

On 18th December 1967, the following agreed announcement was made to the national Press :—

#### “COLLABORATION BETWEEN TWO UNIVERSITIES

Scotland's oldest University, St. Andrews, and the University of Manchester have made an agreement to co-operate in medical education. A joint liaison committee will operate the scheme ; there will, it is hoped, from time to time be interchange of staff. In this way full use will be made of the special skills which exist in both Universities.

The enlarged clinical school in the Manchester hospitals will, from 1973 onwards, draw its students from the pre-clinical schools in both Manchester and St. Andrews. Students at St. Andrews will study for three years in the Faculty of Science on an extended pre-clinical course and will take a B.Sc. ordinary degree (or an honours B.Sc. with an extra year of study). This in itself will be a training for those who undertake work requiring a background in biological studies. Those, however, who wish to qualify in medicine will be able to go on to Manchester for three more years' work leading to the M.B., Ch.B. degrees of the University of Manchester.

This partnership will make it possible to cater for a wider range of applicants drawn from both English and Scottish educational systems. For many students it will also be an advantage to spend part of their time in a relatively small and closely knit community and the rest in a large civic University.

The scheme represents a considerable contribution to the national need to increase the supply of doctors. It does this cheaply because it makes full use of resources and skill already in existence.

It should be emphasised that Manchester will continue to expand its pre-clinical as well as its clinical capacity in accordance with government policy. An enlarged clinical school is now being developed in Manchester, where the University, while retaining its close association with the United Manchester Hospitals, is forming a new association with the Regional Hospital Board, notably at Withington Hospital, which is being developed into a full teaching hospital. In order not to overload the clinical school in its early expansion phase, the main output of St. Andrews graduates in medical science will go to Manchester as from 1973 (i.e. having entered St. Andrews in 1970). Meantime, St. Andrews students will continue to go on to Dundee or be offered places in other clinical training schools.

In this way the four hundred-year-old tradition of medicine in St. Andrews has been given new life and significance, and Manchester welcomes its association with this long Scottish tradition.”

In an important article in the *Times Educational Supplement*, on 22nd December 1967, Principal J. Steven Watson expands the theme.

Some of the details remain to be worked out, particularly in respect of the curriculum in the third year of the St. Andrews degree. Provision has been made for extension and alteration to the present Bute Medical Building and work should commence within the next few weeks. The Department of

Biochemistry is to move into the buildings vacated on the United College North Street site when the Chemistry Department occupies the new North Haugh building. Adjustments of this sort will free Anatomy and Physiology from the clamp imposed by a recommendation sixteen years old, and indeed permit of additional numbers of students should the national interest so require.

The next two or three years will necessarily be an *interim* period before the full arrangement operates, starting in St. Andrews in 1970, with the first dual graduates finishing with B.Sc. (St. Andrews) ; M.B., Ch.B. (Manchester) in the summer of 1976. Alumni will follow with interest this important and exciting effort at a new pattern of training based on St. Andrews.

ANTHONY E. RITCHIE

NOTE : (Professor Ritchie, Chandos Professor of Physiology and former Dean of the Faculty of Science, was a main architect of the amalgamation described above. For the academic year 1968-69 he is Advisor of Studies and Admissions Officer for the B.Sc. (Medical Science) courses in the Faculty of Science.)

## Literate Ladies - A Fifty Year Experiment

On the ninth of December 1876 Professor Roberts “recommended to the Senatus that a higher certificate be given to women” and reported that a sub-committee had prepared a rough programme of subjects of examination for such a certificate. The report was generally approved of “. . . and the subject remitted to the committee to bring up the programme revised and completed with powers to the committee to issue the programme as completed.” In this unpretentious manner was authorised one of the most remarkable academic enterprises in the history of the University. We do not know whether Professor Roberts was the prime mover in the L.L.A. scheme, as it came to be known ; the second convener and later historian of the enterprise has nothing to say on this point. But the scheme, whoever its immediate author may have been, had roots in the past.

Although there were sporadic instances of the graduation of women in Continental Universities, particularly in Italy, since their foundation, it was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that a general movement demanding university education for women began to emerge. The new countries and the new institutions usually found it easiest to come to terms with the demand—the United States had the first women's college in 1850, and had qualified the first Englishwoman to practice medicine in 1849. St. Andrews did not have to face the problem until 1862, when Elizabeth Garrett, with the doors of London and Edinburgh Universities shut firmly in her face, was directed thither. She found some of the Professors sympathetic, but their reactionary colleagues, having made elaborate arrangements to exclude her, by force if necessary, sought legal opinion further to defend themselves. The admission of women was declared illegal, apparently on the ground that what was not expressly permitted was forbidden. The

French Universities with similar foundation charters were able to accomplish the change without fuss. But this episode was clearly most important in the history of the St. Andrews contribution to women's education—the sympathy of a few professors in 1862 had now emerged in this positive scheme of 1876.

