

Andrew Melville and the Revolt against Aristotle in Scotland

NOT the least interesting side of the history of the revival of learning is the personal aspect of the revolt from the traditional Aristotle. It is an important chapter in university annals, constituting, as it does, the greatest change these institutions have known. The development of the reaction against what Professor Bain has termed 'the dreary, single-manned Aristotelian quadriennium' has been amply described from various points of view. In Scotland, which was late in being affected by the movement, we have no such development to trace. The university system itself did not grow in Scotland, in the sense in which it grew in England and on the continent of Europe. It was simply adopted, mainly from France, once for all, in its mature form, with such incidental modifications as were necessitated by the special circumstances. Similarly this new theory of education was brought into Scotland in a mature stage. The three existing universities were formally brought into line with it, and Edinburgh and Marischal College and University were founded in accordance with it.

This important change, so far-reaching in its results, was, of course, the logical sequence of the adoption of the Reformed faith. But the time and the manner of its introduction were determined by a single individual. Few men have so impressed upon their country the stamp of their own personality as Andrew Melville has left his mark upon Scotland. The occasion was a great one, and the man was worthy of it. As a striking historical figure he is no unworthy successor of the rugged reformer to whose place upon the stage of Scottish story he succeeded. For good or for evil he left no less an impress upon Scotland than did Knox himself. We do not intend to make any estimate of the influence of Andrew Melville; we are concerned only with his attitude to the new learning. But, for the sake of clearness, we may here indicate the leading dates in his life. He was born in 1545, and educated at the grammar school of Montrose, and at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Leaving St. Andrews in 1564, he went to the continent, and taught at St. Marceon and at Geneva. The importance of his continental

training lies in the fact that at Paris he came strongly under the influence of Peter Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée). He returned to Scotland in 1574, and immediately became principal of the University of Glasgow. There he remained till 1580, when he was 'transported' to St. Andrews, and was made principal of St. Mary's College, his *alma mater*. The remaining incidents of his chequered career are not here relevant, and are too well known to render repetition desirable.

Before the Reformation the arts curriculum in the Scottish universities was entirely on the ordinary medieval lines. The principal subjects belonged to Aristotle's theoretical and not to his practical class of studies, and were not included in the 'sacred seven.' The trivium was taught, but its subjects occupied a subordinate position; and scarcely any provision was made for the teaching of the quadrivium. The regents concerned themselves with the logic, ethics, metaphysics, and physics of Aristotle. The text-books, in addition to the writings of Aristotle, were the works of such authors as Porphyry and Petrus Hispanus. A knowledge of Latin was, of course, presupposed; in Glasgow it was not taught; in Aberdeen it occupied a small place in the curriculum. It is unnecessary to enlarge here. The main point is the supremacy of the Aristotle of the schoolmen.¹

'Statuimus et ordinamus quaedam volumina ordinaria, et quaedam extraordinaria, in quibus promovendi habent informari et examinari. Ordinaria vero audienda sunt hæc: primo scilicet, in veteri arte, liber Universalium Porphyrii, liber Prædicamentorum Aristotelis, duo libri Peri Hermenias eiusdem. In nova logica, duo libri priorum [Analyticorum]; duo posteriorum, quatuor ad minus Topicorum, scilicet primus, secundus, sextus, et octavus, et duo Elenchorum. In Physicâ, octo libri Phisicorum, tres de coelo et de mundo, duo de generatione et corruptione, tres libri de Animâ, etiam de sensu et sensato, de memoriâ et reminiscentiâ, de somno et vigiliâ, et septem libri metaphysicæ.

