several Rents in the walls ... [which are] still widening', ordered all faulty parts to be immediately taken down.⁶ However, from about 1720, the

³ John Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, London, 1718, p.18. The same reference appears in the 1693 edition, the text for which is thought to have been produced for Slezer by Robert Sibbald (information on and text of 1693 edition from the National Library of Scotland: <http://www.nls.uk/slezer/index.html> 13 November 2009).

⁴ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain divided into Circuits or Journeys, &c.*, Everyman, London, 1962 (re-publication of 1st edition, 1724-6), p.383

⁵ John Macky, *A Journey Through Scotland*, London, 1723, p.89; John Loveday, *Diary of a Tour in 1732 Through Parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland made by John Loveday of Caversham*, Roxburghe Club, 1890, p.143; Daniel William Kemp (ed.), *Tours In Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760, By Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath*, Edinburgh, 1887, p.271

⁶ SM 17 October 1761

instruments seem to disappear from public view. Although there is clear evidence that the University preserved at least some of the instruments bought by Gregory and actively purchased and otherwise acquired other mathematical and natural philosophy instruments throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, apparently these were not conspicuously displayed or presented to University members or visitors in a way that indicated that any special status or importance was attached to them. Rather in this period the instruments appear to have been seen essentially as functional pieces of apparatus, useful for demonstrations and experiments in the University's elementary business of teaching and research.

Not until the mid-1920s, when an astonished Robert Gunther (1869-1940), curator of the history of science collections at Oxford University, examined the instrument holdings of the Natural Philosophy Department at St Andrews, was the status of the University's historical scientific instruments fundamentally reassessed.⁷ Five instruments were borrowed for display alongside the Lewis Evans Collection at Oxford University, in time for a meeting of the British Association there in 1926: an astrolabe by Humphrey Cole, 1575 (now widely known as the 'Great Astrolabe') (plate 41); an 'armillary sphere' by Humphrey Cole, 1582, now re-identified as a 'universal instrument' (plate 42); a Dutch circumferentor, 17th century (plate 44); a mariner's astrolabe by Elias Allen, 1616 (plate 43); and an undated dip circle, 17th century, inscribed 'Ex dono Archebaldi Areskine Armigeri Londini', indicating that it was presented by Archibald Erskine, Esquire, possibly a former student.⁸ Gunther declared the two astrolabes, both 'made by English

⁷ Gunther was awarded an honorary LL.D. degree by the University in 1925, and it may be on the occasion of this visit that he first saw the instruments. He was the nephew of William Carmichael McIntosh, Professor of Natural History 1882-1917: though the Gunther and McIntosh families were reconciled by this date, they had been estranged for many years as, after the death of Gunther's mother and McIntosh's sister Roberta in England ten days after Gunther's birth, the McIntosh family took the baby to Scotland and his father, Albert Gunther, had difficulties in retrieving his son. See A.V. Simcock (ed.), *Robert T. Gunther and the Old Ashmolean*, Oxford, 1985, p.46.

⁸ CM 22 December 1925. The Minutes specifically refer to the instruments as coming from 'the Natural Philosophy Department'. I consulted Robert Smart (retired Keeper of Muniments of the University of St Andrews, who is researching biographical information on St Andrews students), over the possible identity of this 'Archebaldi Areskine'. He responded that Archibald is not a common name in the Erskine family, and that he has been able to trace only one student of that name in the period 1589-1747. This individual was born c. 1598, son of Sir James Erskine of Tullibody, matriculated St Leonard's College in 1611/12 and paid for the BA and MA in 1615. He may then have travelled south with his father to attend the royal court, but ended up in Ireland, receiving a variety of Church benefices (being Rector of Tullycorbet from 1629, Rector of Devenish from 1632, Rector of Innishmaccsaint from 1629, and holding the rectory and vicarage of Erriglekeerogue from 1633) and dying at Augher Castle in 1645. He is not known to have maintained any

craftsmen', to be 'quite the finest examples of their kind that are now in existence'.⁹ Of the 'Great Astrolabe', he wrote 'I know of no finer example of the work of an Elizabethan instrument-maker', and indeed its discovery led to a reappraisal of the skill of Humphrey Cole.¹⁰ Gunther had found the 'Great Astrolabe':

lying by in the physical laboratory of the University of St Andrews. But, although it was catalogued by Professor Swan as an instrument of a rare type, it is doubtful whether he realised its supreme importance as proof positive, and the only extant proof, that we had in Britain an artist in metalwork who did exact work on a large scale and of a high grade of accuracy. In this respect we may compare it with the instruments in the contemporary observatory of Tycho Brahe in Denmark.¹¹

The importance of Allen's mariner's astrolabe had also been overlooked by the University. It is now known to be an exceedingly rare survival of a once widely used navigational instrument: though Gunther declared that it would have been 'Employed on every ship from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century for the determination of latitude', in 1972 only 33 examples were known to be extant worldwide (and only six in 1928 when it was discussed by Gunther).¹² Allen's piece is of particular interest, being of exceptional weight (7.7kg) and is one of only two known examples definitely of English origin. Yet in a discussion following the reading of a paper by Gunther at the Royal Geographical Society he stated that though the mariner's astrolabe had been 'in the possession of St

connection with his old college, so, given the tenuousness of the London connection, is perhaps an unlikely candidate for the donation of the dip circle. Another Archibald Erskine is the 7th Earl of Kellie (b. 1736): however, Smart feels an association with the instrument is unlikely, as the spelling 'Areskine' ceased to be used much after the early years of the 18th century. To date, then, the donor's identity and the date of the presentation remain unresolved.

⁹ R.T. Gunther, 'The Astrolabe: Its Uses and Derivatives' in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 43, 1927, pp.135-147, p.135

¹⁰ R.T. Gunther, 'The Great Astrolabe and other Scientific Instruments of Humphrey Cole' in *Archaeologia*, 76, 1926-29, pp.273-317, p.277

¹¹ R.T. Gunther, 'A Great Pioneer of Scientific Instrument Making. The Astrolabes and Dials of Humphrey Cole of London' in *The Illustrated London News*, 14 August 1926, pp.292-4, p.292. Swan's 'catalogue' was an unpublished inventory of the apparatus of the natural philosophy class, prepared for administrative reasons as he approached retirement in 1880. It was published by the Department of Physics, University of St Andrews, as E.M. Wray (ed.), *Swan's Catalogue*, St Andrews, 1984.

¹² R.T. Gunther, 'The Mariner's Astrolabe' in *The Geographical Journal*, 72, 1928, pp.342-4, pp.342, 344. R.G.W. Anderson (ed.), *The Mariner's Astrolabe*, exh. cat., Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1972, pp.5, 8

Andrews for a considerable time ... I do not think they knew what it was until recently'.¹³ Indeed he referred elsewhere to 'the ancient instrumental equipment of the University of St Andrews [having been] "in visible hiding", without its great geographical significance being generally appreciated'.¹⁴

Gunther's work and publications (see footnotes and bibliography) brought national attention to the St Andrews pieces that he had selected for exhibition, and marked the beginning of a century of reassessment of the significance of the University's collection of historical natural philosophy and mathematical instruments as a whole. Various instruments were displayed at University exhibitions in Parliament Hall, St Andrews in 1961 and 1962 and the Merchant Taylors Hall, London in 1963, organised to celebrate the institution's history.¹⁵ Others were displayed in exhibitions on the history of science at the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, while the 'Great Astrolabe' and universal instrument were exhibited at the British Museum in 1998.¹⁶ The Department of Physics (successor body to the Natural Philosophy Department, and now formally entitled 'The School of Physics and Astronomy') published two catalogues of the collection in 1984; and in 1996 important items drawn from it were displayed at the St Andrews Museum in an exhibition organised by the University's postgraduate Museum and Gallery Studies students.¹⁷ In 2008 key pieces of the collection (including Cole's 'Great Astrolabe' and universal instrument, Allen's mariner's astrolabe, the dip circle, a 17th century parchment

¹³ Gunther, 'The Mariner's Astrolabe', p.344

¹⁴ Gunther, 'The Astrolabe', p.135

¹⁵ Robert Smart and David Young, *Exhibition of Some Historic Treasures of the University of St Andrews*, exh. cat., University of St Andrews, Parliament Hall, St Andrews, 1961; Anon, *An Historic Exhibition*, exh. cat., University of St Andrews, Parliament Hall, St Andrews, 1962; Anon, *An Historic Occasion*, exh. cat., University of St Andrews, Merchant Taylors Hall, London, 1963

¹⁶ *The St Andrews University Astrolabes: Special Exhibition, Summer 1959*, exh. cat., Royal Scottish Museum, 1959; R.G.W Anderson, *The Mariner's Astrolabe*, exh. cat., Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1972; A. Macdonald and A.D. Morrison-Low, *A Heavenly Library: Treasures from the Royal Observatory's Crawford Collection*, exh. cat., National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1994; Silke Ackermann (ed.), *Humphrey Cole: Mint, Measurement and Maps in Elizabethan England*, British Museum Occasional Paper No. 126, London, 1998 (exh. cat.)

¹⁷ Wray, *Swan's Catalogue*; E.M. Wray, *Historic Scientific Instruments from the Collection of the Department of Physics, University of St Andrews*, St Andrews, 1984 (which detailed some highlights of the collection); Anon., *Reflections: From Alchemy to Astrophysics: An Exhibition of Historic Scientific Instruments from the School of Physics and Astronomy at the University of St Andrews*, exh. cat., St Andrews, 1996

telescope, a 17th century sundial by Hilkieh Bedford (plate 45) and a reflecting telescope by James Short, 1736 (plate 50)) were placed on long-term display in the new Museum of the University of St Andrews (MUSA). In the same year the collection (since 1990, when the Museum Collections Unit was established, formally a part of the Museum Collections of the University and now officially designated the 'Collection of Historic Scientific Instruments') was awarded 'Recognised status as a Collection of National Significance', through Museums Galleries Scotland, a major museum-sector award which publicly acknowledges the inherent importance of the collection. The same status was granted to the University's 'Chemistry Collection' (historic equipment and specimens from the Chemistry Department) and 'Heritage Collections' (art, silver, furniture, textiles, medals etc mainly associated with the University's history).

Such a fundamental reappraisal of the significance of the University's holdings of mathematical and natural philosophy instruments and apparatus requires some consideration. In this chapter, I will examine what instruments the University acquired from its early years onwards, and how and why they were obtained. I will study evidence relating to the growth of the holdings, and explore what became of equipment that was rendered out-of-date or obsolete as advances were made in particular subject areas. I will consider why, in certain periods (and especially from 20th century onwards), but not in others, individual instruments and the collections as a whole were accorded a significance not necessarily related directly to their practical functions as scientific apparatus, and how this has been communicated through, and has affected, their presentation and display. Unless otherwise stated the scientific instruments and apparatus discussed here will be those associated with the subjects of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in the University, because it is primarily items from these areas which have at different times gained a status separate from their original practical usages. However, equipment from other subjects areas, including chemistry, will be referred to.

The term 'scientific instruments' is, of course, anachronistic in relation to much of the period under consideration. Alison Morrison-Low of the National Museums of Scotland

dates it to the late 19th century.¹⁸ It is, however, widely used in current literature relating to the history of science, and is broadly understood, and I will therefore employ it, as a useful short-hand, where appropriate. Morrison-Low provides an examination of the term and its appropriate use in her article "'Feasting my eyes with the view of fine instruments": Scientific Instruments in Enlightenment Scotland, 1680-1820'. However, it is worth noting here that, broadly speaking, it can refer to natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomical, mathematical, surveying and navigational items, but not to clocks, watches or chronometers, which 'were manufactured by specialist makers, had a distinct trade, and have a history and technical literature of their own'. She also offers helpful definitions of mathematical instruments, which during the period her article considers included

Such items as sundials, logarithmic scales and sighting instruments. Any device which had a graduated scale and was used to measure angles or distance or perform calculations could be regarded as a mathematical instrument

and 'philosophical' instruments, a term which from the mid-17th century referred to instruments 'developed to investigate or demonstrate naturally occurring phenomena' e.g. magnetism, air pressure, static and dynamic forces and electrical phenomena. A separate category is provided for optical instruments.¹⁹ Clearly, the whole process of terminology definition is complex and can vary across the centuries, between individuals and depending on circumstances. I have here chosen to use the appellation 'mathematical and natural philosophy' instruments to describe the instruments under discussion, subsuming optical instruments into these categories, because these terms were familiarly used in University records until the 20th century and the instruments with which I am concerned (which include some astronomical and optical pieces) largely relate to the mathematical and natural philosophy classes of the University.

¹⁸ A.D. Morrison-Low, "'Feasting my eyes with the view of fine instruments": Scientific Instruments in Enlightenment Scotland, 1680-1820', in C.W.J. Withers and P. Wood (eds), *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment*, East Linton, 2002, pp.17-53, p.18

¹⁹ Morrison-Low, "'Feasting my eyes'", pp.20-21

Natural Philosophy was a core part of the Arts curriculum of the University from the 15th century. The 'Acta Facultatis Artium' record that on 5 December 1471 the structure of the existing Arts course leading to the master's degree and licence was reaffirmed. The subject matter was the texts of Aristotle, with the first year to be devoted to the *Summalae* (elementary Logic); in the second, the students must begin to take down the Logic of Aristotle in their own hand; in the third they should proceed to Physics and Natural Philosophy; and in the fourth must write out at least the first seven books of Metaphysics. As early as 18 October 1415 it had been enacted that only texts of Aristotle should be used for lectures, after the manner of the University of Paris.²⁰ The teaching at St Andrews attracted the admiration of Jaspas Laet de Borchloen, who in 1491 issued an address to Archbishop William Schevez, University Chancellor 1478-97:

In particular you have brought from the blind darkness of oblivion to the brightness of daylight the geometrical studies which, possibly through the supineness of the Scots, had been almost lost from this ecclesiastical cradle of learning. You collected a number of books with a view to the revival of astronomy.²¹

In the temporary statutes of 7 January 1561/62 (not long after the Reformation was established in Scotland) the regents were permitted to introduce into the curriculum the works of 'Plato, Xenophon, Cicero and that kind of writer', in addition to Aristotle, provided the texts were in Latin or Greek and contained pure philosophy. At this date, it was stated that after a preliminary study of verse or rhetoric, students should progress to the logic of Aristotle and the books of Ethics, proceeding to Natural Philosophy, Metaphysics and Mathematics over the traditional course of three and a half years.²² It was shortly after this, in 1564, that the inventor of logarithms John Napier (1550-1617)

²⁰ Annie I. Dunlop (ed.), *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588*, Edinburgh, 1964, pp.lxxxii-lxxxiv

²¹ Translated from the Latin in William Knight (ed.), *Andreapolis being writings in praise of St Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1903, pp.7-8. Jaspas Laet de Borchloen was the author of *De Eclipsi Solis Anni MCCCCXCI currentis Pronosticum*, 1491.

²² Dunlop, *Acta*, p.lxxxviii

entered St Salvator's College at the age of thirteen: although he also studied on the Continent, St Andrews must surely be accorded some credit for his education.

The records of the Earl of Morton's Visitation of the University, 16 April 1574, dictate that 'the third maister of the New College sall reid, within the same, four lessinis ouklike [weekly] in the Mathematic Sciences': this seems to have been the earliest occasion of the creation of a specialist mathematical post at St Andrews.²³ Under the terms of the 'New Foundation' of the University in 1579, when St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges were re-founded as colleges of Arts and Philosophy and St Mary's as a school of Theology, the teachers of Law and Mathematics formerly at St Mary's were transferred to St Salvator's College, as extraordinary professors (i.e. not regents who took their students through the entire four years of the curriculum in turn). Here, at least at the time of the next Visitation in 1588, they 'were regarded as an unwarranted burden on the foundation and treated with hostility by the Provost and other masters'.²⁴ The reports of this Visitation record that the 'Mathematician, Mr Homer Blair, sayis he teachis the Arithmetique of Ramus Mononday at viii houris, at 10 houris on Tysday and viii houris on Frayday'.²⁵ William Welwood, who had taught mathematics from 1575 to 1587 before being transferred to the post of lawyer, informed the Visitors:

I professit ye mathematiques as I did their x [ten] yeiris and mair yrof I not onlie often tymes redd arithmetik geometre geographie and astronomie the mechanisms of Aristotol also adjoit therto all sortis practik arithmetic and geometrie togidder with ye makking of ye cartis universall and particular ye uss of ye astrolabe ye

²³ Ronald G. Cant, 'Origins of the Enlightenment in Scotland: the Universities' in R.H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner (eds), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 1982, pp.42-64, p.44

²⁴ Ronald G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, St Andrews, 1992, p.63

²⁵ The extracts of records of the 1574, 1579 and 1588 Visitations are contained in *Evidence, Oral & Documentary, Taken and Received By the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty George IV, July 1826 and reappointed by His Majesty William IV, October 12th 1830 For Visiting the Universities of Scotland*, Vol. III (St Andrews), London, 1837: citations from pp.188, 194.

calendairis and summe chronologes and [staith] ye communall commerss of ye
yoweth quha practisit ye same.²⁶

This reference to 'ye astrolabe' is the first distinct mention of a scientific instrument that I have been able to locate in the University's records, yet it is unclear whether Welwood taught the use of the astrolabe practically, with an actual instrument, or just theoretically. After the death of the mathematician in 1600 the specialist 'profession' of mathematics lapsed. There was an unsuccessful attempt to establish a chair of mathematics at St Salvator's College in 1649. However, not until 1668 was a Regius Chair of Mathematics established, for the University as a whole, with James Gregory as its first incumbent.²⁷ Although continuous provision had been made for instruction in the subject of natural philosophy since the 15th century – for example in the 1640s the study of Natural Philosophy 'and if so much tyme may be spared, some compend of Anatomy' comprised the magistrand year of the Arts course – Chairs of Natural Philosophy were not established at St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges until 1724-7.²⁸

James Gregory (1638-75) was born at Drumoak, near Aberdeen and educated at Marischal College, graduating M.A. in 1657. In *Optica Promota* (1663) he gave the first description of a reflecting telescope, an instrument which, through a combination of lenses and mirrors, would allow greater magnification to be obtained with barrels of shorter length than was possible with a refracting telescope, hitherto the standard model. He spent time in London in 1662-63, where he attempted to have an effective working model of his telescope constructed by Richard Reeve, an instrument maker specialising in optics; Reeve's experiments failed, but the process was later perfected by Robert Hooke, and in the 18th century the 'Gregorian' telescope became the standard form. While in London Gregory came into contact with a group of scientists and instrument-makers, many of

²⁶ Edinburgh, Advocates Library, ms29.27, Balcarres Papers, VIII, 150r. I am indebted to Steven Reid for pointing out this reference. Welwood, the son of a prominent St Andrews merchant burgess, had an interest in navigation, and wrote *The Sea Law of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1590, an important volume which explained the law as it related to the type of trading carried on by the small vessels that characterised Scottish shipping in this period. John W. Cairns, 'Welwood, William (fl. 1566-1624)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29033>, accessed 5 May 2009].

²⁷ Cant, 'Origins', pp.44-45

²⁸ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.82

whom were associated with the Royal Society, founded in 1660. Among them was John Collins (1625-83), a Government accountant and a mathematician who was an enthusiastic correspondent of several principal mathematicians in Britain and Europe and played a key role in encouraging the interchange of mathematical news and promoting mathematical publishing.²⁹ Gregory then travelled to Italy, spending around three years at the renowned university of Padua (where Galileo had taught), where he studied geometry, mechanics and astronomy under Stefano degli Angeli. He published two further mathematical works, which secured his election to the Royal Society on his return to London in 1668, and influenced his appointment to the new Chair of Mathematics at St Andrews.³⁰ He married Mary Jamesone, daughter of the artist George Jamesone of Aberdeen in 1669.³¹

Gregory has been credited with giving 'the first introduction to a Scottish university of the work of Kepler, Galileo and Descartes'.³² He continued his researches while at St Andrews, remaining in touch with mathematical thought despite his remote location chiefly through a detailed correspondence with Collins. Without it, he said, he would have been 'dead to all the world'.³³ Fifty-seven letters, mainly from Collins to Gregory, survive in the Special Collections of the University Library, St Andrews.³⁴ In 1932 it was realised that the blank spaces on some letters had been used by Gregory to work out mathematical problems. These notes shed light on his advances and methodology, and confirm his 'right to take his place with Barrow, Newton and Leibniz as a principal discoverer of the differential calculus'.³⁵ The letters also include copies made by Collins of correspondence of other mathematicians that he thought might interest Gregory, including two letters from Sir Isaac Newton on the reflecting telescope. The manuscripts have been published,

²⁹ A.D.C. Simpson, 'James Gregory and the Reflecting Telescope' in *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 23, 1992, pp.77-92, p.83

³⁰ *Vera circuli et hyperbolae quadratura*, Padua, 1667, in which Gregory developed algebraic sequences for determining the area of central conics by convergent series, and *Geometriae pars universalis*, Padua, 1668, which is concerned with problems of geometrical transformation.

³¹ Biographical information on Gregory principally drawn from Simpson, 'James Gregory'; Cant, 'Origins'; and JGTMV.

³² JGTMV, p.9 and Cant, 'Origins', p.45

³³ JGTMV, p.9

³⁴ SAUL, ms31009

³⁵ JGTMV, p.13

together with other correspondence and material relating to Gregory drawn from various sources, by Herbert Westren Turnbull in *James Gregory Tercentenary Memorial Volume*, London, 1939.

Gregory's novel teachings were not always welcomed by his less progressive colleagues at St Andrews, as he revealed in a letter dated 13 July 1675 to James Frazer in Paris:

The affairs of the Observatory of St Andrews were in such a bad condition; the reason of which was, a prejudice which the masters of the University did take at the mathematics, because some of their scholars, finding their courses and dictats opposed by what they had studied in the mathematics, did mock at their masters, and deride some of them publicly. After this, the servants of the Colleges got orders not to wait on me at my observations; my salary was also kept back from me; and scholars of the most eminent rank were violently kept from me, contrary to their own and their parents' wills, the masters persuading them that their brains were not able to endure it. These, and many other discouragements, obliged me to accept of a call here to the College of Edinburgh, where my salary is near double, and my encouragements otherwise much greater.³⁶

Gregory was to spend just one year as the first holder of the Chair of Mathematics at Edinburgh before he was seized with blindness and died a few days later, in late October 1675, his early death at the age of 36 years undoubtedly contributing to the later obscurity of his reputation compared to that of figures such as Newton and Robert Hooke.

Gregory ordered mathematical books and instruments through Collins, his conduit to the outside world. A 'Catalogue of books bought by Mr Gregorie for the Observatorie' which appears in a catalogue of the University Library at St Andrews compiled between c. 1687

³⁶ Gregory to Frazer, Edinburgh, 13 July 1675, JGTMV, pp.311-312

and 1695 lists dozens of works, mainly relating to natural philosophy, astronomy or mathematics: probably a large proportion of these were supplied by Collins.³⁷ Even before the scheme to construct and equip the observatory was mooted, Gregory asked Collins to purchase instruments and apparatus on his behalf, for use in his teaching or research, sometimes to very detailed specifications, as on 15 February 1669 when he wrote:

I would have a quadrant after the enclosed fashion [diagram provided in original letter], made of jointed wood, with a brazen limb, and a ball and socket (or something else to turn upon) in the centre of gravity, three feet in the radius (1.08 ball and three-footed staff) exactly, and as minutely divided as the quantity can suffer. I do not desire any other scales and divisions on it, save only a needle of a considerable length, for observing the declination of the same upon one of the radiuses or middle, as ye think most convenient. I would also have a chain, two good compasses, and a brazen sector. I desire to know the price of every one of these by themselves.

Collins responded on 15 March 1668/9 that the quadrant would cost £4.0.0; a ball and socket with a three-footed staff £1.8.0; a needle a foot long £1.0.0; 2 pairs of compasses £0.10.0; and a brass sector £1.5.0.³⁸ It is not known whether Gregory confirmed the order for these particular instruments, though a sector, surveying chain and compasses appear on an inventory of c. 1699.³⁹ However, the route taken by a parcel containing various books and two glass prisms in 1672 shows that sending items from London to St Andrews was not a straightforward matter:

³⁷ SAUL, UYLY105/2, p.34. Antoni Malet, 'Studies on James Gregorie (1638-1675)', Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1989, p.84 provides the analysis of the types of books. Collins also sent Gregory books gratis e.g. Collins to Gregory, London, 13 June 1672: 'you cannot imagine that I should expect or take any thing for those Bookes I sent you, but your courteous acceptance, having often put you to great trouble, and received many obligations from you', JGTMV, p.236.

³⁸ Gregory to Collins, St Andrews, 15 February 1669 and Collins to Gregory, London, 15 March 1668/9, JGTMV, pp.69-71. The dating of these letters appears somewhat confusing: in Scotland, the New Year began on 1 January from 1600, but in England the change was not made until 1752.

³⁹ SAUL, UYUY459 Box A/6 'A note of things wanting in of Instruments as received by Mr Henry'

About the beginning of August last I sent by Bethel Broaderick a Carrier of Newcastle a Box directed to you, to be left with Mr Robert Kar a Merchant in Newcastle to be by him sent to Mr David Thompson Merchant in Edinburgh at the back of the Maine Guard to be by him transmitted to you...⁴⁰

Letters took about three weeks between St Andrews and London. Sometimes a sea route was preferred for goods: in December 1672 Collins, hearing that the Earl of Kincardine was returning from London to Scotland and sending his own goods by sea, passed into his care a box containing a parallelogram, a 'dioptrick Lanthorne' and yet more books, to be landed at Leith and again left for Gregory with David Thompson in Edinburgh.⁴¹

Given the obvious complications in obtaining instruments via a third party in London, especially to particular specifications, why did Gregory not turn to Scottish instrument makers? The answer is that the manufacture of scientific instruments was not really established in Scotland until the early decades of the 18th century, which Bryden attributes to the:

poverty of scientific achievement in 17th century Scotland. The instrument-maker's trade could not become economically viable, except within an established framework of scientific endeavour which would provide a market for his goods and skills.

Although Bryden recognised that Scotland had produced mathematicians with 'international reputations', namely Napier and Gregory, and 'men of less standing', such as the scholar Duncan Liddel (1561-1613), who left a bequest to establish the first Chair of Mathematics at Marischal College, and the cartographers Timothy Pont (c.1565-c.1617) and Robert Gordon (1580-1661), who would have required instruments, there simply was not enough activity in scientific fields to support a native manufacturing industry in this

⁴⁰ Collins to Gregory, 23 September 1672, JGTMV, p.244

⁴¹ Collins to Gregory, 26 December 1672, JGTMV, p.248

period.⁴² In London, the mathematical instrument trade had been established in the mid-16th century. It was therefore to London that Gregory travelled in the summer of 1673 to personally select instruments and apparatus for the planned university observatory.

The scheme to construct the observatory may have been considered as early as July or August 1672. On 6 August 1672 Gregory wrote to Collins:

since my last to you, several gentlemen have fallen upon a method to gather contributions for mathematical instruments to the university of St Andrews, which may probably take effect. It is like upon this account that I may see you within a twelvemonth.⁴³

On 13 May 1673 he told Collins 'I thought to have seen you before now, but some affairs of the university have delayed my journey for some weeks'.⁴⁴ On 10 June 1673, the University formally issued the official commission cited above, confirming that an observatory should be built at St Andrews and instructing Gregory 'to goe for London, and there to provide, so far as the money already received from our Benefactors will reach, such instruments and utensils as he, with advice of other skilful persons, shall judge most necessary and usefull'. It is clear from the terms of the commission that significant fundraising had already taken place towards the construction of the observatory and the acquisition of the instruments: 'this our laudable designe hath already met with such considerable encouragement from persons of all ranks' as to allow Gregory to begin his purchases. However, yet more funds were needed: 'we ar not able to accomplish [the intended work] with the contributions of these only who have already listed themselves encouragers of it', and Gregory was empowered to make 'application unto all whom he knows to be favourers of learning, for their concurrence unto the advancement of the forsd. work'.⁴⁵ Though the names of the observatory's benefactors do not survive, it is known from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen that as Gregory 'wes ane

⁴² D.J. Bryden, *Scottish Scientific Instrument-Makers 1600-1900*, Edinburgh, 1972, pp.1-2

⁴³ Gregory to Collins, Aberdeen, 6 August 1672. A letter from Gregory to Collins dated St Andrews, 2 July 1672 also survives. JGTMV, pp.240-241 and 238-9.

⁴⁴ Gregory to Collins, St Andrews, 13 May 1673, JGTMV, p.268

⁴⁵ 'Commission', op. cit, n.2

touns man heir', permission was granted on 15 October 1673 for 'ane collection' to be taken 'at the Kirk dores'.⁴⁶

The commission of 10 June 1673 sets out the reasons why the University considered it desirable to purchase instruments and establish an observatory:

For as much as we having formerly taken to our serious consideration the great detriment and losse this ancient seminary hath been at in times past, and doeth yet sustain by the want of such proper and necessary instruments and utensils as may serve and conduce for the better, more solemn, and famous profession, teaching, and improving of naturall philosophy and the Mathematicall sciences, and especially for making such observations on the heavens and other bodys of this universe...wherby we may be enabled to keep correspondence with learned and inquisitive persones in solid philosophy every where...And having purposed ... to set as effectually as may be about this laudable and necessary work, for providing the forsaid instruments of all kynds, ane observatory, and all other accoutrements requisite for the improvement of the forsaid sciences, the benefite, advantage, and delight of youth to be trained up here, the honour of the kingdom, the reputation of our benefactors, and the lustre and splendour of the University ...⁴⁷

From this, various points can be ascertained. The University has not owned many, if any, scientific instruments before Gregory's time. It declares that it is keen to improve its standing, both in teaching and contributing to progress in ('improving of') 'naturall philosophy and the Mathematicall sciences'. It also desires the status that such improvements will bring, adding to its 'lustre and splendour', confirming its important and powerful position within the kingdom as an upholder of the 'honour' of Scotland and asserting its international standing, as an institution which can correspond with 'learned and inquisitive persones in solid philosophy every where'. The developments will not only prove advantageous to the University's students, but 'delight' them, and will be

⁴⁶ As cited in Malet, 'Studies on James Gregorie', p.80

⁴⁷ 'Commission', op.cit, n.2

sufficiently splendid and successful as to enhance the reputation of the University's benefactors: that this might attract more students to St Andrews and encourage more benefactions cannot have escaped the University's notice. The University is, it seems, well aware of the potential power of the instruments and observatory as visible symbols of its learning, status and interest and influence in the rapidly developing scientific fields. Its observatory is not only to be the first in the British Isles (that at Greenwich was not founded until 1675), but a model of the best in the world, being based on close observation 'of the fabrick and forme of the most competent observatorye, that ours here intended may be builded with al its advantages'.⁴⁸

Through Collins, Gregory sought the advice of John Flamsteed (1646-1719), later the first Astronomer Royal at Greenwich, regarding equipment for the St Andrews observatory. Flamsteed recommended that he purchase a metal wall quadrant, 8 feet in radius, and two sextants of the same radius, all with 'telescopes and threeds'; telescopes of two, three, seven, fourteen, thirty, forty and fifty feet in length, to be fitted with micrometers for measuring distances; an 'Armilla ' as described by Tycho Brahe (1546-1601); and:

two pendulum Clocks which may shew the houres minutes and seconds their swings so long as to vibrate no more then seconds. I thinke it were more convenient to have them onely of the watch part to shew the hower, least the strikeing part disturbe the equall motion.⁴⁹

In Gregory's response to Flamsteed, dated London, 19 July 1673 he explains that, though he would indeed like to acquire an 8' wall quadrant, 'the walls of our Observatorye being already built in the top of one of our Colledges can admit none such; seeinge they decline considerably from the meridian; the mater of 9 or 10 degrees'. He goes on to describe the structure of the observatory building in great detail:

⁴⁸ 'Commission', op.cit., n.2

⁴⁹ Flamsteed to Collins, Derby, 12 July 1673. Published in Eric G. Forbes, Lesley Murdin and Frances Willmoth (eds), *The Correspondence of John Flamsteed, The First Astronomer Royal*, Vol. I 1666-1682, Bristol, 1995, pp.221-223.

We have alreadye a Room 3 Storeys high, declininge in the length of it some degrees from the meridian. The rest of the Colledge is betwixt it and the North, it hath the Horizon free upon the South; East and West, onely some little Mountains at some Miles distance. Of this (beinge as we all judge the fittest Place and least Expence) we are resolved to make our observatorye. It is length 59 Feet, in Breadth 26. We were judging ourselves, that the roof should be Taken of; and the walls heighted above the Floor 13 foot; and then a Platforme to be put on. And then toward the North part of it A Chamber should be taken of 20 foot Square; Leavinge by the one side a Entrance 6 foot broad and 20 Longe to Enter the observatory which at this rule, is 39 foot longe and 26 broad. We would have it have 6 Windows, 2 on Each Wall, at aequall distances from the Corners of the observatory, and from each other. Each Window should be 4 foot from the floor, 3 foot broad and 9 high to the Platform.⁵⁰

This description, with its reference to 'our Observatorye being already built in the top of one of our Colledges' is slightly puzzling: does it relate to the building recorded by Kirk and Slezer in or just outside the St Mary's College gardens, 'in the top' of the College meaning 'at the far end' of the grounds, where the observatory is known to have stood? If so, Gregory seems to be discussing the conversion of an existing building. Or was this building, described by Kirk in 1677 as 'Upon the outside of the [St Mary's] Colledge Walk', by Macky as 'at the bottom of the Garden' of St Mary's College and by Pococke as 'beyond this Colledge [St Mary's]' and marked on a map of 1802 published in Grierson's *Delineations* (1823), prepared for housing the observatory after Gregory wrote this letter?⁵¹ Ronald Cant suggests that Gregory's description of the structure 'could only be satisfied by a location on the west building of St Leonard's College'.⁵² However, Cant's notes make clear that he based this assessment on extracts from Gregory's letter to Flamsteed published in a source, which, I discovered, did not give Gregory's description

⁵⁰ Gregory to Flamsteed, London, 19 July 1673. Forbes, Murdin and Willmoth, *Correspondence of Flamsteed*, pp.225-226

⁵¹ Macky, *Journey*, p.89; Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.271; Reverend James Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews*, Cupar, 1823

⁵² Cant, 'Origins', p.45; p.60 n.18

of the observatory in full.⁵³ Exactly when the building at the end of the St Mary's College grounds was constructed or converted for use as an observatory, work which in any case was possibly never completed, is therefore a moot point.

Gregory's letter to Flamsteed does reveal that he is having a quadrant made in London of 4' radius, and has been given one by the Duke of Lauderdale (John Maitland, 1st Duke of Lauderdale, 1616-82) of 2' radius. This quadrant, presumably solicited during the fundraising campaign, is part of a pattern of donations of objects by the Maitland family to the University: the 1st Duke himself apparently presented a gilded cup to St Leonard's College (see Chapter II). Gregory tells Flamsteed that he is interested in purchasing a telescope of 100' and another of 50' made by 'Mr Cock' (Christopher Cock of London, fl. 1660-96). He is concerned that he may not have sufficient funds for 'Tychos-Armillae', and worries that it would not be easy to carry one to Scotland 'unspoiled'. In deference to Flamsteed's advice:

I have 2 Pendulum Clocks makinge, with longe Swinges, Vibratinge Seconds; and Pointinge Houres, Minits and Seconds, without Strikinge; And also one little Pendulum Clock, with a Short Pendulum, vibratinge 4 times in a Second, alsoe without Strikinge; for discerninge small Intervalls; when there may be a pointe of a Seconde in Question.⁵⁴

These clocks, made by the renowned clockmaker Joseph Knibb of London (1640-1711) less than two decades after Christiaan Huygens had completed the first working pendulum clock in 1656, remain in working order in the University to this day. The two larger clocks are long-case regulators, used to monitor time accurately: if one clock lost or gained time, this would be apparent by a comparison with the other, and both would have to be checked and reset. The little clock may be the earliest split seconds pendulum clock in the world: it beats three times a second, not four (plate 46). It was originally a bracket

⁵³ Cant cites H.W. Turnbull and G.H. Bushnell (eds), *University of St Andrews James Gregory tercentenary: record of the celebrations held in the University Library, July 5th MCMXXXVIII*, St Andrews, 1939, pp.15-16.