The L.A. scheme as it was called in the beginning, L.A. standing for Literate in Arts, made two important decisions in its early years. The first was that the scheme should not confine itself to the immediate area of the University or even Scotland, but should be publicised throughout Britain, and centres of examination established wherever convenient. The other was that the subjects offered should not be restricted to those taught in the University. For the first examination English, Logic, Psychology and Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Comparative Philology, History, Education, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Geology with Physical Geography and Palaeontology, Physiology, Hebrew, Biblical Criticism, Church History, and History of Doctrines were offered, all on both a pass and an honours standard. At different times other subjects, Aesthetics, Astronomy, Fine Art, Geography, Hygiene, Mineralogy, Music and Spanish were added.

The scheme had a modest start. With only seven months' notice, eight candidates presented themselves at the first examination. Soon, however, examination centres were established at London, Halifax, St. Andrews and Dundee, and one of the Professors presided at each. Interest in the scheme rapidly grew through wide advertisement in the educational journals and diligent correspondence with heads of schools and colleges. William Angus Knight, Professor of Moral Philosophy, a remarkable man with a long list of positive achievements to his credit<sup>1</sup> though regarded as something of a joke by his colleagues in chairs of philosophy, took over the convenership of the committee in 1878 from Professor Roberts, and by 1879 so much had the work grown that the committee, which had also run the Local Examinations,<sup>2</sup> was divided and Professor Knight was left as convener of the L.A. committee, able to devote his prodigious energy and enthusiasm for women's education solely to the new scheme.

In 1879 it was decided that evidence of having passed a suitable preliminary examination should become obligatory after 1881 and Knight began his task of making the L.A. as nearly as possible the equivalent of the M.A. for men by setting the same standard papers, indeed by providing identical examinations on the same day for subjects taught in the University and by bringing where possible the regulations for obtaining the diploma into line with those for the M.A. Particularly was this done by gradually increasing the number of subjects required for the diploma to the same number, by the educationally more suspect method of indicating the especial importance attached to the seven subjects required for the M.A., and by offering a prize of £20 to the first woman to pass in them.<sup>3</sup>

In 1880, as a result of a proposal by Edinburgh University,<sup>4</sup> to award a title of L.A. to their men students, who had successfully attended classes for two years some thought had to be given to the St. Andrews L.A. title for women. "The committee resolved to recommend the Senatus to alter the title of its higher certificate for women to lady literate in arts (L.L.A.) or Lit.A. or in some other manner. . . . The Senatus agreed that the title conferred upon ladies should be changed to L.L.A." But confusion over the interpretation of these letters arose, and even Knight in his history of the scheme in 1896 says that the "L" was doubled "simply to differentiate the women's title from that given to men". In 1900 the Senatus "agreed that 'Lady literate in arts' be officially recognised as the interpretation of L.L.A."

By 1883 the scheme had so far established itself that there was a demand from holders of the diploma for a special academic dress. This, it was decided, should be a sash composed of the same material and colour as the M.A. hood and an appropriate silver badge with St. Andrew and his cross, the letters "L.L.A." and the inscription "University of St. Andrews, 1877" engraved upon it. In this year, too, the first of the overseas candidates took the examination, and this was achieved by such a simple stroke of organizational genius that it became possible to sit the examination literally in any country in the world, and few were omitted by the time the scheme closed. The device was merely that where a solitary candidate came forward the onus of arranging for a supervisor of the examination for approval by the University was laid on the candidate, and it was indicated that a clergyman or headmaster of a local school or similar official would be a suitable person. Over 1500 candidates presented themselves from overseas in this way.

Continuing the development of the policy of raising the standard as near as possible to that of the M.A. degree, the subjects were divided into five groups in 1886 (the grouping was modified in 1894), and candidates were requested to select one subject at least from each group. It was, however, long regarded as a weakness of the scheme that this provision was not made obligatory. Successful candidates were also graded into three classes—A for a pass with above 80%, B for a pass with between 60% and 80%, and C for a pass with between 50% and 60% of marks. This last provision was made in 1887, a truly remarkable year in the history of the scheme. It is easy to sense the excitement which was taking hold of the Senatus at the scheme's success in the activity of this year. Knight carried out a prodigious lecture tour to publicise the L.L.A. and delivered lectures in Leeds, Bristol, Liverpool, Halifax, Bath, Leicester, Cheltenham, Birmingham, Aberdeen and Dundee to audiences of from 50 to 500. As a result there was an immediate leap in the numbers of candidates from 391 in 1886 to 597 in 1887: Henri Durlac, French lecturer in University College, Dundee, obtained recognition from the Ministry of Public Instruction of France that the L.L.A. would be accepted as equivalent to the *brevet supérieur* for examination at the Sorbonne. The committee commissioned F. F. Roget to undertake a work on

Old French especially for the L.L.A. scheme.<sup>5</sup> The number of subjects a candidate had to pass for the diploma was finally raised to seven, or six with one at honours level.