'Item, Audiantur libri extraordinarii, in toto vel in parte, ubi facultas mature dispensabit, si fiat defectus: scilicet in logicâ, textus Petri Hispani, cum syncategorematibus; tractatus de distributionibus, liber g. po. sex principiorum. In physicâ, tres libri meteorum, tractatus de spherâ, sine dispensatione; sex libri ethicorum, si legantur; perspectiva; algorismus; et principia geometriæ, si legantur; et ut studium iuvenum, de bono in melius usque in finem, optimum laudabiliter suscipiat incrementum, Statuimus et ordinamus, quod vetus ars legatur per sex septimanas, priorum per tres, posteriorum per tres. Topicorum et Elenchorum per totidem continue perlegantur; in physicâ octo libri phisicorum per duos menses; de generatione, et de coelo et mundo, per quatuor septimanas; de animâ et parva naturalia per sex septimanas; et libri metaphysicæ per totidem: tempus autem extraordinariorum committit facultas discretioni legentium.'—Statuta Facultatis Artium Studii Glasguensis, in *Evidence taken by the Commission of 1826*, ii. 286. For Aberdeen cf. Bp. Elphinstone's charter in vol. iv. of the *Evidence* (pp. 185–9), or in *Fasti Aberdonenses* (pp. 53–54). Cf. especially the sentence, 'Sexta, alter Magister Artium, pro puerorum et iuvenum informatione, in gramaticalibus et illius scientiæ primis rudimentis in dicto Collegio institui debeat.' The date of this charter is 1505, but teaching seems to have begun about ten years earlier, and this special provision is probably the fruit of the experience thus gained. The only book in the Glasgow list that requires identification is the *Tractatus de Distributionibus*. Professor Davidson, of Aberdeen, suggested that it might be connected with the seventh tractate

While Andrew Melville was yet an undergraduate at St. Andrews the first attempt was made to remodel the universities. In 1562 the general assembly, in the famous 'First Book of Discipline,' ordered alterations in the constitution of the three existing universities. The alterations were certainly sufficiently drastic. Stress was laid on the teaching of mathematics, economics, Greek, and Hebrew. But, for various reasons, these instructions were never fully carried out. The University of Aberdeen, in fact, remained Roman catholic till 1569, and the experiences of the Melvilles at Glasgow and at St. Andrews show that there had been an utter failure to grasp the fact of the deposition of Aristotle, even although the earl of Morton held a visitation at St. Andrews in the spring of 1574,² and to some extent confirmed the view taken by the 'Book of Discipline.' The visitors, however, directed their attention mainly to securing that there should be abundance of sound doctrinal teaching in the university. At Glasgow not only do we read of no attempt to enforce the 'Book of Discipline,' but in 'The New Foundation of the College of Glasgow made by the Town,' in January 1572,³ we find a return to the older terminology. The Greek, Hebrew, and mathematics of the 'Book of Discipline' are conspicuous by their absence, and we read of *Dialectica*, *Physica*, *Ethica*, and so forth. We may take it, then, that when Andrew Melville arrived in Scotland in the summer of 1574 Aristotle still reigned supreme in the universities. Apart from some points of organisation, and the teaching of protestant theology, the 'Book of Discipline' was inoperative in Glasgow, and equally so in St. Andrews. Aberdeen had scarcely recovered from the shock of the deposition of the Roman catholic officials in 1569. Nowhere can the revolt against Aristotle be said to have really begun. With the appointment of Andrew Melville to Glasgow, in 1574, a new era commences.

Our information regarding the work of Melville in Glasgow and in St. Andrews is derived from a remarkable and fascinating book, 'The Autobiography and Diary' of Andrew Melville's nephew, James Melville, well known in Scottish church history. His quaint language, his natural and unrestrained expression of feeling, his earnestness of purpose, and his unusual care to preserve the record

of the *Summulae Logicales* of Petrus Hispanus, which contains the section *De Distributione*, and gives the first instance of the use of the word as a technical term. About the middle of the fifteenth century, when this list was drawn up, Nicholas de Orbellis had given further currency to the term. In the '*Logica Magistri Nicolai de Orbellis una cum textu Petri Hispani*,' he entitled the section *Tractatus de Distributionibus*. His treatment of the subject is merely a reprint of Petrus Hispanus, with a brief commentary. The 'Sphere' of John de Sacro Bosco and *Sex Principia* of Gilbert de la Porrée will be at once recognised.

² Cf. *Evidence*, iii. 187-9.

³ 'Regentes autem Dialecticae, Logicae, Physicae, Moralis Philosophiae, Metaphysicaeque praeceptis edocendis sedulo incumbant.' . . . 'New Foundation of the College of Glasgow,' in *Evidence*, ii. 237-9.

of interesting personal incidents impart a singular charm to his work. But for him we should know simply the bare facts of the changes initiated by his uncle, and even these in an incomplete and unsatisfactory manner. Born in 1556, James Melville received his early education from the minister of Logie-Montrose, who taught him the Catechisme and Scripture the Rudiments of the Latin Grammeir withe the vocables in Latin and Frenche; also dyverse speitches in Frenche the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer; Hunter's Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus, and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epistles of Horace; also Cicero his Epistles *ad Terentiam*.⁴