⁵⁴ Gregory to Flamsteed, London, 19 July 1673. Forbes, Murdin and Willmoth, *Correspondence of Flamsteed*, pp.225-226

wall timepiece; a narrow-waisted trunk was added some years after its construction, but removed in the second half of the 20th century.⁵⁵ Flamsteed wrote back to Gregory: 'Your Pendulums you will finde exceedeing usefull, but not for Measureing small distances, in which I am confident they will not performe neare soe exactly as the Micrometer'.⁵⁶

Some documentary evidence survives of what other instruments Gregory purchased for the University of St Andrews: however, it is frustratingly sparse. He apparently enquired about obtaining a parallelogram in 1672; on 16 July Collins wrote to inform him that Mr Bedford (Hilkiah Bedford, fl. 1660-80) 'a Mathematicall Instrument Maker' has made one priced £3; on 6 August 1672, Gregory revoked the order, in anticipation of his visit to London. On 23 September 1672 he asked Collins to 'send to me the lantern for projecting the species'. Also on 23 September 1672 Collins wrote to Gregory:

You may expect another Box containing a very good ordinary Parallelogram which Mr Sinclair bought for 40 shillings whereas they are commonly sold for £3, so you shall not feare to loose by it, if upon your bringing or sending it up you are minded to part with it, and the Dioptrickall Lanthorne and figures you writt for, which will cost about £3 more, I have them of Cox [Christopher Cock] the glasse grinder...

On 8 November 1672 the 'Parallelogram and Dioptrick Lanthorne' had still not been dispatched as neither 'Cox' nor Collins had been able to procure any glass figures for the lantern: 'Dutton [Richard Dutton of London, fl. 1663?-82] the sole Glasses Painter we have, hath promised to furnish such as shall be bespoken' a month after Christmas. The instruments were received by Gregory via the Earl of Kincardine's shipment by 7 March 1673, when he declared himself 'well pleased' with them; the glass figures arrived by 13 May.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ JGTMV, p.514

⁵⁶ Flamsteed to Gregory, Derby, 2 August 1673. Forbes, Murdin and Willmoth, *Correspondence of Flamsteed*, p.234

⁵⁷ Collins to Gregory, Westminster, 16 July 1672; Gregory to Collins, Aberdeen, 6 August 1672; Gregory to Collins, St Andrews, 23 September 1672; Collins to Gregory, 23 September 1672; Collins to Gregory, London, 8 November 1672; Gregory to Collins, St Andrews, 7 March 1673; Gregory to Collins, 13 May 1673: JGTMV, pp.239-241, 245, 247, 260 and 270

Regarding his instrument purchases in London during the summer of 1673, Gregory wrote to the Reverend Colin Campbell:

It were tedious to write down particularlie all the instruments I have brought home, yea a larger letter wold not contein all ther names & sizes, for I have all sort: our largest quadrant is of oak, covered with brasse, 4 foote in radius and actually divided in minutes, of which we can judge $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$: we have two semisextans all of brasse, 6 foot in radius, diagonally divided, in which we can judge $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{7}$ of a minut. our largest telescope is 24 foot longe; which magnifys one dimension of the object 100 times.⁵⁸

Letters from Collins on 12 January and 5 March 1673/74 reveal the acquisition of a dipping needle, possibly made by Henry Wynne (fl. 1654-1709), and that Mr Shortgrave (probably Richard Shortgrave, fl. 1658-76, or his son Thomas, fl. 1674-80) had been commissioned to produce 'glasses' for Gregory, for what purpose is not known.⁵⁹ It is unfortunate that Gregory was not more forthcoming to Campbell regarding his acquisitions: such information would not now be 'tedious' to anyone studying the history of the St Andrews observatory, or indeed the manufacture and exchange of scientific instruments in the 17th century. Frustratingly, both Gregory and Collins apparently failed to respond to Flamsteed's repeated requests, of 20 August, October / November and 27 December 1673, to list what 'instruments and bookes' Gregory 'tooke into Scotland'.⁶⁰

In addition to the Knibb clocks, various instruments survive in the University of St Andrews that are now generally assumed to be associated with James Gregory and the fitting out of the observatory. These include the 'Great Astrolabe' by Humphrey Cole, 1575; the universal instrument by Humphrey Cole, 1582; the mariner's astrolabe by Elias Allen, 1616; and the early 17th century Dutch circumferentor already referred to, all of which were obviously manufactured a considerable time before the observatory was

⁵⁸ Gregory to Campbell, St Andrews, 30 April 1674, JGTMV, p.280

⁵⁹ Collins to Gregory, 12 January 1673/74 and 5 March 1673/4, JGTMV, pp.276-277

⁶⁰ Flamsteed to Collins, Derby, 20 August 1673, October or November 1673 and 27 December 1673. Forbes, Murdin and Willmoth, *Correspondence of Flamsteed*, pp.242, 260

conceived. There are also some roughly contemporary instruments: a sundial, in the form of Oughtred's double horizontal dial, by Hilkiah Bedford; an horary quadrant, of the form called 'the Panorganon' described by William Leybourn in 1672, late 17th century; and a parchment refracting telescope, stylistically of this period, now without its lenses and mountings.⁶¹ Three of the earlier instruments are prestige pieces. Humphrey Cole (c. 1530-1591) was the first English instrument maker known by name, and the pre-eminent maker of the Elizabethan period.⁶² In 1576 he provided various instruments for Martin Frobisher's first voyage in search of the north-west passage to China. The 'Great Astrolabe' has been widely hailed as his 'masterpiece'.⁶³ Only one of its three original plates survives, for a latitude of 52°0' (central England), together with another inscribed 'John Marke fecit' for a latitude of 56°25', close to that accepted for St Andrews in this period. Given that John Marke was active as an instrument maker in London c. 1665-79, it seems most likely that it was indeed Gregory who commissioned him to make this second plate.⁶⁴ A miniature version of the 'Great Astrolabe' was made by Cole in 1574: it seems later to have belonged to Henry, Prince of Wales (1594-1612).⁶⁵ The universal instrument is an unusual piece, which allows the celestial co-ordinates of a heavenly body to be determined in both horizontal and equatorial co-ordinate systems.⁶⁶ It is thought to be an extremely rare surviving example of a type of instrument described by Martin Cortes in *Breve Compendio de la Sphera y la Arte de Navegar*, 1551.⁶⁷ The mariner's astrolabe, interesting for its exceptional size and English provenance, was made by Elias Allen (fl. 1606-54), himself 'the most famous mathematical instrument maker of his day'.⁶⁸ These three instruments have already been discussed extensively in various publications and exhibition catalogues (see notes and bibliography) so no further descriptions will be provided here. It may be that all the instruments noted above, including the non-

⁶¹ Mary Holbrook, *Science Preserved: A Dictionary of Scientific Instruments in Collections in the United Kingdom and Eire*, London, 1992, pp.67, 202

⁶² R.G.W. Anderson, 'Preface', in Ackermann, *Humphrey Cole*, p.v

⁶³ G. L'E. Turner, 'Mathematical instrument-making in London in the sixteenth century' in S. Tyacke (ed.), *English Map-Making 1500-1650*, London, 1983, pp. 93-106, p.98. See also Gunther's articles, cited above.

⁶⁴ E.G.R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England*, Cambridge, 1954, p.252. In the Spring of 1674 Gregory himself recorded the latitude of St Andrews as 56°22', after making observations of a lunar eclipse. Gregory to Campbell, St Andrews, 30 April 1674, JGTMV, pp.11, 276, 281

⁶⁵ Ackermann, *Humphrey Cole*, p.32

⁶⁶ Ackermann, *Humphrey Cole*, p.36

⁶⁷ Ackermann, *Humphrey Cole*, p.36 and Gunther, 'The Great Astrolabe', p.300

⁶⁸ Anderson, *The Mariner's Astrolabe*, p.28

contemporary Cole and Allen pieces and the circumferentor, were purchased by Gregory in London, for the second-hand instrument trade was well established by this period. The universal instrument is similar, though not identical, to the 'Armillae Aliae Aequatorial' as described by Brahe in his *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica*, Wandsbeck, 1598: perhaps Gregory decided to take Flamsteed's advice on obtaining 'Tycho-Armillae', and this was the best option available.⁶⁹ However, like Lauderdale's quadrant, the older instruments may have been presented to the University by a wealthy patron keen to support the observatory initiative. Though there is no documentary evidence to support their acquisition by the University in the 1670s, the balance of probabilities is that this is the earliest, and most likely, period in which they were obtained, the drive to equip the observatory providing the impetus for significant purchases and donations. Certainly it does not appear that the University was actively acquiring pieces as fine and expensive as the Cole instruments at the time of their manufacture. In 2006 Allen Simpson (retired curator of science and technology, National Museums of Scotland) made the suggestion to me that the four earliest pieces may have come to the University as a group at the time of James VI's 1617 visit to Scotland, through Sir Archibald Napier (son of the mathematician John Napier), who co-ordinated the visit: this idea is particularly intriguing in view of the connection of the miniature of the 'Great Astrolabe' to James VI's son, Prince Henry. However, although James VI certainly came to St Andrews during this tour, on 11 July 1617, and was formally greeted by the University Rector and ceremonially presented with a volume of poems lauding his reign, I have found no evidence that a reciprocal gift of instruments was made.⁷⁰ The University was careful to catalogue a previous royal gift of 228 books sent by James VI and his family (including Prince Henry) to establish the University Library, which arrived in St Andrews in 1612. Although it is not impossible that a later presentation of instruments could simply be lost from the University's records, which are incomplete for this period, it seems unlikely that, if the University had obtained such magnificent specimens as the Cole and Allen pieces from such a source, this would

⁶⁹ A modern English translation exists: Hans Ræder, Elis Strömgren and Bengt Strömgren (eds), *Tycho Brahe's Description of His Instruments and Scientific Work as given in Astronomiae instauratae mechanica (Wandesburgi 1598)*, Copenhagen, 1946

⁷⁰ See John Anderson (ed.), *The Muses Welcome to the Most High and Mightie Prince James*, Edinburgh, 1618

not have been mentioned in the commission of 1673, to encourage other benefactors to align themselves with this royal munificence.

Gregory's correspondence from his time at St Andrews provides evidence of his dealings with the London instrument makers Christopher Cock, Hilkiah Bedford, Richard Dutton, Henry Wynne and Richard Shortgrave while Professor of Mathematics at St Andrews, while the extant clocks attest to his relationship with Joseph Knibb. Once removed to Edinburgh, he ordered, via Collins, a microscope from 'Yarvill' [John Yarwell, 1648-1712], and a 'plaine table from 'Mr Marke' costing £3.10.0.⁷¹ This last establishes Gregory's connection with Marke, as already suggested by the new plate for the astrolabe.

Four extant unpublished manuscript inventories of scientific instruments, made between c. 1699 and c. 1718, provide some further hints of Gregory's acquisitions, though as these are not differentiated in the inventories from material acquired later, it is impossible to be categorical about which items he purchased, except where other evidence survives. Given their importance as indicators of the range and scale of instruments owned by the University by c. 1718, about the time that the instruments apparently disappear from public view, these inventories are given in full in Appendix C.⁷² The earliest inventory, 'A note of things wanting in of Instruments as received by Mr Henry', probably dates from 1699. A second document, 'The Instruments that are wanting or broke in Mr Henrys time' must date from 1699 to c. 1702. To the same sheet of paper bearing the earliest inventory there has been added, in another hand, a list of 'The Instruments that are wanting or broke in Mr Crie's time', produced c. 1702-1718.⁷³ James Henry and John Crie were the University Librarians 1699-1702 and 1702-1718 respectively: these inventories indicate that the instruments remained in the Library, as they had in Gregory's time.⁷⁴ They note only pieces that have been lost or damaged. The earliest inventory is the longest and most detailed, perhaps because Henry was wary of being held accountable

⁷¹ Collins to Gregory, 23 November 1674 and 31 December 1674, JGTMV, pp.290, 294

⁷² Anon, *An Historic Exhibition*, exh. cat., University of St Andrews, Parliament Hall, St Andrews, 1962, p.11 refers to 'a catalogue of the clocks, mathematical instruments and others in the public library. 1703'. However, the University's archivists have been unable to locate this, and it is unclear if it is to be identified with one of the inventories discussed here.

⁷³ These three inventories are all catalogued as SAUL, UYUY459 Box A/6.

⁷⁴ Gregory to Campbell, St Andrews, 30 April 1674, JGTMV, p.281

for pre-existing damage. From this list we learn that ‘The Images of the Magic Lanthorn [are] altogether wanting’, ‘The broken Prism [is] a wanting’, and ‘the frame of ye dipping needle is as formerly, but ye needle is awanting’. This may relate to the fate of one of the prisms, the dipping needle and the figures for the ‘Dioptrick Lanthorne’ bought by Gregory. Losses have also occurred to compasses and a surveying chain, which may be those for which Gregory requested prices from Collins on 15 February 1669. A ‘gilded [past]board telescope [possibly the extant parchment telescope] wants all ye glasses save ye eye glass and a plain glass put in for ye object glass’. On the inventory of ‘The Instruments that are wanting or broke in Mr Henrys time’, perhaps made at the end of Henry’s tenure, is recorded ‘The Large Astrolabe broke’ and ‘the glasses of the dipping needle broke’.⁷⁵ Various instruments known or thought to have been purchased by Gregory appear on the more comprehensive ‘Catalogue of ye Clocks, mathematical instruments & others in ye publick Library’, pasted into the back of a catalogue of the books of the University Library produced c. 1714-16: it is probably to be associated with the catalogue of instruments for carrying on a course in Experimental Philosophy given in to the Senate on 18 February 1715.⁷⁶ Like the University Library catalogue of c. 1687-95, this Library catalogue contains a ‘Catalogue of Books bought by Mr Gregorie for the Observatorie’; it is a shame that no such distinction is made for Gregory’s instruments, which are simply subsumed into the list of all scientific apparatus in the Library by this date. This inventory is torn down the left side, with some loss of text. The three pendulum clocks are recorded, together with the ‘[Diopti]ck Lanthorne with the Glasses that goe into it whereof three are wanting’; a ‘large Quadrant and another [lost]’ (perhaps that of 4’ radius purchased by Gregory and the other of 2’ radius given by Lauderdale); and ‘A large Astrolabe’. This is presumably either the Cole or Allen astrolabe: it is curious that only one astrolabe is mentioned, and may indicate that, in fact, the Allen astrolabe had not yet been obtained. The universal instrument is perhaps indicated by the word ‘Sphere’ preceded by missing text due to a tear, possibly ‘Armillary Sphere’ was intended. (Alternatively, the text perhaps indicates a ‘Copernican sphere’, which the

⁷⁵ What level of damage to this astrolabe should be inferred is unclear. By the time the ‘Great Astrolabe’ was examined by Gunther, the central pin or axis was missing, as were two of the original plates. Gunther, ‘The Great Astrolabe’, p.277.

⁷⁶ SAUL, UYLY105/3, p.41; SM 18 February 1715

University attempted to obtain between 1710 and 1714: however, there is no evidence that one was acquired).⁷⁷ Four telescopes are listed. One of '24 foot with its case' presumably indicates 'our largest telescope ... 24 foot longe' described by Gregory to Campbell. The others are of 'kane', 'hazel' and 'parchment', the latter probably the one extant. The Hilkieh Bedford sundial would not have appeared on this list: it stood in St Mary's College garden until knocked off its plinth by a bomb blast on 25 October 1940.

Although a comprehensive list of the instruments and apparatus obtained for the observatory cannot now be given, it is clear from the extant evidence that the venture involved significant expenditure. Malet's research shows that in 1670 Reeve was charging £45 for a 50' telescope, while a good pendulum clock cost more than £300.⁷⁸ In many ways, it seems strange that when the improvement of the subjects of natural philosophy and mathematics had received such evident support from the University, Gregory felt that his work was so slighted by his colleagues as to force him to resign his Chair and move to Edinburgh. Undoubtedly his time in St Andrews involved some frustrations. His observations of the eclipse of 9 April 1670 were prevented by 'a great fall of snow' that day.⁷⁹ He told Collins on 17 May 1671 that he troubled 'with great impertinences', being forced to resolve 'doubts which some gentlemen and scholars propose to me...all persons here being ignorant of these things [his work] to admiration'. This prevented him from spending time on his own researches, yet in the same letter he declared his determination to 'rest contented' with his situation.⁸⁰ However, hindrances continued to annoy him: on 30 April 1674, he wrote to Colin Campbell:

As for observations or experiments, I dar hardlie promise anie considerable, befor the observatorie be builded: seing (whill the instruments ar kepted in the bibliothek, wher I cannot be alon or with my own companie and convenience) it is hard if it be at all practicablie to doe anie thing seriouslie & with exactness.⁸¹

⁷⁷ SM 25 January 1710; 15 February 1712; 25 February 1714

⁷⁸ Malet, 'Studies on James Gregorie', p.84

⁷⁹ Gregory to Collins, St Andrews, 20 April 1670, JGTMV, pp.89-90

⁸⁰ Gregory to Collins, St Andrews, 17 May 1671, JGTMV, p.188-191

⁸¹ Gregory to Campbell, St Andrews, 30 April 1674, JGTMV, p.281

Unfortunately there is little extant evidence, beyond Gregory's vitriolic letter to Frazer, to explain why his relations with the University's other masters suddenly broke down so irrevocably.

It is clear that with Gregory's departure, the observatory initiative foundered. Indeed it is likely that the creation of the observatory, with its opportunities for research and the exchange of ideas with learned persons, was primarily Gregory's scheme, with the University being tempted along by the prospect of glory and eminence. On 19 July 1673 Gregory had written to Flamsteed 'There are none understandinge of these things here, of whom I have yet heard, that Ever did see an Observatorye Compleat in their life'.⁸² Gregory's successor, William Saunders (1674-88), whom he referred to as 'very knowing in the mathematics', obviously took some pride in the recently acquired instruments, showing them to Kirk, and may have tried to revive the scheme.⁸³ However, there is no evidence that the observatory building was ever brought into use. Loveday, who visited St Andrews in 1732 and was shown round the University by the librarian, recorded 'As I can understand, ye Mathematical Observatory built for *Gregory* ... was never compleated, as he left 'em'.⁸⁴ Its disintegration can be traced through the Senate Minutes of the 18th century. In June 1705 and again in June 1713, orders were given for the 'iron stenchers' to be removed from the windows of the lower storey and the windows built up with stone and lime. The work, which was to have been funded by the three colleges equally, does not seem to have been carried out, for on 10 June 1729 it was minuted that:

the lower windows of the observatory, being all open, Children have access to go in to it, and are in danger of being hurt, by reason of the rottenness of the floors.

Orders were again given, carried out by 1736, for the windows to be closed up with stone and lime. On 22 November 1736 it was recorded that the lead and timber from the observatory had been sold at roup, fetching £586.10.0 Scots. By 1751 the observatory

⁸² Gregory to Flamsteed, London, 19 July 1673. Forbes, Murdin and Willmoth (eds), *Correspondence of Flamsteed*, p.226

⁸³ Gregory to Collins, St Andrews, 2 July 1672, JGTMV, p.238

⁸⁴ Loveday, *Diary*, p.143

building had become so alienated from the University that the Senate had to check whether the University even owned title to it: it was decided that it must, not least since it had removed the roof in the past. Finally, on 17 October 1761, it was decided that, with widening cracks in the west and south walls, all faulty parts of the building should be taken down.⁸⁵ Some remains seem to have survived until the spring of 1846, when the old Lade Braes path, off which the building stood, was widened under Provost Playfair.⁸⁶

Gregory's teaching of the new mathematical ideas did leave a legacy. They are apparent in the graduation theses of William Saunders (1674), and through him seem to have been passed to the next generation of scholars, such as Alexander Cockburn whose theses of 1679 demonstrate a knowledge of Newton's work.⁸⁷ Records of the Chair of Mathematics are patchy from 1690 until 1707, when the Professorship was given to Gregory's nephew Charles Gregory (1707-39): due to a gap in the University's muniments, even the name of the Professor is not known for this intervening period. However, some form of mathematical teaching did go on in the Arts colleges: when in 1695 the Commissioners visiting the University laid down 'That every year the regents of the said severall classes be obliged to teach to ther students some Rudiments of the Mathematics', St Salvator's and St Leonard's were able to confirm that this occurred.⁸⁸ It is not clear to what extent the instruments were utilised in teaching in this interim period, or whether all the regents had the knowledge to demonstrate them properly: the losses they suffered during Henry's time as Librarian do imply some degree of use, even if accompanied by careless handling. However, it cannot be ruled out that the damage occurred in storage in the Library: the inventory headings do suggest that accountability for the instruments lay with the librarians. Certainly the librarians seem to have been responsible for the care of the Knibb clocks. Crie paid for strings and the dressing of one of the clocks in May 1707, for two clocks 'in the publick Library' to be cleaned and given strings' in 1708 and for the

⁸⁵ SM 2 June 1705; 2 June 1713; 10 June 1729; 7 September 1736; 22 November 1736; 20 February 1751; 26 April 1751; 17 October 1761

⁸⁶ JGTMV, pp.13, 515

⁸⁷ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.86 n.2. Malet, 'Studies on James Gregorie', p.64

⁸⁸ *Evidence Taken and Received By the Commissioners*, 1837, p.199

cleaning of 'the three clocks belonging to the Library' in January 1712.⁸⁹ By the 1730s, during which decade they were cleaned or repaired at least five times, the clocks were generally known as the 'Library clocks', and in November 1770, when they were repaired by the clockmaker James Ivory of Dundee, they were described as 'the Clocks belonging to the Library'.⁹⁰ However, they retained a scientific function. When David Young (Professor of Natural Philosophy in St Leonard's College, 1727-47 and Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the United College, 1747-59) and Charles Gregory made observations of the solar eclipse on 18 February 1737, they used the clocks.⁹¹

There are few records of instrument acquisitions in the forty years after Gregory's departure. In 1710 the University purchased a celestial and a terrestrial globe, each 16 inches in diameter. It was strictly laid down in the Senate Minutes of 11 September 1710 and in the University Library catalogue of c. 1714-16 that the 'Library Keeper' was not to allow the use of them 'to any person without the outer gate of ye Parliat Hall'.⁹² These were reference items, to be consulted within the University Library building. Attempts were made from 1710 to acquire 'a Copernican sphere for the use of the Library': however by February 1714 this had still not been purchased.⁹³ In this period, the scientific instruments seem to have been very much associated with the Library context. They were valuable objects, to be stored securely alongside the University's precious and expensive books, just as silver items were kept in the St Leonard's College Library. They were also the apparatus of intellectual enquiry, and as such it is appropriate that they should have been held within a library. The keeping of scientific instruments within libraries was relatively common in Europe in the medieval and early modern period, both in and beyond universities. Turner notes that when 'Later medieval universities had collected

⁸⁹ SM 2 May 1707; 30 December 1708; 18 January 1712. Robert Smart notes that 'the split seconds clock started life as a hooded hanging clock' and that in 1698 Andrew Semple was paid for making a frame for one of the library 'dials' or clocks, which almost certainly marks the transformation of the split seconds hanging clock into a long clock'. Robert N. Smart, 'The Historic Treasures of the University – 1. The Knibb Clocks' in *Alumnus Chronicle*, St Andrews, June 1991, pp.11-12, p.11.

⁹⁰ SM 14 December 1730; 13 March 1733; 29 November 1734; 7 September 1736; 31 October 1737; 19 June 1770; 28 November 1770

⁹¹ Smart, 'The Knibb Clocks' p.11

⁹² SAUL, UYLY105/3, p.33

⁹³ SM 25 January 1710; 15 February 1712; 25 February 1714

instruments as aids to teaching astronomy ... it is striking to find that such instruments were generally kept in the library. ... It is even more striking to find libraries deliberately collecting instruments as aids to the elucidation of the books in their possession'. This may well be the reason why the globes and Copernican sphere were desired. It is interesting to find that at Leiden, the university library similarly acquired four sets of globes and a pair of armillary spheres between 1587 and 1610.⁹⁴

The next great impetus for the acquisition of instruments seems to have come in February 1714 when the Senate approved 'the proposals for purchasing Instruments for carrying on a course of Experimental Philosophy'. The annual course is to be established to reflect 'the great Improvements that have been made of last years in natural philosophy & ye mixt parts of Mathematics chiefly by means of Experiments', and so requires the acquisition of new 'Instruments and Machines'.⁹⁵ Some of Gregory's instruments were, of course, damaged, while others may have been regarded as old-fashioned or obsolete by this period. The appeal to contribute to the instrument fund is issued to 'all Noblemen and Gentlemen to whose Patronage Learning belongs': subscribers are to be allowed to attend the course free of charge, or send another in their place. The instruments thus acquired are to be 'put in a room by themselves' and committed to the care of Charles Gregory, the professor charged with teaching the course. The St Andrews scheme seems to have been inspired by the 'course of experiments' initiated at Glasgow in 1712-13, for which an appeal to purchase instruments by voluntary subscription had also been launched. Like the Glasgow course, it was 'extra-mural' in that it was aimed at people beyond the student ranks.⁹⁶ It may not have been immediately successful, and possibly only a few instruments were obtained, for the proposal was effectively reissued, with the same appeal for instruments, by St Salvator's College in the mid-1720s, the period in which fixed professorships in Natural Philosophy were established at both St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges.⁹⁷ Resolutions were passed by St Leonard's College on 23 May 1726 concerning the teaching of 'Natural Philosophy in all its parts, particularly Mechanics, or,

⁹⁴ Turner, A.J., 'From Mathematical Practice to the History of Science: the pattern of collecting scientific instruments' in *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 7 no. 2, 1995, pp.135-150, p.139

⁹⁵ SM 23 February 1714

⁹⁶ Cant, 'Origins', pp.56-57

⁹⁷ SAUL, UYSS800/4. The document is undated.

the Laws of Motion, Hydrostatics, Optics and Astronomy' to the Magstrand (final-year or masters) class: it was noted that for some years the class had been fewer in number, because of a lack of 'Instruments for making Improvements in Naturall Philosophy, and demonstrating it by experiments', and the lack of a particular master to teach the subject constantly. David Young, Professor of Philosophy, would from 1 November 1727 be appointed to teach the course, while the 'Principal and regents will unite in promoting subscriptions to procure a fund for purchasing instruments'.⁹⁸

From around this period, scientific instruments no longer appear to have been shown to visitors to the University in the way that the maces and archery medals continued to be. With the observatory building decaying and the colleges struggling to raise funds to buy instruments, perhaps there was not the same pride in the instrument holdings, and perception that they might reflect well on the University's status and position at the forefront of scientific developments, that there seems to have been in the years immediately following the acquisition of instruments by Gregory. That newly acquired instruments are to come under the care of the professors of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy rather than the University librarian (that the instruments belonging to the colleges should be put in their own room in the respective colleges and made the responsibility of James Duncan, Professor of Natural Philosophy at St Salvator's and Professor Young at St Leonard's, is reiterated in the proposals of the mid-1720s) may also have contributed to the removal of all the instruments owned by the University from the public arena, as they became perceived primarily as useful, functional items held for teaching and research purposes rather than prestigious pieces. It is notable too that in the proposals of 1714 and the mid-1720s, unlike the commission of 1673, the University seems to be interested mainly in advancing its scientific teaching and not, at least overtly, with the 'lustre and splendour' which such initiatives may give it.

The acquisition of instruments continued sporadically throughout the 18th century. Towards the end of 1736, David Young sought advice from Colin Maclaurin, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh University, over the purchase of a reflecting telescope.

⁹⁸ SAUL, UYSL110 S12

Maclaurin recommended the work of James Short of Edinburgh (1710-68), who was to become the outstanding telescope maker of the 18th century. The telescope, which is extant (plate 50), arrived by June 1737 and a press was made for it by December 1738. In April 1741 a letter was received from Short, who had by now moved his business to London, stating that he had since improved his method and offering to remake the telescope at no extra charge. The University accepted the offer and dispatched the telescope to London. Another offer to further improve it, made in 1749, was to cause Young considerable qualms. He enquired about having an apparatus added to the telescope, to allow the planets and some of the stars to be found in daylight, meaning only to obtain a cost: on learning it was to be about £15, he wrote to tell Short not to go ahead, but his letter crossed in the post with one from Short informing him that the work was nearly finished. After some debate, the University agreed to reimburse Young for his expenditure, the sum to come from the money obtained from the sale of the lead from the observatory in 1736, from which the telescope had first been purchased.⁹⁹ The episode cannot have prejudiced the University against Short, for in 1753, at his own request, it was agreed that the degree of Master of Arts should be conferred upon him, care being taken to establish that he had undergone ‘a regular Course of Studies’ at Edinburgh University in the past.¹⁰⁰ Although no documentary evidence has been found, it is likely that the extant orrery made by Benjamin Cole of London c. 1750 (plate 49) was also obtained during Young’s tenure. It is unusual in that its twelve-sided base is fitted with windows, instead of decorative panels, thus allowing the mechanism to be seen. It was probably designed as a teaching aid. An orrery, probably this one, was recorded on an inventory prepared by George Rotherham, Professor of Natural Philosophy 1795-1804, in 1797.¹⁰¹ Care was also extended to existing apparatus. Orders were given for the parchment telescope to be mended in December 1737 and for the instruments in the Library to be cleaned in 1740.¹⁰²

On 14 September 1748, David and John Young:

⁹⁹ SM 22 November 1736; 13 December 1736; 3 June 1737; 6 December 1738; 13 April 1741; 28 September 1750; 17 December 1750

¹⁰⁰ SM 11 December 1753

¹⁰¹ UCM 4 March 1797

¹⁰² SM 13 December 1737; 5 May 1740

represented to the University that they had taken the opportunity of bringing along with them from Edinburgh one Mr Thos. Short Instrument maker to fix a meridian line for this place & had caused him make Some Instruments for the University to be kept for that purpose.¹⁰³

It would appear to be in this year that the meridian line which runs through the University Library, and is marked on its floor, was laid down. From at least 1823 onwards, this line, and the extant bracket for supporting a telescope or other instrument that is mounted on the exterior wall of a south-facing library window through which the line runs, has often been said to be associated with James Gregory, but there is no evidence that this is so.¹⁰⁴ Thomas Short, who practiced as an instrument maker in Edinburgh and Leith from about 1737, was the brother of James Short and in 1776 founded Edinburgh's Calton Hill Observatory.¹⁰⁵ The Senate Minutes of 28 September 1750 reveal that Thomas Short was also responsible for 'the supporters to the transit Telescope in the north [sic] Window of the Library', which cost £2.2.0.:

As to the supporters of the transit instrument, they are a part of the work which the University by their Act of 14 September 1748 had approved of being done, not being finished when Mr Short was called home these supporters were sent from Edinburgh about three months after.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ SM 14 September 1748

¹⁰⁴ Grierson, *Delineations*, 1823, recorded the Gregory connection, pp.191-192. Authorities including Turnbull repeated the error, e.g. JGTMV, p.11: 'The boards have perished upon which Gregory marked the line, but the position has been preserved: and so also has been the iron bracket, affixed to the wall beside the tall window, upon which he mounted his quadrant or telescope'. However, Ronald Cant notes that it was Short who laid down the meridian line (Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.89 n.2) and also states 'The use of the university library for astronomical work did not take place until 1748' (Cant, 'Origins', p.60 n.18).

¹⁰⁵ Clarke, T.N., Morrison-Low, A.D., and Simpson, A.D.C., *Brass and Glass: Scientific Instrument Making Workshops in Scotland as illustrated by instruments from the Arthur Frank Collection at the Royal Museum of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp.3-4

¹⁰⁶ SM 28 September 1750. Probably this reference relates to the extant bracket: the reference to the 'north Window' may simply be an error, or the bracket may have been moved to the south window after the north windows were blocked up during later renovations which probably took place in 1765 (see SM 9 January 1765). Grierson, *Delineations*, 1823, records that the meridian line was marked to the north of the library by 'a small iron cross, to be seen on the west end of the house at present possessed by the principal of the United College' [71 South Street, owned by James Playfair], so it was physically marked out to the north as well as to the south by the poles on Scoonie Hill, though surely the proximity of buildings on South Street would have interfered with any observations. The bracket now in the south window once held an adjustable slide, but this was dislodged and lost in the bomb blast of 1940.

Short seems also to have set up two poles marking the meridian line on Scoonie Hill, to the south of St Andrews. The Senate Minutes of 17 March 1755 record:

It being represented to the meeting that the two poles that were set up on the top of the hill South from the town for the meridian of the telescope and transit instrument are fail'd and frequently beat down by the Wind, and that it would be proper two Stone pillars should be set up in their place.

One of these pillars survives, though possibly not in its original position.

The University Library, with its associations with the Knibb clocks and the meridian line, clearly was an important centre for mathematical and astronomical work in the University in this period, and some instruments continued to be housed there. Others were retained in the Arts colleges. St Leonard's College appears to have built up a notable collection of instruments by 1747, the date of the Union of the Colleges, which were to have come to the United College's new home on the St Salvator's site. When David Young 'represented that he wanted a room in the College for the Instruments ... it was agreed that he might take his choice of any room in the College'.¹⁰⁷ However, at least some of the instruments were unwisely left in the room above the old dining hall in St Leonard's College. There they were discovered by Andrew Stronach, the 'Master of the English School in St Andrews', who was using the dining hall as a classroom. He admitted carrying away 'the several Brass & Iron Instruments' remaining there 'which, when inquired after, he returned ... but broken and rendered useless'.¹⁰⁸ Other instruments had been removed from the Library building by the 1760s, if not earlier, though they retained their perceived connection with the Library, perhaps because they had been purchased out of central University (Senate or Library) funds, as the Short telescope had been, rather than college funds. On 5 December 1768, the Rector reported that 'a number of mathematical instruments belonging to the Library' were lying in a room in St Mary's

¹⁰⁷ SAUL, UYSL400, St Leonard's College Minutes, 8 June 1749

¹⁰⁸ UCM 24 August 1756. I am indebted to Robert Smart for pointing out this reference.