But this year really marked the peak of the scheme's development, for it had become entangled with the now general question of the admission of women to the universities, the discussions and lobbyings which preceded and followed the 1889 Universities (Scotland) Act and the difficulties which beset the University in the 1890's, especially in connection with the affiliation of University College, Dundee. The causes and effects of these difficulties may very well be summed up in the reported words of Sir Charles Pearson on being nominated M.P. for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews in 1895, "that the University of St. Andrews had in some way which perhaps could not very well be defined drifted into a position of extreme discomfort. He was told that that position had to a certain extent tended to paralyse its usefulness and expansion in recent years."

In fact the 1889 Act made it possible to admit women to the Universities, and the University submitted a draft ordinance to the Commissioners which, in addition to admitting women to the University would have defined the L.L.A. as a "title . . . while not equivalent to the possession of the degree of M.A. . . . shall nevertheless be regarded as a University degree inasmuch as the standard of examination shall be precisely the same as that which Masters and Mistresses of Arts have to pass . . .". The Commissioners ignored the L.L.A. in the regulations they issued early in 1892 and the University Court decided to admit women to the ordinary classes in Session 1892-93. Nevertheless, the L.L.A. continued to grow in numbers of candidates, but now the Scottish candidates, who had hitherto exceeded those from elsewhere, began to decline steadily in numbers, while those from England and elsewhere maintained a continuous increase until 1910, when there were 986 candidates from outside Scotland and only 100 from within it.

The admission of women to the University fostered a natural, but curious ambivalence towards the L.L.A. scheme. No longer did the Senatus feel happy in claiming its equivalence with the M.A. gained after a period of residence, and they found a great deal of difficulty when asked to define its status. Thus in 1906 Professor Herkless, in answer to such a query could write, "I beg to state that the L.L.A. is not a degree but a diploma. . . . Women are now admitted to degrees after a high preliminary examination and attendance on classes and the examinations for the L.L.A. diploma . . . are not burdened with these conditions. The L.L.A. examinations may not be according to the standard of those for the M. A. degree in the University; but after most careful consideration of the pass degrees in Oxford and Cambridge we, who are the examiners for the L.L.A. diploma, believe that it is at least equal to a pass degree of these Universities. As it is of such a high standing, though not a degree, but only a diploma, we think that holders of the L.L.A. diploma should be recognised by Education Committees for the purpose of allowances . . .". It is something of a shock

to learn that the University would not accept the possession of the L.L.A. as qualifying for entrance to the University classes.

Most of the driving force behind the scheme disappeared with the retirement of Knight from his chair in 1903 and the resignation of his administrative assistant, John J. Smith, the Sub-Librarian, in 1904. Even so the rise in numbers of candidates continued till 1910, but thereafter the decline became continuous. No doubt there were strong social forces at work to make the scheme less attractive, yet those educational and personal factors just mentioned must have played their part. The insistence of the University Court in taking over financial control in 1910 of what was to them no more than a useful money-making asset may also have contributed. No longer did the committee feel personal responsibility for the scheme's success and their attitude in fixing their own remuneration reveals this. In 1878 it was to be on a certain scale or *pro rata* if the income were less than anticipated. Such a suggestion in 1923 was overwhelmingly defeated. Not only does it seem that the new generation of Professors felt no responsibility for the success of such a scheme, but almost that they were embarrassed by it, for after the departure of Knight (he ceased to be an examiner in 1908) no real attempt was made to develop it in any way. Even though in 1923 there were proposals to expand the scheme in India, whence interest was being shown, nothing was done, and in the next year—there were still over 400 candidates—the end of the scheme was virtually accepted. Again nothing came of a suggestion by Professor J. H. Baxter who "directed attention to the increasing demand for the co-operation of the Universities with organisations concerned with adult education, and suggested that the machinery now in existence for the administration of the L.L.A. scheme could be suitably adapted to include both men and women." No longer, in any case, could a man with the drive, vision and foresight of Knight be given scope to create such a scheme. Nevertheless, the decision to terminate the scheme was not taken until 1927, some 50 years after the first examination, when it was decided that 1931 should be the last year in which examinations would take place. The statistics of the examination are truly astonishing—36,017 candidates entered, 11,441 being the number entered for the first time, 27,682 passed in one or more subjects and 5,117 received the L.L.A. diploma.<sup>6</sup>

Having sketched the nature and progress of the scheme, it seems in retrospect that its most important aspect from the University's point of view was that it was profitable. Yet it is important to emphasise that apart from defraying a small annual deficit on the Local Examination scheme until it was wound up, those profits were in accordance with Knight's original intention<sup>7</sup> expended exclusively in the furtherance of the cause of women's education. By 1889 the surplus had accumulated to £1,458 and various schemes were proposed in the next few years to finance special courses of lectures, to hold a summer session for women and to finance bursaries. Nothing was done, however, until women were admitted to the University, when it was proposed to use the money to erect a permanent hall of residence.