Thereafter he proceeded to the grammar school of Montrose, and thence in 1571 to St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. There was no Erasmus for him now. He studied, in his first year, 'Cassander his Rhetorik' and the 'Organ of Aristotle's Logics . . . till the Demonstrations; ' in his second year, 'the Demonstrations, the Topiks, and the Sophist Captiones; ' in his third year, 'the fyve buikis of the Ethiks, with the aught buikis of the Physiks, and *De Ortu et Interitu*; ' and, in his fourth year, 'the buikis de Cælo and Meteors, also the Spher.' We have quoted this list in full, because it shows that the 'Book of Discipline' was simply a dead letter. 'I wald haiff gladlie,' wrote Melville afterwards of his college days,

bein at the Greik and Hebrew touns, because I red in our Byble that it was translated out of Hebrew and Greik; bot the langages war nocht to be gottine in the land. Our Regent begoud and teatched us the A, B, C of the Greik, and the simple declintioncs, bot went no farder.

At Lammas 1574 James Melville heard that his uncle, Andrew, to whom he had written a letter in the previous year, had returned to Scotland. Soon after his arrival Andrew Melville spent some months at Baldow, in the house of his brother, the father of James Melville. While there he read much Latin with his nephew, instructing him also in Greek and Hebrew and in the new doctrines. Together they read 'Bodin his Method of Historie.' Andrew's appointment as principal at Glasgow led to the arrival of both uncle and nephew in Glasgow in the end of the year, to undertake the work of reforming the Scottish university system. The story is best told in James Melville's own words.

We cam to Glasgow about the first of November 1574, whare we fand Mr Piter Blakburn, a guid man new com from St. Androis, enterit in the Collage, and begoun to teatche conform to the ordour of the course of St. Androis. But Mr Andro entering principall maister, all was committed and submitted to him; wha permitted, willinglie, to the said Mr Piter the cair of the Collage leiving, quhilk was but verie small, consisting in

⁴ *Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill* (Wodrow Society), p. 16 *et seq.*

little annualles then : and set him (i.e. himself) haillelie to teatche things nocht hard in this countray of befor, wherin he travelit exceding diligentlie, as his delyt was thairin ulleanerlie. Sa falling to wark with a few number of capable heirars, sic as might be instructars of uthers thairefter, he teatched tham the Greik grammer, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise thair of in Greik and Latin authors, namlie, Homer, Hesiod, Phocilides, Theognides, Pythagoras, Isocrates, Pindarus, Virgill, Horace, Theocritus &c. From that he enterit to the Mathematiks, and teatched the Elements of Euclid, the Arithmetic and Geometrie of Ramus, the Geographie of Dyonisius, the Tables of Hunter, the Astrologie of Aratus. From that to the Morall Philosophie; he teatched the Ethiks of Aristotle, the Offices of Cicero, Aristotle de Virtutibus, Cicero's Paradoxes and Tusculanes, Aristot. Polyb. and certean of Platoes Dialoges. From that to the Natural Philosophie; he teatched the buiks of the Physica, De Ortu, De Cœlo, &c., also of Plato and Fernelius. With this he joyned the Historie, with the twa lights thair of, Chronologie and Chirographie, out of Sleidan, Menarthes, and Melancthon. And all this by and attoure his awin ordinar profession, the holie tonges and Theologie; he teachit the Hebrew grammar, first shortlie, and syne mor accuratlie; thairefter the Caldaic and Syriac dialects, with the practise thair of in the Psalmes and warks of Solomon, David, Ezra, and Epistle to the Galates. He past throw the hail comoun places of Theologie verie exactlie and accuratlie; also throw all the Auld and New Testament. And all this in the space of sax yeirs; during the quhilk he teachit everie day, customablie, twyse, Sabothe and uther day, with an ordinar conference with sic as war present efter denner and supper.