College; a committee was appointed to inspect them.¹⁰⁹ The Library continued to serve as a repository for some of the more valuable instruments. In June 1772 ‘The University ordered that the reflecting telescope in Dr Wilkie’s custody & the two globs in Prof Vilants be brought to the Library & thereto remain’; however, the key for the telescope was to be given to William Wilkie (Professor of Natural Philosophy 1759-1772), and it was not to be opened except in his presence.¹¹⁰ A ‘12 inch Celestial Globe’ and ‘a Gregorian Reflecting Telescope’ (presumably the Short telescope), together with an ‘Armillary Sphere, brass’ (presumably Cole’s universal instrument), ‘a Double Brass Circle with Radii, for showing the Sun’s right ascension and Declination, corresponding to any degree of Longitude’ (possibly the ‘Panorganon’) and ‘a frame for a dipping needle, brass’, were kept in the University Library until 1796, when they were removed by George Rotherham, Professor of Natural Philosophy 1795-1804, and apparently put with the rest of the apparatus of the Natural Philosophy class of the United College, of which he had compiled an inventory.¹¹¹

Rotherham’s inventory, which he states he had prepared ‘in the week after his admission’, records over 200 instruments and pieces of apparatus belonging to the Natural Philosophy class, on a list numbering exactly 100 individual, or groups of, items. By 4 March 1797, when the inventory was entered into the United College Minutes, he had found it necessary to purchase more apparatus and a pair of 18 inch globes. Further inventories trace the development of the equipment of the Natural Philosophy class throughout the 19th century. Several of these are contained in the Hay manuscript collection held by the University of St Andrews Library. These are: an ‘Inventory of the Natural Philosophy Class Apparatus at Dr Anderson’s entry’, 1837 (Adam Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy 1837-46); an undated inventory of the apparatus of the late Dr Anderson [c. 1846] (probably made in accordance with an undated instruction from ‘Prof Duncan’ (Thomas Duncan, Professor of Mathematics 1820-58) that the current state of the apparatus should be compared with the 1837 inventory: another document signed by

¹⁰⁹ SM 5 December 1768

¹¹⁰ SM 23 June 1772

¹¹¹ The inventory is inserted into the United College Minutes, 4 March 1797; the details of the instruments removed from the Library are appended to it.

Duncan indicates that all was in order¹¹²); an 'Inventory of the Apparatus in the Natural Philosophy Class of the United College', May 1847; and a list of 'Articles in Sir David Brewster's Classroom', July 1858 (Brewster was Principal of the United College 1838-59).¹¹³ A 'Catalogue of the Apparatus in the Museum of the Natural Philosophy Class in the United Colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard' was prepared by William Swan, Professor of Natural Philosophy 1859-1880, on his retirement in May 1880.¹¹⁴ This details both the purchases made during his professorship and the apparatus obtained prior to 1859, broken down into the categories of mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics and acoustics, heat, electricity, and optics and astronomy. The inventories often mark the transference of accountability for the instruments and apparatus from one authority to another.¹¹⁵ They show that Scottish instrument makers were frequently relied upon to supply the instruments. Swan's inventory records instruments from Adie & Son and Kemp & Co. of Edinburgh, and James White and 'Dobie' [Alexander Dobbie] both of Glasgow, among others, while the local tradesmen (but not specialist instrument-makers) David Smith, Peter Honeyman and 'Fairbairn', all of St Andrews, were used for minor pieces of equipment. However, manufacturers from further afield were used for specialists pieces, such as Robert Fulcher of Cambridge and J. Duboscq, Rudolph Koenig and Ruhmkorff, all of Paris. The 1837 inventory records microscopic apparatus by Dollond of London; the 1847 inventory a clock by McNab of Perth (extant); and that relating to Brewster a microscope by Ross and Co. of London (also extant). Swan was prepared to ask manufacturers to modify their designs to his requirements, even if these were somewhat spurious, as when, with regard to 'Sir W. Thomsons [Lord Kelvin] Quadrant Electrometer' made by James White (which is extant):

¹¹² SAUL, Hay Mss Box 59, no. 18; UYUC705F, No. 2

¹¹³ SAUL, Hay Mss Box 59 nos 1, 19, 4 and 17 respectively

¹¹⁴ Published as Wray, *Swan's Catalogue*

¹¹⁵ For example, Swan signed to acknowledge receipt of the apparatus catalogue in 1865 (SAUL UYUC705F No. 3). On 12 May 1880 members of the United College formally recorded the checking of the apparatus against Swan's inventory and state 'The Committee desire to express their satisfaction with the careful manner in which the Apparatus has been kept and with its generally excellent condition, and they hereby ... take over the above Collection from the hands of Professor Swan, and in the name and authority of the University relieve him from further charge of it' (Wray, *Swan's Catalogue*, p.13). The list of 'Articles in Sir David Brewster's Classroom, July 1858' records that several items, including a heliostat by Duboscq and a camera tripod were 'Taken up to College from Sir D - 's House' on 22 July 1858, but that a camera and an extant microscope by Ross & Co. (plate 47), bought on 18 April 1840 for £52.8.8, remained there.

I told White I would not have the instrument with the "windows" made of a pointed-gothic-arch form at the top, as had previously been the practice. I object on principle to medieval forms of ornament being employed in the construction of philosophical apparatus. Renaissance ornamentation is alone appropriate.

This interplay between makers and practitioners could lead to improvements to instruments:

The rectangular openings were ... an unquestionable improvement, as allowing the internal arrangements of the instrument to be better seen; and Mr White informed me that he had adopted them in the electrometers made since ...¹¹⁶

The inventories imply a reluctance to dispose of apparatus, even if damaged or now thought obsolete. Broken apparatus was logged, as on Rotherham's 1797 inventory: '1. Six prisms, one ditto broken ... 4. An Artificial Eye. 5. Two ditto broken'. Damaged equipment was frequently mended, as when Rotherham records of an air pump (cat. no.29) 'This was completely out of repair and several of its parts wanting. I have however put it in order and now use it'. Items which could not be repaired or seemed to serve no useful purpose might nevertheless be retained. Swan passed derogatory comments on several instruments:

Clumsy and stupid old machine with wedges & rollers

Pair of large old lanterns for dissolving views with slides ... In my opinion useless rubbish

Orrery. 2 smaller ditto with fragments of a third. I very unwillingly catalogue such childish toys¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Wray, *Swan's Catalogue*, pp.12-13

¹¹⁷ Wray, *Swan's Catalogue*, pp.20, 29, 31

Yet catalogue them he did, and passed them on to the next incumbent. Equipment was expensive, and not to be lightly discarded. Whereas once it had often been purchased from Library or college funds, an apparatus fund was established in 1811, on the appointment of Robert Briggs to teach Chemistry and Chemical Pharmacy. On 7 October 1811 £225.19.6 was expended on acquiring the apparatus of Dr Thomas Thomson, formerly a private lecturer in chemistry in Edinburgh and later Professor of Chemistry at Glasgow University, through the Edinburgh instrument maker and dealer Alexander Allan.¹¹⁸ However, the equipment acquired was to prove a disappointment: in 1827 Briggs commented 'I have found many things belonging to it that I have no use for, and I want a great many things that I have a great use for', while in 1840 Brewster categorised it as 'miserable trash'.¹¹⁹ The fund, which was drawn from the money the University received for issuing medical degrees, was then assigned to 'the purchasing & supporting of an apparatus both for Mathematics and Natural Philosophy'. In 1827, this was reported by the Principal and Masters to be 'not such as would be suitable for a showy and attractive popular course; but it is tolerably sufficient for illustrating the leading and fundamental doctrines'.¹²⁰ However, the chemistry class was left without sufficient funds for equipment, a matter which Briggs and Brewster raised with the Commissioners visiting the University in 1827 and 1840 respectively.¹²¹

The inventories and the apparatus fund accounts provide valuable evidence of the history of instruments extant in the University's Museum Collections. For example, the 1847 inventory specifically traces the provenance of a model of a steam engine (probably the extant model Watt beam engine, plate 48) to 5 July 1824 (perhaps when it was ordered)

¹¹⁸ SAUL, UYSM110 MB F37. Bill addressed 'Professor Rob^t Briggs Bou^t of Alex. Allan Being the Property of Dr Thos. Thomson'.

¹¹⁹ *Evidence Taken and Received by the Commissioners*, 1837, p.156; *Report of the St Andrews' University Commissioners (Scotland)*, London, 1845, p.95. Several items of chemical glassware which date from the late 18th or early 19th century survive in the Museum Collections: it may be that they were part of the apparatus bought through Allan, as glassware features on the bill. An extant mid-18th century chemical balance made by George Adams of London may have a similar provenance: it is likely to have been bought second-hand, as Chemistry was not taught in the University until 1811.

¹²⁰ *Evidence Taken and Received by the Commissioners*, 1837, pp.47, 343

¹²¹ *Evidence Taken and Received by the Commissioners*, 1837, p.156; *Report of the St Andrews' University Commissioners*, 1845, p.95

and February 1825, when a Mr Duncan (presumably the maker) was paid £21 for it. The engine also appears in the 1837 inventory as a 'Working Model of Steam engine'. Interestingly, it was thrown out by the University in the late 1940s or early 1950s, but rescued from the skip by D.C. Baird, a Ph.D student, and finally returned to the University in 1993. The United College Minutes record the purchase in October 1803 of several pieces of mechanical apparatus, described in detail, for £26.5, some of which survive, including a 'set of mechanical powers, consisting of the concentric pulleys, simple and compound pullies and tackle pulleys, all in one mahogany frame'.¹²² The older instruments, thought to have been acquired under Gregory, appear on some of the inventories. The clearest description of them is provided in Swan's catalogue, which lists the Cole and Allen instruments with maker and inscriptions, and also logs an 'old Dutch Astrolabe' [the circumferentor]: these four instruments are said to be 'very interesting and well deserving to be carefully preserved'.¹²³

St Andrews is not the only university in Scotland to have built up collections of instruments from a relatively early period. It is, however, unusual for the number of early pieces which remain extant. Duncan Liddell, who left money in his will to found and endow the Chair of Mathematics at Marischal College, Aberdeen in 1613, also bequeathed his books and instruments to the College. These were augmented by other mathematical instruments listed as being in Marischal's library by 1670, probably purchased by the first Professor of Mathematics, William Johnstone.¹²⁴ None of these are known to survive. Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), co-founder of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, bequeathed a collection of scientific instruments to Edinburgh University, which seem to have been lost within fifty years.¹²⁵ Apparatus from the late 17th century does survive at the University of Glasgow, though instruments appear first to have been acquired there in 1658.¹²⁶

¹²² UCM 21 October 1802 and 29 October 1803

¹²³ Wray (ed.), *Swan's Catalogue*, p.27

¹²⁴ Morrison-Low, A.D., "'Feasting my eyes'", pp.21-22

¹²⁵ A.D. Morrison-Low, 'Natural Philosophy Collections of the Scottish Universities', paper given at XII Scientific Instrument Conference, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, September 1992, p.1

¹²⁶ Cant, 'Origins', p.56, Morrison-Low, 'Natural Philosophy Collections', p.2

Macky and Defoe admired the mathematical instruments held in the library at Marischal College, Defoe declaring them to be 'the finest and best' sort.¹²⁷ However, as at St Andrews, the failure of visitors to mention them in their accounts of the sights to be seen at the College after this period (the 1720s) suggests that they were no longer prominently displayed to outsiders, while the instrument holdings of other Scottish institutions similarly seem to have been kept out of view. Thomas Pennant, visiting Edinburgh University in 1772, was disheartened to find that 'scarce a specimen' remained of Sibbald's donations (which had included more than just instruments).¹²⁸

Morrison-Low notes that:

A new attitude to collecting scientific instruments where the items were treasured for their age and historical connotations - perhaps even their provenance – as well as their ingenuity and what they could demonstrate, can perhaps first be seen in Scotland in the 1830s.

In this decade, three important thermometers were inventoried in the Natural Philosophy class at Edinburgh University, the catalogue entries making their iconic status apparent. One had been made by Hendrick Prins, assistant to D.G. Fahrenheit (1686-1736); the second by Alexander Wilson (1714-86), Professor of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow, who had supplied the renowned chemist Joseph Black with thermometers; while the third was 'One of the original thermometers of the Academy del Cimento'.¹²⁹ Scientific instruments had featured in European cabinets of curiosities for centuries before this: A.J. Turner cites those in the collection of the Electors of Saxony in Dresden (probably founded in 1560), among a much larger collection of tools; and Morrison-Low refers to instruments in the cabinet of Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay (1682-1761), while his nephew, John, 3rd Earl of Bute (1713-92), also amassed a considerable instrument collection. Scientific apparatus might be brought back as curiosities from the

¹²⁷ Macky, *Journey*, p.113; Defoe, *Tour*, p.400

¹²⁸ Pennant, *Tour*, p.246

¹²⁹ A.D. Morrison-Low, 'Sold at Sotheby's: Sir John Findlay's cabinet and the Scottish antiquarian tradition' in *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 7 no. 2, 1995, pp.197-209, pp.197-198

Grand Tour, by figures such as John Clerk of Penicuik (1684-1755), who was given a medicine chest containing drugs by Cosimo, Grand Duke of Florence in 1699.¹³⁰ However, Turner and Morrison-Low note that, with the exception of items of antiquity (such as Greek and Roman weights, measures, balances and sundials), from the 16th to 18th centuries the instruments and apparatus acquired for cabinets and collections tended to be contemporary with their collectors.¹³¹ Such items were prized for their technical virtuosity, their aesthetic beauty, their practical applications and their literal and symbolical functions as the tools of intellectual enquiry, rather than for their historical connotations.

It seems likely that at St Andrews instruments already owned by the University became appreciated for their history, rather than just their practical usefulness, prior to the 1830s. The astrolabes, universal instrument and circumferentor were almost certainly not in regular use for demonstrations and experiments by the 19th century, and yet the University did not dispose of them, or even of the parchment telescope, of the refracting type old-fashioned by the 18th century, which seems to have lost most of its lenses by 1699, and all of them as it now survives. The meridian line had merited mention in Grierson's *Delineations of St Andrews* (1823), in association with its supposed connection to the renowned James Gregory.¹³² However, it is certainly true to say that it was not until the early 20th century that the University's holdings of historical natural philosophy and mathematical instruments were fundamentally reassessed and granted the status now accorded them. The foundations for this were laid by Gunther, whose work at Oxford in applying 'archaeological methods of typological analysis' to scientific instruments was influential in raising interest in instruments as worth collecting and studying in their own right, both markers of scientific development and for their beauty and craftsmanship.¹³³ The development of the study of the history of science, generally, has also influenced the level of interest in, and attention paid to, historical scientific instruments.

¹³⁰ Turner, 'Mathematical Practice', p.137; Morrison-Low, 'Sold At Sotheby's', pp.199-200

¹³¹ Turner, 'Mathematical Practice', pp.135, 141; Morrison-Low, 'Sold At Sotheby's', p.200

¹³² Grierson, *Delineations*, pp.191-192

¹³³ Turner, 'Mathematical Practice', p.146

There is some evidence that prior to the 1720s the natural philosophy and mathematical instruments at St Andrews were perceived and presented as prestigious items, even while they were valued for their inherent qualities as scientific apparatus, to be used for experimentation and demonstration, measuring observed phenomena and empirically collecting evidence on the natural world. The Commission to Gregory of 10 June 1673 reveals that though the University is keen to augment its teaching and research capacity through the foundation of an observatory and the acquisition of instruments, it also desires to enhance its 'lustre and splendour' and to be publicly recognised for its contributions to, and influence in, scientific spheres. The display of the instruments to Kirk, and possibly also Slezer (or Sibbald, who is thought to have produced text for the 1693 edition of *Theatrum Scotiae*) and Defoe, was perhaps part of a strategy to externally promote impressions of the University's wealth, status and academic standing: at the very least it signifies that the University took sufficient pride in its instrument holdings, some of which were costly and presented by powerful patrons such as the Duke of Lauderdale, to show them to visitors without a specialised understanding of the subject area. Yet from the second quarter of the 18th century, the St Andrews instruments appear to be regarded primarily in terms of their practical, utilitarian functions. Not until the 20th century was attention focused on their provenance, aesthetic value and craftsmanship, though their history and age had earlier been recognised as of some interest. As part of the 'Collection of Historic Scientific Instruments' of the Museum Collections of the University it is now for these values, and for their rarity as unique survivals, their associations with eminent individuals such as Gregory and Brewster, and their capacity to reflect progress in science and illustrate scientific milestones that the extant instruments described in this chapter, and others within the Collection, are lauded. Their empirical, experimental functions are still important, yet removed from active life, frozen in a museum display or held securely in stores, unused so that they might be preserved without damage for posterity, the instruments attract a reverence that perhaps they were not accorded during their working lives, but are somewhat sterile and divorced from their original context.



Great Astrolabe

Made by Humphrey Cole, London, 1575

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH201



Universal Instrument

Made by Humphrey Cole, London, 1582

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH203



Mariner's Astrolabe

Made by Elias Allen, London, 1616

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH204

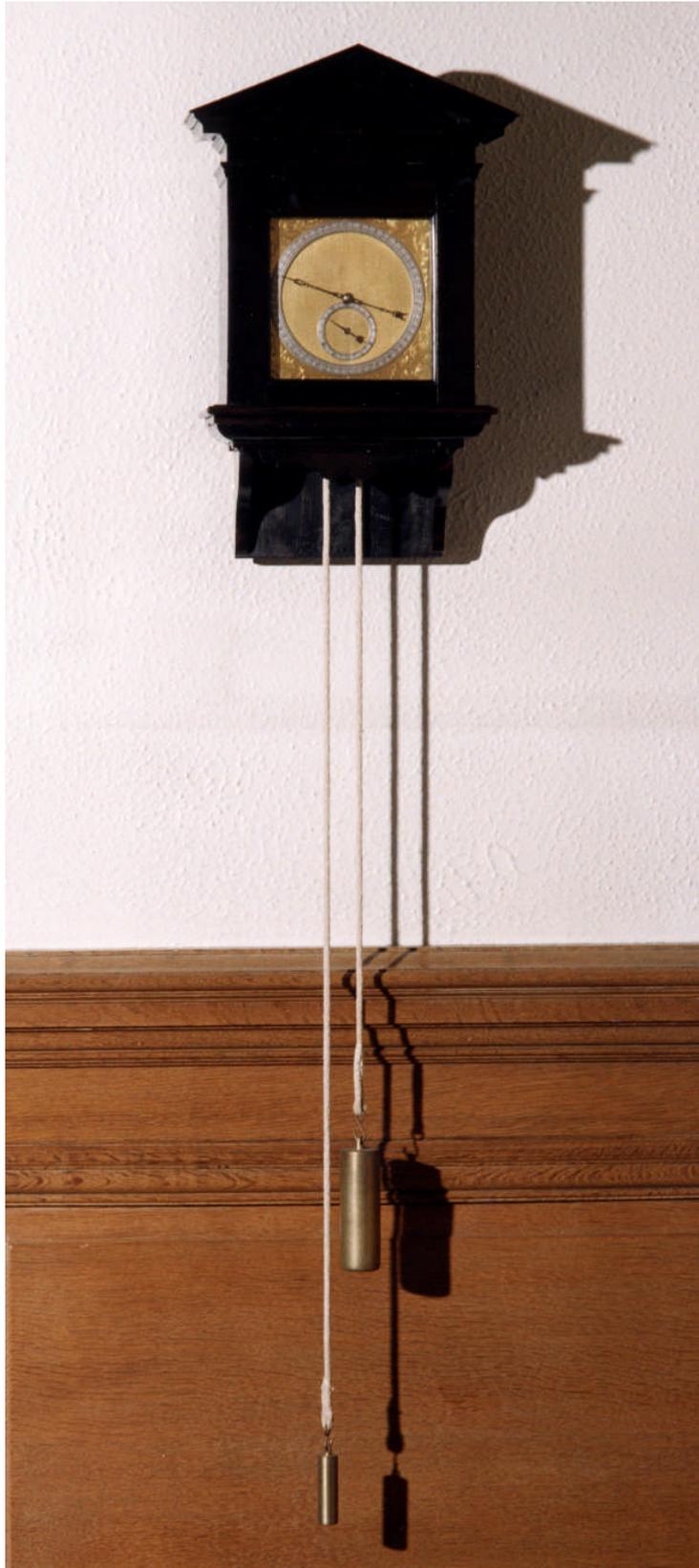


Circumferentor
Dutch, 17th century
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH205



Sundial

Made by Hilke Bedford, London, about 1660-80, this sundial is an example of William Oughtred's double horizontal dial
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH209



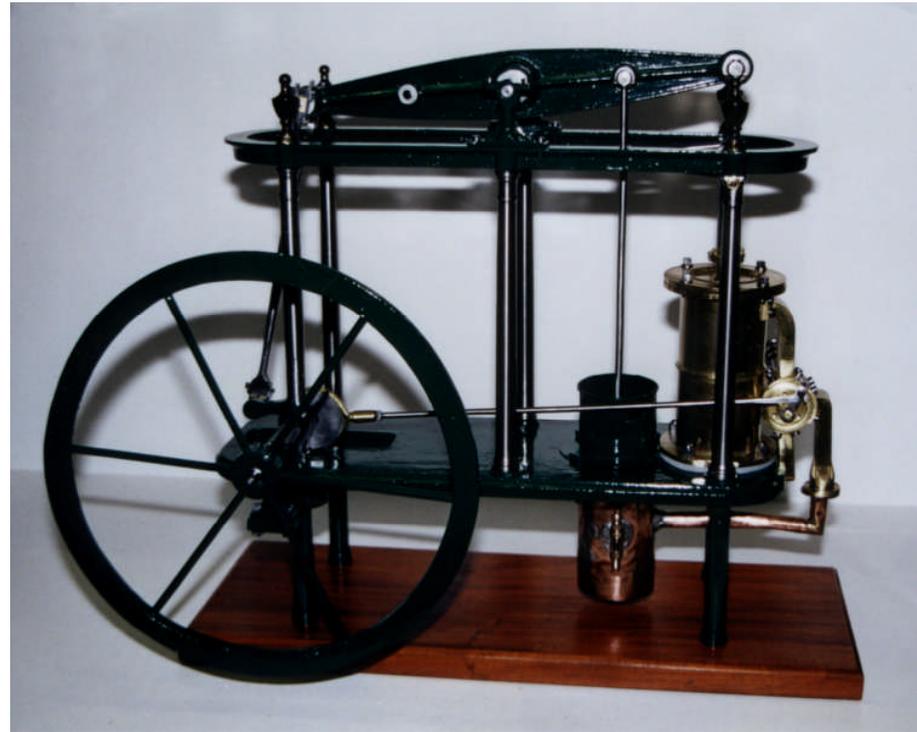
Split seconds pendulum clock
Made by Joseph Knibb of London, 1673
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH208



Microscope

Made by Andrew Ross & Co., London, about 1840, used
by Sir David Brewster
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH207

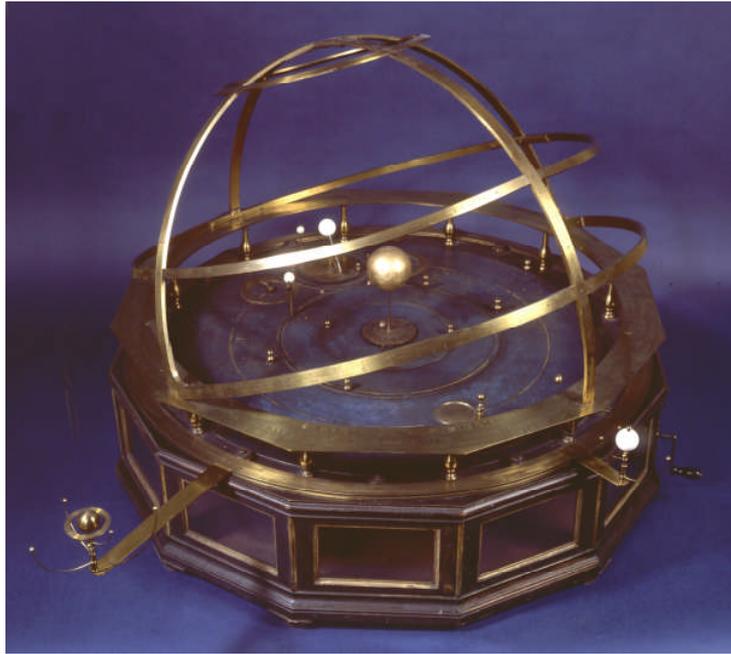
Plate 47



Model Watt beam engine

Probably made by Duncan, 1824/25
Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH200

Plate 48



Orrery

Made by Benjamin Cole, London, c. 1750

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH211



Reflecting telescope

Made by James Short, Edinburgh, 1736

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, PH206

Chapter V

The Library ‘Curiosities’, and the establishment of the Museum of the University of St Andrews and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews

From at least the beginning of the 18th century, the University acquired and maintained in the University Library items which would, later in the century, be collectively referred to as ‘the Curiosities’.¹ It is not clear exactly how these objects were stored or displayed.

Published accounts of visitors to St Andrews show that by the 1780s, at least some of the items were being made visible to private individuals undertaking tours of Scotland.

Francis Douglas, who visited the University Library in 1780, wrote:

Here they show a concretion, taken from the bladder of a mare, five or six inches diameter, perfectly smooth, and much resembling what is called plumb-pudding stone. The picture of a child, spotted all over like a leopard; and a very fine skeleton of one who was the college carrier’.²

In 1784, Bartélemy Faujas de Saint Fond found that:

There is ... shown as an object of curiosity, an Egyptian mummy in very bad condition, without even its ancient case, and appearing to me to be one of those which the Arabs fabricate out of patches and fragments, for the purpose of selling them to such as are unable to detect the imposition.³

By the 1820s, the curiosities in the Library featured in tourist guides to both St Andrews and Scotland. Reverend W.M. Wade, author of *Delineations, Historical, Topographical and Descriptive of the Watering and Sea-Bathing Places of Scotland* (1822), informed his readers that ‘A few curiosities are shown here’, including the Egyptian mummy, skeleton of the college carrier, ‘large concretion formed in the body of a mare’ and ‘the picture of a

¹ SM 2 February 1795. The University appointed that the ‘different articles’ donated by James Watt ‘be deposited among the Curiosities in the Library’.

² Francis Douglas, *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland from Edinburgh to Cullen, including a brief Account of the Universities of Saint Andrews and Aberdeen*, Paisley, 1782, p.31

³ B. Faujas de Saint Fond, *A Journey through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784*, trans. Sir Archibald Geikie, Vol. II, Glasgow, 1907, p.196

singularly spotted child, etc'.⁴ Reverend James Grierson, in *Delineations of St Andrews* (1823), likewise revealed that 'Among the curiosities shown to strangers who visit this library, is an Egyptian mummy, but in a bad state of preservation', and also described the skeleton of the carrier (whom, Douglas, Wade and Grierson all note, was a suicide).⁵

In, it is thought, the first quarter of 1838 an undated proposal was issued for the establishment of a Literary and Philosophical Society in St Andrews. The proposal outlined two main objectives for the Society: 'promoting Literary and Philosophical research' and 'the establishment of a Museum in the University'. The foundation meeting of the Society took place on 16 April 1838, at which the officer bearers were elected, including Sir David Brewster, Principal of the United College, as one of the three Vice-Presidents, and John Adamson (1809-70) as the Curator of the Museum. The Museum was established in the United College buildings as a joint venture between the University and the Literary and Philosophical Society, an arrangement that was formalised in various articles adopted on 11 July 1840.⁶ After the reconstruction of the building on the north side of the United College quadrangle, completed 1845-46, the Museum was moved to this site, occupying the large room on the first floor above the College Hall, plus, ultimately, other rooms on the ground, first and second floors, as well as space on the stairwell, where two wall-cases and two table-cases were placed.⁷

On 30 November 1838, the Curator of the new Museum informed the Literary and Philosophical Society that 'the Curiosities, which had been previously in the University Library had been transferred to the Museum; to be returned to the Library should it become a question of the propriety of the transfer'. A list of the 'curiosities' was entered

⁴ Reverend W.M. Wade, *Delineations, Historical, Topographical and Descriptive of the Watering and Sea-Bathing Places of Scotland*, Paisley, 1822, p.10

⁵ Reverend James Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews*, Cupar, 1823, pp.190-191

⁶ SAUL, UYUY8525/1, 'Minutes of the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society 16 April 1838-13 April 1861' [MSALPS]. Undated proposal for establishment of Literary and Philosophical Society [first quarter of 1838], fol. 1r.; minute of 16 April 1838; minute of 11 July 1840.

⁷ William Carmichael McIntosh, *Brief Sketch of the Natural History Museum of the University of St Andrews*, 1913, pp.8-9. McIntosh (1838-1931) was born in St Andrews and knew the Museum from an early age. Professor of Natural History in the United College 1882-1917, he served as the Director of the Museum for many years, and was also appointed Director of the Gatty Marine Laboratory in 1896. His *Brief Sketch* provides important information on the joint Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society and the University of St Andrews from the 1850s, through its transferral to the sole ownership of the University in 1904, and its subsequent removal in 1912 from the United College to the 'Museum Building' extension to the Bute Medical Buildings named the 'Bell Pettigrew Museum' (the construction of which, 1909-11, was funded by Mrs Bell Pettigrew in honour of her late husband James Bell Pettigrew, Chandos Professor of Medicine 1875-1908), up to 1913.

into the Minutes.⁸ They were not returned, but instead amalgamated with other material acquired for the Museum from a variety of sources. Over the next decades this material was to be comprehensively organised both in displays and in the accessions register (compiled, initially retrospectively, from 1884) into specific scientific and museological categories: zoology, botany and geology, and their various sub-divisions; human anatomy; archaeology; numismatics; and what was termed in the accessions register 'miscellaneous articles', subsequently amended - not entirely accurately - to 'Ethnological'.⁹ Though the provenance of the Library 'curiosities' was recorded in the Society's minute book and accessions register, their integrity as a collection (such as it was) was disrupted and would not, so far as can be established, have been evident to visitors to the museum.¹⁰ This transfer, then, marked a fundamental shift in the history of the University's collections. It took a specific group of items, 'the curiosities', out of the Library context in which they had been held and shown, alongside institutional portraiture and items of relevance to national identity and history, such as the bust of George III and the engraving of Wilkie's *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo*; and placed them in a new context, that of a modern, rationally ordered, scientific museum, which was, over time, to develop both teaching and research functions. As such the transfer separated these items from material more intimately connected to the University's heritage, such as the maces, Silver Arrow archery competition arrows and medals, college plate and institutional portraits, plus other artworks, which continued to be held and exhibited within the Library, Church of St Salvator and the Colleges. The 'curiosities' were to be presented and interpreted within a new framework; and, as I will explore, the history of the collection, from its initial development and display within the Library to its relocation to, and incorporation within the wider holdings of, the new Museum, may be revelatory of the University's changing preoccupations in the period from the early 18th to mid-19th centuries; and of how it wished to position and present itself and its activities; and can be seen to be associated with wider cultural shifts related to the Enlightenment and its legacy, British expansionism during the Age of Empire, and the development of modern science.

⁸ MSALPS, 30 November 1838

⁹ SAUL, UYUY8529/1, Accessions Catalogue of the Museum, compiled from 1884. See pp.116-129 for 'Miscellaneous Articles', subsequently retitled 'Ethnological'.

¹⁰ McIntosh, *Brief Sketch*, p.13 notes that 'No printed label existed in the museum' in its early years.

The 'curiosities' in the Library do not appear to have been systematically catalogued until their transfer to the Museum in 1838, and it appears that by this date some material may have been lost. From an examination of the list entered into the Minutes of the Literary and Philosophical Society on 30 November 1838, of information in the Senate Minutes up to 1840, and of the retrospective entries in the accessions register of the Museum, made c. 1884, it is possible to at least partially reconstruct a record of the 'curiosities' as they accumulated in the Library.¹¹ However, it is feasible that other material existed, not noted here, for the search of the Senate Minutes has relied in part on the use of indexes which are not comprehensive, and it is in any case entirely conceivable that not every item acquired by the Library was recorded in the manuscripts that remain extant.

**'Curiosities' recorded as transferred from the University Library to the Museum,
Minutes of the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society, 30 November 1838**
(Additional information, and its source, is given in square brackets)

Two pairs of Shoes (Chinese)

13 tusks of various animals

A flag, a Cup, and a Canoe

A Bat – a Stalactite

Pair of Horns – Bottle of Gold Dust

Cane tube from Delagoa Bay

Five necklaces

Two Lachrymatories and Stand [Accessions Register (Acc. Reg.) pp.118-119, no.57 –

‘Two Lachrymatories – University – Grecian Archipelago’]

Scales of Fish – Knife from Madagascar

4 pieces of dried Vegetable Cloth

Dried Gourd, Two Pair of Nutshells

Three pieces of Coral

¹¹ I find that Matthew Simpson also carried out a similar exercise in "'You have not such a one in England": St Andrews University Library as an Eighteenth-Century Mission Statement' in *Library History*, 17, March 2001, pp.41-56, presumably using a similar methodology, since our results are similar. Although I was able to supplement my list of items identified in the Senate Minutes with two or three objects mentioned in Simpson's article (using his citation to check the original source in each case), I otherwise arrived at my results independently, and have found some references to objects not noted by Simpson. Simpson additionally refers to 'two Humming Birds in a Glass Case' being recorded in the accessions register, but as I have been unable to locate this specific entry (almost certainly due to my own oversight), I have omitted it from my lists.

Pair of Snow Shoes from Canada [SM 15 November 1834 – ‘from Colonel Moodie a pair of snow shoes used by the Cocknawaga Indians in Upper Canada’]

Paddle from New Ireland

Four Spears: Two [Iron] headed from Guyana

Two Basaltic from D. of Yorks Isle

Picture of Spotted Negro [SM 11 May 1753 – ‘a picture of a Girl, black and white, born of two black Slaves at Matuna in America’, given by Sir James Home of Blackader Bart., together with a plate of the branches of the family of Hanover done by Sir Thomas Brand]

Burmese Sword & Silver Scabbard [SM 3 March 1827 – ‘a Burmese Sabre mounted in Silver’ presented by Cuthbert Thornhill Glass Esq^r of the Hon ble the East India Company’s Civil Service]

Bow, Quiver, & 53 Arrows

Ditto, ditto & 20 arrows (New Guinea)

Leaf of the Talipot tree. Mounted

Three pronged Spear from Kingsmill Group

Musical Instrument w^l small Gongs

Small alligator [SM 14 November 1829 – presented by Captain Wallace]

Teeth of N. Amer.ⁿ Indian [Acc. Reg. pp.118-119, no.43 – ‘Teeth of a North American Indian – University – Canada]

Box of Burmese Mss – Hindoo Mss

3 Pocket Books - & Pincushion

Bark basin, Pouch, & flask [Acc. Reg. pp.116-117, no.23 – ‘Bark Cup – University – Bears date of having been presented in 1728’]

Two Bundles of Split Bamboos (Musical)

Malay Creese [Acc. Reg. pp.116-117, no.15 – ‘a Malay Creese – University – Malacca]

Musical Instrument (Lyre)

Calculus from a Mare

Carved figure – Miss Dalmahoy’s Glass

Model of a War Canoe

Egyptian mummy in case [SM 17 July 1781 – ‘an Egyptian mummy and some Eastern curiosities’ presented by Mr Galloway]

Hammock and Matt.