With characteristic energy Knight embraced the proposal and threw himself into the task of collecting additional funds, so that by 1894 the total amounted to £5,000. Of this sum the largest single share came from the Trust of Emily Jane Pfeiffer, who had bequeathed £60,000 in 1890 for the furtherance of women's education. Knight learned of this bequest only after the main fund had been expended; however, £2,000 was made available from the surplus. Joshua Girling Fitch of the Department of Education, an LL.D. of the University, who had already done much to help the L.L.A. scheme by recommending it to various Training Colleges in England, was one of the Trustees. The remaining £3,000 was made up of the surplus of the L.L.A. fund and a private subscription raised by Knight, mainly in Dundee.

The residence or University Hall, as it came to be known, was erected on University ground and opened in 1896 with Louisa Innes Lumsden as its first Warden. It was an immediate success despite the lukewarm reception on the part of the Principal in his opening speech: "Those students who had the old independent Scottish spirit would of course go into lodgings while those who liked would prefer conventual rule under Miss Lumsden". There is no doubt that the Hall was popular with parents.

The L.L.A. scheme continued to pay the salary of the Warden and for the upkeep of the fabric until 1908, when the Court proposed to build a £6,000 extension of which the L.L.A. fund was to contribute half. As the surplus fund of the scheme only contained £1,250, the L.L.A. Committee intimated that this was impossible but agreed that next year it could provide £1,500 and two-thirds of its free income to defray interest charges. This apparently was the occasion for the Court insisting on taking over the entire financial responsibility for the scheme. In the end, the fund contributed £2,000 to the extension of the building, £800 towards furnishings by instalments and a further loan of £350 to the University Hall Account by the end of Session 1911-12.

A surplus continued to accumulate in the L.L.A. fund until 1924, when the first deficit was registered. Nevertheless, when the scheme was finally wound up there was the considerable sum of £3,091 to be transferred to the Women's Residence Extension Fund. This was used towards the cost of the major reconstruction of Chatten House residence for women (MacIntosh Hall) in 1936. In addition to this handsome contribution to the development of women's residences, a considerable sum was expended over the years from 1895 to 1920-21 in providing bursaries for women students taking courses at the University.

If the story of the physical contribution of the scheme to the welfare of the University is one of continuous success, the same cannot be said of the official recognition of the diploma in the world at large. The first recognition came quickly when in 1879 the Teachers Training Syndicate of the University of Cambridge accepted the L.L.A. examination of St. Andrews as equivalent to graduating as far as their examinations were concerned. In 1887, as has already been mentioned, the Ministry of Public Instruction

of France granted similar recognition and then in 1884 the Department of Education in London agreed that those who had taken Honours in three subjects "should be eligible for Headmistressships of Schools without passing any further examination". This was about the sum of formal recognition in the early years and repeated attempts to get clearer statements from the Department of Education in Scotland and the Board of Education in England failed—not surprisingly considering the failure of the Universities Commissioners to recognise the diploma in any way, the University's own ambivalent attitude towards it, and the existence of a certain amount of jealous opposition in various quarters. However, after a determined struggle, the diploma was admitted as qualifying for the Teachers' Register of 1906 in the case of those who had obtained the diploma before March 1906. In the event, the Register itself was abortive and the concession meant little. In practice those who obtained the title before 1895 when graduation first became possible for women, were accepted as having a qualification equivalent to graduation for the payment of salary. For those who qualified later, practice varied; some Education authorities accepted the diploma for full graduate supplement, others for only part, but normally in the private school sector it was accepted. In all this is implied the fact that teaching was virtually the only outlet for women of education, and a particular modification of the L.L.A. called a Teacher's Diploma was introduced in 1905. This simply limited the candidate's choice to subjects held to be of particular value to teachers.

In the end of the day, however, there can be no doubt that whatever the limits placed on its acceptance by vested interests the diploma was widely recognised as an academic test of a genuinely high standard, and it met the needs of a wide cross-section of women. Though there was no age-limit of any kind, even the youngest candidates were of normal University student age, and there were many older. In addition, the absence of any limit on the time taken to complete the course was of advantage to many, for it meant that preparation and study could be carried on while in employment. Many made their preparations through correspondence schools specially accredited to the scheme. Others were prepared through finishing schools, and training colleges, and later some had completed part of their courses at universities; for example, University College, Nottingham, from 1898 provided special courses in Anglo-Saxon and Middle English for L.L.A. candidates.

From the schools they attended it is evident that middle-class girls provided the majority of candidates and probably a fair number of these came from the substantial middle class, especially in the earlier phase of the scheme. Married women provide a sprinkling of candidates, but there is only the occasional girl from the peerage. While it is clear that the majority of those entering from abroad were British girls from Continental finishing-schools or holding governess posts, the University found it expedient in 1890 to allow those whose native language was French or German to use

those languages in answering questions, on account of the considerable numbers of governesses and private schoolteachers of those nationalities who were finding that the L.L.A. met their own educational requirements.