It was the method of a statesman as well as of a scholar. A less wise man would have attempted an immediate and complete revolution, and would have failed, as the compilers of the 'Book of Discipline' had failed. Melville disarmed the opposition of his colleague, Blackburn, by giving him congenial duties, and quietly prepared a small number of youths to undertake the great work. He had his reward. Blackburn appreciated the situation and sat at the feet of Melville as a scholar; the 'scholmaister of the toun, Mr Patrik Scharpe,' came and learned from Melville and taught the Glasgow youth in accordance with Melville's system, while students flocked from St. Andrews, 'sa that the Collage was sa frequent as the roumes war nocht able to receave them.' It was only gradually that all this came about. Blackburn, naturally enough, was long suspicious of Melville's innovations. 'At our table,' says James Melville,

comounlie at mealles and efter, was movit be him [Andrew Melville] sum question of philosophie or artes, namlie, for this end to schaw that Aristotle could err, and haid erred, contrar to S. Androis axiom, *Absurdum est dicere errasse Aristotelem*. Mr Piter Blakburn, our coleg, was a bitter propugnar of Aristotle; a verie guid and lerned man, bot rud and carlishe of nature; and when he could nocht bear out his defence be reasone, he wald do it be coler and invective upon the persone of Mr

Andro, that he was arrogant, proud, and full of his awin sence; but when it came to that, the argument seassed, for the Principall never spak a word mair.

The natural result followed. 'And be this form of doing he wan Mr Peter from monie baith wrang opiniones and evill fasones; for the guid, honest-harted man, frie from his coler, eschamed of him self, amendit him self.' There were, too, other difficulties. It was an unsettled time, and the youths, especially those of noble families, were hard to control. James Melville, who was made a regent in 1575, describes several incidents which endangered collegiate discipline. It was no ordinary difficulty that presented itself to the principal; on one occasion, for example, the punishment of a youth of noble family led to a serious danger. The young man fled to his clan, and 'na thing was noysit sa mikle in the countrey, as the Boids and Cuninghams wald slay the Maisters and burn the Collage.' There was nothing improbable in the rumour. 'Bot the Principall jarget [swerved] never a whit, nor movit him self, whowbeit sum of us war right fleyd.' The firmness of Melville won the day, and the youth, 'bear-headit and bear-futed,' had, at a solemn ceremony, to submit himself to the principal. Such were the difficulties with which Melville had to contend, and it is a great tribute to his strength of character that he overcame them all, and, in six years, entirely changed the aspect of affairs at Glasgow.

While at Glasgow Melville was indirectly the instrument of the reorganisation of the University of Aberdeen. At the assembly held at Edinburgh in August 1575 the Melvilles met Principal Alexander Arbuthnot, who had, during the preceding five years, been attempting to bring order out of chaos at Aberdeen. 'Efter the Assemblie,' says James Melville,

we past to Anguss in companie with Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, a man of singular gifts of lerning, wisdom, godlines, and sweitnes of nature, then Principall of the Collage of Aberdein; whom withe Mr Andro communicat anent the haill ordour of his Collage in doctrine and discipline; and aggreit, as thairefter was set down, in the new reformation of the said Collages of Glasgw and Aberdein.

The story of the *nova fundatio* of Aberdeen is too long and intricate to be told here;⁵ but it may fairly be said that Melville's interposition brought King's College to some extent into line with the new order of things, and ultimately brought about the triumph of Melville's system.

Melville's work at Glasgow was now done. During his first three years of office he had gradually prepared the way for the changes. In 1577 his ideas were embodied in the 'Nova Erectio'⁶ for

⁵ Cf. Mr. P. J. Anderson's *Officers and Graduates of King's College*, app. ii. (New Spalding Club), and the present writer's *Universities of Aberdeen*, cc. ix. and xi.

⁶ 'Tres . . . regentes . . . Primus, praecepta eloquentiae ex probatissimis auctoribus, et Graecae linguae institutionem profitebitur, adolescentesque tum

Glasgow, and during the next three years he secured that its provisions should be fully carried out. St. Andrews was now the only Scottish university which had not felt his influence. In 1579 it received a new constitution, in accordance with the new ideas; but the change was only theoretical,⁷ and it was evident that Melville's presence in his *alma mater* was absolutely necessary. By the assembly of October 1580 he was, 'sear against his will, decernit and ordeanit to transport him self from Glasgw to St. Androis, to begine the wark of Theologie ther, with sic as he thought meit to tak with him for that effect.' James Melville, who had intended to go to France, decided, fortunately for our knowledge of the circumstances, to accompany his uncle to St. Andrews.

We tuk leive (he says) from Glasgw with infinit teares on bathe sydes, sa that sic as war our mislykers befor . . . wald haiff fean kythed frindschipe then; and leaving Mr Thomas Smeton in the Principall's, and my cusing, Mr Patrik Melvill, . . . in my roun, we cam to Edinbruche about the end of November, whare I fand my bern [*i.e.* his fiancée] growand in grace and favour with God and man, quhilk eased me sum what of the languor of our frinds at Glasgw.