New Zealanders Head [SM 20 July 1831 – ‘a box containing the Head of a N. Zealand Chief’ sent by Rear Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland]

One Burmese Idol (Sulph of Barytes) [Acc. Reg. pp.116-117 no. 27 – ‘Burmese Idol (Sulphate of Barytes) – Cuthbert Glass Esq Burmah’]

Two ditto Metallic [Acc. Reg. pp.116-117, no.28 – ‘Ditto [Burmese Idol] (Metallic) University Burmah’] [Acc. Reg. pp.116-117, no.29 – ‘Ditto [Burmese Idol] (Metallic) Ditto [University] Burmah’] [These are probably the two ‘Burmese Idols’ presented by Cuthbert Glass, SM 3 March 1827]

Thirty Bottles of Snakes & c. [SM 8 October 1831 – ‘a number of Serpents preserved in bottles’ given by Mr McRitchie, Calcutta]

Items presented to the University listed in the Minutes of the *Senatus Academicus*

(Some of which are possibly to be identified with items in the list above; however, where the identification is evident, the reference has been separately cited in square brackets above)

‘three pieces of the [lopes] Asbestos a petrified shell and some of the [ling] incombustibil and some fragments of petrified shells’, given by Lord Pitmedden (SM 23 December 1700)

‘a curious criture called a bittle’, presented by Mr Henry Watt (SM 19 November 1773)

‘6 small pieces of silver coin’ presented by a gentleman in Kirkwall, Orkney (SM 22 May 1775)

‘a sea cocoa nut’ presented by James Gillespie, son of Dr James Gillespie, minister in St Andrews (SM 4 November 1776)

‘a present of some snakes’ from Mr Alex^r Falconer of Petersburg Virginia (SM 9 April 1789)

‘a spear of Iron wood from the Sandwich Islands’ given by Mr Charles Graham (SM 3 January 1792)

‘A Foulah Quiver of Arrows and a Bow’. Presented with ‘A Foulah Pocket Charm. A Mandingo Belt and Knife a Powder Horn and Pocket Book’ by ‘James Watt, who now resides on the Coast of Africa Superintendant of the Sugar Colony established [on] Sierra Leona’ (SM 2 February 1795)

‘a box of shells’, given by Miss Foulis, which had been ‘brought by her Father [Sir James Foulis Bar^t of Colinton] from India’ (SM 5 March 1808)

‘Two Gold Coins, one of Jas I and one of Jas II kings of Scotland presented to the Library by the Barons of Exchequer’ (SM 3 August 1816)

'a Burmese Bible or sacred Record written on the leaf of the Papyrus – also a specimen of the Burmese character found in the stockade of Donabue soon after Bundoolah's death, and on the spot where he was killed, supposed to be his last order to his hordes', presented by Viscount Melville, Chancellor of the University (SM 11 November 1826)

'two Burmese Idols' (with the 'Burmese Sabre mounted in Silver') presented by Cuthbert Thornhill Glass (SM 3 March 1827)

'Six Burmese Idols, and a very splendid Burmese manuscript' presented by Mr Wylie, Teacher, Dundee (SM 3 May 1827)

'a small silver bowl dug out of the ruins of a Pagoda in India' presented by Lieutenant Colonel James Brodie (SM 8 December 1827)

'Several musical Instruments and the model of a Canoe sent from India by Mr McRitchie' (SM 26 November 1831)

'a few Burmese manuscripts' presented by 'David Hill Esqr late Chief Secretary to the Government at Madras' (SM 10 September 1832)

'a number of curiosities ... collected in foreign countries' by Mr Guland, Surgeon of the Navy residing in Kirkcaldy (SM 17 November 1832)

Items not specifically mentioned in the list of 30 November 1838, added retrospectively to the accessions register of the Museum, c. 1884 and described as being from the University

(In the accessions register, the name of the object is followed by the source (previous owner) and, where appropriate, place of origin or other contextual information)

'Long Spear – University' (Acc. Reg. pp.116-117, no.16)

'Gourd used as a Bottle – University – Fernando Po. coast of Africa' (Acc. Reg. pp.116-117, no.24)

'From the Cocoa nut – University – Dr [Guland]' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119, no. 31)

'Cap worn by the natives of Fernando Po. – University – Fernando Po. – [Dr Guland]' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119 no. 32)

'Bags, Necklaces and other Ornaments – University' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119 no. 45)

'Slippers – University – worn by the Turkish women at Smyrna' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119 no. 46)

'Shoes – University – Bay of Campeachy, Gulf of Mexico' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119 no. 47)

'Cloth – University – Africa' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119 no. 53)

'Figure carved by a blind man – University' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119 no. 55)

'Parasol from the leaf of Talipot tree – University – Ceylon' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119 no. 61)

'Painting of a party coloured boy – University – Brazil' (Acc. Reg. pp.118-119 no. 62)

'A Cheese holder – University' (Acc. Reg. pp.124-125 no. 135)

The lists given above show that many of the 'curiosities' held in the Library can be categorised as natural history and what would now be described as ethnographic specimens. Sometimes, these categories overlap, such as the '4 pieces of Vegetable Cloth', the 'Gourd used as a Bottle' and the 'Parasol from the leaf of Talipot tree'. There are also examples of numismatic and of archaeological material, such as the 'Lachrymatories' (literally, vases used to hold tears: here probably signifying small phials of glass or alabaster of the type excavated from classical tombs), and of Burmese and other manuscripts. Zoological, botanical and geological fields are represented by the natural history specimens, while the ethnographic items relate to various human civilisations around the globe, including Egypt and other parts of Africa, the North, Central and South Americas, China, India, Burma, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar, New Guinea and New Zealand. However, these are not comprehensive reference collections, systematically developed to illustrate natural and human history, as would occur in the Museum of the University and Literary and Philosophical Society. Rather, they appear to be fortuitous acquisitions made in accordance with an older tradition of accumulating material of interest to the 'curious' mind.

'Cabinets of curiosities', also referred to (with subtle differences of meaning) as '*Kunstkammern*' and '*Wunderkammern*', had emerged in Western Europe from the Renaissance period, partly in response to the new intellectual demands of the Renaissance. The rise of humanism, and the determination of scholars to examine the world for themselves, rather than relying on classical literary sources, as had been usual throughout the medieval period, led to a 'new empirical approach to natural philosophy [which] depended not merely on direct observation but rather on series of judicious comparisons that in turn necessitated the establishment of study collections'.¹² The practice of forming cabinets had become widespread in educated European society by the mid-16th century, though it came somewhat late to Britain, scarcely flourishing until the 17th century and the

¹² Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, London, 2007, p.1

formation of the collection of John Tradescant the elder (died 1638). Many early European cabinets, such as that of Francesco I de' Medici (1541-87) in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, had an elaborate philosophical infrastructure, based around the concept of the cabinet and its contents as a microcosm of the universe. The known universe was represented in the cabinet through allusion and analogies: strategically placed scientific instruments, such as astrolabes, might signify comprehension of the cosmos and the principles of natural philosophy; zoological specimens, Nature; and so on. In the Palazzo Vecchio, a painted scheme of decoration on the doors of the cabinets housing the specimens and on the ceiling of the chamber made allegorical references to Nature, Art, the four seasons, the four humours, the four elements and the four temperaments, setting the collection within a cosmological framework.¹³ Samuel Quiccheberg, one of the earliest writers on museological themes, famously defined a *Kunstammer* as 'a collection containing both man-made works of art (*artificialia*) and objects from nature (*naturalia*)' in *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* (1565).¹⁴ This treatise associates the contents of a cabinet with the identity of its founder and the impression he might wish to project to the wider world; and MacGregor suggests that, for the 'ruling classes', 'the aim of distilling the essence of the universe into a cabinet ... was given additional piquancy by the analogy it offered between the macrocosm over which the princely owner might hold sway and the microcosm of the collection which he shaped and directed with equal authority'.¹⁵ Some collectors - monarchs, nobles and private citizens alike - undoubtedly did form cabinets along particular lines to overtly reflect their wealth, status, power and taste; yet running parallel to this, and intersecting with it, were other themes and motivations for collecting. The cabinet of Augustus of Saxony (reigned 1553-86) in the Electoral palace at Dresden was dominated by 'tools, instruments, and machines, together with minerals and other raw materials destined for study, analysis or utilisation in manufacture'. Saxony had considerable mineral resources and was at the forefront in techniques of mechanical engineering, and MacGregor proposes that 'Augustus seems to have conceived of the Electoral *Kunstammer* as a kind of national physical laboratory ... where the best scientific minds and the most skilled craftsmen that could be attracted would work together to reap the maximum benefit to Saxony's

¹³ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.11-13, 29

¹⁴ Adriana Turpin, 'The New World collections of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and their role in the creation of a *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammer* in the Palazzo Vecchio', in R.J.W. Evans and Alexander Marr (eds), *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, Aldershot, 2006, pp.63-85, p.63

¹⁵ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.56-57

advantage'.¹⁶ In Basel in 1662 the city council purchased a cabinet built up by Basilius Amerbach (1533-91), consisting of several thousand items in the fields of art, antiquities, numismatics and musical instruments, and the contents of goldsmiths' workshops, including working models and drawings: the city's university contributed part of the purchase price and became the cabinet's custodian, maintaining it as 'a publicly accessible resource'.¹⁷ Other collectors enquired into the natural world, through the accumulation and study of objects, in order to see, know and praise the work of God and the divinity of creation. It is notable, however, that whatever the specific factors motivating an individual collector, though the scheme of a universal cabinet theoretically allowed any item, however mundane or common to be admitted, it tended to be the rare, exotic and abnormal that were sought and prized.

Many of the items among the 'curiosities' in the University Library probably found a place in the collection because of their strange, exotic or, to 18th century Scottish observers at least, unusual nature. This is exemplified by the 'curious criture called a bittle', and by specimens such as the 'sea cocoa nut', presumably an empty seed shell of the celebrated *Lodoicea maldivica* or the coco de mer, a palm which grows in the Seychelles but was for centuries known to Western Europeans only by its empty seed pods, the largest in the plant kingdom, said to resemble the female pudendum, which Indian Ocean currents carry towards the Maldives. The description of the 'Picture of Spotted Negro' (1838 list) in the Senate Minutes of 11 May 1753 as 'a picture of a Girl, black and white, born of two black Slaves at Matuna in America', allows the individual depicted to be identified as Mary Sabina, who was born in 1736, the daughter of black slaves kept on a plantation owned by Jesuit priests in Cartagena, in what is now Columbia. Although the picture itself is no longer extant, a photograph of it survives (plate 53).¹⁸ A very similar painting is held by the Royal College of Surgeons of England, while Buffon published a variant image of Sabina in *Histoire Naturelle* (1777). Sabina suffered from piebaldism, a condition which is now known to be caused by a rare genetic disorder that disrupts the development of melanocytes, the cells that produce melanin, giving her areas of white skin as well as black. The condition was not understood in the 18th century, and the appearance of Sabina and other sufferers (one of whom, the child George Gratton, was exhibited in a touring

¹⁶ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, p.16

¹⁷ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.26, 64

¹⁸ SAUL, Photographic Collection, JHW-136

show in England in the early 18th century) provoked debate on race and inheritance and challenged notions of white superiority.¹⁹ The dual nature of the picture's appeal as a fascinating depiction of a prodigy of nature and as a fitting subject for intellectual enquiry made it well suited for display in a collection of curiosities such as that rising in the University Library, where it clearly attracted the attention and wonder of visitors.

By the 17th century, cabinets increasingly were the locus of scientific investigation, especially as improvements were made to devices for the examination of specimens, such as microscopes and lenses, and as comparative series of specimens were formed. Items of an ambivalent nature exerted a particular fascination. Corals, which seemed to combine plant- and mineral-like qualities, were often found in cabinets. So too were bezoars (stones found within human or animal bodies), which had once been thought to possess properties providing an antidote to poisons, and hence were often fashioned into richly ornamented cups; petrified specimens, which suggested evidence of metamorphosis; and fossils, which seemed to be the likeness of living creatures created naturally in stone. As science improved, these were better understood, but remained of such interest, if in re-defined terms, that MacGregor notes that in this period 'Almost every serious collector would have taken care to provide himself with specimens of corals, bezoars and fossils'.²⁰ Coral, a bezoar (the 'calculus from a mare') and petrified shells were to be found in the Library collection, as was asbestos, the incombustible nature of which would have been a source of interest.

The ethnographic items in the University Library, which made up the largest part of the collection of 'curiosities', represent geographically diverse peoples, but are mainly constrained to a relatively narrow range of objects, predominantly shoes, jewellery, gourds, basins and the like, weapons, 'idols' and musical instruments. (Of the two canoes, one of which was a model, the other, if full-sized, must have made either a striking display piece, which seems unlikely, as I have located no reference to it in visitors' accounts or guidebooks, or constituted a considerable storage problem). This is unlikely to be connected to any attempt to build up a comparative study collection, but rather is indicative of what material was easy to acquire or generally perceived as culturally

¹⁹ Stephanie Pain, 'Fanciful child of nature' in *New Scientist*, 30 June 2007, pp.48-49; Jessie Dobson, 'Mary Sabina, The Variegated Damsel' in *Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, April 1958, 22(4), pp.273-278

²⁰ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.41, 44-46

representative. The gourds and similar are of domestic origin and may have been obtained or bartered for in casual encounters between Europeans and native peoples. A remarkable birch bark basket, stitched with spruce root and decorated with porcupine quills, of North American Algonquin (Cree) origin, which must be the 'bark basin' referred to on the 1838 inventory, remains extant (plate 51): although the accessions register notes that it 'Bears date of having been presented in 1728', this is no longer legible.²¹ MacGregor notes that exotic shoes were prevalent in many cabinets, and were either in great demand or, perhaps, particular supply, maybe because they were easily preserved and transported, and could be sold at a profit by ordinary sailors.²² The weapons in the St Andrews collection are of two sorts: for hunting, and for fighting. Some may have been obtained in much the same way as the domestic material, and with it are representative of British penetration into foreign territories in this period, for exploration, trading, missionary work, diplomatic reasons, and so on. James Cook had first mapped the Sandwich Islands in 1778, and in 1792 'a spear of iron wood' from them had reached St Andrews, presented by an alumnus, Charles Graham, son of Captain John Graham of Greigston.²³ The period during which the Library collection was formed, the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, saw the rapid expansion of British overseas territories and the formation of the British Empire. Of the countries from which items in the Library collection came, India was under British rule (through the East India Company) after the Battle of Plassey in 1757; the city of Malacca was overseen by the British from 1795, with the acquisition of Malaysia coming in 1824; Guyana, formerly a Dutch colony, was a British possession by 1815; Ceylon was ceded to the British in 1796; New Zealand ceded sovereignty to Victoria in 1840; and Burma was gradually conquered and incorporated in the British Empire 1824-86. To some extent, the acquisition of ethnological items and their retention and presentation, in some form, in the Library, may represent a desire to know and understand the culture of these nations which were now linked to Britain, and to which students of the University might find themselves travelling in their later professional lives as administrators, military men, missionaries and other servants of Empire; a knowledge that might aid effective and stable rule over these very different societies. However, the appropriation and holding of certain items such as the weapons of war and the 'specimen of the Burmese character found in the stockade of Donabue soon after Bundoolah's death, and on the spot where he

²¹ The Senate Minutes of this year do not record the acquisition.

²² MacGregor, *Curiosity*, p.51

²³ Robert N. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews 1747-1897*, St Andrews, 2004 offers a useful source of biographical information on University staff and alumni in this period.

was killed, supposed to be his last order to his hordes', has a more specific symbolism. It points to the success of the British imperial project and the defeat of opponents of British rule, as represented by the impotent and inert weapons gathered in the University Library, overlooked by the prominently displayed bust of George III and alongside the portrait medallion by Tassie of General Robert Melville, the Fife-born army officer, colonial governor, and inventor of two types of naval gun, the 'carronade' and the less famous 'melvillade'.²⁴ The acquisition of two Burmese 'Idols' alongside the 'Burmese Sabre mounted in Silver' presented by Cuthbert Thornhill Glass in 1827 (he seems to have given a third 'idol' at another date), the excavation of 'a small silver bowl' from the ruins of a pagoda in India given by Lieutenant Colonel James Brodie in 1827 (plate 52), and the presentation of a 'beautiful copy of the Kuran' from the Library of the late Sultan of Mysore ('Tippoo Sahib', Sultan of Mysore in South India 1782-99, defeated when Seringapatam fell to the British in 1799) by Charles Wilkins, Librarian to the East India House in 1806, point to another tendency: to remove items of religious significance from a cultural context in which they may have been venerated or considered with awe, and regard them primarily as 'curiosities' or spoils of war.²⁵ The 'idols' presented by Glass (if they are the ones surviving in the Museum Collections as ET1977.106-108, as is believed) seem either not to have been well-understood or thought worthy of more careful interpretation: though two represent the Buddha (in the position of *bhumisparshamudra*), one is a monk, rather than an 'idol', and neither in their first appearance in the Senate Minutes of 1827, in the list of 1838 or in the accessions register of 1884 is any attempt made to interpret what they depict or place them in a more specific frame of reference than that of 'Burmese Idols'.²⁶ This suggests that the potential of the ethnographic specimens to provide insights into the cultures of other peoples was limited in the new context in which they were placed, and that there was still a tendency to view them as 'curiosities' rather than mediators of cultural identity.

²⁴ Matthew Simpson discusses the expansion of British trade and the British Empire, and the symbolism of the 'weapons emblematically laid down and inert' in the University Library before the bust of the King and portrait of Melville in "'You have not such a one'", pp.48-49, and I am indebted to this article here.

²⁵ This silver bowl is extant in the Museum Collections (HC278). It is thought to originate from Burma. Each of the twelve side panels is embossed with a sign of the zodiac. A winged dragon is depicted on the base. Details of the presentation of the 'Kuran' are given in SM 23 August 1806. It seems to have been incorporated into the book and manuscript holdings of the Library rather than into the collection of 'curiosities'.

²⁶ *Bhumisparshamudra* is indicative of the moment immediately prior to the Enlightenment when the Buddha called upon the Earth Goddess to witness the merit already accumulated and which was now sufficient to ensure Enlightenment.

The Library held some human material: the teeth of a North American Indian, the head of a New Zealand chief, an Egyptian mummy and the skeleton of the college carrier. The last two attracted particular attention from visitors to the Library, not just for reasons of morbid curiosity, although these may well have been a factor, but because they appear to have been prominently displayed. The Senate Minutes of 17 July 1781 which detail the donation of the mummy from a Mr Galloway note that a case is to be made for it. The articulated skeleton was also kept in a case. It was not properly a part of the collection of 'curiosities', though visitors may have perceived it as such, and was not transferred with the other material to the Museum. It was used for anatomical teaching. However, a label affixed to the case in 1714 made clear that the bones were also intended as a didactic example against the ungodly act of suicide.²⁷ In translation, the Latin inscription reads:

You behold the remains of an unfortunate and infamous man, once the messenger of this University of St Andrews and hereafter never to be named for all time to come: incensed at his monstrous action, in that he laid wicked hands upon himself and sought death by hanging, the Sacrosanct University, desiring to obtain the greatest advantage from one who had so criminally destroyed himself, resolved, first that his corpse should be publicly submitted to the dissecting knife, then that his bones should be articulated into a skeleton, on the 25th January in the year 1707 of the Christian era; employing for that purpose the zealous services of one who at that time was Pharmacological surgeon and Botanist of the Dundee Society but now is a Doctor of Medicine of the Royal Society, Patrick Blair. Geebie wrote this in 1713.²⁸

The remains were finally given decent burial in 1940. The Maori head and North American Indian teeth are no longer extant, but an embalmed head and foot thought to be from the mummy survive. It is entirely possible that the mummy was fabricated out of 'patches and fragments' as Saint Fond suggested. MacGregor notes that during the

²⁷ SM 17 February, 22 May and 2 July 1707 and 23 January 1714 detail the articulation of the skeleton (for which Blair was paid 100 merks Scots, plus £2.16s Scots for incidental expenses and £3 Scots drink money for his servant), the ordering of a case and the creation of the label.

²⁸ SAUL, ms36535/2. Translation published in: *An Historic Occasion*, exh. cat., University of St Andrews, London, 1963.

17th century European interest in Egyptian antiquities was such that demand exceeded supply, and that:

by the time the Dutch painter Cornelius de Bruyn visited Egypt in 1674, he found that the 'caves of mummies' at Saqqara were no longer numerous, 'because the Europeans have from time to time caus'd so many to be open'd that they are become very scarce'.²⁹

After decades of such denudations, forgeries were likely to flourish. However, the fact that the Senate ordered two keys to be made for the mummy's case, 'one to be kept by the Quaestor and the other by the Library Keeper', suggests that some value was placed on the specimen by the University.

By and large the zoological items recorded were robust specimens, such as horns, tusks and an alligator, resilient enough to endure well the journey from their original home to St Andrews, (or at least those that survived to be inventoried in 1838 were). Material of this type, including tough-bodied reptiles, was relatively common in cabinets in this period, compared to, for example, soft-bodied mammals, as techniques of taxidermy were still in their infancy and these stood the better chance of preservation.³⁰ At least one donor, 'Mr Guland, Surgeon of the Navy residing in Kirkcaldy' showed an awareness of the need for specimens to be cared for carefully if they were to last when he stipulated that he would send 'a number of curiosities ... collected in foreign countries ... provided they could be properly arranged for preservation'. The University accepted the gift, charging the 'Library Curator' to 'find out a proper place in which they can be preserved'.³¹

The 'curiosities' appear largely to have been donated by friends and alumni of the University, many of whom were employed across the Empire, or had family connections to those who were. Among the donors whose names survive, Henry Watt, who sent the 'curious criture called a bittle' in 1773, was son to William Watt, gardener at St Mary's College; he is probably to be identified with the Henry Watt who

²⁹ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, p.181

³⁰ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, p.44

³¹ SM 17 November 1832

studied at the United College between 1764-66 and 1767-68.³² James Gillespie (born 1749), son of James Gillespie minister at St Andrews and a student at the United College 1763-67, was in the service of the East India Company as purser of the ship ‘Alfred’ in 1776, when he presented the sea coconut to the Library; he had left St Andrews in May 1769 on being accused of fathering an illegitimate child by Margaret Adamson, and on attempting to depart for the East Indies was detained at London in March 1770 accused of fathering a natural son by a Margaret Buttercase.³³ Charles Graham, who donated the spear from the Sandwich Islands in 1792, seems to be the Charles Graham (born ?1772) who was a student of the United College 1785-87.³⁴ Alexander Falconer, student at St Mary’s College 1763-67, may, suggests Smart, be the Alexander Falconer of Petersburg, Virginia, who presented the snakes to the University in 1789: he is another man who moved away from the local area after being said to have fathered a natural child.³⁵ Cuthbert Thornhill Glass, who donated the Burmese ‘idols’ and sabre in 1827, was the eldest son of Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Glass of Abbey Park, St Andrews, who had served in the Bengal Artillery; Cuthbert studied at the United College 1807-10 before working for the Indian Civil Service, Bengal as an accountant in the revenue and judicial departments 1810-30; he died at Calcutta in 1830.³⁶ The ‘Mr Wylie, Teacher, Dundee’ who gave six Burmese ‘idols’ and a Burmese manuscript in 1827, is perhaps Frances Wylie (?1806-1873), student in the United College 1820-24/25 and in St Mary’s College 1824/25-28; son of the Rector of Dundee Grammar School, he was an interim teacher at Dundee English School in 1827; he became a minister.³⁷ ‘Lieutenant Colonel’ James Brodie (1782-1831) who presented the ‘small silver bowl dug out of the ruins of a Pagoda in India’ in 1827, was the son of Alexander Brodie, minister at Carnbee near St Andrews; he served in the 9th Madras, rising to the rank of Brigadier General.³⁸ Captain Wallace, who gave the alligator in 1829, may have later studied chemistry in the United College 1834-35.³⁹ ‘Rear Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland’, who sent the Maori head in 1831, was of local origins, being born in Rankeilour in Fife, though he does not seem to have

³² Smart, *Biographical Register*, p. 926, notes that Watt ‘sent the university specimens of coral and curiosities from Dominica, then Sierra Leone, 1773-94’.

³³ Smart, *Biographical Register*, p.323

³⁴ Smart, *Biographical Register*, p.339

³⁵ Smart, *Biographical Register*, p.275

³⁶ Smart, *Biographical Register*, p.327

³⁷ Smart, *Biographical Register*, pp.970-971

³⁸ Smart, *Biographical Register*, p.104

³⁹ Smart, *Biographical Register*, p.914

studied at the University.⁴⁰ David Hill (1786-1866), the 'late chief Secretary to the Government at Madras' who presented Burmese manuscripts in 1832, was the son of George Hill, Principal of St Mary's College, and studied at the United College 1798-1802, graduating M.A. in 1804.⁴¹ Other donors include a Miss Foulis, who in 1808 donated a box of shells brought by her father, Sir James Foulis of Colinton, from India: by way of thanks she was allowed to borrow books from the Library; and Robert Saunders Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville, Chancellor of the University 1814-51, who presented the supposed last order from 'Bundoolah' to his 'hordes' and a 'Burmese Bible or sacred Record written on the leaf of the Papyrus' in 1826.

The gifts in many cases appear to have been made as a mark of respect or gratitude to the University of St Andrews as the donors' *alma mater*, perhaps because the donors knew of the growing collection and thought that they might usefully contribute to it. Several of the donors were eminent individuals, whose presentations embodied a network of connections linking the University to the wider world of science, the arts, trade, exploration and military ventures, politics and the royal family. The bust of George III was a copy of that made for the Royal Society in 1773 by Joseph Nollekens: it was commissioned by Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society 1772-78 and Physician to the Queen, and an alumnus of St Andrews, for the University, 'his honoured *alma mater*', in 1774.⁴² Viscount Melville was an eminent statesman, who, among other roles, served as President of the Board of Control for India, and First Lord of the Admiralty. The attentions of Charles Wilkins, Librarian to the East India House, who presented the 'beautiful copy of the Kuran' once owned by the Sultan of Mysore, and men such as Rear Admiral Sir Francis Maitland, Lieutenant Colonel James Brodie and Cuthbert Thornhill Glass, demonstrate the institutional and personal associations that existed between the University and the East India Company and British army and navy, which so many alumni were to join. The University's own professor of Civil History (1773-93), Hugh Cleghorn, who told his students that his lectures would 'describe in some measure the scenes in which Providence may call you

⁴⁰ J. K. Laughton, 'Maitland, Sir Frederick Lewis (1777-1839)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17824>, accessed 29 August 2009]

⁴¹ Smart, *Biographical Register*, p.392

⁴² SM 6 June 1774. Pringle was the nephew of Francis Pringle, Professor of Greek at St Leonard's College 1702-47, and matriculated at St Leonard's College in 1722.

to act', was indeed to leave his teaching to travel first to Europe and then, on the authorisation of the British government, to Madras, from where he was instrumental in acquiring Ceylon for the British Empire in 1796.⁴³ He brought back from Madras the Burmese silver zodiac bowl sent to the University by Brodie.

There does not appear to have been a formal policy of seeking to acquire particular material for inclusion in the collection of 'curiosities' growing in the Library, though contacts working across the British Empire may possibly have been encouraged to make gifts. Nor have I uncovered evidence of specific items being purchased. The collection appears rather to have evolved organically, as material was offered, with donors perhaps being influenced in what they gave by a knowledge of the type of material already held in the Library, or shown in comparable collections, and thus likely to be appreciated. This lack of a cohesive scheme and a structured pattern of acquisitions distinguishes the collection of 'curiosities' in the Library from archetypal cabinets of curiosities constituted along formal lines. However, it clearly has features in common with them, including the link to a library. Cabinets, particular later ones, did generally aim at establishing a context in which learning could take place, and many were created in, or adjacent to, libraries. In the Enlightenment period, libraries were perceived very much as repositories of knowledge in forms that need not necessarily consist solely of books and manuscripts.⁴⁴ Globes, scientific instruments, maps and specimens might all provide starting points for speculative enquiry and offer new insights into the world. Other university libraries housed collections and cabinets, including the Bodleian at Oxford (even after the presentation of Elias Ashmole's collection and the establishment of the separate Ashmolean Museum in 1683, to which the Bodleian's 'curiosities' were not transferred until the 1880s), and those at Basel and Nuremberg. John Evelyn's account of the Bodleian 'curiosities' in 1654 suggests that, with the exception of a relic, Joseph's coat, they were not so different from those that would accumulate in St Andrews over the next two centuries:

⁴³ 'Cleghorns' Lectures', SAUL, Ms dep. 53, box 3, as cited in Simpson, "You have not such a one", p.50

⁴⁴ David McKitterick, 'Wantonness and Use: Ambitions for research libraries in early eighteenth-century England' in R.G.W. Anderson, M.L. Caygill, A.G. MacGregor and L. Syson (eds), *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, discovery and the museum in the eighteenth century*, London, 2003, pp.37-47, p.41

In the Closset of the tower they shew Josephs parti colourd Coate, A Muscovian Ladys Whip, some Indian Weapons, Urnes, Lamps ... a rolle of Magical Charmes or Periapta, divers Talismans, some Medails.⁴⁵

Closer to home, in the 1730s Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Scottish coins could be seen in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, while the Upper Library of Edinburgh University held:

no large number of books, but enough of natural Curiosities; here are Sceletons, Geo: Buchanan's Scull; a pair of very large Globes, perfectly fair ... some Mss⁴⁶

Defoe, visiting Scotland in the first two decades of the 18th century saw in the 'Chamber of Rarities' at the College of Surgeons in Edinburgh:

several skeletons of strange creatures, a mummy, and other curious things, too many to be particular in them here⁴⁷

James Brome, in an account published in 1700, described seeing in Edinburgh University Library:

Two very great Rarities: the one was a Tooth taken out of a great Scull, being four Inches about, and the other was a crooked Horn taken from a Gentlewoman of the City who was fifty Years old, being eleven Inches long which grew under her right Ear, and was cut out by an eminent Chirurgeon then living in the town.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.35-36

⁴⁶ John Loveday, *Diary of a Tour in 1732 Through Parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland made by John Loveday of Caversham*, Roxburghe Club, 1890, p.153

⁴⁷ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain divided into Circuits or Journeys, &c*, 1st edition, 1724-6, as reprinted Everyman, London, 1962, p.307

⁴⁸ James Brome, *Travels Over England, Scotland and Wales Giving a True Description of the Chiefest Cities, Towns and Corporations*, London, 1700, p.197

The horn was probably that removed from the head of Elizabeth Lowe by the Edinburgh surgeon Arthur Temple in 1671: it is still held by Edinburgh University.⁴⁹ In the 18th century, pictures (usually portraits) were to be found in the libraries of the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and in the College of Physicians and the Advocates Library, Edinburgh; and scientific instruments were held in the Library of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and, until they were lost in the mid- to late century, in the collections of Edinburgh University, having been bequeathed to the university by Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722).⁵⁰ The collections of 'curiosities', portraits and scientific instruments growing in the University Library at St Andrews were broadly in line with what other academic institutions in Scotland had begun to acquire and, to some degree, overtly display, and, particularly in the case of the 'curiosities' and portraits, collections of which visitors to Edinburgh institutions were examining and commenting on well before comparable holdings seem to have been established at St Andrews, may well have been influenced by them.

The Royal Society in London had been founded in 1660 with the expressed goal of 'promoting physico-Mathematical Experimental Learning'. A Repository to house the Society's 'Instruments, Books, Rarities, Papers, and whatever else belongs to them' was established, and by 1681, when a catalogue of its holdings was published, contained natural history specimens, scientific instruments, coins and ethnographic material.⁵¹ At Oxford, the Ashmolean Museum from its foundation contained the collection on the first floor, a lecture room on the ground floor and a chemical laboratory in the basement.⁵² In both these institutions, though the Repository was not to endure, and its holdings were eventually to pass to the British Museum, the keeping of a collection was associated with active research, experimentation and investigation of the natural world. In 1753 the British Museum was established as an encyclopaedic institution in which natural and artificial specimens could be rationally organised, exhibited and studied; the Founding Act stated that it was to be for 'the advancement and improvement' of all the arts and sciences, while the collections should 'give help

⁴⁹ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.159-160

⁵⁰ Loveday, *Diary*, pp.119, 153-154; Defoe, *Tour*, p.400; John Macky, *A Journey Through Scotland*, London, 1723, p.113; A.D. Morrison-Low, 'Natural Philosophy Collections of the Scottish Universities', paper given at XII Scientific Instrument Conference, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, September 1992, p.1

⁵¹ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.221-222

⁵² MacGregor, *Curiosity*, p.41

and success to the most useful experiments'.⁵³ Richard Yeo has discussed the evolution of the word 'encyclopaedia' and points out that during the 17th century, it usually referred not to a book or series of volumes, but to 'the round of subjects an educated person should pursue'. In the *Glossographia* published by Thomas Blount in 1656, 'encyclopedia' was defined as 'that learning which comprehends all Liberal Sciences; an art that comprehends all others, the perfection of all knowledge'. However, with the rise of Newtonian science and the growth of intellectual specialisms, it was recognised that in-depth knowledge of a broad range of subjects was increasingly impossible, and that it would be useful for them to be 'distilled and recorded in one book giving a comprehensive synopsis': an encyclopaedia.⁵⁴ Museums were able to contribute to the encyclopaedic ideal of a well-rounded education by representing the world not through allusion and allegory, as had been common in early cabinets, but through the classification and presentation of a comprehensive range of natural and artificial specimens (and, as in the case of the British Museum, where the director was long known as the Principal Librarian, books and manuscripts), the study of which would allow insights into a variety of subject areas.⁵⁵

The collection of 'curiosities' held in the University Library in St Andrews in the 18th and early 19th centuries does not seem to have formed part of a deliberate, organised, active research programme as at the Repository and the Ashmolean. Nor can it be said to have been constructed with the encyclopaedic ambitions of the British Museum. However, the formation of the collection, haphazard as it was, and its preservation and maintenance is evidence that the University of St Andrews placed some value upon its 'curiosities'. The accumulation of the material and its positioning within a library, under the care of the 'Library Curator', can be associated with Enlightenment modes of thought.⁵⁶ The items were held alongside literary tools for their interpretation: books on natural philosophy, foreign manuscripts, and so on, including a work written and presented by Cuthbert Glass on the Arabic inflexion; yet the objects themselves

⁵³ Keith Thomas, 'Afterword' in Anderson *et al.*, *Enlightening the British*, pp.185-186, p.185

⁵⁴ Richard Yeo, 'Encyclopaedic Collectors: Ephraim Chambers and Sir Hans Sloane' in Anderson *et al.*, *Enlightening the British*, pp.29-36, pp.29-30

⁵⁵ The British Library Act removed the national collection of books and manuscripts from the British Museum in 1972.

⁵⁶ The Senate Minutes frequently make reference to gifts of 'curiosities' being placed under the 'Library Curator' or 'Librarian's' care, including 17 July 1781, 17 November 1832, 5 March 1808.

embodied actual physical evidence of natural phenomena and human activity, particularly among other civilisations, and as such could contribute to a body of knowledge if subjected to rational, empirical study and observation.⁵⁷ Although such investigation of the objects may not have occurred systematically at St Andrews, their physical presence within the Library context acted as signifiers of the University's outward-looking disposition and the contributions it could make to 'polite learning' and the 'encyclopaedic education'.⁵⁸ Many of the 'curiosities', ethnographic, archaeological and natural history alike, had, of course, been removed from their original contexts without heed to what in the later 19th and 20th century would become established as core principles of fieldwork, perhaps most crucially the systematic recording of the circumstances in which an object had been located (its geographical site, the peoples it was associated with, and so on). This evidential gap immediately rendered the information that could be gleaned from them incomplete and thus of limited worth. Yet the curiosities also played another role, reflecting not just the context they had come from, but the values and position of the institution in which they were placed. They physically represented the University's associations with patrons, friends and alumni, and its far-reaching links across the world. They bore witness to its connections to British expansionism, prosperity and the imperial project, and the opportunities its graduates might enjoy. They suggested a certain intellectual curiosity about new discoveries, both geographical and scientific. For visitors to the University Library, who might include 'tourists' seeking to publish and make available to a wide audience accounts of their experiences, potential students and their families, and alumni, as well as current staff and students, the 'curiosities' had the potential to offer visual evidence that St Andrews was not a moribund institution set in a rural backwater, but a vital, influential body. Much of their immediate impact would, of course, be mediated through how they were displayed or otherwise presented and interpreted: whether the majority of the items were openly exhibited, and if not, in what context and with what explanations they were shown to interested parties; and unfortunately there is little surviving evidence relating to this. However, there is no doubt that by the late 18th century, the 'curiosities' had a certain prominence, the accounts of visitors and the approaches from donors offering new specimens demonstrating a clear awareness that they were collectively held in the Library.