Some of the holders of the diploma achieved considerable distinction in their professions. The first two women Inspectors of Schools in England were L.L.A.s; the first woman President of the Educational Institute of Scotland, Elizabeth Fish, was one. Marion Gilchrist, first woman to obtain a medical degree from a Scottish university, was another. Hilda Rose Walmsley, President of the National Union of Teachers in 1932-33, was yet one more, as was Helen Ward, Editor of the *International Woman's Suffrage News*. Indeed, the accumulation of merit in the persons of headmistresses and teachers, local government councillors and social workers, whose names are to be found in the lists of holders of the L.L.A. diploma, make a contribution to the general welfare of the nation with which the University may be justly satisfied.

R. N. SMART

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>In Knight's University activities, in addition to the work described here, he was easily the most enthusiastic worker in the St. Andrews University Extension Scheme; he raised funds which more than doubled the sums available for bursaries in the United College, and he was active in the movement leading to the foundation of University College, Dundee. He was an arch-founder of Societies and two of these are particularly important: the Wordsworth Society which he founded in 1880, and which was responsible for the setting up of Dove Cottage Museum, and the Scots Philosophical Club which still flourishes and now publishes the *Philosophical Quarterly*. All this was beside a formidable list of publications on a catholic range of subjects.

<sup>2</sup>The Local Examinations were a kind of leaving certificate for schools sponsored and run by the Universities. They were discontinued shortly after the introduction of the Leaving Certificate Examination by the Scottish Education Department in 1888.

<sup>3</sup>Modern languages, aesthetics, music and the like were widely regarded as somewhat frivolous subjects. The prize for the first woman to pass in the seven M.A. subjects was awarded in 1886 to Miss Jessie Scott Ferguson.

<sup>4</sup>The title of L.A. was also made available to men by Glasgow University, and in 1881 St. Andrews followed suit, but so much did it have the character of "failed M.A." and so easy was it financially to stay the full course that only three men took it over a period of ten years, and it thus faded out of existence.

<sup>5</sup>This work, *An Introduction to Old French*, was published in 1887 and reached a second edition in 1934.

<sup>6</sup>The following tables demonstrate the progress of the scheme in numbers of candidates and distribution of examination centres:—

| (a) L.L.A. STATISTICS FROM 1877 TO 1931 |                                    |                                   |                                |  |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| YEAR                                    | Total number of Candidates entered | Candidates entered for first time | Passed in one or more subjects | Received the title and diploma of L.L.A. |
| 1877                                    | 8                                  | 8                                 | 8                              | 3  |
| 1878                                    | 32                                 | 23                                | 27                             | 3  |
| 1879                                    | 72                                 | 49                                | 57                             | 14                                       |
| 1880                                    | 92                                 | 64                                | 80                             | 29                                       |
| 1881                                    | 175                                | 118                               | 148                            | 35                                       |
| 1882                                    | 255                                | 155                               | 216                            | 63                                       |
| 1883                                    | 440                                | 300                               | 384                            | 76                                       |
| 1884                                    | 363                                | 106                               | 319                            | 81                                       |
| 1885                                    | 374                                | 148                               | 333                            | 108                                      |
| 1886                                    | 391                                | 197                               | 331                            | 77                                       |

|              |        |        |        |      |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------|------|
| 1887         | 597    | 332    | 477    | 83   |
| 1888         | 553    | 174    | 446    | 127  |
| 1889         | 536    | 194    | 444    | 116  |
| 1890         | 607    | 244    | 492    | 99   |
| 1891         | 636    | 246    | 522    | 98   |
| 1892         | 699    | 271    | 557    | 101  |
| 1893         | 775    | 276    | 577    | 110  |
| 1894         | 926    | 386    | 713    | 118  |
| 1895         | 917    | 318    | 689    | 92   |
| 1896         | 925    | 271    | 683    | 109  |
| 1897         | 951    | 305    | 732    | 111  |
| 1898         | 950    | 285    | 746    | 147  |
| 1899         | 959    | 319    | 737    | 127  |
| 1900         | 980    | 319    | 750    | 136  |
| 1901         | 962    | 294    | 762    | 138  |
| 1902         | 929    | 282    | 685    | 130  |
| 1903         | 902    | 231    | 667    | 115  |
| 1904         | 960    | 306    | 674    | 101  |
| 1905         | 975    | 310    | 692    | 106  |
| 1906 January | 320    | 6      | 229    | 54   |
| " May        | 989    | 321    | 785    | 89   |
| 1907         | 1042   | 323    | 877    | 102  |
| 1908         | 1069   | 328    | 893    | 110  |
| 1909         | 1090   | 342    | 921    | 112  |
| 1910         | 1086   | 326    | 854    | 135  |
| 1911         | 1036   | 294    | 795    | 112  |
| 1912         | 978    | 271    | 711    | 125  |
| 1913         | 923    | 241    | 703    | 116  |
| 1914         | 872    | 211    | 660    | 116  |
| 1915         | 730    | 168    | 548    | 106  |
| 1916         | 618    | 124    | 473    | 120  |
| 1917         | 574    | 160    | 427    | 103  |
| 1918         | 620    | 194    | 450    | 84   |
| 1919         | 671    | 237    | 495    | 83   |
| 1920         | 659    | 182    | 482    | 86   |
| 1921         | 660    | 195    | 460    | 85   |
| 1922         | 580    | 168    | 399    | 75   |
| 1923         | 484    | 111    | 347    | 82   |
| 1924         | 433    | 105    | 304    | 69   |
| 1925         | 416    | 111    | 280    | 69   |
| 1926         | 390    | 124    | 280    | 44   |
| 1927         | 390    | 117    | 283    | 57   |
| 1928         | 568    | 251    | 357    | 51   |
| 1929         | 383    | —      | 302    | 62   |
| 1930         | 284    | —      | 239    | 75   |
| 1931         | 202    | —      | 180    | 143  |
| Total        | 36,017 | 11,441 | 27,682 | 5117 |