The Melvilles were installed at St. Andrews in December 1580, and found considerable opposition, arising mainly from the fact that their predecessors had been deposed to make room for them. In these circumstances the new learning cannot have been very attractive at its first coming. Melville records that at the very beginning they narrowly escaped a great fire, which, he says, would have been 'to the great discouragement and greiff of all guid men, and the joy of the wicked, and sic as heated the wark.' In spite of this evil omen they set vigorously to work, and, curiously enough, were welcomed by nobody more than by 'Mr Patrik Adamsone, called Bischope,' who changed sides so often. He 'resorted to our lessones and keiped verie familiar frindschipe with Mr Andro, promising what could ly in him for the weill of that wark.' Adamson's adhesion must have been of considerable value to him. Still he had many difficulties. His predecessor, Robert Hamilton,

scribendo tum declamando exercebit, ut in utriusque linguae facultate pares, et ad philosophiae praecepta capessenda magis idonei evadere possint: Proximus, dialecticae et logicae explicandae operam dabit, earumque praecepta in usum et exercitationem proferet; idque ex probatissimis auctoribus, ut Cicerone, Platone, Aristotele, de vitâ, et moribus, et politicâ administratione; quae studia huic secundo regenti degustanda probemus, et pro adolescentulorum captu enarranda; adiunget insuper elementa arithmeticae et geometriae, in quarum principiis non parum momenti ad eruditionem parandam situm est, et ingenii acumen excitandum. . . . Porro, tertius regens physiologiam omnem, eamque quae de naturâ est, auscultationem, utpote imprimis necessariam, quam diligentissime enarrabit; geographiam etiam et astrologiam profitebitur, nec non generalem etiam chronographiam et temporum a condito mundo supputationem.'—'Nova Erectio' of 1577, in *Evidence*, ii. 289–43.

⁷ *Evidence*, iii. 189–91. The subsequent experiences of the Melvilles at St. Andrews constitute the proof that the changes were not actually carried out.

minister of St. Andrews, 'vexit him with persut of compts of the Collage . . . till it pleasit God to cutt schort the lyff of the said Mr Robert.' One of the regents, John Caldcleuch, was so much opposed to Melville's methods that he 'bosted that he wald houche [hamstring] Mr Andro.' The principal's method of dealing with this malcontent is characteristic.

And a day (writes James Melville) he comes in to Mr Androe's chalmer, being alan in it, and askes him, weill rudlie, giff he knew him? 'Na,' says Mr Andro, 'I knaw you nocht.' 'I should be knawen,' says he, 'as a Maister in this Collage; my nam is Mr. Jhone Caldcleuche.' 'Ho!' quoth Mr Andro. 'Is this yie that will houche men?' And with that put to the chalmer dure, and sayes, 'It is even best tym now!' Bot the uther calmit atteanes, and beginnes to speak with mair reverence.'

The troubles were not confined to these incidental annoyances. The new teaching caused something like an organised conspiracy among Melville's colleagues at St. Andrews.

Heiring, in Mr Androe's ordinar publict lessones of Theologie, thair Aristotle, amangs the rest of the philosophers, the patriarches of heresie, as ane of the ancients termes tham, mightelie confuted, handling the heids anent God, Providence, Creation, &c., [they] maid a strange steir in the Universitie, and cryed, 'Grait Diana of the Ephesians,' thair breadwinner, thair honour, thair estimation, all was gean, giff Aristotle could be sa owirharled in the heiring of thair schollars; and sa dressit publict orationes against Mr Androe's doctrine.

They knew, we are told, 'bot a few buikes of Aristotle, quhilk they lernit pertinatuslie to bable and flyt upon, without right understanding or use thair of.' Melville took every opportunity of confuting them. He dealt with the subject in his ordinary lectures. When, on any public occasion, any of them in an official harangue attacked his doctrines, 'he lut tham nocht slipe, but af-hand answerit to tham presentlie with sic force of treuthe, evidence of reasone, and spirituall eloquence, that he dashit tham.' As in Glasgow, so in St. Andrews, the new learning was triumphant in the end. He

convicted tham sa in conscience, that the cheiff Coryphoes amang tham becam grait students of Theologie, and speciall professed frinds of Mr Andro, and ar now verie honest upright pastors in the Kirk. . . . They fell to the Langages, studeit thair Artes for the right use, and perusit Aristotle in his awin langage; sa that, *certatim et serio*, they becam bathe philosophers and theologes, and acknawlagit a wondrousfull transportation out of darknes unto light.