⁵⁷ Glass's book is noted in SM 8 November 1828.

⁵⁸ Simpson, "You have not such a one", pp.48, 51

By the 1830s, the Senate Minutes reveal a shift from describing the collection as 'curiosities' to a 'Museum'. At a meeting of the Senate on 8 October 1831, the Vice-Rector was requested:

To apply to the East India Company for certain musical articles specified in a letter of 4th August 1831 and to obtain, if possible, the reduction of duty as they are for the University Museum.

Perhaps these were the 'several musical instruments' that on 26 November 1831 the Senate instructed Dr Haldane to write and thank Mr McRitchie for donating to the 'Museum'. The Minutes of 17 November 1832 record that Mr Guland:

mentioned that he had in his possession a number of curiosities which he had collected in foreign countries, which he would send to the University Museum...

At the meeting of 15 November 1834 it was reported that the gift from Colonel Moodie of 'a pair of snow shoes used by the Cocknawaga Indians in Upper Canada' was received by the Rector 'for the Museum'. In 1838, the year of the establishment of the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Senate Minutes of 5 November state:

The meeting agreed to transfer the articles of the present University Museum to the Museum of the Literary and Scientific Society of St Andrews connected with the University, with a view to their better arrangement and accommodation, but on the understanding that these articles will be catalogued as property of the University and may be reclaimed when the University pleases.

In contrast, the Minutes of the Literary and Philosophical Society of 30 November 1838 use the older terminology, noting that:

the Curiosities, which had been previously in the University Library had been transferred to the Museum⁵⁹

This is interesting, implying that the Senate felt it appropriate to define the artefact collections in the Library as a 'Museum', while the Curator of the newly established institution perceived them as belonging to the more old-fashioned tradition of a collection of 'curiosities', perhaps because their presentation and interpretation did not accord with contemporary notions of what a museum should be, and with the ambitions of the newly founded body. Indeed, the Senate acknowledged that 'better arrangement and accommodation' were required for its collections, 'arrangement' here perhaps indicating not merely improved display space, but also some form of systematic organisation or classification. The collections were, however, perceived to be sufficiently important for the Senate to stipulate that they were to be carefully recorded as belonging to the University and potentially returned at some future date, this proprietorial attitude perhaps stemming from a sense of their historical associations with the University and connections to patrons and donors as well as from their intrinsic value and interest and any sense of their financial worth.

When the Royal Commissioners visited the University of St Andrews to conduct their inspection in 1827, the artefact collection in the Library does not appear to have been pointed out to them as a 'museum'; certainly they make no mention of it in their official report. However, in answer to a question, the Principal and masters of the United College informed the Commissioners that within the College:

In consequence of one or two small bequests of Specimens, there is, in embryo, something that may, at a future period, be called a museum for Natural History. The young gentleman who has been appointed Lecturer is ardently employed in improving it; and if encouraged as he deserves to be, will probably raise his Lectureship to distinction.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ This discrepancy in terminology is also noted by Simpson, "You have not such a one", pp.44-45

⁶⁰ *Evidence, Oral & Documentary, Taken and Received By the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty George IV, July 1826 and reappointed by His Majesty William IV, October 12th 1830 For Visiting the Universities of Scotland*, Vol. III (St Andrews), London, 1837, p.343. Lectures in Natural History had been introduced in 1825. Ronald Gordon Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, St Andrews, 1992, p.123.

The young lecturer was John McVicar. On 4 August 1827 the Commissioners put it to him that ‘It is supposed that your Museum is very limited?’ He responded:

It is very limited; it has cost the College nothing, except the putting up of shelves upon which to accommodate the Birds. There have been a number of rare valuable presents of stuffed birds and other things since I came here [two sessions previously], and there is great difficulty in preserving them for want of proper accommodation of glazed cases ...

He suggested that the accommodation should be improved and the museum made for ‘the University rather than the United College’. In response to a query on the possibility of forming ‘a pretty good Museum’ should increased accommodation be made available, he replied:

Yes, the most inviting prospect in those respects. There is no Museum in the county of Fife or Angus for depositing Antiquities. We should very soon have a fine collection of Antiquities. Dundee is a seaport in the neighbourhood, to which a great many curiosities are brought from Foreign parts, and with regard to native productions, St Andrew’s [sic] Bay, and the Estuary of the Tay, are very rich in marine subjects of curious interest in Natural History; and from what has already appeared, I might infer that the Museum would soon become valuable, without the expense of purchase ...

He also noted that ‘last winter’ several students had been keen to raise funds from the student body to purchase ‘subjects for a Museum’, although that ‘did not take effect’.⁶¹

The question of the Commissioners to the Principal and masters of the United College:

Is there any Museum, or are there any Instruments or Apparatus for Philosophical Experiments, or Collections of Specimens or of Preparations, belonging to the said College ...?

⁶¹ *Evidence Taken and Received by the Commissioners, 1837*, pp.158-159

equated the notion of a museum with scientific study, and this may perhaps be the reason that the artefacts in the Library were not mentioned in the responses to the Commissioners, though the apparatus for teaching Natural and Experimental Philosophy was. (When asked the same question, the masters of St Mary's College answered in the negative, pointing out that theirs was 'an institution purely Theological').⁶² Of course, the Library collection came under the remit of the Senate and belonged to the University as a whole rather than the Colleges, so it may simply have inadvertently fallen into a void in terms of responses to the Commissioners' enquiries. However, the failure of masters of either college to refer to it suggests that it did not play a core role in teaching or research at this point, either in the natural sciences, civil history or comparative religion. The shift in the Senate Minutes to referring to the collection as a 'Museum' just a few years later is therefore noteworthy. It is perhaps evidence of a growing determination and momentum to establish a major museum collection in St Andrews, which anticipated the foundation in 1838 of the joint Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society and the University in the United College buildings. The Commissioners' enquiries, prompting thoughts from figures such as McVicar on what might be achieved, may have been the immediate stimulus for this. The Commissioners had recommended that a Natural History course be established to complete the curriculum at St Andrews (attendance at McVicar's Natural History lectures, which covered botany, zoology, geology and meteorology, was an optional, rather than core, part of the Arts curriculum) and on 18 July 1840 the United College resolved to attempt to establish a Chair of Natural History.⁶³ When another body of Commissioners visited the University in 1840 Sir David Brewster, Principal of the United College and founder member of the Literary and Philosophical Society, informed them that the University's involvement in the creation of the Society and Museum had been 'with a view to the establishment of a Natural History Chair' and that:

⁶² *Evidence Taken and Received by the Commissioners*, 1837, pp.343, 403

⁶³ *Evidence Taken and Received by the Commissioners*, 1837, pp.408, 419. From 1827, the M.A. was conferred after a final examination in the seven subjects of Humanity, Greek, Mathematics, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry (Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.123). UCM 18 July 1840.

The members of the society, including all members of the University, came to a resolution that the Museum was to belong to the University for the purpose of being made use of by the students of Natural History.⁶⁴

This seems to be political manoeuvring on the part of Brewster, who was attempting to gain approval from the Commissioners for a Chair of Natural History, and apparently desired to show that the University had put considerable resources into the subject to support his case, rather than an absolutely accurate reflection of actual circumstances. Resolutions laid down by the Society on 11 July 1840, with Brewster in the Chair, firmly stipulated that the 'Museum be considered the joint property of the University, and of the Literary and Philosophical Society'. Provision was made for access to the Museum by a University class, should a class requiring use of the Museum be established.⁶⁵ However, at this point, no such class existed, and when in 1853, Dr Macdonald, the Professor of Civil and Natural History (appointed in 1850, when the Chair was established) requested free access to the Museum for his class and the right to take out specimens, the matter was disputed and referred to the Society's Council, and seems to have led to wrangling which persisted intermittently for some years.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, a desire to improve facilities and opportunities for study and practical instruction through the collation of a series of objects and specimens seems to have been a strong motivating factor for the University in collaborating in the establishment of the Museum in 1838.

Another factor that may have influenced the University to redefine the collection of 'curiosities' in its Library as a museum, and in the same decade to co-found the Museum in the United College buildings, into which McVicar's embryonic collection of natural history specimens seems to have been incorporated, may have been the development of museums elsewhere in Scotland. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland had been founded in 1780. From 1781 the Society attempted to collect natural history specimens of Scottish origin, in addition to antiquities, and in 1783 resolved to acquire 'the best original Portraits ... of illustrious and learned Scotsmen'. Though the natural history programme suffered a blow when Alexander Weir, who

⁶⁴ *Report of the St Andrews' University Commissioners (Scotland)*, London, 1845, p.93

⁶⁵ MSALPS, 11 June 1840

⁶⁶ MSALPS, 26 November 1853

was building up his own zoology collection in Edinburgh, refused to provide advice on mounting and preserving zoological specimens, by 1784 the Society held over 700 antiquities and around 2,200 coins and medals which were shown to visitors to its Edinburgh premises on one day per week.⁶⁷ At Edinburgh University, the natural history collections grew in strength with the acquisition of Alexander Weir's specimens in 1786, while under the tenure of Robert Jameson, appointed Regius Professor of Natural History in 1804, strong geological holdings were built up. At the time of Jameson's death in 1854, the natural history collection totalled 10,000 fossils, 40,000 rocks and minerals, geographically arranged, 8000 birds, 900 fishes and reptiles, 800 specimens of crania and skeletons and 900 invertebrates, plus thousands of insects; these were subsequently transferred to the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art in 1865.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, what is often termed the oldest public museum in Scotland still in existence, the Hunterian, was founded at Glasgow University in 1807, due to a bequest from William Hunter (1718-83), an alumnus who became a prominent London physician and teacher of anatomy. He left his important collection comprising anatomical, natural history and ethnographic specimens, minerals, numismatics and art to the University. At Aberdeen, museums had been established in King's College and Marischal College in the late 18th century, with a room set aside as a museum at Marischal in 1786: Professor William Knight maintained a manuscript catalogue of the collections of this museum, 1810-21.⁶⁹ Other academic institutions were therefore developing strong museum holdings, and if it was to attract students, during a period in which entrant numbers were greatly reduced, and much lower than those of the other Scottish universities, St Andrews could not afford to be left behind in terms of public perceptions of the facilities it could offer.⁷⁰

Natural history specimens, zoological, geological and botanical, were to form the major part of the joint Museum of the University and the Literary and Philosophical

⁶⁷ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.147-148, 255-256, 286-287

⁶⁸ MacGregor, *Curiosity*, pp.148, 270, 342 n.145; Charles D. Waterston, *Collections in Context: The Museum of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Inception of a National Museum for Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1997, p.121

⁶⁹ Neil G.W. Curtis, 'The original may yet be discovered': seven Bronze age swords supposedly from Netherley, Kincardineshire' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 137, 2007, pp.487-500, p.496 n.1; Neil G.W. Curtis, 'An unusual pair of Roman bronze vessels from Stoneywood, Aberdeen, and other Roman finds from north-east Scotland' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 136, 2006, pp.199-214, p.199; and information provided in an email correspondence with Neil Curtis, Senior Curator of the Marischal Museum, October 2009.

⁷⁰ Cant, *University of St Andrews*, p.122

Society of St Andrews, but from its foundation, interests and acquisitions focused on a wide variety of subject areas. As early as 4 June 1838, the Society established a committee to 'look after antiquities, and to take means for their preservation'.⁷¹ Important archaeological and architectural material, from cinerary urns to carved stones from the Cathedral and other medieval sites, including an intricately decorated Pictish stone coffin or shrine excavated from near St Rule's tower that was to become known as the St Andrews Sarcophagus, came into the Museum.⁷² In December 1839 the Society began a campaign to prevent the destruction of the ancient Abbey wall and its gateways and towers, which were being sold off by the Crown, and with the assistance of the local Member of Parliament and the Lord Lieutenant of the county, succeeded in getting them made a property of the University, which, under the terms of purchase, was bound to preserve them 'in all time coming'.⁷³ Artefacts relating to local civic history were acquired, and a series of casts of seals relating to the university, burgh and archbishopric were purchased.⁷⁴ The Museum received treasure-trove material, and built up collections of Scottish, English, Roman and other coins.⁷⁵ Ethnographic material continued to be sent by friends of the University and Society who were working, or had worked, across the British Empire.⁷⁶ Natural history material acquired for the Museum might be of local or global origin. The Society's Minutes for 29 November 1851 note that Adamson, the Curator, had 'commenced a collection of the fishes of St Andrews' Bay'. He had obtained twenty or thirty over the summer, including a rare sunfish. During the summer of 1844, Dr Reid and Mrs Macdonald collected twenty-three species of zoophytes from the shores of St Andrews Bay, an effort that resulted in Mrs Macdonald being elected an honorary member of the Society.⁷⁷ Important fossils of fishes were excavated by members of the Society, and others, from Dura Den at various times in the 19th century, including during an

⁷¹ MSALPS, 4 June 1838

⁷² Such material is cited in MSALPS, 1 March 1841; 6 February 1843; 3 April 1843; 6 November 1843.

⁷³ Alexander Thoms, *Paper Giving a Brief Account of the Origin and Work of the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews During the Last 56 Years*, read at meeting of 10 November 1894, printed St Andrews [c. 1894], pp.3-5

⁷⁴ SAUL, UYUY8528/3, Papers of the Literary and Philosophical Society 1840-98, 'List of Casts of old Seals Purchased by the Society from Mr Laing'

⁷⁵ MSALPS, 7 December 1845; SAUL, UYUY8528/3, Papers of the Literary and Philosophical Society 1840-98, 'Report on the Coins in the Museum' by D. Smith, July 1860

⁷⁶ For example, on 5 November 1838 Josiah Lambert presented a stone from the temple of [Bablsece] Syria' and a knife of the 'Esquimaux', made from meteoric iron; on 30 November 1838 Reverend Lyon gave two native arrows from Ceylon; on 7 February 1842 Reverend Thomson donated a New Zealand war-club (thought to be the Maori 'patu onewa' or war club still extant, ET1977.253) (MSALPS).

⁷⁷ Thoms, *Brief Account*, p.8

excavation in 1861 funded by the British Association and supervised by Matthew Forster Heddle, a founding member of the Mineralogical Society, London and President of the Geological Society of Edinburgh who was to become Professor of Chemistry at the University of St Andrews, 1862-1883. The fossils, many of which came to the Museum, excited much interest. Several species of fishes that were new to science were discovered, and their extraordinary preservation allowed detailed research and accurate anatomical reconstructions. The fishes were examined by several prominent scientists, including Lyell and Agassiz, and their bone structures fuelled the debate on evolution.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, foreign material came in apace. In 1839 the bird specimens presented included six small American birds given by a Mr Carmichael, fifty-one specimens from India and the Himalayan Mountains from Thomas Erskine and eleven birds from Australia donated by Captain Patterson.⁷⁹ Around 400 shells from King Georges Sound, Australia; the tooth of a 'spermaceti' [sperm] whale; sand from the west coast of Ceylon; gravel from the Himalayan Mountains; a flying fish; three horns of the ibex from Spain; the skin of a South American boa constrictor, 20 feet in length; a large collection of Indian insects in six cases and a cast of the tarsal bone of the dodo were among the many specimens obtained for the Museum in its first years.⁸⁰ Human anatomical material was also acquired by the Museum, such as the anatomical preparations of the human eye given by W. Wallace of New York on 5 November 1838 and the four unspecified anatomical preparations given by Mr Fleming on 5 August 1839. Later, various human skulls were to be acquired and displayed.⁸¹

As previously noted, the Literary and Philosophical Society had been founded with two main objectives: 'promoting Literary and Philosophical research' and 'the establishment of a Museum in the University'. It had three categories of membership: 'Ordinary' (the local basis of the Society), 'Honorary' (also described as 'corresponding' members) and 'Foreign'. The calibre and geographical spread of the

⁷⁸ The fish most commonly found at Dura Den is *Holoptychius*, which thrived in the later Devonian period, from 390-450 million years ago. It is a lobed finned fish (Crossopterygian), with fins located on small stumps, or lobes, which held bones. Encouraged by Darwin's theories on evolution, some contemporaries suggested that these stumps were related to the development of limbs, and that land vertebrates had evolved from fish-like ancestors.

⁷⁹ MSALPS, 7 January 1839; 1 July 1839

⁸⁰ MSALPS, 5 November 1838; 30 November 1838; 7 January 1839; 4 November 1839; 1 June 1840; 7 November 1842; 30 November 1849

⁸¹ MSALPS, 5 November 1838; 5 August 1839

honorary and foreign members suggests something of the scope and scale of the Society's interests. They included Charles Darwin; the renowned geologist Charles Lyell; Sir William Hamilton, the Astronomer Royal; Charles Babbage, the mathematician and computer pioneer; William Henry Fox Talbot, the inventor of the calotype photographic process; a series of eminent professors, such as Robert Grant, Professor of Zoology at University College, London (who had encouraged Darwin's early work) and Stephen Peter Rigaud, Professor of Astronomy at Oxford; and military men and civil servants, from government officials to hospital inspectors, based around the globe, plus some notable worthies including Sir William MacBean George Colebrooke, K.T., Governor of the Leeward Islands, and Rama Vurmah, the Rajah of Travancore and his astronomer John Caldecott.⁸² Several of these eminent figures did take an active interest in the Society, as when on 1 April 1839 Lyell sent a pamphlet on the cretaceous and tertiary strata of the Danish Islands of Iceland and Maën.⁸³ Talbot announced his discovery of the calotype process on 30th January 1839, and through a correspondence with him, by 4th March 1839 Brewster had obtained examples of calotypes to show to the Society.⁸⁴ Thereafter, a number of St Andrews citizens enthusiastically took up photography, producing both Daguerreotypes and calotypes.⁸⁵ St Andrews became an important centre of early photography in Britain, and among the most prominent of the early St Andrews photographers were Brewster himself, Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair (Provost of St Andrews 1842-1861), the Museum's curator John Adamson, his younger brother Robert Adamson, who was to gain acclaim for his work in partnership with David Octavius Hill, and Thomas Rodger.⁸⁶ It was the practice for papers on subjects of interest, usually, though not exclusively, scientific, geographical

⁸² MSALPS, fols 6r.-8v.

⁸³ MSALPS, 1 April 1839

⁸⁴ MSALPS, 4 March 1839

⁸⁵ The Daguerreotype photographic process had been developed by the Frenchman Louis J.M. Daguerre in 1839, independently of Talbot. It produced a one-off reversed positive image on a polished metal plate, which could give a very fine, highly resolved picture, but could not be reproduced. Talbot's process initially gave cruder, grainier results but, importantly, produced a negative which, when contact-printed onto another sheet of similar paper, gave a positive. This could be reproduced many times, giving rise to the positive / negative system commonly in use until the advent of digital photography.

⁸⁶ Robert Adamson (1821-48) moved to Edinburgh in 1843 to open Scotland's first calotype studio on Calton Hill. He was soon introduced to the artist David Octavius Hill, with whom he formed a partnership that was to result in some of the most atmospheric portraits of Scotland's buildings and people, from fisherfolk to the nobility, important both for their technical and artistic merit, and as part of the historic record. Thomas Rodger (1832-88), who had sometimes acted as assistant to John Adamson in his occasional lectures in the University's Chemistry Department, established himself as a professional photographer in St Andrews at the age of sixteen. He was to photograph academics, gentry and royalty including, in 1871, Queen Victoria.

or antiquarian, to be read at the Society's meetings (for example on 4 June 1838, Brewster gave a paper on topaz and George Buist one on ancient monumental stones in the churchyard (in this period the Cathedral) of St Andrews, while on 7 January 1839 one was read on the geography and geology of Upper India).⁸⁷ Many of the University's professors were members of the Society, and might present their latest research work at these meetings, as when Brewster, who is credited with inventing the lenticular stereoscope in 1849, 'shewed and described a new stereoscope in which the pictures are placed side by side and looked at through prismatic lenses' to the Society on 4 December 1848.⁸⁸

In its early years, then, the Society was a relatively dynamic body, keen to debate new discoveries and breakthroughs in the arts and sciences and to protect and promote the history and heritage of St Andrews. The development and maintenance of the Museum was perceived as an intrinsic part of its activities, and attention was paid to the principles of collections management which might assist research and interpretation, such as the taxonomically ordered display of specimens and the preservation of information obtained during fieldwork. The provenance of items was recorded as they came in, first in the Society's minutebooks, and after 1884 in the accessions register. During the first decades of the Museum's existence, hundreds and sometimes thousands of specimens poured in each year, evidence both of the support for the Society's activities from friends, associates and University alumni across the world, and of the need for a repository in the area to house material of local and foreign, historic and scientific interest. (The pace of donations was to slow as the Society itself fell into decline in the late 19th century).⁸⁹ Regular attempts were made to place the collections in order, as when the fishes and reptiles, the Chinese insects and a collection of coins were reported to have been placed in 'proper order' on 6 May

⁸⁷ MSALPS, 4 June 1838; 7 January 1839

⁸⁸ MSALPS, 4 December 1848. Brewster's stereoscope used lenses, whereas an earlier stereoscope designed by Charles Wheatstone relied on mirrors.

⁸⁹ The volume of material coming into the Museum can be gauged by a study of the Minutebooks of the Literary and Philosophical Society, in which it was systematically logged at each meeting: SAUL, UYUY8525/1 and /2. As previously noted, an accessions register was compiled, initially retrospectively, from 1884: UYUY8529/1. The 'Agreement between the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews and the University Court of the University of St Andrews' dated 17 December 1904 which made the University Court the sole proprietor and director of the Museum, subject to certain provisions, listed all the material held as part of the Museum's collections at that date: UYUY852.

1839.⁹⁰ The flow of donations meant that this was an ongoing concern, and on 29 November 1856, the Society's Minutes note that much time had been devoted over the summer to 'the systematic arrangement of the Museum'. Careful decisions were taken as to what type of material the museum should acquire, and the means of enacting these sought, as when on 1 February 1841 the museum committee was authorised to purchase the 'museum' belonging to the heirs of Henry Bruce which was 'a valuable anatomical and miscellaneous collection', and also to meet with Mr Howie towards the formation of a complete flora of the district.⁹¹ Efforts were made to identify gaps in the collections and to fill them. On 4 November 1845 the Curator reported that he had enlarged the collection of Australian birds by the purchase of twenty-three specimens.⁹² On 30 November 1844 he 'announced he had collected during the summer a few of the land and sea birds of this district not previously in the Museum'. An exchange programme was even set up, and by consequence of an arrangement with the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the 'interchange of objects of natural history', a collection of Indian minerals amounting to 116 specimens arrived from Bombay in November 1844.⁹³ Catalogues of the Museum's holdings were produced, including one of the minerals in November 1849, of which 500 copies were issued.⁹⁴ A catalogue of the coins had been produced by 6 May 1839, but increases in the collections meant that another was underway by 4 February 1860. This latter work led to the identification of 'blanks' in the series and proposals to fill them: no coins were said to have been obtained yet from the 'great coinage of 1816' of George III, or any of the subsequent reigns, with the exception of Victoria, and it was noted that 'some of the pieces are now becoming scarce and difficult to be got in good condition'.⁹⁵ The creation of catalogues not only served the function of recording the holdings, but enabled information on them to be disseminated to scholars and other institutions, allowing comparative specimens to be cross-referenced and other research work undertaken.

⁹⁰ MSALPS, 6 May 1839

⁹¹ MSALPS, 1 February 1841

⁹² MSALPS, 4 November 1845

⁹³ MSALPS, 30 November 1844

⁹⁴ MSALPS, 30 November 1849

⁹⁵ MSALPS, 6 May 1839; SAUL, UYUY8528/3, Papers of the Literary and Philosophical Society 1840-98, 'Report on the Coins in the Museum' by D. Smith, July 1860

Occasionally, what could be described as 'curiosities' were acquired by the Museum, as when Brewster presented 'A portion of the apple tree under which Sir Isaac Newton sat when he discovered the theory of gravitation', Captain Fielden of Cambo gave a chicken with four feet, fully developed, and 'From a Lady' came 'a head of wheat grown from a seed found in the mouth of an Egyptian mummy'.⁹⁶ These seem to have been examined with a spirit of scientific enquiry rather than attracting unthinking fascination (at least among the Society's members; some of the public visiting the Museum may have taken a different viewpoint). The chicken came in with examples of other birds with no apparent unusual features, and was perhaps intended as a specimen that would allow normal and abnormal development to be studied and compared. On 4 November 1839, when Brewster presented an example of 'glass formed by the fusion of a haystack by lightning', the very terminology used to describe the phenomenon was scientific.⁹⁷

The University's professors seem to have contributed considerably to the Museum's holdings. Professor Macdonald, who had found access to the Museum for his class somewhat hindered in the 1850s, built up an 'extensive collection of skeletons of fishes, skins of birds, minerals, fossils, foreign shells and other forms' in his own rooms in the United College, which he passed to the University prior to his death in 1875, and which were then incorporated into the Museum.⁹⁸ However, though the Museum had the potential to function as a teaching institution, and was sporadically employed as such (on 6 May 1850 Thomas Peattie, the United College janitor, was instructed to be present in the Museum on every Saturday during the University session for one or more hours, to admit students 'for the purpose of study'; while the Museum regulations passed on 30 January 1858 allowed students of the University to be admitted free of charge to the Museum on Saturdays, and 'a Professor with his class on any day', even if this was qualified with the stipulation that no professor or lecturer might remove specimens without the consent of three Council Members), this was not a continuous state of affairs.⁹⁹ McIntosh notes that in the early 1850s:

⁹⁶ MSALPS, 1 July 1839; 1 June 1840; 6 November 1843

⁹⁷ MSALPS, 4 November 1839

⁹⁸ McIntosh, *Brief Sketch*, pp.8-9. On 3 December 1859, Dr Macdonald applied to be made joint Curator of the Museum, but this was rejected (MSALPS).

⁹⁹ MSALPS, 6 May 1850; 30 January 1858

No attempt was made by the ordinary student to utilise the museum for study; indeed, an impatient janitor would recall him from his abstraction if he lingered long in the precincts.

Perhaps Peattie resented the specified hour. Later Henry Alleyne Nicholson, Professor of Natural History 1875-82, was said to have

No regular access to the museum for teaching purposes, and thus one of the great objects of such a collection was in abeyance.

According to McIntosh, the Museum was not made fully available for teaching purposes until November 1882.¹⁰⁰ Thoms notes that until 1888, when the University began contributing half the cost of the Museum's upkeep, the expense of maintaining the Museum, including paying attendants on public open days, had mainly fallen on the Society, although the University had granted the Society £20 in December 1856 to help clear accumulated debt.¹⁰¹ There was some tension between the Society and the University over the rights and duties of each in relation to the Museum, particularly after the departure for the Principalship of Edinburgh University of Brewster in 1859: in his dual role as Principal of the United College and a Vice-Principal and frequent chairman of the Society's meetings, he seems to have been largely successful in keeping disputes in check. Some of this tension undoubtedly arose from the location of the Museum in a University building. Thoms notes that Heddle's 'magnificent and unique collection of Scotch minerals' had been secured by the Society for the Museum

On condition that space and cases were forthcoming in which to exhibit the collection properly. The University not seeing their way to build, and the Society being unable to do more

¹⁰⁰ McIntosh, *Brief Sketch*, pp.9-10, 19

¹⁰¹ Thoms, *Brief Account*, p.10

the collection was lost to St Andrews.¹⁰² An unwillingness on the part of the Society to allow students greater access to the Museum perhaps related to the resolutions adopted in relation to the Museum on 11 July 1840, the second of which stated that if a class requiring the use of the Museum was established in the University, the Senate was to have joint management of the Museum with the Society (until this situation arises, the first resolution makes clear, the Museum, though co-owned by the University, is to be 'subject alone to the direction of the ordinary members of the Society'), and the fourth of which stipulated:

That should the Museum be so enclosed through the influence of the University as to become ... more of the character of a University than a private Museum, in that case, the Society shall relinquish all direction and be entitled only to a free admission for its members.¹⁰³

A fear of losing control of the Museum may have led the Society's members to limit its use for teaching, though as many of the University's professors belonged to the Society, they may more easily have been able to obtain access for their own studies.

The Museum was opened to the public free of charge on Saturday afternoons during the summer from at least 1855, with the result that several local tradesmen formed themselves into a society for the study of natural history.¹⁰⁴ Earlier in that year, the Society was gratified that:

The Museum having been thrown open to the fishermen, several valuable donations were received from them, viz a box of pearls from Mussels and Cockles, a gigantic starfish ...¹⁰⁵

It was opened again on Saturdays over the summer of 1856, though lack of funds to pay a superintendent prevented it from opening in 1857.¹⁰⁶ On 30 January 1858 the

¹⁰² Thoms, *Brief Account*, p.9. SAUL,UYUY8528/5, 'Papers of the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews, 1839-1905', contains a public proposal that the University build a large extension to the Museum to house the collection. When this did not occur, the collection went instead to the Royal Scottish Museum, now a part of the National Museums of Scotland, Thoms, a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society, himself contributing £500 towards the purchase price, and the Government another £500. McIntosh, *Brief Sketch*, p.22-23.

¹⁰³ MSALPS, 11 July 1840

¹⁰⁴ MSALPS, 1 October 1855

¹⁰⁵ MSALPS, 7 April 1855

¹⁰⁶ MSALPS, 29 November 1856; 28 November 1857

Museum Committee recommended that the opening hours be increased to 10am–4pm daily during the United College session and 10am–6pm from 1st May – 1st November. At the same time charges were introduced of 2d for 'Strangers and the Public generally': members and their personal friends in parties of up to six were to be admitted free.¹⁰⁷ In later years the Government was to make the provision of funding for exhibition cases dependent on public access.¹⁰⁸

A full study of the history of the Museum is beyond the remit of this thesis. However, it is notable that its establishment heralded a fundamental change in the presentation, perceptions and uses of the University's artefact collections. The removal of the 'curiosities' from the Library to the new Museum and their incorporation within a systematic, ordered series of objects relating to natural and human history (geology, zoology, botany, anatomy, archaeology, ethnography and numismatics) marked a division between the collections rapidly growing in these fields and artefacts inherently connected to the University's heritage (portraits, the college plate, the maces and archery medals, specific items of furniture, and so on) which were retained, and some of which were shown, within the Library, Colleges and Church of St Salvator. In many ways, the history of the University's collection of 'curiosities' reflects the development of modern museums from cabinets of curiosities to institutions that could more systematically contribute to research and investigation into the natural world and human history. It also reflects the influence on the University of, and its participation in, broad historical and cultural movements, such as the Enlightenment, the Age of Empire and the development of modern science. Although the vast collections accumulated in the new Museum might not seem so innately related to the University's identity as its 'heritage' holdings, both in fact reveal different facets of its core values. The former affirm its intellectual focus and commitment to contributing to and engaging with the wider world and a fast growing body of knowledge, even if this involved collaboration with another body, the Literary and Philosophical Society, with which relations were not always easy. The latter represent the value it placed on institutional history, connections to past University members and patrons, a sense of place, and collegiate spirit. The division of the collections also embodies the growing separation between the arts and sciences in the Western world at this time, connected

¹⁰⁷ MSALPS, 30 January 1858

¹⁰⁸ Thoms, *Brief Account*, p.10

to the development of specialised fields of knowledge, and represents the University's attempts to reposition itself for a modern scientific era, alongside its efforts to maintain the emblems of its history and heritage. In choosing to present the different elements of its artefact holding to the public, the University visibly demonstrated that it attached value and significance to both.