(b) *Alphabetical list of centres where L.L.A. examinations were held:*  
 \*Aberdeen 1882-1931, Aberystwyth 1897-99, Achnacloch 1892, Adelaide S.A. 1914, 25, Agra 1926-8, Allahabad 1917, 28-31, Alanccon 1912, Albany N.Y. 1896-7, Aliwal North 1900-02, Ambala, India 1924-25, Antioch 1925-26, Arcachon 1887, Auxerre 1886, 88, Bad Harzburg 1903, 06-07, Ballaugh 1898, Banbridge 1899-1900, \*Bedford 1890-99, 1902-1885-6, 91-92, 1914, 16, Barnstaple 1898, Beaufort 1899-1900, \*Bedford 1890-99, 1902-30, Bedford S.A. 1924-31, \*Belfast 1883-85, 89, 92-95, 1900, 02-09, 11-14, 16-17, 19-31, \*Berlin 1891-92, 96-03, 10, Bermuda 1895-98, Bert 1901, Bialystok 1903, Biggar 1894-95, \*Birmingham 1884-1931, \*Blackburn 1894-1931, Blankenburg 1896, 1905, Bombay 1924, Boulogne-sur-Mer 1900, 14, Bourg en Bresse 1913, Bournemouth 1893-99, Bremerhaven 1912, Breslau 1897-98, \*Brighton 1902-31, Brisbane 1901-02, 05, \*Bristol 1881-1931, Brooklyn 1928, Bruges 1914-5, Brunswick 1887, \*Brussels 1888-95, 1900, 02-07, 14, Bucharest 1893, 96, Bunbury W. Aust. 1929, Burlington U.S.A. 1896-7, 99-00, Burra Isles 1903, Caen 1903-05, Cairo 1929, Cala S.A. 1929, Calcutta 1923-5, 31, Calgary 1906, \*Cambridge 1893-1931, Campbelltown 1896, 99-00, 10, \*Cape Town 1893, 96-99, 06-09, 12-13, 15, 17, 19-22, 24, 27-31, \*Cardiff 1890-31, Cardigan 1901, 03-06, Car-marthen 1894-98, 1900, Cassel 1896, \*Cheltenham 1885-88, 90-91, 94-16, 19-20, Clermont Ferrand 1905, Closeburn 1893, 96-7, Coblentz 1886-89, 99, Condom 1903, \*Constantinople 1892, 94, 98, 1900-03, 06-13, Cork 1889-94, 96-7, 1918, 20, Cornant 1911, Cradock