It must be remembered that Melville was largely assisted by the fact that the whole controversy was bound up with the religious situation of the day, and by his being all-powerful in the General Assembly, which interfered to support him. By 1582 the battle

had been won. The old views had received a fatal blow. In the following year the General Assembly, classing Aristotle with 'other profane authors,' forbade the teaching of certain of the old philosophical tenets.⁶ Greek and Hebrew received a place, along with mathematics and philosophy, in the universities."

The sequel at St. Andrew's shows that, by 1583, the time was past when everything depended upon the personality of one man. In that year Andrew Melville offended the court, and had to flee to England. When James Melville returned to St. Andrews for the session he expected to find the work 'with sic a calamitie cuttit of from all hope of hervest.' But a pleasant surprise awaited him.

The Maisters and members of the Universitie . . . kythed an uther mynd to the wark then I luiked for, and gaiff thair presence and guid countenance and assistance to my Lessons, to my grait comfort and incuragement.

There was, naturally, still an opposition of some strength. Soon James Melville, too, had to leave Scotland, and when uncle and nephew returned, in 1585, it was necessary for them to re-establish their own order of things, 'quhilk the Bischope haid altered and turned from Thelogie to Philosophie, *ab equis ad asinos*.' But, in spite of this, they found 'graitter desyre of knowlage and hallines in the hartes of the hail heirars of the Universitie,' a fact which indicates that the warfare between the two kinds of learning was over, although the victorious career of the new method might be now and again hindered by the episcopalian party, who, on other grounds, were opposed to the Melvilles and all their works. This is borne out by Melville's ceasing to speak of controverting the supporters of Aristotle, and directing his attention to refuting the

* 'At the forty-ninth Assemblie, holden at Edinburgh, October 10, 1583, Mr. Robert Pont, Moderator . . . That youths doe not maintain fals opinions, howbeit averred by Aristotle or other profane authors. That masters instruct their schollers in the falshood of these tenetts:—1. Omnis finis est opus aut operatio. 2. Civilis scientia est praestantissima, eiusque finis praestantissimus et summum hominis bonum. 3. Honestas et iusta varia sunt et inconstantia, adeo ut sola opinione constant. 4. Iuvenes et rerum imperiti, et in libidinem proclives, ab audienda morum Philosophia arcendi. 5. Quod per se bonum est, et causa cur caetera bona sunt, non est summum bonum. 6. Dei agnitio nihil prodest artificii ad hoc, ut arte sua bene utatur. 7. Summum bonum vel boni minimi accessione augeri vel reddi potest optabilius. 8. Pauper, deformis, orbus aut infans, beatus esse non potest. 9. Bonum aeternum bono unius diei non est magis bonum. 10. Foelicitas est actio animi secundum virtutem. 11. Potest aliquis sibi suo studio foelicitatem comparare. 12. Homo in hac vita, et esse et dici potest beatus. 13. Nemo post hanc vitam potest vel esse vel dici beatus, nisi propinquorum vel amicorum ratione. 14. Natura apti ad virtutem, eam agendo comparamus. 15. Libera est nobis voluntas ad bene agendum. 16. Mundus est physice aeternus. 17. Casus et fortuna locum habent in rebus naturalibus et humanis. 19. Animae pars una vel etiam plures sunt mortales. 20. Ex nihilo nihil fit.—These, and others also depending on these, and what may be drawn from these by necessarie consequence: these who maintaine these to incurre the censure of the Kirk.'—Row's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, sub anno 1583.

* 'Reporte of the New College to the Visitation of 1588,' in *Evidence*, iii. 193–6.

bishop on questions of church government and polity. Andrew Melville was, in 1586, allowed to return to St. Andrews: he had been 'commanded to ward in his native place.' A visit of King James to the university, in the following year, brought about an interesting controversy between Andrew Melville and the bishop, when Melville so confuted his opponent's reasons 'that the Bischope was dasht and strukken als dum as the stok he satt upon.' This, again, was a theological controversy. The seal may be said to have been placed upon Melville's work at St. Andrews in 1591, when he was appointed rector of the university. We may take the year 1593 as marking the completion of the triumph of his system. He had personally reformed the universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow. His influence had reached the university and King's College, Aberdeen, through his friend Arbuthnot. In 1584, when the University of Edinburgh was founded, its first teacher was Robert Rollock, who had been closely associated with the Melvilles at St. Andrews. Finally, in 1593, when the Earl Marischal founded Marischal College and University in Aberdeen, he did so as a protest against the incomplete manner in which King's College had adopted Melville's method, and the constitution of Marischal College was fully in accordance with Melville's views.