Birch bark basket, of North American Algonquin (Cree) origin

Said to have been presented to the University in 1728

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, ET1977.125

Plate 51

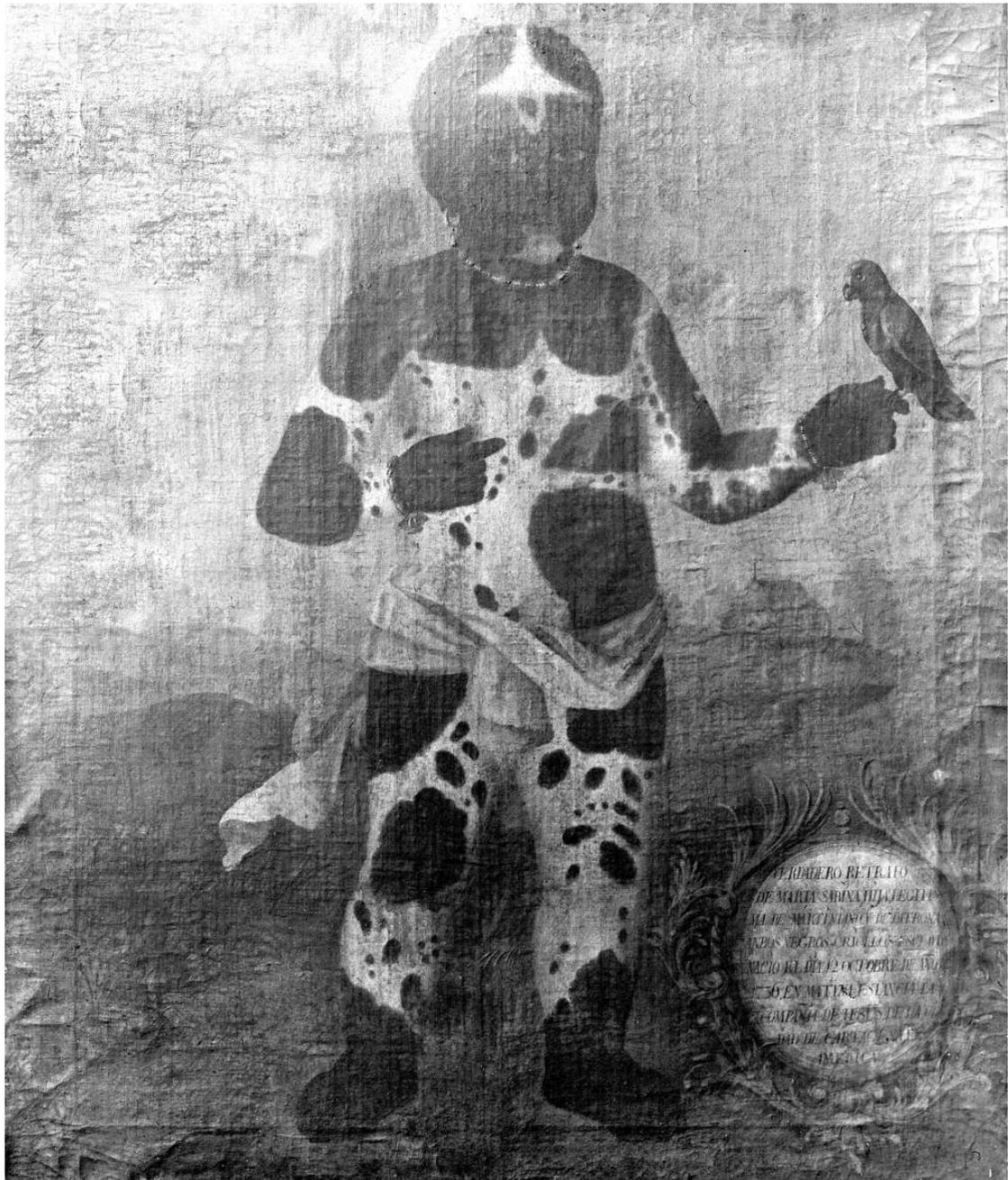


'Zodiac' bowl, thought to be of Burmese origin

Presented to the University by Lieutenant Colonel James Brodie, 1837

Museum Collections, University of St Andrews, HC278

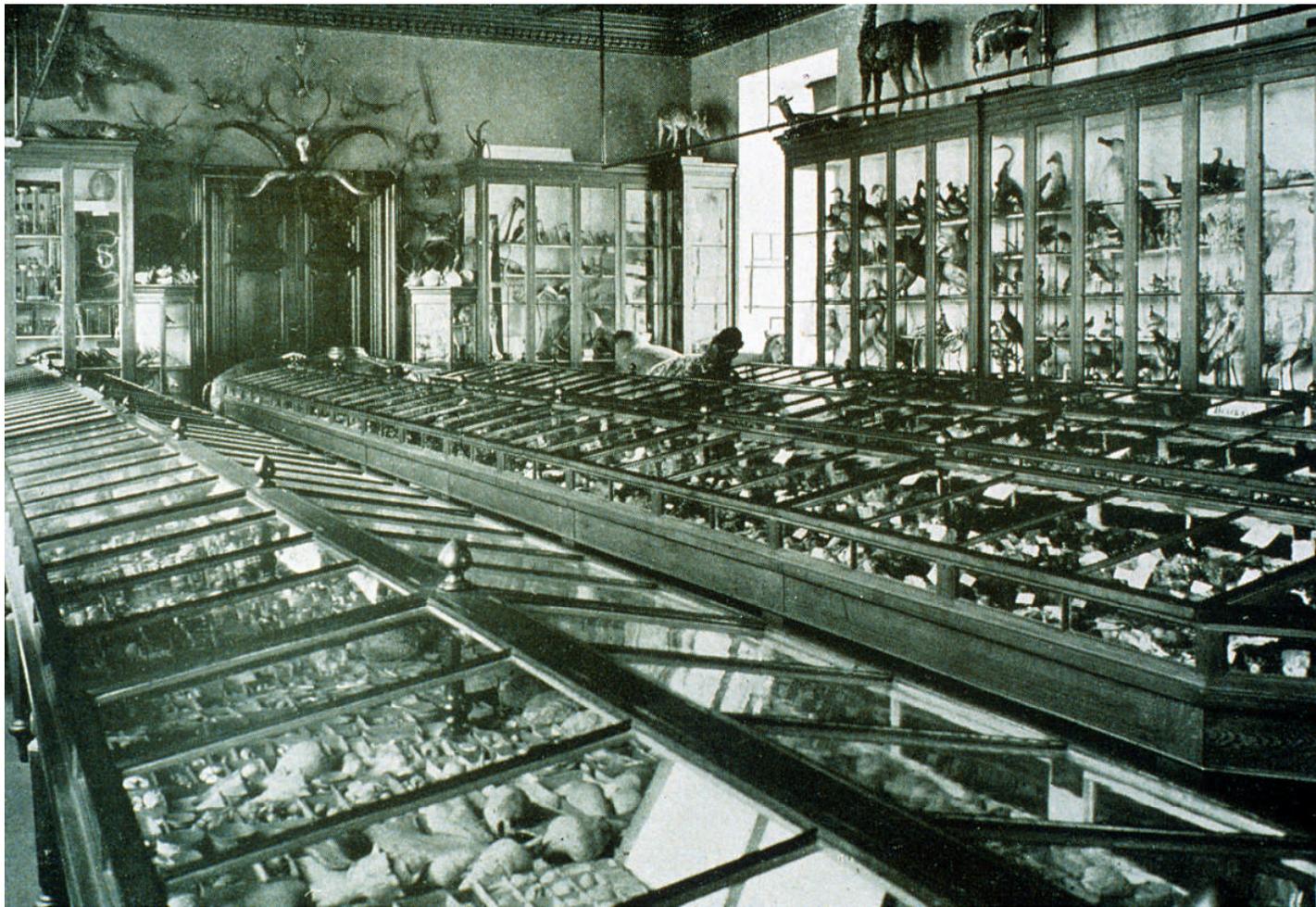
Plate 52



Photograph of the portrait of Mary Sabina once held by the University of St Andrews

The original is no longer extant

Courtesy of the University Library, University of St Andrews, JHW-136



Museum of the University of St Andrews and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews
Photograph thought to date from early 20th century. Supplied by Professor Ian Carradice.

Conclusion

A brief account of the development of the collections of the University of St Andrews from 1904

In 1904, with the Literary and Philosophical Society in decline and wrangles over the funding of the joint Museum of the Society and the University persisting, it was agreed that the University Court should become the 'sole proprietor and Director' of the Museum and its holdings.¹ The formal 'Agreement between the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews and the University Court of the University of St Andrews', dated 17 December 1904, was registered in the Register of Deeds in the Books of Council and Session at Edinburgh on 29 December 1904. In his *Brief Sketch of the Natural History Museum of the University of St Andrews* (1904), William Carmichael McIntosh, Director of the Museum noted that:

Financially the museum in its earlier days was mainly upheld by the Literary and Philosophical Society, though occasional grants were given by the United College and the University ... As a general rule in more recent times the University disbursed half the expenses ... Occasionally, however, the University gave a considerable donation, and after 1882 it paid the larger share, and sometimes the whole, of the attendant-Curator's salary. When the Universities' Commission had placed the control of the finances, formerly in the hands of the College, under the management of the University Court, that body ceased to contribute anything to the museum proper, on the ground that the Court could not legally spend on what was not its sole property. From that date (1892-1893) the Court gave only the Curator's salary [plus minor contributions for the purchase of specimens from a small Natural History class grant] ... It was freely stated by those in authority in the

¹ 'Agreement between the Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews and the University Court of the University of St Andrews', dated 17 December 1904, p.4. Copy of 'Agreement' in SAUL, UYUY852. The Literary and Philosophical Society was formally dissolved in 1916. See SAUL, UYUY8525/2, 'Minutes of the Literary and Philosophical Society 1861-1916', pp.345-346.

University that it could now afford to support the museum in a satisfactory way, if only its proprietorship were handed over by the Society to it.²

Under the terms of the Agreement, Members of the Literary and Philosophical Society were to be given free admission to the Museum, and the public admitted under suitable regulations (see plate 54, photograph of the Museum about this period). Special provision was made for 'archaeological specimens belonging to St Andrews and its neighbourhood', which were to be removed to 'suitable buildings' if these were to be established by the Town Council, Literary and Philosophical Society or other body: in 1909 424 items of this nature, including the St Andrews Sarcophagus, were transferred to what is now the Cathedral Museum, managed by Historic Scotland. Items of a 'burghal nature' might be transferred to the Town Council, if appropriate. Otherwise, the University Court committed itself to maintain the remaining collection of the Museum, specified in a detailed Schedule, 'in St Andrews for ever in its integrity (ie not broken up into class museums) and to house and display the same properly in all time coming'.³

In 1912 the Museum and its holdings were transferred to the 'Museum extension' to the Bute Medical buildings, constructed 1909-11 and funded by Elsie Bell Pettigrew in memory of her husband James Bell Pettigrew, Chandos Professor of Medicine 1875-1908. Hereafter, the site was known as the Bell Pettigrew Museum. The new site (but not the generosity of the donor) was heavily criticised by the Museum's Director, McIntosh, who felt it was inconvenient for visitors.⁴ A description of the original layout of the Bell Pettigrew Museum, which extended over two floors, is provided in McIntosh's *Brief Sketch*.⁵ The Bell Pettigrew Museum functioned as a university and town museum until the 1950s, when it was reduced in size and, in defiance of the 1904 Agreement, its non-zoological collections were removed to departments within the University to which their

² William Carmichael McIntosh, *Brief Sketch of the Natural History Museum of the University of St Andrews*, 1913, pp.26-27

³ 'Agreement', pp.4-8; pamphlet (bound into the front of SAUL UYUY852), D.H.F. [David Hay Fleming], *Local Archaeological Objects in St Andrews Museum; reprinted from St Andrews Citizen*, 1909. The pamphlet has been amended by hand by D.H.F., 11 June 1909, to show what objects have so far been moved to the Cathedral Museum.

⁴ McIntosh, *Brief Sketch*, pp.48-50

⁵ McIntosh, *Brief Sketch*, pp.51-63

subject matter related. Some zoology material, particularly the larger specimens, went to other institutions, primarily the Royal Scottish Museum (now incorporated into National Museums Scotland). An archaeology museum was opened in the University in 1957 in 'Swallowgate', once the home of the Bell Pettigrews and now of the School of Classics. This was closed in 1988 following the cessation of the teaching of archaeology classes in the University. The collection, which included some items once held in the original Museum in the United College buildings, was dispersed. Broadly, Scottish material (including a notable collection of cinerary urns) was transferred to what was then North East Fife District Council, and is now held in the collections of the local authority-run St Andrews Museum, while the overseas material went to the National Museums of Scotland.

The management of the museum collections was somewhat haphazard from the 1950s to 1990: for example, there were no professional curatorial staff and no accessions register was maintained. Certain individuals in the various departments to which the collections had been dispersed undertook their care, maintenance and display (usually in cases in departmental foyers or corridors) to a greater or lesser degree, the extent of their work perhaps largely depending on their other commitments as academic staff and their level of personal interest. Some documentation of collections, for example ethnographic and archaeological material, was undertaken using Museum Documentation Association (M.D.A.) cards in the 1970s. At the Bell Pettigrew Museum, Dr David Burt, a member of the academic staff of the School of Biology 1946-64, spent the first seven years of his retirement reorganising the remaining zoological specimens into displays that allow the evolutionary and taxonomic relationships between animals to be clearly understood in the light of the characteristics defining each phylum, to serve the teaching needs of the School. This thematic scheme, with design upgrades in the early 1990s and 2005, remains intact today.

In 1990, Dr (now Professor) Ian Carradice was appointed the first Keeper of (Museum) Collections, with a remit to professionalise their management. With the addition of further professional staff in the 1990s, the Museum Collections Unit became established,

and was accorded responsibility for all the University's artefact collections, from art, silver, ethnography, archaeology and numismatics, to the science collections, including anatomical, geological and zoological specimens.⁶ As previously discussed, in the mid 1990s these were classified, for the purposes of the Museum Registration scheme (which recognises professional standards in museums and collections management) into the categories of 'Historic Scientific Instruments', 'Chemistry', 'Psychology', 'Anatomy and Pathology', 'Geology', 'Ethnographic and Amerindian', 'Heritage' (largely arts-based collections connected to the University's history, encompassing fine and decorative art, furniture, costume and textiles, numismatics and miscellanea) and, in the Bell Pettigrew Museum, zoology. In 2002, in the 'National Audit' of Scotland's museums by the Scottish Museums Council (now Museums Galleries Scotland, the professional sectoral body in Scotland), the University was found to hold almost 112,300 objects across the range of these fields. The collections were identified as being the 13th largest in Scotland in terms of items assessed as being of 'international, UK and national significance'.⁷ In 2007 the 'Heritage', 'Historic Scientific Instruments' and 'Chemistry' collections were awarded Recognised status as Collections of National Significance (Scotland's equivalent of the 'Designation' scheme in England). With the opening of the Gateway Galleries temporary exhibition venue in 2005; MUSA, the Museum of the University of St Andrews, on the Scores, in 2009; and two centralised stores (one to be open to the public for tours) and a publicly accessible on-line collections database planned for 2010, the collections have increasingly once again become centralised and accessible to the public, as well as to University members.⁸

Over the course of the 20th century, certain items now held within the Museum Collections gained particular prominence and even international renown. The publication of papers on specific artefacts by individuals including Brook (in the late 19th century) on the maces and archery medals, and Gunther on the early scientific instruments, particularly Cole's

⁶ The archaeology material largely comprises a collection of Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic flints on loan to Nottingham University at the time of the dispersal of the archaeology collections, but since returned to St Andrews, plus Cypriot artefacts acquired from 1994.

⁷ Scottish Museums Council, *A Collective Insight: Scotland's National Audit Full Findings Report*, Edinburgh, 2002, pp.30, 211-212

⁸ The Museum Collections Unit is now (January 2010) headed by a Director (Ian Carradice) and has five curatorial staff (two with a 'learning and access' remit) and two curatorial trainees plus front-of-house staff.

'Great Astrolabe', and the loan of certain items to important national exhibitions brought them particular attention. The significance of the St Mary's plate (the College Mazer, 'Capstan' salt and Guild Cup), not just to the University itself, but, as rare survivals, to the history of silver, had been realised by at least 1882/3, when these items were shown to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Principal Tulloch and described and illustrated in their *Proceedings*.⁹ This was followed by discussions of the extant early plate of the University (the St Mary's pieces plus the St Leonard's College Mazer, Bruce Cup and Murray Cup) in works by Burns, Finlay, How and others (see previous footnotes and bibliography). The maces were shown at exhibitions including 'French Connections: Scotland and the Arts of France' (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1985); '*Mittelalterliche Universitätszepter*' (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg, 1986) and 'Silver: Made in Scotland' (National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2008), while items of the early college silver and selected archery medals were also exhibited at 'Silver: Made in Scotland' and 'The Lovable Craft, 1687-1987' (Royal Museum of Scotland, 1987). As discussed in Chapter V, the early scientific instruments were displayed in exhibitions in Oxford (1926) and at the British Museum in London (1998), and also in various exhibitions in Edinburgh, including 'The St. Andrews University Astrolabes: Special Exhibition' (Royal Scottish Museum, 1959); 'The Mariner's Astrolabe' (Royal Scottish Museum, 1972); and 'A Heavenly Library' (National Museums of Scotland, 1994) (see previous footnotes and bibliography). Meanwhile, the display of artefact and Library treasures at the University exhibitions in Parliament Hall, St Andrews in 1961 and 1962 and the Merchant Taylors Hall in London in 1963, organised to celebrate the institution's history (as part of the fundraising campaign for the development of the North Haugh site, where many of the University's science buildings are now situated), meant that within the University, a process of deliberately selecting and presenting particular artefacts, both as individual objects of interest and as in some way representative of that history, occurred. The objects chosen for exhibition ranged from the early scientific instruments, reflecting telescope made by James Short (1736) and orrery by Benjamin Cole (c. 1750), early college plate and the medieval and modern maces to the Bull of Foundation, original

⁹ Very Reverend Principal John Tulloch, 'Notice of Three Vessels Belonging to St Mary's College, St Andrews' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XVII, 1882-83, pp.141-144

matrix of the University seal (c. 1414-18), and other early records of the University, examples of academic dress, medieval illuminated manuscripts held in the Library, examples of early photography, illuminated addresses sent to the University by other academic institutions in 1911, to mark the 500th anniversary of the University's foundation, and material relating to current and relatively recent teaching and research, including zoological publications by McIntosh and D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson. From the 1990s, objects from the Museum Collections featured in the series of annual exhibitions at the St Andrews Museum and Crawford Arts Centre, St Andrews and, after the closure of the Crawford Arts Centre in 2006, the Gateway Galleries, organised by students of the taught postgraduate Museum and Gallery Studies course, including 'Reflections: From Alchemy to Astrophysics' (St Andrews Museum, 1996); 'Into Africa: St Andrews Connections' (St Andrews Museum, 1997) and 'Saving Face: Conserving the Art Collections of the University of St Andrews' (Crawford Arts Centre, 2002).

The development of academic subject specialisms in the fields of art history and (largely from the late 19th century) the history of science, and of modern museum practice, also influenced the identification of certain items within the University's artefact collections as being of particular significance. Items were assigned typological importance within these subject areas, valued for their primacy, or as rare or unique survivals, with, again, particular attention being paid to the medieval maces, 'Great Astrolabe' and universal instrument and the college mazers (the St Leonard's Mazer as a possible model for the form of early Protestant Communion vessels in Scotland, and the St Mary's Mazer as the earliest extant fully hallmarked piece of Edinburgh silver). The interest in, and emergence of museum collections of, 'applied art', associated with the Industrial Revolution and ambitions of educating and inspiring designers, craftsmen and engineers (in Britain the Great Exhibition of 1851 led to the establishment of the South Kensington Museum, now the Victoria and Albert Museum), played its role in the study of items like the medieval maces becoming established as mainstream academic activity. In April 1873 the South Kensington Museum requested permission to make copies of examples of 'ancient British plate' owned by the University, as part of a scheme to make copies of specimens of such plate held in the colleges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Inns of Court

and 'Municipal and other Corporations', for instruction in art and in the history of art.¹⁰ The University proposed the medieval maces (despite the French manufacture of at least one and almost certainly two of the maces).¹¹ The South Kensington Museum attempted to make arrangements for copies of the maces to be made by electrotype process in 1879, offering to send a 'special messenger' to collect them, but the University Senate showed reluctance to allow them to leave St Andrews, and the work is not thought to have been carried out.¹² Developments in the fields of study of geology and archaeology, particularly from the 18th century, and somewhat later, ethnography, and the application of modern principles of fieldwork to collecting in these areas, particularly the recording of contextual information and careful preservation of associated specimens, also gradually changed the context in which items once nominated as 'curiosities' were seen.

New items have been added to the University's artefact collections since 1904, even while they have been denuded in other areas. Four new maces have been acquired in the last century: the University College Mace in 1912, which passed to the University of Dundee in 1966; the Mace of the School of Medicine in 1949; the University Mace in 1958; and the Rector's Mace in 2003. Collecting for teaching and research purposes has continued in the fields of zoology, geology, archaeology and ethnography, among others, although in certain periods (the 1970s for ethnography, 1980s for archaeology) this trend has been temporarily reversed and items disposed of. The growth of the art collection, and the acquisition of teaching material for the School of Art History, particularly through the Boswell Art Collection Fund, has been discussed. Since the establishment of the Museum Collections Unit, there has been a marked move to incorporate former teaching apparatus (for example in the fields of chemistry, psychology, and natural philosophy / physics) into the University's collections; and also proactively to acquire material associated with the University's history and past and present members, as when a chair once owned by Archbishop Sharp (University Chancellor 1661-1679) was purchased at auction in 2003, the narrative work, 'The Death of Archbishop Sharpe' by John Opie (1797) was acquired

¹⁰ SAUL, UYUY199, letter from South Kensington Museum to University of St Andrews, 30 April 1873

¹¹ SAUL, UYUY199, University of St Andrews to South Kensington Museum, 12 May 1873

¹² SAUL, UYUY199, South Kensington Museum to University of St Andrews, 22 October 1879; unsigned draft response by University of St Andrews to South Kensington Museum [1879]

in 2008 (most of the purchase price being met by funds of £73,961 raised externally), and when 19th and 20th century student memorabilia, from a sports trophy for the 'University Mile Race' (1885) to a Student Union Life Membership card (issued 1942) were recently added to the collections. The Museum Collections Unit's Acquisition and Disposal Policy (2008) states that 'The collecting area for the Museum Collections will normally be the University of St Andrews, including its teaching fields and its past and present staff and students, and its existing collections'.¹³

Summary of findings

From its earliest years, then, the University of St Andrews has acquired 'artefacts of significance': items that have, for a variety of reasons, been accorded a special importance and have been presented in a context in which this status has been made apparent. The reasons why these artefacts have been held to have a significance beyond mere domestic or ecclesiastical functionality, or the University's core functions of teaching and learning, have included, in particular periods and in certain contexts, their connection to the history of the University; their relation to individuals with whom the University wished to demonstrate its associations, from University members (including alumni) to patrons and benefactors, and eminent or admired outsiders; their ceremonial role; their beauty or craftsmanship; their financial worth; their fascination as rarities and curiosities; and their ability to represent the breadth of learning in the University and its interest and influence in spheres ranging from science and the arts to national and world events. Crucially, items might be deemed to be significant because they could in some way represent, reflect or affirm the prestige and status of the University.

The maces are potent symbols of the authority of the University, and so central to the representation of this that a stylised mace is prominent on the University seal, designed before 1418. The functional and decorative roles of the furnishings of St Salvator's Church in the pre-Reformation period combined as the means and emblems of the

¹³ Museum Collections Unit, 'Acquisition and Disposal Policy', revised 2008

expression of faith, in their richness reflecting the honour and status of the college and praising and magnifying the divine. The college mazers and certain other items of plate represented values of loyalty, fellowship and community, perhaps so successfully that, in an appropriation of meaning, one piece may have been thought a suitable model for Communion vessels. In contrast to the relatively private and intimate setting of the college table, the archery medals were designed for public display, to demonstrate the prowess and triumphs of the University's students. However, like the traditions associated with the passing of the mazers and the display of college plate, the archery competition was instrumental in encouraging collegiate loyalty and the identification of individual members with their college and its ethos, in this case through the mechanism of friendly inter-collegiate rivalry.

The portraits, in representing the University's associations with learned scholars, famed alumni, eminent statesmen and other renowned figures from its past and from more recent times, make explicit the value it places on academic endeavour and achievement, its own history and its connection to national affairs. By displaying portraits of its Principals, Professors, alumni, benefactors and friends, the University was emphasising its own standing and importance and its links to distinguished men, in the academic and public spheres. The display of an individual's portrait within the University also has certain implications in relation to the reputation of the person depicted, suggesting that they are worthy of recognition and publicly conferring the impression of their wisdom, intelligence, eminence or renown. The notion that they, or their loved ones, might thus be immortalised within the history of the institution might encourage individuals and, particularly, family members, to donate portraits to the University, as might other factors, such as a sense of loyalty to the institution or a desire to return the portrait of a subject to a place to which he had devoted so much of his life. Similarly, through the donation of silver vessels, patrons sought to support and associate themselves more closely with the colleges, faculties and University and, in some cases, through prominent inscriptions, ensure that their name was remembered and incorporated into the traditions of the institution.

The scientific instruments, displayed to Thomas Kirk in 1677, just a few years after the observatory initiative had been launched, demonstrate the University's determination, in this period, to be at the forefront of scientific developments. The commission to James Gregory of 10 June 1673 reveals that through the foundation of an observatory and the acquisition of instruments, the University not only hopes to improve its teaching and research capacity, but also desires to enhance its 'lustre and splendour' and be publicly recognised for its contributions to, and influence in, scientific spheres.¹⁴ The 'curiosities' gathered in the University Library denote the University's intellectual curiosity; its far-reaching links across the world during the period of the expansion of the British Empire; and its associations with the patrons, friends and alumni who presented items for the collection, several of these being eminent figures whose donations embodied a network connecting the University to the wider world of science, the arts, politics, the royal family, trade, exploration and military ventures, such as Sir John Pringle (an alumnus, President of the Royal Society and Physician to the Queen, and the prominent statesman and First Lord of the Admiralty, Viscount Melville (Chancellor 1788-1811)). Later, the collections which grew in the joint Museum of the University and Literary and Philosophical Society from its establishment in 1838 embody the University's commitment to study and research across various fields of natural and human history, and contributions to a fast-growing body of knowledge.

Over the centuries then, the University has, consciously and subconsciously, used certain artefacts to represent to its own members and to visitors its history, wealth, learning, status and authority; and they have acted as signifiers of its values and identity. The display of artefacts to visitors during the late 17th and 18th century seems, in part, to have been an aspect of a deliberate strategy to promote positive impressions of the institution to individuals who might publish or otherwise broadcast their experiences to an audience which might include potential students and their parents. The provision of personal hospitality and access to University treasures and curiosities was not always sufficient to

¹⁴ 'Commission, University of St Andrews to Mr James Gregory, Professor of Mathematics, 10th June 1673. From the Original' in *Archaeologia Scotica*, III, 1831, pp.285-286

distract from poor impressions given by the state of the town and the University's own buildings, as the report of Samuel Johnson, who visited in 1773, shows:

The kindness of the professors did not contribute to abate the uneasy remembrance of a university declining, a college alienated, and a church profaned and hastening to the ground. ...

Had the university been destroyed two centuries ago, we should not have regretted it; but to see it pining in decay and struggling for life, fills the mind with mournful images and ineffectual wishes.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the display of artefacts is revelatory of how the University wished to be perceived and its values and aspirations in particular periods, for the conspicuous presentation of objects, whether to visitors or University members, not only reveals what treasured items the University owned at particular points, but why it prized them, and through this, aspects of its own perceptions of its identity and status, and its insecurities and ambitions; as when, for example, visitors viewing the maces were told the tale of their discovery in Kennedy's tomb and the distribution of a number of other maces found there to the other ancient Scottish universities, thus demonstrating the long history and wealth of the University of St Andrews and its munificence to its younger, sister institutions; and when Principal Murison, showing Johnson the University Library and its contents, informed him that "You have not such a one in England".¹⁶ Why particular artefacts, or types of artefacts, have been prioritised, in terms of acquisition and care extended to them, as well as presentation, has also been influenced by how receptive the institution has been to the attitude of individuals, and by available resources and the allocation of these, as exemplified by the University enabling James Gregory to purchase instruments for the planned observatory c. 1673; and by the purchase of artworks around the time of the 500th anniversaries of the University and of St Salvator's College, because the University (and

¹⁵ Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. J.D. Fleeman, Oxford, 1985, pp.5-6

¹⁶ James Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, republished Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., London, 1908, p.56

members of staff within it, such as Dr Ronald Cant) was at these points interested in marking and celebrating its own history and achievements.

The meaning and significance attached to many of the artefacts has altered over time, in part in response to broad ideological, socio-economic and intellectual movements. The changes to religious thought and practice inherent in the Protestant Reformation rendered the lavish furnishings of St Salvator's Church unseemly and even idolatrous, resulting in their dispersal or destruction. The cessation of the Silver Arrow archery competition c. 1754 and the abandonment of the residential system and Common Tables by 1820 meant that the medals and college plate were no longer part of living traditions and the accustomed ceremony of college life, but effectively obsolete; interesting for their historical value and, in the case of the medals, worth displaying to visitors and tourists, but not anymore a part of the vital dynamism of University activity with which students and staff could identify themselves. A short-lived attempt was made to revive the archery competition in the 1830s, but there was insufficient sustained interest, while with the revival of the residential system in the late 19th and 20th century, the college plate could perhaps have come back into functional use.¹⁷ That it did not was as much for reasons of security and preservation as because it would have had no particular associations with the first surviving hall to open: University Hall, for women, in 1896 (the experimental St Leonard's Hall of 1861-1874 would have been an appropriate setting for the St Leonard's plate at least, being based on the old college site, but I have not been able to establish whether the silver was ever used there).¹⁸ The assortment of 'curiosities' in the University Library, many of which seem to have been acquired by happenstance, were, from their transferral to the new Museum in 1838, systematically incorporated into a rationally ordered, classified series of objects, for which there was a structured collecting programme. Historically, scientific instruments have been valued primarily in terms of their technical functionality, which might be appropriated in cabinets to symbolise

¹⁷ Alexander J.S. Brook, 'An Account of the Archery Medals belonging to the University of St Andrews and the Grammar School of Aberdeen' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXVIII, 1893-94, pp.343-469, p.351, n.4

¹⁸ University Hall was to acquire its own plate, while St Salvator's Hall, established for men in 1930, received candelabra and a fine and extensive set of cutlery from Sir David Russell. Other halls also made their own arrangements, such as Hamilton Hall, which acquired the dining service of the Grand Hotel, the previous occupant of the building.

comprehension of scientific principles, rather than for their age, provenance or connections to particular individuals. This has altered from the 19th century, and has affected how the University's older instruments and apparatus are perceived and interpreted. Various pieces of glassware, the rump of the chemical apparatus owned by Thomas Thomson and bought through Alexander Allan, which was dismissed by Brewster as 'miserable trash' in 1840, were discovered in St Salvator's Church tower in the 1920s: these few remnants, possibly stored away because they were no longer of practical use, now form the centrepiece of the University's 'Chemistry' collection (a Recognised Collection of National Significance), largely because they are rare survivals and can provide information on past chemistry practices. Perhaps only the portraits, which denote institutional connections to, and respect for, the subjects, or historical associations with the town of St Andrews, and the maces have largely retained their role unchanged. As emblems of the status and authority of the University, the maces are still in use at graduations and other ceremonies and, though the Faculty maces have lost their direct connection to their commissioning bodies, the symbolic importance of maces to the University is attested to by the creation of the four other maces from 1912.

In St Andrews, the portraits, busts, scientific instruments and ethnographic, natural history, numismatic and other 'curiosities', gradually accumulated and stored or displayed in the University Library from (depending on the type of artefact) about the late 17th to mid-19th centuries, amid the manuscripts gathered from sources including the Cathedral and the books flooding in after the Copyright Act of 1710; and the maces, archery medals and silver plate, generally held elsewhere in the University, offer insights into the University's history, activities, and sense of identity. Their existence and treatment provides context to and a commentary on major events and day-to-day life, from the upheaval of the Reformation to the traditions associated with dining, and point to the University's intellectual and political ambitions during the Enlightenment and Age of Empire. As such, the collections and the history of their development complement, and provide important information not necessarily contained in, archival sources relating to the University, such as Court, Senate, faculty and college Minutes, financial accounts and the reports of Commissioners to the University.

How artefacts are presented and displayed, and the meanings with which they are, consciously or sub-consciously, imbued, is part of an on-going discourse that changes and evolves over the centuries. This process has continued to the present day, with, as part of the University's heritage strategy, the current display of objects in three museum venues and their presentation and interpretation by curatorial staff, including a 'learning and access' team involved in working with departments within the University, schools, nurseries and other diverse user groups, and the general public. The University's artefact holdings are, of course, receptive to interpretation in a multiplicity of ways, depending on the context in which they are presented, and the knowledge, interests and pre-conceptions of the individual examining them: an art historian might respond in a very different way to a portrait by an artist they have made a study of than might a descendant of the subject portrayed. Why certain items are today perceived within and beyond the University as 'significant' or accorded some special value is very much influenced by the context of the modern world, in which the University operates, as well as by its history and past. This has ever been the case.

Appendix A

Inventories of silver of the colleges, from the Reformation to the mid-18th century

Where inventories contain other material, a brief description of this is provided in brackets

{ }

Inventories of St Leonard's College

SAUL, UYSL156

'Pringle's Book', 1699-1747, p.64

Extract from 'Memorandum of the Donations by Principal John Duncanson to St Leonard's College', 1566 [transcription by Pringle]

Mr John Duncanson Mr Prinl of St Leonard's College founded within the citie of St Andrews gave & now pr ntly [presently] gives to the sd College & to the behoof of the Samine an great Cup, called an Maizer, double o'regilt w^t gold, both feet & borders round about, whose name also is insculped in the Samine. And an Silver Spoon, w^t an carved Lang Saddle of aik, which stands in the East chamber nearest the Gate called sometime captain John Borthwick's chamber: the qlk three, viz. the Mazer, Spoon and Langsaddle, stands to 30lb money. Item when the place was behind the hand & empty of Coals, he gave 20lb money coals to the Samine, having to that effect laid in woad to Thomas Methven the sd great Mazer for 20lb, which he afterwards freed.

SAUL, UYSL156

'Pringle's Book', 1699-1747, p.93

'The Rental of St Leonard's College within St Androis Given Up by Mr Robert Wilkie, Rector', 1599 [transcription by Pringle]

Compt of Insight

Impr. In the Hall four fix'd boards pertaining therto. The hale Beds almaist fixt, in every chamber ane Board & ane furme plain and therto, w^t glassen windows, & the maist part of all the chambers cieller'd above & the floors beneath laid w^t buirdis.

Compt of Vessel

Impr. Twa Silver pieces, ane Maizer, w^t common cups & stoups efferand thereto.
It. Three dozen of Silver Spoons, ane Silver Saltfat, an water Basin, an Iron chimney fixt in the Hall, with an Flower hingand in the Midst of the Hall.
In the Kitchen an Iron Chimney w^t the vessels as is necessar therin, wt fixt boards & almeries

SAUL, UYUY459/A/4

'Inventor of Silverwork beloninge to St Leonards Colledg delyvered by Mr George Hamilton let princ. of the said colledg to Mr Thomas Talizer Mr Jo Craigie Mr Jo Loudan and Colin Vilant professor of philosophie in the said colledg this 20th day of April 1697 years'

An larg cup gifted by an widow for the use of the Communion tabl dated the year 1681
An large silver maser broken broken from the foot and the brim but both foot and brim delyvered

Thrie lesser Silver cups the last marked wt M.J.W. an other marked wt Ffrancisius Steuart dominus hallis dated 1576 the 3 gifted by Mr James Kerr Regent

An Silver cup gifted by David Mcgill of Cranstoun 1611

An broken Silver Maser gifted by L.J.T. wt this moto on the syd Non Munus sed grati animi tessera

An broken silver cup gifted by Lord Thirleston

An old silver goblit

An old silver Salt

An cup gilded in a case supposed to be gifted by the lett Duke Lauderdale

An gilded silver salt the fut broken off marked wt MPB

Six silver Spoons made New of the old broken spoons confirmed ta an accompt formerly given in by the sd Mr George Hamilton marked upon the back M.G.H. and the forsyd SL [conjoined] dated 1696 years

Thirtie Silver Spoons in the hands of John Methven pantriman to the sd Colledg

An silver maser in the sd John Methven pantrisman in his hands

An large Timber quaich w^t Balligarnies Armes in Silver

signed

George Hamilton

Jo: Craigie

Col: Vilant

SAUL, UYUY459/A/4

'Memorandum of Silver work put into ye Chests at different times from 1698 to 1723'

July 15 1698

The which day were put into a Chist in the Library

ane dozen of new silver spoons marked DJW

Six new spoons marked MGH an 1696

Eleven marked 1675

Three marked DJW

Six marked MJW

Ane silver Mazer DPB

Ane Large Cupp Gifted by ane Widdow for the use of ye Communion table ann 1681

Ane Large Silver Mazer broken

three lesser Silver Cups marked MJW

A silver Cup gifted by David Mackgill of Cranston, 1611

A broken silver maser gifted by LJT

Ane broken silver cup gifted by Lo. Thirlston

Ane old Silver Goblet

Ane old silver salt

Ane Cup gilded in a case supposed to be given by D L

Ane gilded silver salt the foot broken

October 31

The which day John Methven received out of the Chest

Eleven silver spoons marked 1675 & SL

Three marked DJW

Six marked MJW

Ten new spoons marked DJW

Ane silver mazer marked DPB

Item ye 22 of March, 99, John Methven gott out a Silver Cup marked with ye Steuarts
Arms an: 1576 Franciscus Steuart [vos animi patres] &ct

Aug 27 1715 Taken out of the chest the large cup gifted for the use of the communion
table anno 1681 & also ane old mazer marked DPB by me Jos Drew prinll

October first 1715 this day putt into the Chist the two above Cups taken out by the principle in the presence of Mr Colin Vilant Henry Rymer and Ninian Young

October first 1715 putt into the Chist eleven Silver Spoons marked 1675 also four marked MJW three marked DJW five newer spoons marked DJW and six new spoons marked MGH. Likewise putt into the Library nineteen plates and three dozen of trenchers two salts and a mustard box. In presence of Colin Vilant Henry Rymer and Ninian Young. Likewise one old trencher and two Silver Cups one marked Dom de Hallis and the other MJW and a large wooden Cup lipped with silver

31 October 1715

Delivered out of the library to Andrews Jamesone Cook the above nineteen plates and thirty seven trenchers two salts and a mustard box. Also delivered to John Methven eleven silver spoons marked 1715 also four marked MJW and two silver Cups one marked Dom de Hales and the other MJW and the large wooden Cup.

Novr 29 1715 delivered to John Methven three silver spoons marked DJW also five newer ones marked DJW.

July 6 1717 put in to the chist eleven Silver spoons marked 1675 also four marked MJW three DJW also five newer one DJW as also six marked MGH also the two silver Cups and the large wooden Cup in presence of Henry Rymer and Ninian Young.

Dec 4 1717 delivered to Thos. Methvin 27 silver spoons in ye pr[incip]als presence and Mr Henry Rymers.