S.A. 1895-96, 1923-4, Creelman 1918, Cromarty 1926, \*Croydon 1903-31, Darjeeling 1920, Delta B.C. 1924, \*Devonport 1894-1914, Dinan 1903, 06-07, Dole du Jura 1896, Dolgelly 1896, Dollar 1891, 93-98, 1901, Dolisk 1901, Dornoch 1900-03, Douai 1903, 09-10, \*Dunfermline 1902-14, Dunoon 1897-98, Dumrosness 1890, Duns 1899-1902, \*Durban 1908-29, Eeklo 1908-10, \*Edinburgh 1882-1931, Eisenach 1885, 96, 98, 1900, \*Elgin 1892-1911, 13, \*Exeter 1905-31, Faaborg 1906, Fermoy 1914, Flensburg 1910, 12-14, Florence 1900, 08, \*Fort William 1899-1900, 03-11, Frankfurt 1897-1900, 03, Freer S.A. 1929-30, \*Freiburg im Breisgau 1900, 01, 03, 06-12, Galle 1925, Georgetown B.G. 1926-7, Gernrode af Harz 1914, Gisborne N.Z. 1922, \*Glasgow (2 centres 1897-1914), 1892-31, Glen Innes 1900, Godesberg 1896, 1909, Görlitz 1895, 97, Gotha 1905, Graaff Reinet 1894, Grahamstown 1896, Greenwich Conn. 1906-7, 13-14, \*Guernsey 1905-14, Güstrow 1903, Halberstadt 1912, Halifax 1879-86, Halkirk 1917, Hamburg 1899, 1913, Hannover 1899, 1908, 11, Hawkes Bay N.Z. 1920, 23, 25, Heidelberg 1902, Hermannus 1928, Hildesheim 1885, 1910, Hobart 1924-5, \*Hull 1893-1931, Hyderabad 1909-11, 19-22, Ilfracombe 1896-97, 1900-03, Ilminster 1894-1900, \*Inverness 1890-1913, Ipswich 1896-1902, Irene 1889, Jassy 1892, Jersey 1905-07, Jerusalem 1929, Jharipani 1913, Joffna 1925, Johannesburg 1918-19, Jubulpore 1922-24, Kamloops 1921-2, Khandala 1927-8, Kilbrandon 1900-02, \*Kilmarnock 1898-1911, Kingston Jam. 1926, 28, Kingstown St. Vincent 1900, King Williamstown 1899-1900, Kirkcudbright 1897-1902, \*Kirkwall 1888-92, 94-98, 00-01, Kodaikanal 1915, 21-24, 28-31, Königsberg 1883, Ladysmith 1929-31, Laon 1912, \*Lausanne 1889, 96-03, 06-15, \*Leeds 1887-1931, Leicester 1884-5, 89, Leipzig 1893-95, 97, 99, 00, 02, \*Lerwick 1883-85, 87-88, 91-93, 01-02, 17, Liegnitz 1911, Liskeard 1885, 87-89, Lismore N.S.W. 1919, \*Liverpool 1885-1931, Llanelly 1893, Llanferres 1892-93, \*London 1879-1931 (3 centres), \*Londonderry 1890-93, 1901-03, 06, 10, 12, 26-31, Longhope 1910, 1923-24, Lorniet 1898, Lovedale (India) 1912, 14, \*Loughborough 1886, 88, 90-98, Louviers 1912-14, Lyons 1898, 07, Macon 1911, Madras 1914, 16, Magdeburg 1918, Malabar 1918, \*Malta 1905-09, 11-13, Marners 1906, \*Manchester 1890-1931, Mandalay 1926, Mantua 1896, Mapumulo 1917, Marburg-an-der-Lahn 1906, Marseilles 1892-94, Martinhoe 1894, Maymyo 1927, Melbourne 1898-99, Memel 1897, Michelstadt 1913, \*Middlesborough 1899-1920, Milan 1909, Miltenberg 1902, Mölln in Lauenburg 1900-03, 07-09, Monmouth 1892, Montpellier 1903, Montreux 1895, 1925, Moosejaw 1929, Moulins 1910, Munich 1893, 1914, Murree 1918-19, 25-29, Muskau 1889, Naimi Tal 1905, 1927-28, Nairobi 1929-30, \*Namur 1894-1903, Nancy 1898-99, 03, Nantes 1910, Nassau Bahamas 1920, Neubrandenburg 1896-98, Neuchatel 1912, Neuenahr 1898, Neuhaldensleben 1912, \*Newcastle-on-Tyne 1888-1931, \*Newcastle Natal 1916-29, New Haven Conn. 1899, 1902, New Jersey 1915, New York 1903-06, 20, Nimes 1896, Niort 1910, North Vancouver 1912, \*Norwich 1894-1931, \*Nottingham 1899-1931, Nurnberg 1894-97, \*Oban 1885, 93-09, 11, Omagh 1900, Oporto 1884, Ottawa 1913-14, Ottignies 1912, \*Oxford 1894-1931, Paarl 1902, Paisley 1887-91, Palermo 1911-12, \*Paris 1885-89, 93-09, 12-15, 17-21, 23-24, 26-31, Peebles 1895-1901, \*Penrith 1896-97, 99-1916, Penzance 1913-14, Perigueux 1912, Philadelphia 1898-01, Pickering 1917, \*Pietermaritzburg 1885-1903, 1910-11, 13-25, 27-30, \*Plymouth 1900, 03, 09, 13-31, Pontefract 1910, Poona 1921-22, \*Port Elizabeth 1895-1902, 05-13, 15-16, 20-22, Portland Oregon 1918, Port of Spain 1894, Portree 1905-06, 09-14, Portsmouth 1918, Pretoria 1907, Prince Albert 1927, Prince George 1920, Pudburg 1907, Quebec 1910, Quetta 1929-30, Quimper 1918-19, Rama 1915, Ravenna 1896, Reisters-town 1902-03, Richmond 1902, Rockhampton 1896, 98, Rotterdam, 1918-22, Rouen 1914, Rumilly 1918, \*St. Andrews 1877-1924, 27-31, St. Malo 1890-91, St. Petersburg 1903, 13, \*Salisbury 1900-16, Sanawar 1907, Sandesneben 1897, Santarem 1898, Saskatoon 1931, \*Scarborough 1890-96, 99-03, Schwerin 1912, Seforong 1918, Seville 1892, Shanghai 1925-28, Shanklin 1890, \*Sheffield 1895-1931, \*Simla 1888-90, 93-95, 1909, 22-26, Skeabost Bridge 1913, \*Southampton 1906, 09-31, Southport 1894-1900, Stargard i Pomm 1902, 05, Stellenbosch 1890, \*Stornoway 1896-1908, 15, 17-23, Stoughton 1917, \*Stranraer 1897-1905, 07-08, Stromness 1890-92, Sunderland 1887, \*Swansea 1895-1916, Sydney 1921, 24, Teignmouth 1902-05, Terre Haute 1894-96, Tewkesbury 1892-95, Thalfang 1891, Thildonck 1894, Thornhill 1891-92, 94-95, \*Thurso 1891-97, 99-02, Toowoomba 1919, Toronto 1914, Tournon sur Rhone 1905, Tours 1910, Trarbach 1898, Traunkirchen 1893-94, Truro 1890-98, 1901, Tunbridge Wells 1914, 16, 17, Uitenhage 1892, 94, 1902, 21-22, Valletta 1900, Vannes 1910, Var 1910, Venice 1896, Vienna 1894, 1906-08, 13, Wilmur S.A. 1912-14, Washington 1894, Waterford 1916, 18, Wathen 1903, Weimar 1897, 1901, 07, Wellington N.Z. 1929, 31, Westcliff-on-Sea 1918, \*West Hartlepool 1903-13, West Moors 1921, Weyburn 1914, 16, Whitehaven 1921, 23, Whiteness 1905, 13, \*Wick 1898, 1903-13, 15-16, 23-25, Wiesbaden 1901, 03, 09, Wigan 1910, \*Wolfenbüttel 1889-90, 92, 94, 96-00, 02, 09-10, Worcester 1901, \*Workington 1899-00, 03-13, Yercaud 1928-31, Youmon 1918.