Such, then, were the personal incidents of the transformation of the Scottish universities. What of the work itself? Like most changes the alterations in the old system were followed by good and evil results. No doubt it was too great a rebound from the old ideals. The fall, in Scotland, of the great fabric of Roman Christianity which held together the universities of Europe could not but lead to the separation of Scottish universities from their contemporaries which maintained their connexion with Rome. But the complete identification of the new university system with Presbyterian polity and doctrine made these institutions unnecessarily national in their character and local in their aim. We cannot be too grateful to Melville for bringing us into line with continental opinion regarding the schoolmen, and for insisting upon the introduction of languages and mathematics into our system. But he was too much afraid of philosophy. Perhaps, however, this aversion to teaching philosophy was due not so much to Melville himself as to the exaggeration of his system by his followers. In the Glasgow '*Nova Erectio*' of 1577 we find mention made of studying dialectic and logic; of reading Cicero, Plato, and Aristotle; and of paying due attention to natural philosophy. In the St. Andrews new foundation of 1579 not quite so much stress is laid on philosophy. 'The third regent sall teiche the maist profitable and needful pairtis of the logiks of Aristotle, with the ethikis, and politikis all in Greik, and the offices of Cicero in Latin. The fourth regent sall teiche in Greik sa meikle of the

phisikis as is neidfull, with the spheir.' When we come to the 'Nova Fundatio' of King's College we find still less of philosophy. The fourth regent is to teach arithmetic and geometry, and along with them a portion of Aristotle's 'Organon,' ethics, and politics, and the 'De Officiis' of Cicero. The Earl Marischal's constitution is similar. As time went on a reaction set in, and philosophy was given a more honourable place in the course. In the middle of the next century¹⁰ we find that they read

Aristotill his categories, de interpretatione, and prior analyticks, both text and questiones, the rest of the logicks, twa first books of the ethicks, five chapteris of the third, with a compend of the particular writtis; the first fyve books of the generall phisicks, the bookes de coelo, de ortu et interitu, de anima.

But Melville's holy horror of metaphysics is, doubtless, to some extent responsible for the fact that while the universities produced many eminent humanists they produced no philosopher in the seventeenth century.

It is necessary, in estimating Melville's academic work, to refer, finally, to a great change brought about by him in the methods of teaching. Down to the Reformation it was customary for each regent to conduct his class through every subject of the curriculum, teaching the same men all the four years of their course. The first objection to this system is to be found in the 'Nova Erectio' of Glasgow, where it is ordained that the regents shall each take a particular subject.¹¹ Similarly the professorial system is prescribed in the new constitutions of St. Andrews and King's College, Aberdeen, and by the founders of the new universities. Unfortunately by the middle of the seventeenth century the old system had been fully restored in all five universities, and it was not entirely abandoned till the beginning of the present century.

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¹⁰ Cf. *Evidence*, vol. i. appendix, pp. 86-46; ii. 259-78; lii. 204-28, and, for Aberdeen, *Fasti Aberdonenses*, pp. 225-448 *passim*.

¹¹ 'Tres autem hos regentes nolumus, prout in reliquis regni nostri academiis consuetudo est, novas professiones quotannis immutare; quo fit ut, dum multa profiteantur, in paucis periti inveniantur; verum in eadem professione se exerceant, ut adolescentes qui gradatim ascendunt, dignum suis studiis et ingeniis praeceptorem reperire queant.'—*Nova Erectio*, *Evidence*, ii. (pp. 241-2). For the subsequent history of the regenting system cf. the *Evidence*, *passim*, Mr. P. J. Anderson's *Officers and Graduates of King's College* (pp. 313-23) and his *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae*, app. vol. ii.; and histories of individual universities. On the whole subject cf. Professor Bain's rectorial address on 'The University Ideal,' reprinted in *Practical Essays*, 1884; the late Professor Veitch's articles on the history of philosophy in Scotland in *Mind*, Old Series, vol. ii.; and Mr. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, where the relation of the Scottish universities to earlier foundations is best stated. Cf. also Professor Laurie's *Lectures on the Rise of Universities*.