Febr 8 1718 delivered to Tho: Methvin 2 silver spoons in presence of David Young.

July 9 1718 put into the chist eleven silver spoons marked 1675 also four marked MJW three DJW also five newer ones DJW as also six marked MGH also the two silver Cups and the large wooden Cup in presence of David Young.

October 31 1718 delivered out of ye Library to Thomas Methvin eleven silver spoons marked 1765 (sic), four marked MJW three DJW, also five newer ones DJW also six marked MGH, also two silver cups and ye large wooden cup in presence of David Young.

January 11 1723 taken out of ye Library ye large Mazer 9 inches diameter consisting of 3 pieces to be sent over to Hary Beaton Gold-smith to be soldered. It[em] a Silver Mug. It[em] 9 Silver Spoons to be reformed of weight.

Inventories of St Salvator's College

SAUL, UYSL110/S15/18a

'Inventorie of some silver & Iron work of the Colledge', 1690

A silver Rod of Curious workmanship gilded Given to the Colledge by Bps Kennedy as is attested by a labell appended therto. It weights thertein ponds: eight wne

A large Silver Cup with a cover therto both weighting one pond nyn wne

Another some less with a cover both gilded and weighting one pond thrie wne and a half

Other two some less than that with curious covers to them all gilded and weighting one pond fiftein wne

Two Shallow flat bottomed silver cups weighting one pond two wne

Fourtie eight silver spoons some new & some old weighting five pond eight wne one drop

A silver salt weighting six wne twelve drops

of pewter plats eight att five ponds the piece and twelve att thrie ponds a piece

of pewter trenchers thirtie six a pynt stoup and a chapen stoup

Two drinking cups

Two brass candlesticks

Twenty four chimneys, with ten pair of tonges
A dropping pan
Thrie flam pans
Thrie Spits
Two pots
Five pots and a copper kettle [...]
Two ladles and a scimmer
A flesh fork
A frying pan
A pair of raxes
A pair of tonges and fire shovel
of Naprie two tablecloaks for the masters table and two for the bursars and five dussen of
napkins

SAUL, UYSS110/AP/14

**'Inventar of Silver work Keyes and Locks belonging to the old Colledge at St
Andrews', 1692**

p.1 'Inventar of Silver work belonging to the old Colledge of St Andrews, and to be
delyvered by Doctor Alexander Skene Late Provost of the said Colledge To Mr Alexander
Pitcairn present Provost thereof', 6 February 1692

- 1 A Silver Mace Rod of very Curious workmanship, richly gilded with two Labells
appendd yrto, wherof one bears, that this said rod was given to the old Colledge by
Bishop Kennedy in the yeir 1461 and the other that it was repaired by Dr Alex^r Skee in
the year 1685. Altogether weighing Thirteen lb ten ounces.
- 2 A Silver Cup with a cover given to the College by Robert Lord Boyd and weighting
one pound and eight ounces and fifteen drops.

- 3 A Silver Cup with a cover, both gilded, given by Charles Earl of Dunfermling in the yeir 1631 and weighting one pound three ounces and an half.
- 4 A Silver Cup with a cover, both gilded, given by James Lord Cupar and weighting one pound five drops.
- 5 A Silver Cup with a Cover, both gilded given by John Earl of Sutherland in the yeir 1630 and weighting fourteen ounces eleven drops.
- 6 A flat bottom'd Silver Cup with the name and arms of Mr James Martine provost of the Colledge on the bottom thereof, weighing Eleven ounces and one drops.
- 7 A flat bottom'd Silver Cup with the name of George Martine provost, and the Colledge armes viz: The Glob and the cross on the bottom therof, weighting six ounces fourteen drops.
- 8 Two Silver Salts with Doctor Skene's name in this form $A^D S$ and the Colledge arms of the syde of them, with the yeir in which they were made, viz: 1689 weighting seven ounces and six drops
- 9 Thirtie Silver Spoons with the names of divers provosts before Doctor Skene's tyme, weighting three pound three ounces and ten drops
- 10 Thirteen Silver Spoons with Doctor Skene's name weighting one pound nine ounces and ten drop.

[A note at the bottom, witnessed, records that Pitcairn received the above silver]

Received also an [abansfrot] Box [quilted] Containing the Said Silver rod or mace.

SAUL, UYUY459/A/4

'Particular Silverwork delivered by Mr Pitcairn to John Brown', 13 July 1694

My Lord Boyds Silver Cup

My Lord Dunfermlings cup

Lord Cupars cup

John Gordon: L S C his Cup made with their four heads or cover

Mr Ja: Martins silver tass

Geo: Martins tass

A Silver Salt with Doctor Skene name

It 23 Silver Spoons with 20 formerly delyvered to John Brown 43 whereof I must receive a receipt as I without scruple give it to Doctor Skene

It an Silver Salt also delivered to John Brown

Inventories of the United College

SAUL, UYUC705 415/6a

'Inventory of Kitchen & Table Utensils lent to Thomas Methuen, Undertaker', 8 July 1747

{ Kitchen and table utensils }

Pewter

12 Dishes for ye high table

60 Trenchers

One flesh plate

Two salts

One mustard Box

One Stoup

6 Dishes for the Bursar Table

Silver

Two large Silver Cups

12 new spoons

24 Old spoons (2 given up broken)

Napery

4 Table Cloaths for ye High Table
4 for ye Bursar Table
6 doz. napkins

SAUL, UYSL400

Minutes of United College, 3 November 1747, pp.63-65

Inventory of Furniture for Rooms, & of Kitchen & Table Utensils in St Salvator's College

{Iron & Brasswork}

{Timber work}

Pewter Work

One Pewter Stoup, Two Pewter Salts, twelve dishes, three dozen & a half trenchers, one mustard box

Silver-work

Two Silver Cups, with covers of ye same Mettal, one of which was given by Charles Seaton Earl of Dunfermling in ye Year One Thousand Six Hundred & Thirty One. The other by Robert Lord Boyd. Within ye former are three pieces of Silver, which seem to belong to ye Mace, & within ye latter are three pieces of a Silver Spoon. A small silver salver, inscribed Magister Jacobus Martinus Prefectus, two Gilded Silver Cups one dozen & a half new, & ten old silver spoons.

Table-napery

Two Cloaths for ye high Table. Two coarse Cloths for ye Bursar table. Three dozen Table Napkins.

Furniture for Rooms.

Eighteen Bed-Steads, Thirty Five Tables, Nineteen Chimneys & twelve forms.

Inventory of furniture for Rooms & of Kitchen & Table Utensils for St Leonard's College

{Iron & Brasswork}

{Timberwork}

Pewterwork

Twelve dishes, and a Fish plate for ye high table, six dishes for ye Bursar table, four dozen & nine trenchers one pair of [...] one mustard Box, two pint stoups & one Mutchkin Stoup

Silverwork

One large Mazer, one large Cup Gifted by Dr Bruce, one little cup, eighteen new & fifteen old Spoons, besides some old Silver work in a chest in ye Library.

Table Napery

Four new Cloaths for ye high-table; two new Cloaths for ye Bursar table, one dozen & a half new table napkins, three dozen old table napkins.

Furniture for Rooms

Nine chimneys, fourty seven tables, twenty nine bedsteds, and the heads of four beds in ye Hay house

Inventory of kitchen & table Utensils, lent to Thomas Methuen, undertaker.

{Iron, Brass & Copperwork}

{Timber-work}

Pewter-work

Twelve dishes for ye high Table, five dozen trenchers, one flesh plate, two Salts, one mustard-Box, & one Stoup, six dishes for ye Bursar Table.

Silverwork

Two large silver Cups, one dozen new & two dozen old spoons

Table-napery

Four Table-Cloaths for ye high-Table, four cloaths for ye Bursar Table, six dozen table napkins

Inventory of Kitchin & Table Utensils laid up

{Iron Copper & Brass-work}

{Timber-work}

Pewter-work

Two pewter Stoups, & one Mutchkin one, twelve dishes, three dozen & three Trenchers, two salts & one mustard Box

Silverwork (which was laid up in St Leonard's College Library)

One little Silver cup that belonged to St Leonard's College, two silver cups, with covers, two gilded silver cups, one smal silver Salver, eighteen silver spoons, all which belonged to ye old College, six new silver spoons & one old one, which belonged to St Leonard's College.

Table-napery

Two Cloaths for ye high table, two dozen & a half Table Napkins

Inventories of St Mary's College

SAUL, UYSL156

'Pringle's Book', 1699-1747, p.85

'Inventory of the plenishings and insight of the New College of St Andrews Anno 1598' [as reported to His Majesty's Second Visitation: transcription by Pringle]

In the Principal's chamber, a fair standing bed of [old]. Another standing Bed made of new by ye Prin[cipa]l, a langsett bed, a long board, a fair Press, all of oak, a little Stool. In Mr Jon Johnstone's Chamber a standing bed, a fair board of oak, two long furmes, a fair Press of fir, a face of an Iron Chimney made by him.

Mr Pat. Melvil's chamber – a fair board of oak, two furms, a Press of fir, a face of an Iron chimney made by him.

In South chamber beside Kitchen, a board, a furm, a Press, two beds.

In the North Chamber beside ye kitchen, a board, a Press, a bed, an armarie.

In the Chamber below the Principals, a board, two furms.

In ye Chamber under ye Prinl a board two furmes

In chamber next to ye Prinl's turnpike door, two beds, a form, a board, a press.

{12 other chambers listed. beds, forms, boards, presses, are common}

[12th of 12 other chambers] In ye Inmost Chamber nearest ye north, two beds, a Press, a board for ye studie, wt two shelves, a board in ye Chamber, wt a furm & a Letron.

In Hall:

Five boards with their seats & furms

A painted cloth above ye high board [top table]

A cupboard

3 board cloths, four towels, 3 dozen of servets

3 white caps

2 whole Tasses of silver w^t a broken Tass

a fair Maizer set about and footed w^t silver

a Silver Saltfat

Item of Silver spoons made of old nine & of new six

a bason, two saltfats of tin, a tin pintstoup and two tree [wood?] Stoups

twenty four plates and thirty trenchers all of tin

4 Chandlers of brass

In ye Pantrie 2 fixt chests immoveable [wherein] ye bread is put

{Kitche equipment detailed}

In ye Closs a hinging Bell beside ye gate

SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S1

'Ane Inventar of the Silver Vaschells that was in the prinll chalmer' c. 1670

threetie sevin silver spoons

ane measer sett with silver

Three silver cupis and ane silver saltfuit

The coledge signet of brass

SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S3

'Ane Inventory of Silver & pewter work & others belonging to the new College in St Andrews'. 5 May 1687

Silver Spoons seven dusen

Two large silver cups

Ane maeser cup with keise

Ane little silver tasse called Dr Guilds tasse

Two Silver Saltfats

Ane head of a salt foot

Twentie three pewter plaits
Two dusen & ten tin trenchers, the ten being old and bad
Ane brass pot of two gallons & two brass one gallon the piece
Ane new pan & three old
Ane pair of standing rax
Two [Speets] & two crooks
Two pair of pot bowls
Two pair of tounges
Ane [...] pint stoup
Two board cloaths & a little cloath
Two duzen & a half of Servits
Two salt beef tubs & ane kitchen tub
Ane axe
Ane brazen candlestick
Ane wood stoup

SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S4

'Inventar of yt is contained in ye Charter chest of ye new Colledge at ye opening thereof by doctor Alex^d Colvill Principal of ye said Colledge and doctor Walter Comrie professor of Theologie there befor Mr Alex^d Bissett Student in Divintie John Drennan oeconomus and george Tarvit, jannator of ye said Colledge', 5 May 1687

ane old Maizer
two larger silver cups wt one lesser gilt cup
a silver salt foote containing two Salts and a head
another head of a silver salt without more
thirtie four silver Spoones

SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S7

'Inventory of the new College plenishing in the custodie of the porter & cook', July 1702: 'Accompt of plenishing belonging to the New College in William Adamsons custodie wt is porter', 22 July 1702

one cup one mazer a salt: all silver

23 spoons all silver

one tyn pynt stoupe

large timbre stoup 4 pints a timber chapen Stoup and a mustard

2 drinking cups of wood

SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S10

'College Inventory St Mary's', November 1725

John Kirk porter has in his custodie viz imps. eighteen silver spoons, and a silver salt. It. a silver cup of a nut shel with a silver stalk and a silver hoop about the mouth of it. It. a pewter pint stoup, mor an larg timber stoup and a timber muchkin stoup, mor two drinking featherd quafs and an brass candlestick mor two six gallon barrels all the utensils. ... also an large fire shovel with the whole keys pertaning to the College ... It a new pewter salt
13 Sepr 1738 he got two large pewter divieding hard metle Spoons

SAUL, UYSM110 MB/S11

'The new college inventarie', 1749: 'An inventarie of the new College utensils in the Factors Cook and Porters Custodie', 1 November 1749

{Factor – table linen etc }

{Cook – Kitchen equip. inc. pewter }

It: in the Porters hand twentie two silver spoons an silver salt, an pewter salt, an pewter pint stoup, an large timber stoup, a silver cup, an large nut cup tipped with silver abovet the lips with a silver stalk and two drinking quafs

[signed] Thomas Adamson

Appendix B

Catalogue of extant portraits and sculpture busts

Here follows a short catalogue of all the original extant portraits and sculpture busts owned by the University of St Andrews and held in the Museum Collections, to November 2009. It does not include prints and engravings. The information provided includes, where known and in this order: subject; artist; date; medium; size (height by width; sight, not including frame); details of acquisition; accession number.

The following abbreviations are used to denote the college with which an individual was associated, and the source of the information relating to the acquisition:

SLC	St Leonard's College
SMC	St Mary's College
SSC	St Salvator's College
UC	United College

Acc. Reg.	Museum Collections Unit's accessions register
CM	Court Minutes
SM	Minutes of the Senatus Academicus
UCM	United College Minutes
Calendar	The annual <i>St Andrews University Calendars</i> from 1865 onwards, printed and published for the Senatus Academicus
Knight	Anon., <i>A Catalogue of Portraits of Philosophers, Poets and Others, Presented to the United College of St Andrews by Professor William Knight in the Year 1902...</i> , St Andrews, 1902

Some of the portraits are currently hung too high measure accurately: a query indicates that measurements could not be obtained.

The Museum Collections Unit holds detailed catalogue records and object history files for each of the works listed below: these can be consulted on application to the curatorial staff.

Catalogue of Portraits

Adam Anderson (Professor of Natural Philosophy, UC, 1837-46). Thomas Duncan. Mid-19th century. Oil on canvas. 128 x 102 cm. Acquired by donation from Professor Duncan's grandson, 1935 (CM 31 Jan 1935). HC136.

Struther Arnott (Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University 1986-2000). A triptych: (1) *The Chief Executive in his office at College Gate, St Andrews*; (2) *The Vice Chancellor in the College Hall, St Mary's, St Andrews*; (3) *The molecular biophysicist displaying an x-ray diffraction of an unusual, left-handed DNA in School II, College of the St Salvator (sic), St Andrews*. Robin Gillanders. 1999. Black and white photograph (silver gelatin print). 48.7 x 42.0 cm; 62.7 x 49.8 cm; 49.2 x 41.7 cm. Commissioned for the University of St Andrews through a donation from the Florence H. and Eugene E. Myers Charitable Remainder Unitrust, 1999 (Acc. Reg.). HC1999.13/1-3.

Struther Arnott (as above). Peter Edwards. 1993-94. Oil on canvas. ? x 150 cm. Commissioned by the University Court and paid for by the American Foundation, 1993 (Acc. Reg.). HC137.

Struther Arnott (as above). Peter Edwards. 1993-94. Oil on canvas. ? x 150 cm. Commissioned by the Principal's Council, 1993 (Acc. Reg.). HC138.

Thomas Spencer Baynes (Professor of Logic, Rhetoric and Metaphysics, UC, 1864-87). Lowes Cato Dickinson. 1888. Oil on canvas. 121.3 x 93.9 cm. Presented to Mrs Baynes by pupils and friends of her late husband, c. 1888; subsequently acquired by the University at an unknown date. HC140.

Cardinal David Beaton (Chancellor 1539-46). Edward Trevannyon Haynes, after a 16th century portrait then in Balfour House, Fife, now in Wemyss Castle, Fife. 1896. Oil on canvas. 68 x 56 cm. Presented by John, 3rd Marquis of Bute, 1897 (CM 19 March 1897). HC141.

Andrew Bennett (University Secretary 1903-41). Self-portrait. 1913. Ink on paper. 16.0 cm x 16.0 cm. Bequeathed by Bennett's daughter, Mary Wright, 2001 (Acc. Reg.). HC2001.37.

Elizabeth Birrell (wife of John Birrell, Professor of Hebrew, SMC, 1871-1902). A. Jonniaux. Early 20th century. Oil on canvas. 75.3 x 62.5 cm. Acquired by bequest from Mrs Birrell's son during the Principalship of Steven Watson, 1966-86 (as recalled by Charles Armour, Minister of Holy Trinity Church, St Andrews, who collected the work with Watson). HC245.

Sir James Black (alumnus; recipient of 1988 Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine (sic)). Norman Edgar. 1994. Oil on canvas. 111.5 x 101.1 cm. Presented by Black's wife, Professor Rhona Mackie, 2009 (Acc. Reg.). HC2009.15.

Robert John Graham Boothby, Lord Boothby (politician; Rector 1958-61). Robert H. Westwater. 1961. Oil on canvas. 109.0 x 83.5 cm. Presented by Lord Boothby, 1962 (St Salvator's College Council Minutes, 10 April 1962). HC143.

Sir David Brewster (Principal, UC, 1838-59). William Salter Herrick. c. 1859. Oil on canvas. 276 x 184 cm. Purchased from artist, 1859 (SM 14 May; 18 June 1859). HC144.

Robert Briggs (Chandos Professor of Medicine and Anatomy, UC, 1811-40). Attributed to John Watson Gordon. 1820s / 1830s. Oil on canvas. 74.5 x 61.0 cm. Purchased from Glenesk Folk Museum, 1974 (CM 19 November 1973). HC145.

Alexander Hugh Bruce, 6th Lord Balfour of Burleigh (Chancellor 1900-21). George Fiddes Watt. 1927. Artist's copy of original portrait (1913) held by Church of Scotland. Oil on canvas. ? x 94 cm. Presented by Dr James Younger, 1927 (CM 20 March 1925; 4 Feb 1927). HC146.

George Buchanan (Principal, SLC, 1566-70). By or after Arnold van Brounckhorst. 1580 (according to inscription). Oil on panel. 25.5 x 20.3 cm. Purchased from London dealer, 1909 (W. Carruthers, 'Discovery of a Lost Portrait of George Buchanan' in *Scottish Historical Review*, VII, 1909-10, pp.286-288, p.286). HC148.

Anne Burnet, Lady Elphinstone (daughter of Alexander Burnet, Chancellor 1679-84). Circle of Godfrey Kneller. 1660s-1680s. Oil on canvas. 123.5 x 100.5 cm. Purchased at auction, 2005 (Acc. Reg.). HC2006.6.

Archibald Campbell (Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History, SMC, 1730-56). Unknown artist. 1741. Oil on canvas. 72.5 x 59.0 cm. Purchased from W. Franklin, 1911 (CM 17 April 1911). HC151. A pair with HC2004.30.

Christina Watson, Mrs Archibald Campbell (see above). Unknown artist. 1741. Oil on canvas. 73.8 x 61.0 cm. Purchased at auction, 2004 (Acc. Reg.). HC2004.30. A pair with HC151.

Archibald Campbell, 1st Marquis of Argyll (alumnus: as Lord Lorne, matriculated SLC 1622). Unknown artist, probably after portrait by David Scougall in Scottish National Portrait Gallery (SNPG 1408). Oil on canvas. 35.0 x 26.0 cm. Probably acquired mid-20th century: in University by 1958 (insurance list, 25 November 1958). HC150.

George Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll (Chancellor 1851-1900). Edward Trevannyon Haynes. c. 1895. Oil on canvas. 77 x 64 cm. Presented by John, 3rd Marquis of Bute, 1895 (CM 7 November 1895). HC152.

John Campbell, 1st Earl of Loudoun (Chancellor 1643-61). Edward Trevannyon Haynes. 1897. Copy of a contemporary portrait at Loudoun Castle. Oil on canvas. 70 x 60 cm. Presented by John, 3rd Marquis of Bute, 1897 (CM 19 March 1897). HC201.

Lewis Campbell (Professor of Greek, UC, 1863-92). Mrs Arthur Lemon. Late 19th / early 20th century. Oil on canvas. 110 x 84 cm. Presented by Emeritus Professor Campbell, 1908 (CM 24 October 1908). HC153. NB This portrait was vandalized in 1990: the head was cut out and was not recovered.

Lewis Campbell (as above). John McLure Hamilton. Late 19th / early 20th century. Oil on canvas. 66.2 x 81.2 cm. Presented by the artist, on the death of Professor Campbell's widow, 1921 (CM 18 June 1921; 31 October 1921). HC997.

David Steuart Erskine, Lord Cardross, later 11th Earl of Buchan (student, UC, 1755-59; LL.D. 1766). Unknown artist, after the original by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1764). 1764 or 1765. Oil on canvas. 93.4 x 66.7 cm. Acquired by donation from Lord Cardross, 1765 (information from inscription; SM 20 August 1765). HC154.

Andrew Carnegie (Rector 1901-07). Edward Arthur Walton. 1911. Oil on canvas. 128.0 x 110.5 cm. Paid for by public subscription: presented to Carnegie, September 1911; presented by Carnegie to University, October 1911 (CM 17 December 1910; 16 October 1911). HC155.

Alexander Colville (?) (Professor of Divinity, SMC, 1647-62; Principal, SMC, 1662-66). Unknown artist. c. 1660s. Oil on canvas. 73.5 x 59.0 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by 1958 (insurance list, 25 November 1958). HC156.

Reverend David Craigie (Minister of the Second Charge, St Andrews, 1754-57). David Martin. 1755. Oil on canvas. 77 x 64 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by 1946 (Cant, 'The University Portraits' in *Alumnus Chronicle*, 1946, pp.13-17). HC158. Companion portrait to HC240, Professor Walter Wilson.

John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquis of Bute (Rector 1892-98). Edward Trevannyon Haynes. 1895. Oil on canvas. 108.5 x 83.5 cm. Probably presented by Bute, late 19th century. HC149.

Sir Charles Cunningham (student, 1924-29; LL.D. 1960). Juliet Pannet. 1969. Oil on canvas. 59.5 x 49.3 cm. Presented by Mrs Isobel Blaikley, daughter of Cunningham, 1999 (Acc. Reg.). HC1999.2.

John Cunningham (Principal, SMC, 1886-93). J. Horsburgh. 1892. Oil on canvas. 99.5 x 74.0 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by 1958 (insurance list, 25 November 1958). HC160.

Sir James Donaldson (Principal and Vice-Chancellor of University 1886-1915). Sir George Reid. 1905. Oil on canvas. 118.0 x 84.0 cm. Presented to Donaldson by former pupils, colleagues and friends, 1905; presented by Donaldson to University, 1906 (CM 17 March 1906). HC161.

Sir Kenneth Dover (Chancellor 1981-2005). Robin Gillanders. 2001. Black and white photograph (silver gelatin print). 63.5 x 51.3 cm. Commissioned by University, 2001 (Acc. Reg.). HC2001.4. See also HC2004.31.

Sir Kenneth Dover (as above). Robin Gillanders. 2001. Black and white photograph (silver gelatin print). 63.5 x 51.3 cm. A variant of HC2001.4, purchased by the University in 2004 (Acc. Reg.). HC2004.31.

Sir Kenneth Dover (as above). Colin Dunbar. 2005. Oil on canvas. 165.8 x 110.5 cm. Commissioned by University, 2005 (Acc. Reg.). HC2005.18.

Reverend Joseph Drew (Principal, SLC, 1708-38). Attrib. Sir John Medina. Late 17th / early 18th century. Oil on canvas. 72.0 x 60.6 cm. Bequeathed by Miss Isabella Cook, a descendant, 1917 (CM 17 November 1917). HC162.

William Drummond, Viscount Strathallan (alumnus; royalist army officer). Unknown artist. Unknown date. Watercolour. 18.5 x 14.5 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC231.

George Simpson Duncan (Professor of Biblical Criticism, SMC, 1919-54; Principal, SMC, 1940-54). Alberto Morrocco. 1954. Oil on canvas. 139.0 x 94.0 cm. Commissioned by public subscription: presented to Principal Duncan, 1954; presented by Duncan to University, 1955 (CM 22 March 1955). HC164.

Thomas Duncan (Professor of Mathematics, UC, 1820-58). James Wilson. 1856. Oil on canvas. 276 x 184 cm. Presented by public subscription, 1856 (UCM, 28 Oct 1856). HC163.

Robert Saunders Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville (Chancellor, 1814-51). David Wilkie. 1831. Oil on canvas. ? x 167 cm. Commissioned by University, 1829 (SM 11 April 1829). HC165.

Dwight D. Eisenhower (34th President of United States of America, 1953-61). Dean Fawcett. Mid-20th century. Oil on canvas. ? x ? cm Presented by the Honourable Mrs Anne Armstrong, Ambassador of the USA, at a banquet held in the University, 1976, to commemorate the signing of the American Declaration of Independence by St Andrews alumni Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson and John Witherspoon. HC166.

Adam Ferguson (alumnus: MA 1742). J.T. Nairn. 1813. Oil on canvas. 91.5 x 70.0 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by 1865 (Calendar 1865). HC167.

Bernard Edward Fergusson, 1st Baron Ballantrae (Chancellor 1973-80). Unknown artist. c. 1970s. Colour photograph, overlaid with oil paint. 92.5 x 72.5 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by 1980s. HC168.

James Frederick Ferrier (Professor of Moral Philosophy, UC, 1845-64). Sir John Watson Gordon. c. 1863. Oil on canvas. 128 x 99.5 cm. Presented to Ferrier by public subscription, 1863; acquired by University by 1865 (SM 11 and 23 April 1863; Shairp papers; Calendar 1865). HC169.

Professor John Fleming (minister and zoologist; alumnus: D.D. 1814). Unknown artist. Mid-19th century. Oil on canvas. 89 x 70 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by mid-20th century (insurance list, 25 November 1958). HC170.

Robert Flint (Professor of Moral Philosophy, UC, 1864-76). Unknown artist. Mid / late 19th century. Oil on board. 26.5 x 18.5 cm. Presented by Mr Cuthbertson, 24 June 1921 (information from inscription). HC171.

George Hay Forbes (minister, Burntisland; personal papers and library held by University Library). Mrs Musgrave. 1845. Pencil and watercolour on paper. 28.4 x 21.9 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC1016.

George Hay Forbes (as above). Mrs Musgrave. Mid-19th century. Watercolour on paper. 40.4 x 30.2 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC1017.

George Hay Forbes (as above). Mrs Musgrave. 1853. Chalk and charcoal on paper. 21.7 x 21.7 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC1018.

John Hay Forbes, Lord Medwyn. Unknown artist. First half of 19th century. Oil on canvas. 74.0 x 62.0 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by 1990s. HC976.

James David Forbes (Principal, UC, 1859-68). James Wilson, after Sir John Watson Gordon. c. 1870. Copy of portrait in Royal Society, Edinburgh. Oil on canvas. 125.1 x 99.5 cm. Presented to the United College by subscription by former colleagues, 1870 (UCM 21 April 1870; Shairp papers). HC176.

Erwin Finlay Freundlich (Professor of Astronomy, UC, 1951-55). E. Mandle? 1938. Oil on canvas. 110.5 x 83.5 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by late 20th century. HC934.

George Galloway (Principal, SMC, 1915-33). Beatrice Huntingdon. 1928. Oil on canvas. 74.0 x 99.5 cm. Presented to University by Mrs Galloway, 1958 (CM 21 October 1958). HC177.

William Ewart Gladstone (Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94; LL.D. 1893). Edward Trevannyon Haynes. c. 1895. Oil on canvas. 74 x 63 cm. Presented by John, 3rd Marquis of Bute, 1895 (*College Echoes* [University Magazine], 24 October 1895, p.6). HC178.

James Hadow (Professor of Divinity, SMC, 1699-1747; Principal, SMC, 1707-47). Attrib. William Aikman. First half of 18th century. Oil on canvas. 72.5 x 60.0 cm. Presented by Colonel Hadow, 1945 (CM 6 March 1945). HC180.

Douglas Haig, 1st Earl Haig of Bemersyde (Rector, 1916-19; Chancellor, 1922-28). James Bell Anderson, after a portrait in the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews by Sir James Guthrie. 1928-9. Oil on canvas. 127 x 89 cm. Presented by members of the General Council, and others, 1929 (CM 4 May, 22 June, 25 October, 21 December 1928; 25 January, 28 February, 19 April, 13 May, 6 July 1929). HC181

Robert Haldane (Professor of Mathematics, UC, 1807-20; Principal, SMC, 1820-54). James Caw. Mid-19th century. Oil on canvas. 140 x 109.5 cm. Bequeathed to the

University by Alexander Watson Wemyss, 1924 (CM 29 September, 7 November, 20 December 1924). HC182.

Robert Haldane (see above). Sir John Watson Gordon. c. 1841. Oil on canvas. 276 x 189 cm. Presented to Haldane by public subscription, 1841; acquired by University by 1845 (SM 10 April 1841; *Fletcher's Guide*, 1845, p.56). HC183.

Douglas Douglas-Hamilton, 14th Duke of Hamilton (Chancellor 1948-73). Mark Anthony. 1948. Oil on canvas. 52 x 41.5 cm. Acquired by unknown means: in University by 1990s. HC184.

Edward Stephen Harkness (benefactor). Frank Owen Salisbury. c. 1933. Copy of the original portrait by Salisbury in Harvard University. Oil on canvas. ? x ? cm. Presented by the artist, in gratitude for Harkness's benefactions to Great Britain, 1933 (CM 19 December 1933). HC186.

Thomas Hay, 9th Earl of Kinnoull (Chancellor 1765-1787). David Martin. Mid-18th century. Oil on canvas. 128 x 102 cm. Presented by the subject's nephew, Robert Auriol Hay Drummond, 10th Earl of Kinnoull, 1791 (SM 16 September 1791). HC187.

Robert Mitchell Henry (Professor of Humanity, UC, 1939-46; LL.D. 1948). James Sleator, after the original by Paul Henry in Queen's University, Belfast. 1948. Oil on canvas. 85.7 x 81.5 cm. Commissioned by the University, 1947 (CM 29 May 1947). HC188.

George Hill (Professor of Greek, UC, 1772-88; Professor of Biblical Criticism, SMC, 1788-91; Principal, SMC, 1791-1819). Attrib. Sir John Watson Gordon. Early 19th century. Oil on canvas. 75.0 x 61.5 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1865 (Calendar 1865). HC189.

Cardinal Philip Howard of Norfolk. J.T. Nairn. 1844. After a portrait at Holyrood House, once thought to be of Cardinal Beaton, but now identified as Cardinal Philip Howard of Norfolk. This work is probably a copy at one remove from the Holyrood portrait, after a copy in Balfour House, Fife, which has an inscription identifying the subject as Beaton (Chancellor, 1539-46). Oil on canvas. 76.0 x 63.0 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by 1865 (Calendar 1865). HC142.

John Hunter (Professor of Humanity, UC, 1775-1835; Principal, UC, 1835-37). Sir John Watson Gordon. c. 1826. Oil on canvas. 220 x 149 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1845; said to have been commissioned by former students (*Fletcher's Guide*, 1845, p.56, *Fletcher's Guide*, 1853, p.52). HC190.

John Hunter (as above). Samuel Mackenzie. First half of 19th century. Oil on canvas. 59.7 x 48.2 cm. Bequeathed by Sheriff Stanley Gimson of Edinburgh, 2004 (Acc. Reg.). HC2004.25.

James Colquhoun Irvine (Professor of Chemistry, UC, 1909-20; Principal and Vice-Chancellor, 1921-52). Keith Henderson. 1941. Oil on canvas. 125 x 100 cm. Presented by Sir David Russell, 1942 (CM 4 December 1942). HC191. The portrait is a pendant to HC222, that of Sir David Russell (see below).

James Colquhoun Irvine (as above). Oswald H. Birley. 1933. Oil on canvas. ? x ? cm. Presented by past and present members of the University and friends, 1933. (CM 19 December 1933). HC192.

James Colquhoun Irvine (as above). Unknown artist. Mid-20th century. Oil on board. 52.3 x 38.0 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC193.

Pierre Jeannin (Finance Minister to Henri IV of France). Unknown artist. Unknown date. Previously erroneously identified as a portrait of George Buchanan. Oil on canvas. 52.0 x 42.0 cm. Purchased 1884 (SM 9 February, 8 March, 12 April 1884). HC147

Bobby Jones (golfer; awarded Freedom of St Andrews, 1958). Scrimmer. Probably mid-20th century. Oil on canvas. 73.7 x 59.0cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC194.

David Miller Kay (Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages, SMC, 1902-30). Gertrude M. Coventry. c. 1910-1930. Oil on canvas. 90.0 x 70.0 cm. Presented by Mrs Kay, 1930 (CM 19 December 1930). HC195.

Ann Kettle (Dean of Arts, 1998-2002). Colin Dunbar. 2008. Oil on canvas. 115 x 89 cm. Commissioned by University, 2008 (Acc. Reg.). HC2009.12.

William Angus Knight (Professor of Moral Philosophy, UC, 1876-1903). E. Hean Alexander. 1899. Oil on canvas. 143 x 120 cm. Presented to Professor Knight by recipients of the L.L.A. (Lady Literate in Arts) and other friends, 1899; presented by Knight to the University, 1899 or 1900 (CM 22 January 1900). HC196.

John Knox (Protestant reformer; possibly alumnus). Unknown artist, after engraving in Beza's *Icones* (Geneva, 1580) after portrait by Adrian Vanson. Unknown date. Oil on canvas. 74 x 63 cm (oval: widest points). Presented by James Simpson, 1824 (SM 2 October 1824). HC197.

Sir Thomas Malcolm Knox (Principal 1953-66). H. Andrew Freeth. 1966. Watercolour. 52.6 x 35.3 cm. Commissioned by University, 1966 (correspondence between University and Freeth, on object history file, Museum Collections Unit). HC198.

Brian Lang (Principal 2001-2008). Robin Gillanders. 2001. Black and white photograph. 51.2 x 49.6 cm. Commissioned by University, 2001 (Acc. Reg.). HC2001.3.

Brian Lang (as above). Victoria Crowe. 2008. Oil on linen. 127 x 101.5 cm. Commissioned by University, 2008 (Acc. Reg.). HC2009.34.

Alexander Lawson (Professor of English Literature, UC, 1897-1920). John H. Lorimer. Early 20th century. Oil on canvas. 125.3 x 97.6 cm. Presented by Professor Lawson's widow, 1925 (CM 19 June 1925; 19 March 1926). HC200.

William Low (Rector's Assessor, 1913-36; LL.D. 1919). Count Mario Grixoni. 1932. Oil on canvas. 109.2 x 85.0 cm. Presented by Low's widow, 1936 (CM 24 November 1936). HC202.

William Macdonald (Professor of Civil History, UC, 1850-75). E.P. monogram. Mid- to late 19th century. Oil on canvas. 60.5 x 50.5 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1875 (Calendar 1875). HC203.