Places marked with an asterisk are those in which examinations were held for ten years or more and which may be regarded as the main sources of support for the scheme.

"Knight in his preface to his history of the L.L.A. scheme declares his threefold purpose to have been to develop the education of women, to establish a Hall of Residence, and to have a bursary fund for women students, and he says, "But for the hope of accomplishing such ends, nothing would have warranted him in giving the time and labour which he has devoted to it—under the direction of the *Senatus Academicus*—for nineteen years."

## Professor John Burnet (1863-1928)

(A further tribute by a pupil, the Rev. David Scott, M.A. 1910, B.D., D.D.)

Very precious and inspiring memories were awakened by the tributes paid in the 1967 *Alumnus Chronicle* by Dr. Douglas Young and Mrs. Willa Muir to the greatest and most impressive of all our teachers, John Burnet.

Mrs. Muir has told most vividly of the inspiration John Burnet communicated through those organ tones of his to enquiring minds—percolating even to some that were not specially enquiring. I remember that morning cigar of his, the fumes of which were communicated to the stacks of slips each containing a Platonic word and its place in the Platonic *corpus*, which were piled up against the walls of his retiring room—the building material for the Clarendon Press Plato. I wonder if Mrs. Muir also remembers a framed picture of a Mycenaean dagger, inlaid with ivory and gold and depicting a lion hunt—exactly the dagger, I was sure, with which Clytemnestra despatched Agamemnon! (I did not then know that Clytemnestra's chosen weapon was an axe.)

A notable feature of John Burnet's work in St. Andrews was not touched upon in last year's articles, however, viz. his enthusiastic labours in which he was ably seconded by Mrs. Burnet (who before her marriage had been a member of Frank Benson's Company) in the production of plays for the University Dramatic Society. These rehearsals of "Twelfth Night", "As You Like It", etc., were channels through which we gained an insight into the mind of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans that we were unlikely to acquire elsewhere. The same thing applied to "She Stoops to Conquer" and "The Rivals" among others.

It fell to me (for no reason I can imagine) to accompany him in some of his afternoon walks—to the Lade Braes, perhaps—and then one had the quintessence of him all to oneself. His talk ranged over a vast variety of subjects—and of course there were long silences too—so that I have often reproached myself that I had not the wit to be a Boswell. One thing I do remember (and this is reminiscent of a passage in Mrs. Muir's tribute) is that he told me of a papyrus fragment that had been found embodying a child's nursery rhyme which, translated into English, ran thus:

"Where are my roses, where are my pansies,  
Where is my beautiful parsley?  
Here are your roses, here are your pansies,  
Here is your beautiful parsley!"