William Carmichael McIntosh (Professor of Natural History, UC, 1882-1917). J. Fairweather (attrib.). Early 20th century. Painted photograph on canvas. 90.0 x 69.7 cm. This portrait may be either the one presented by McIntosh in 1926 (CM 3 December 1926) or the one presented by past and present members of the Gymnastic and Boxing Club in 1929, in recognition of his Honorary Presidency over a period of 50 years (letter from Archibald Strachan on object history file). The latter seems more likely. The whereabouts of the other portrait is unknown. HC204.

Kay McIver (first female Dean of Arts 1980; Master of the United College, 1984-88). Colin Dunbar. 2008. Oil on canvas. 115 x 89 cm. Commissioned by University, 2008 (Acc. Reg.). HC2009.11.

James Mackinnon (Lecturer in History, UC, 1892-1908). E. Klein. Late 19th / early 20th century. Oil on canvas. 70.0 x 58.2 cm. Presented by Mackinnon's son, Sheriff Mackinnon, 1945 (CM 11 September 1945). HC205.

John Maitland, 1st Duke of Lauderdale (alumnus: matriculated SLC 1630/31). G.P.H. monograph. 19th century? After original work owned by Lord Willoughby De Eresby,

(from inscription). Pencil and watercolour on paper. 35.8 x 26.5 cm. Purchased January 1899 (information from inscription). HC244.

Mary Elizabeth Menzies (wife of Allan Menzies, Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism, SMC, 1889-1916; granddaughter of John Honey). Charles Sims. c. 1900. Oil on canvas. 89.4 x 69.2 cm. Acquired c. 1948, on the death of Mrs Menzies (information from a descendant). HC206.

John Stuart Mill (?) (Rector 1865-68). George Frederick Watts (?). Mid-19th century. There is some doubt over the subject and attribution. Oil on board. 34 x 26 cm (oval: widest points). Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1958 (insurance list). HC207.

Henry Miller (benefactor, founder of the Miller Prizes, UC). W. Salter Herrick. 1853. Oil on canvas. 276 x 184 cm. Commissioned by United College, 1853 (UCM 5 February 1853). HC208.

Alexander Ferrier Mitchell (Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages, SMC, 1848-1868; Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History, SMC, 1868-94). Sir George Reid. 1894 or 1895. Oil on canvas. ? x 76.5 cm. Commissioned by public subscription and presented to Mitchell, 1895; presented to University by Mitchell's daughter, Miss Mitchell, 1901 (*College Echoes*, [University magazine] 1895-6, p.24; CM 16 February 1901). HC209.

Sir Harold Mitchell (benefactor; LL.D.). Alberto Morrocco. 1985. Oil on canvas. 115.5 x 100.0 cm. Acquired by unknown means: in University by late 20th century. HC916.

James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose (student, SSC, 1627-29). Adam Bruce Thomson. 1945. After the original portrait by Jameson in Kinnaird Castle (Earl of Southesk). Oil on canvas. 64.8 x 54.5 cm. Commissioned by the University in 1945 (CM 19 April, 11 September 1945). HC210.

James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose (as above). John Alexander. 1731. After the original portrait by Gerrit Honthorst, 1649. Oil on canvas. 92 x 72 cm. Purchased from the Earl of Southesk, 1945 (CM 5 July, 11 September 1945). HC211.

David Morrison (Professor of Moral Philosophy, UC, 1924-36). Robert Home. First half of 20th century. Oil on canvas. 59.8 x 50.0 cm. Presented by Mrs Wilfred Taylor, 1988 (correspondence on object history file, Museum Collections Unit). HC212.

Fridtjof Nansen (Rector 1925-28). Self-portrait. 1925. Pencil on paper. 34.0 x 26.5 cm. Presented to the students of the University by Nansen, 1925 (information from inscription). HC213.

Fridtjof Nansen (as above). Self-portrait. 1930. Ink on paper. 23.9 x 17.7 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: found in McIntosh Hall in 2002. An inscription on the back suggests it was given to 'Chattan House [now McIntosh Hall] from the Principal' [probably Irvine]. HC932.

Francis Nicoll (D.D. 1807; Principal, UC, 1819-35). Sir Henry Raeburn. 1814. Oil on canvas. ? x 144cm. Purchased from the Churches and Universities (Scotland) Widows and Orphans Fund, 1987, with grants from National Art Collections Fund, The Pilgrim Trust and Local Museums Purchase Fund, NMS (information on object history file, Museum Collections Unit). HC214.

Tom Normand (lecturer, School of Art History, 1982-). Steven Campbell. 1998. Mixed media. 182 x 97 cm. Commissioned through the Harry and Margery Boswell Art Collection Fund, University of St Andrews, 1999 (Acc. Reg.). HC1999.1.

James Playfair (D.D. 1779; Principal, UC, 1799-1819). David Martin. c. 1797. Oil on canvas. 91.0 x 71.8 cm. Presented by Mrs Playfair of Ontario, Canada, whose husband

was descended from Principal Playfair, 1940; received in 1946, after the end of the Second World War (CM, 23 September 1940; 3 April 1946). HC216.

Sir Lyon Playfair, 1st Baron Playfair of St Andrews (student 1831/32-1833/34; LL.D. 1863). John. H. Lorimer. 1897. Copy of an original work by Lorimer. Oil on canvas. 125.0 x 99.4 cm. Presented by Playfair's third wife, Edith, Lady Playfair, 1928 (CM 21 December 1928). HC215.

Francis Pringle (Professor of Greek, SLC, 1702-47). Attrib. William Aikman. c.1712-23. Oil on canvas. 71.6 x 59.2 cm. Purchased from Arthur Neil, owner of the Grosvenor Hotel, Edinburgh, 1981 (CM 23 February 1981). HC217.

Thomas Purdie (Professor of Chemistry, UC, 1885-1909). Sir George Reid. Late 19th or early 20th century. Oil on canvas. 123.5 x 93.5 cm. Presented by Mrs Purdie, aunt of Thomas Purdie, 1907 (CM 23 February 1907; 20 November 1909). HC218.

John Reid (Professor of Medicine and Anatomy, UC, 1841-49). Unknown artist. Mid-19th century. Oil on canvas. 74.5 x 62.5 cm. Bequeathed by Andrew Taylor, 1901 (CM 30 March 1901). HC220.

David George Ritchie (Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, UC, 1894-1903). Percy Page. Late 19th century. Oil on canvas. 82 x 69 cm. Presented by Mrs Ritchie, 1903 (CM 4 April 1903). HC221.

David Russell (benefactor; Chancellor's Assessor 1938-1954/55). Keith Henderson. 1941. Oil on canvas. 125 x 100cm. Presented by Sir David Russell, 1942 (CM 4 December 1942). HC222. The portrait is a pendant to HC191 that of James Colquhoun Irvine (see above)

Samuel Rutherford (?) (Principal, SMC, 1647-61). Unknown artist; previously attrib. Robert Walker. There is some doubt as to the identity of the subject. Mid-17 century?

Oil on canvas. 52.0 x 50.0 cm. Presented by James R. Brown, 1908 (CM 29 February 1908). HC223.

Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, 3rd Marquis of Salisbury (held office as Prime Minister of Great Britain three times between 1885 and 1903; LL.D. 1893). Edward Trevannyon Haynes. c. 1895. Oil on canvas. 75 x 62.5 cm. Presented by John, 3rd Marquis of Bute, 1895 (*College Echoes*, [University magazine] 24 October 1895, p.6). HC224.

Sir Peter Redford Scott Lang (Regius Professor of Mathematics, UC, 1879-1921). Hugh Goldwin Riviere. 1906-07. Oil on canvas. 113.5 x 83.0 cm. Purchased from the artist, 1907, whether by Scott Lang or the University is unclear (correspondence between Riviere and Scott Lang, on object history file, Museum Collections Unit). HC199.

John Campbell Shairp (Professor of Humanity, UC, 1861-71; Principal, UC, 1868-85). Robert Herdman. 1886. Oil on canvas. 139.5 x 104.0 cm. Commissioned by public subscription, to hang in United College Hall (CM 17 December 1885; 16 December 1886). HC228.

Archbishop James Sharp (Chancellor 1661-1679). Sir Peter Lely. c. 1666. Oil on canvas. 124.9 x 101.2 cm. Purchased from the estate of Miss Agnes Cecilie Sandys-Lumsdaine, a descendant of the Sharp family, 1950 (CM 17 January 1950). HC225.

Archbishop James Sharp (as above). Unknown artist, after the portrait by Sir Peter Lely (above). Probably late 18th century. Oil on canvas. 69.0 x 61.0 cm. Presented by Reverend N.A.F. Townend, on the occasion of the celebration of the return of the restored painting of Sharp by Lely (above) to the University, 1995 (Acc. Reg.). HC1995.5.

Archbishop James Sharp (as a younger man) (as above). Unknown artist and date: probably after a lost original by Lely or his studio, executed in the 1650s or 1660s. Oil on

canvas. 69.0 x 59.5 cm. Acquired c.1928 (information from Cant's handlist of portraits, Museum Collections unit). HC227.

Jan Christiaan Smuts (Prime Minister, South Africa; Rector 1931-34; LL.D. 1934). Frank Owen Salisbury. 1942 or 1943. Oil on canvas. 145.5 x 105.0 cm. Presented by the artist, in commemoration of Smuts's period as Rector 1942 or 1943 (CM 23 October 1942). HC229.

Archbishop John Spottiswoode (Chancellor of the University 1615-39) or his grandson, John Spottiswoode of Dairsie (matriculated St Salvator's College 1628). Unknown artist. 17th century. Oil on canvas. 64.8 x 56.8 cm. In the University by 1869 (Calendar 1869). HC230.

James Stuart (student 1859-62; Rector 1898-1901). Sir George Reid. 1905. Oil on canvas. ? x 87.5 cm. Presented by Stuart's widow, 1915 (CM 11 June 1915). HC232.

Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (Professor of Natural History, 1917-1948). David Ewart Shanks. 1938. Oil on canvas. 125.0 x 85.0 cm. Presented by Lady Thompson, 1948 (CM 14 December 1948). HC233.

D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson as a child (as above). George Clark Stanton. 1864-5. Oil on wood panel. 23.5 x 19.5 cm. Acquired after 1944: in the University by 1997 (object history file, Museum Collections Unit). HC234.

Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (as above). George Herbert Bushnell. 1944. Chalk and pastel on paper. 63.4 x 50.5 cm. In the University by 1997 (object history file, Museum Collections Unit). HC235.

John Tulloch (Principal, SMC, 1854-86; Senior Principal of the University 1859-86). Robert Herdman. 1880. Oil on canvas. 241 x 151 cm. Presented to Tulloch by friends at

the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (of which he was Moderator, 1878), 1880; bequeathed to the University by Tulloch, 1887 (SM 16 May 1887). HC237.

John Tulloch (as above). Robert Herdman. c. 1880s. A smaller copy of HC237. Oil on canvas. 53.0 x 34.0 cm. Presented by Mr R.M. McCall, 1946 (CM 9 July 1946). HC236.

Colin Vincent (Acting Principal and Vice-Chancellor, 2000). Peter Adamson. 2000. Black and white photograph. 49.4 x 59.7 cm. Commissioned by the University, 2000 (Acc. Reg.) HC2001.1.

John Steven Watson (Principal 1966-86). David Abercrombie Donaldson. 1986. Oil on canvas. 122 x 98 cm. Commissioned by the University Court, 1985 (CM 13 December 1984; 16 May and 1 July 1985). HC239.

Robert Watson (Professor of Logic, Rhetoric and Metaphysics, UC, 1756-78; Principal, UC, 1778-81). Unknown artist. Second half of 18th century. Oil on canvas. 74.0 x 61.8 cm. Presented by Miss Haig of Stirling on behalf of Major A.W. Haig of Ballater, 1948 (CM 30 January 1948). HC238.

Walter Wilson (Professor of Greek, UC, 1748-69). David Martin. 1755. Oil on canvas. 76.5 x 63.2 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University by 1946 (Cant, 'The University Portraits' in *Alumnus Chronicle*, 1946, pp.13-17). HC240. Companion portrait to HC158, Reverend David Craigie.

James Younger (benefactor: with Mrs Younger provided the Younger Hall for the University). Sir James Guthrie. 1915. Oil on canvas. 132 x 81 cm. Presented by Sir James and Lady Younger, 1972 (correspondence on object history file, Museum Collections Unit). HC242.

Unidentified subjects

Portrait of a Cricketer. Ross. 1957. Oil on canvas. 44.5 x 39.5 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC945.

Portrait of an Elderly Lady (probably Eliza McIntosh, mother of William Carmichael McIntosh, Professor of Natural History 1882-1917). Unknown artist. 19th century. Oil on canvas. 62.0 x 51.2 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in University before 1999 (if Eliza McIntosh, may have been acquired when W.C. McIntosh bequeathed her former home Chattan House (now McIntosh Hall) to the University in 1931). HC991.

Portrait of a Portly Man. Unknown artist. Late 19th century. Watercolour on paper. 13.3 x 10.2 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC1011.

Portrait of a Woman. Horsburgh. 1818. Watercolour on paper. 14.0 x 10.0 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1990s. HC1012.

Portrait of a Young Man. After Domenichino. 17th century. This portrait was formerly erroneously identified as James 'The Admirable' Crichton. It is a copy of a portrait of an unidentified young man, now in the Grossherzoglich Heissisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt. Oil on canvas. 72.0 x 54.5 cm. Presented by Captain A. E. Borthwick, c. 1945 (information from Cant's handlist of portraits, Museum Collections Unit). HC159.

Catalogue of Sculpture Busts

Antonia (?) (after British Museum GR 1805. 7-3. 79 Townley, previously identified as Clytie, now tentatively identified as Antonia). Unknown artist. 19th century. Plaster. H 69 x W 40 cm. Presented by Professor William Knight, 1900 (CM 8 January 1900; Knight p.12). HC961.

Sir James Bell Pettigrew (Chandos Professor of Medicine and Anatomy 1875-1908).
James Pittendrigh Macgillivray. c.1909-12. Marble. H 86 x W 68 cm. Probably
commissioned by the University for the Bell Pettigrew Museum, which was funded by
Bell Pettigrew's widow, 1909-12. HC969.

Robert Browning (poet). Robert Barrett Browning. Second half of 19th century. Bronze.
H 51 x W 23 cm. Presented to Professor William Knight by Mrs Barrett Browning,
widow of the sculptor, with the request that he bequeath it to the University, 1913;
presented to University by Knight, 1916 (CM 15 November 1913; 5 June 1916). HC805.

William Burke (murderer) (life mask of). Luke O'Neil. 1829. Plaster. H 28.0 x W 14.8
x D 23.7 cm. Acquired by unknown means. HC908.

John Burnet (Professor of Greek, 1891-1926). Unknown artist. 20th century. Bronze
portrait medallion. 62 cm diam. Date of acquisition unknown: mounted on the front of
John Burnet Hall, which was converted into University hall of residence and named for
Burnet in 1965 (it was previously the Atholl Hotel). HC973.

Julius Caesar (after British Museum 1870). Unknown artist. 19th century. Plaster. H 48
x W 21 cm. Presented by Professor William Knight, 1900 (CM 8 January 1900; Knight
p.12). HC968.

John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquis of Bute (as above). James Pittendrigh
Macgillivray. 1903. Marble. H 90 x W 67 cm. Commissioned by the General Council,
1903 (information from inscription). HC970.

Dante Alighieri (after unknown original). Unknown artist. 19th century. Plaster. H 50 x
W 30 cm. Presented by Professor William Knight, 1900 (CM 8 January 1900; Knight
p.12). HC959.

Reverend Alexander Duff (alumnus, matriculated UC 1821; Church of Scotland missionary to India). Unknown artist. Mid to late 19th century. Plaster. H 70 x W 36 cm. Presented by Pirie Duff, son of Alexander Duff, 1897 (SM 5 June 1897). HC803.

Robert Fergusson. David Annand. 2003. Bronze. H 90 cm. Purchased by University 2004 (Acc. Reg.). HC2008.13

Head of a Gaulish Warrior (after British Museum 1770). Unknown artist. 19th century. Plaster. H 70 x W 35 cm. Presented by Professor William Knight, 1900 (CM 8 January 1900; Knight p.12). HC966.

George III. Unknown artist (possibly Nollekens), after Joseph Nollekens. 1773 or 1774. Plaster. H 76 x W 64 cm. Presented by Sir John Pringle, 1774 (SM 6 June 1774). HC809.

George IV. Unknown artist. c. 1820-30. Plaster. H 78 x W 56 cm. Acquired by unknown means. HC962.

William Hare (murderer) (life mask). Unknown sculptor, after contemporary mask. 2001. Plaster. H 22.5 x W 12.8 cm. Purchased through University of Edinburgh Anatomy Department, 2001 (Acc. Reg.). HC2002.13.

Homer (after British Museum 1825). Unknown artist. 19th century. Plaster. H 58 x W 33.5 cm. Presented by Professor William Knight, 1900 (CM 8 January 1900; Knight p.12). HC960.

William Hunter (obstretician) (death mask of). Unknown sculptor. Late 18th century. Plaster. H 24.0 x W 14.5 x D 24.2 cm. Acquired by unknown means. HC909.

Andrew Lang (author; student 1861-63; LL.D. 1885). Sir William Blake Richmond. c. 1913. Bronze portrait medallion. 47 cm diam. Presented by Miss Ida M. Hayward, 1929 (information from inscription). HC971.

Andrew Lang (as above). Sir William Blake Richmond. c. 1913. Bronze portrait medallion. 47 cm diam. Presented by Sir Peter Scott Lang, 1922 (CM 9 June 1922). HC972.

Laura (muse of Petrarch). After Antonio Canova. c. 1822. Marble. H 39 x W 24 cm. Presented by William Laughton Lorimer, 1933 (CM 19 December 1933). HC806.

W.E.H. Lecky (?). Unknown artist. c.1870s-1880s. Plaster. H 69 x W 45 cm. A bust of Lecky, which may be this sculpture, was presented by Madame de Beaufort, sister-in-law to Lecky, 1912 (CM 20 July 1912). HC964.

John Trotter Lindsay, 10th Earl of Lindsay. William Grant Stevenson. 1895. Marble. H 75 x W 66 cm. Presented by Lindsay's widow, Eudoxie, Countess of Lindsay, 1897 (CM 21 April 1897). HC954.

Lieutenant General Robert Melville (Governor of Guadeloupe, Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, St Vincent and Tobago; owner of Mount Melvill, near St Andrews). James Tassie. 1791. Vitreous paste. 7.5 x 5.0 cm. Presented by Melville, 1791 (St Andrews University Library, UYUY459/A/20 – letter from Melville, 12 September 1791). HC982.

Michelangelo. G. Rigali. 1834. Plaster. H 67 x W 48 cm. Presented by Professor William Knight, 1900 (CM 8 January 1900; Knight p.12). HC965

John Milton (probably after National Portrait Gallery 3781). Unknown artist. 19th century. Plaster. H 68 x W 48.5 cm. Presented by Professor William Knight, 1900 (CM 8 January 1900; Knight p.12). HC958.

John Napier (mathematician; matriculated SSC 1564). Unknown artist. 1913. After the sculpture of Napier by David Watson Stevenson, 1898, now in a niche on the façade of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Plaster. H 105.5 x W 35 cm. Purchased from William Grant Stevenson, brother of the artist, to mark the tercentenary celebrations of the publication of Napier's first book of logarithms, 1913. Another copy was purchased for the Mathematics classroom at the University of Dundee (CM 12 July 1913). HC808.

Thomas Purdie (Professor of Chemistry, UC, 1843-1916). Unknown artist. Late 19th / early 20th century. Marble. ? x ? cm. Presented 1905 (information from inscription). HC1050.

William Robertson (historian; Principal of the University of Edinburgh, 1762-93). Robert Cummins. Late 18th century. Plaster. H 65 x W 44.5 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: in the University by 1823 (Grierson, *Delineations*, 1823, p.190). HC963.

Sir John Rothenstein (Rector, 1964-67; LL.D. 1965). Oscar Nemon. 1960. Clay. H 46 cm x ?. Probably presented by Rothenstein during his time as Rector. HC974.

George Bernard Shaw (dramatist, essayist and critic). Joseph Coplans. c. 1930s. Bronze. H 47 x W 30 cm. Presented by the sculptor, 1953 (CM 12 May 1953). HC807.

Jan Christiaan Smuts (as above). Joseph Coplans. c. 1935. Bronze. H 58 x W 20.5 cm. Presented by the sculptor to the St Andrews Alumnus Association in South Africa, 1935; presented to the University by the Alumnus Association, 1936 (CM 23 December 1935; 23 June 1936). HC955.

Robert Stevenson (lighthouse engineer). Samuel Joseph. 1825. Plaster. H 54.0 x W 33.2 cm. Date of acquisition unknown: probably late 19th / early 20th century. HC967.

'The Student'. Unknown artist. c. 1976. Bronze. H 44 cm. Presented to David Russell Hall by Dr M.H. Cree, 1976 (information from inscription). HC975.

D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (see above). Alfred Forrest. c. 1948-50 (cast in bronze after a clay bust, 1945). Bronze. H 38 x W 28 cm. Purchased by the D'Arcy Thompson Commemorative Fund, 1948-50; presented to the University, 1950 (CM 21 December 1950). HC804.

D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (see above). Alfred Forrest. 1945 (cast in bronze after a clay bust, 1945). Bronze. H 37.5 x W 22.0 cm. Presented by the artist, after 1945. HC1051.

John Tulloch (as above). Unknown artist, 19th century. Plaster. H 81 x W 56 cm. Presented by Frank Tulloch, son of Principal Tulloch, 1902 (CM 21 March 1902). HC957.

Unknown man. Unknown artist. c. 1870s-1880s (based on style of drapes and whiskers). Plaster. H 75 x W 56 cm. Date of acquisition unknown. HC956.

Appendix C

Inventories of scientific instruments held in the University Library, c. 1699-1718

SAUL, UYUY459 Box A/6

'A note of things wanting in of Instruments as received by Mr Henry', c. 1699

The Images of ye Magick Lanthorn altogether wanting

Of the two Celestial & two terrestrial globs there is only ye remains of one terrestrial, & a broke Meridian of another

The gilded [past]board telescop wants all ye glasses save ye eye glass and a plain glass put in for ye object glass; and ye case of ye eye glass broke off from ye frame

The kane telescope is intirely broke

The frame for mounting the telescope is broken

Of the Iron chain for measuring ground there are but thirty links

Only one glass recipient intire; and two broke

Of four lead weight one is awanting

The glass tubs are all broke

Of the four pairs of [indecipherable] compasses there are two wanting & one broke.

All the capillary tubs broke

All the glasses in the little wooden box are awanting but three, & these are broken.

The broken Prism awanting

The frame of ye dipping needle is as formerly, but ye needle is awanting

The gilded case of one of ye Sectors is awanting

The little Microscope broken

One brass planetsphere awanting

[In another hand]

The celestial globe wanting

[On the opposite (left) page to this inventory is written in another hand]:

'The Instruments that are wanting or broke in Mr Crie's time', c. 1702-1718

The gilded pastboard telescope [rendered] useless and spoilt

The case of the hazle cane telescope broke

The object glass of the cane telescope lost

Only Thirty links of the surveying chain remaining

Three recipients either broke or lost

Two pair of small compasses lost and one pair broke

The needle of the dipping needle lost

A gilded case of one of the sectors lost

The small microscope broke

SAUL, UYUY459 Box A/6

'The Instruments that are wanting or broke in Mr Henrys time', c. 1699-1702

The hazle cane telescope lost all its glasses

One of the handles of the semisextant broke

The staves of the surveying chain lost

The bottle for the Artificial Rainbow broke

The Multiplying glass lost

The Large Astrolabe broke

The whole prism crackt

The brass syringe broke

The glasses of the dipping needle broke

A Brass Square wanting

The Micrometer broken

The Compass of the plain table lost

SAUL, UYLY105/3

Catalogue of the University Library, St Andrews, c. 1714-16

[The first part of the catalogue appears largely to be an amended copy of UYLY105/2, the University Library catalogue produced c. 1687-95. Books acquired 1703-14 are then listed, followed immediately by a list of objects in the library, p.33]:

The Sceleton with an Inscription relating to it

The Globes, Celestial & Terrestrial, with the two boxes to keep them in, with their appartences, viz. The Circule Horari []xis Nautica, Semicircular positionis & Quadrant altitudinus

Note: The Library Keeper is not to allow ye use of ye Globes & pertments to any Person without the outer gate of ye Parl.^t Hall

A Copperplate of ye wonderful preservation & deliverance of David Bruce & six other young Lads with him &c Given to the Library by Robert Bruce Goldsmith in Edin

[Then follows a list of books added up to May 1716. Pasted in near the end of the volume, p.41, is the following catalogue, torn down the left side with some loss of text]

'[] Catalogue of ye Clocks, mathematical instruments & others in ye publick Library'

[Pe]ndulum Clocks whereof two have long & the third a short pendulum

[Diopti]ck Lanthorne with the Glasses that goe into it whereof three are wanting

[Cele]stial and Two Terrestrial Globes

[] Boyliana

[] large Quadrant and another loss

[] Sphere

[Te]lescope of 24 foot with its case

[] other Telescopes whereof one is of kane, ye other of hazel, & ye third of parchment of a considerable length

[] frames for Telescopes

[] [B]aroscope

[] broken Thermometer

[] Staves and a chain of Iron with two pieces of Iron for measuring the ground

[] five Iron nails and other little pieces of Iron belonging to the larger Instruments

Two brass segments of Circles

The Condensatory pump with the shuttle iron wanting one of it's Glasses

Five Recipients whereof one is broken

Four lead weights

[] Bottle for Artificial Rainbow

A Barometer with a broad and lead for an Index

A Case for a Barometer

Twenty eight Glass Tubes

A Multiplying Glass

A Sphere of the planets

A Hemisphere for Measuring of Angles

[] made with a covering of Glass in a brass Case

A large Astrolabe

A microscope wanting the objective Glass with the frame of it

One pair of large Compasses

[] pair of lesser ones

[] capillary Tubes inclos'd within a larger Tube

[] Instrument folding several ways

[] small Glass Tubes whereof the greatest part are broken and inclos'd in a little wooden box

A broken prisme and a whole one

A brass Syringe

A round brass needle inclos'd in a rod leather case

A brass dial

A brass Square

Eight ocular Glasses lying out of the Instruments

A brass Ring-dial

A brass Square

pieces of [long blank space] wood

[little] Tubs with 3 needles in them all in a little wooden box

[S]ectar with a gilded case and one without a case

Instrument for dividing an Inch in many pieces

piece of an unpolished Loadstone

Fifteen screw nails and six pieces of brass with a large screw nail

A brass circle with an Index for measuring angles of Altitude

An unpolished Loadstone

A plain Table with it's Fulcrum and sights

[] Protractor

A little Microscope

Another brass planets-sphere

A polished loadstone

Appendix D

List of extant items referred to (excluding portraits and sculpture busts)

(Portraits and sculpture busts are listed in Appendix B)

CH1	Chemical balance, made by George Adams, London, mid 18 th century
CH4, 6, 8-15	Chemical glassware, late 18 th or early 19 th century
ET1977.106	Buddha, Burma, ?early 19 th century
ET1977.107	Monk, Burma, ?early 19 th century
ET1977.108	Buddha, Burma, ?early 19 th century
ET1977.125	Birch bark basket, North American Algonquin (Cree), ?early 18 th century
ET1977.253	'patu onewa' or war club, Maori, ?19 th century
HC260	Bruce Cup, early 17 th century, remade 1727 by Henry Bethune, Edinburgh
HC261	St Leonard's Mazer, unknown maker, mid-16 th - early 17 th century
HC262	St Leonard's College Communion Cup or Murray Cup, made by William Law, Edinburgh, 1679-81

- HC263 Silver serving spoon, John Ziegler, Edinburgh, 1813-14 (United College)
- HC264(1)-(2) 2 silver spoons, Patrick Robertson, Edinburgh, 1777-78 (United College / St Leonard's College – inscribed 'St. L')
- HC265(1)-(5) 5 silver spoons, Henry Bethune, Edinburgh, 1723-24 (St Leonard's College)
- HC266(1)-(3) 3 silver spoons, Patrick Robertson, Edinburgh, 1778-79 (United College / St Leonard's College – inscribed 'St. L')
- HC267(1)-(5) 5 silver spoons, Patrick Robertson, Edinburgh, 1779-80 (United College / St Leonard's College – inscribed 'St. L')
- HC268(1)-(16) 16 silver spoons, Charles Duncan, Edinburgh, 1730-31 (St Salvator's College)
- HC269(1)-(7) 7 silver spoons, Hugh Gordon, Edinburgh, 1733-34 (St Leonard's College)
- HC270(1)-(6) 6 silver spoons, James Hewitt, Edinburgh, 1774-75 (United College – inscribed 'SSSL' for St Salvator's St Leonard's [Colleges])
- HC271(1)-(5) 5 silver spoons, James Hewitt, Edinburgh, 1775-76 (United College – inscribed 'SSSL' for St Salvator's St Leonard's [Colleges])
- HC272(1)-(2) 2 silver serving spoons, Lothian and Robertson, Edinburgh, 1753-54 (St Mary's College)

- HC273(1)-(24) 24 silver spoons, Lothian and Robertson, Edinburgh, 1753-54 (St Mary's College)
- HC278 'Zodiac' bowl, ?Burmese, unknown date, acquired 1827
- HC292 St Mary's Mazer, made by Alexander Auchinleck, Edinburgh, 1552-1557
- HC293 Capstan Salt, Patrick Gardyne, St Andrews, mid-17th century
- HC294 Guild Cup, London, 1613-14
- HC322-337 16 pewter plates, W. Scott of Edinburgh, late 18th / early 19th century
- HC338 Pewter salt, 18th / 19th century
- HC437 *The Bass Rock After a Storm*, Sam Bough, 1865, oil on canvas
- HC438 *North Berwick Harbour*, Sam Bough, 1867, watercolour
- HC480 *Breakfast*, Alberto Morrocco, 1978, oil on canvas
- HC483 *Wishart's Last Exhortation*, William Quiller Orchardson, 1853, oil on canvas
- HC502 Capriccio view of the ruins of St Andrews, unknown artist, 18th century, oil on canvas
- HC521 *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo*, John Burnet, after David Wilkie, 1831, engraving

- HC523 *Cardinal Beaton Besieged in St Andrews Castle* by W.E. Lockhart,
late 19th century, oil on canvas
- HC784 ‘Postman's Blazon’, 1749, silver
- HC785 ‘University Carrier's Badge’, unknown date, pewter
- HC790 ‘Parliament’ chair, mid-17th century, oak
- HC800 Norwegian flag carried by Fridtjof Nansen on ‘Farthest North’
expedition, 1895
- HC801 *Peter Pan*, George Frampton, 1913, bronze sculpture
- HC812 Leather carrier, probably for silver vessel, probably 16th century,
with crowned ‘M’ motif
- HC813 Leather carrier, probably for silver vessel, probably 16th century
- HC814(1)-(73) Silver Arrow archery competition medals and arrows, 1618-c. 1754
- HC825 Blackstone, c. 1420
- HC838 Board bearing names of University staff, 1699
- HC839 St Andrews Cupboard, c. 1500
- HC926 *St. Monans*, A.C.W. Duncan, 1919, oil on canvas

- HC929 View of St Salvator's Chapel tower, Mabel Irvine, oil on canvas, early – mid-20th century
- HC985(1)-(6) 6 cartoons illustrating design for scheme of stained glass in St Salvator's Chapel, Douglas Strachan, 1939, watercolour on paper
- HC996 'Study for window in centre of the apse of St Salvator's Church: The Crucifixion', Gordon M. Webster, mid-20th century, watercolour
- HC1007 *Kilconquhar*, A.C.W. Duncan, early 20th century, oil on canvas
- HC1008 Village scene with church and beach [Dunbar?], A.C.W. Duncan, 1893, oil on canvas
- HC1009 *Kilconquhar*, A.C.W. Duncan, 1921, oil on canvas
- HC1992.2.1 *The Student*, Beatrice Huntingdon, 1927, oil on canvas
- HC1994.4(1)-(8) 'Low Tide, a Pittenweem Portfolio', 8 etchings by Reinhard Behrens, 1994
- HC1999.31 University of St Andrews Students' Union life member card, issued 1942
- HC2001.5-13 9 etchings of St Andrews scenes by Charles Phillips, c. 1920s
- HC2002.21 Sports trophy awarded to G.H. Monro for first prize in St Andrews University Mile Race, 1885

- HC2003.7 'The Rebellion Defeated', medal bearing portrait of William Duke of Cumberland, 1746, brass
- HC2003.8 *His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland*, S.F. Ravenet after A. Pond, about 1747, engraving
- HC2003.31 Oak chair associated with Archbishop James Sharp, 17th century
- HC2004.24 Portrait medal of Jan Smuts, ?Gilbert Bayes, 1947, bronze
- HC2005.14 Character jug of Jan Smuts, porcelain, c. 1941
- HC2008.8 *The Death of Archbishop Sharpe*, John Opie, 1797, oil on canvas
- PH200 Model Watt beam engine, ?Duncan, ?1824/25
- PH201 'Great Astrolabe', Humphrey Cole, London, 1575
- PH202 Plate for 'Great Astrolabe', John Marke, c. 1670s
- PH203 Universal instrument, Humphrey Cole, London, 1582
- PH204 'Mariner's astrolabe, Elias Allen, London, 1616
- PH205 Circumferentor, Dutch, 17th century
- PH206 Reflecting telescope, James Short, Edinburgh, 1736
- PH207 Microscope associated with Sir David Brewster, Andrew Ross & Co., London, c. 1840

PH208	Splits seconds clock, Joseph Knibb, London, 1673
PH209	Sundial (example of William Oughtred's double horizontal dial), Hilkieh Bedford, London, c. 1660-80
PH210	Refracting telescope, mid 17 th century
PH211	Orrery, Benjamin Cole, London, c. 1750
PH213	Dip Circle, 17 th century
PH217	Set of 'mechanical powers', early 19 th century
PH219	Horary quadrant, 'the Panorganon', c. 1670s
PH221	Quadrant Electrometer, James White, Glasgow, c. 1870s

The following art collections are briefly discussed in Chapter III, and further information is available on application to the Museum Collections Unit:

Harley Brothers Collection - 17 lithographs produced by the firm of lithographic printers Harley Brothers Ltd of Edinburgh during a project involving contemporary Scottish artists which ran from 1958-60

Harry and Margery Boswell Art Collection – 20th century and contemporary Scottish art

Recording Scotland Collection – 135 artworks (some now lost) commissioned and purchased by the Pilgrim Trust during the Second World War as part of a project to produce employment for artists in wartime, and create a permanent pictorial record of a Scotland thought to be at risk from bombs and growing industrialization: HC1-HC135

Scottish Arts Council Collection – 20th century Scottish artworks, mainly prints

Murdo MacDonald Collection - 23 Scottish contemporary artworks presented by MacDonald in 2007-08

The following items are not yet accessioned, usually because they are part of the retrospective cataloguing project, but in the case of the maces because they are still in use:

Mace of the Faculty of Arts, French, c. 1416-19

Mace of the Faculty of Canon Law, Scottish, mid 15th century

Mace of St Salvator's College, French, 1461

'Parliament' table, mid-17th century oak table thought to have been used when Scottish Parliament met in St Andrews 1645/46

Three charter chests from about the 17th century, one from St Leonard's College and two from St Mary' College

'Conter', possibly Flemish, 16th century

Three wooden boards scratched with the names of St Andrews students, 17th – 19th centuries, removed from the old St Salvator's College Hall

John Duncan, *Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay*, 1929, oil on canvas

2 regulator clocks, Joseph Knibb, London, 1673

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